

WOMEN'S RIGHTS / LABOR RIGHTS

RESEARCH ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN
ON THE LABOR MARKET IN MONTENEGRO



Kingdom of the Netherlands



Centar za
istraživačko
novinarstvo
Crne Gore



Women's Rights/Labor Rights

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Project of the Center for Investigative Journalism of Montenegro (CIN-CG)
“Investigative Research and Media Campaign: Women's Rights/Labor Rights”

Field research was conducted by the Center for Monitoring and Research (CEMI)
in the period from December 2018 to February 2019

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Podgorica, February 2019.

Women's Rights/Labor Rights

Publisher: Center for Investigative Journalism of Montenegro

For publisher: Milka Tadic Mijovic

Editor: Slavoljub Scekcic

Copy editor: Predrag Nikolic

Prepress: Dragan Lucic

Print: Studio Mouse

Circulation: 400

Publishing of this publication was supported by the Embassy
of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Belgrade

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Национална библиотека Црне Горе, Цетиње

ISBN 978-9940-9868-6-5
COBISS.CG-ID 39222288



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INTRODUCTION

Within the project of the Center for Investigative Journalism, entitled “Research and Media Campaign: Women’s Rights/Labor Rights”, financed by the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Center for Monitoring and Research has conducted a survey on the position of women in the labor market. In order to collect the data about key problematic issues in relation to this topic, 22 in-depth interviews have been conducted with the decision-makers and a total of 20 interviews with employed and unemployed women. Additionally, three focus groups have been organized with women from the north, central and southern regions of Montenegro, whereas one focus group with men was organized in the central part of the country.

In the context of this topic, we have started from the assumption that position of women in Montenegrin labor market is largely influenced by the patriarchal character of the Montenegrin society, which, among other things, determines the contours of inequality of women in employment and work promotion. The rhetoric of inequality is also reflected in the field of entrepreneurship where, despite the existence of some incentive measures, women are insufficiently empowered by their families to start their own businesses.

Let’s be reminded that there are 313,793 or 50.60%¹ of women living in Montenegro. According to the census from 2011, of this number, 256,808 women belong to the category of population over 15 years of age, from which we can derive information about the education of women in Montenegrin society. From the mentioned number, approx. 3.5% are without any education, around 32% has primary school or incomplete primary school education, 47% has high school education, 17% has associate degree or university degree². By the end of 2018, 41,378 unemployed persons were registered in Montenegro, and of this number 23,944 are women, or 57.87%³. When it comes to representation of women in politics, it is important to emphasize the fact that women make up 23.5% of Montenegrin Parliament (19 out of 81 MPs), and there are 25% of women represented in the parliamentary working bodies⁴. With regards to representation of women in steering committees and presidencies of the parties, their percentage ranges from 10 to 29.2%⁵. According to the report from the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights on participation of women in legislative, executive and judicial authorities from 2015, women represent the majority of employees in all ministries (59.68%). According to the same report, women make only 9.6% of entrepreneurship⁶. In the current government of Montenegro, out of 18 ministerial departments, only 4 are held by women. In the Report of the Union of Employers titled: “Women in Management in Montenegro” from 2017, it is stated that: “Over 44% of women are Heads of the Directorates General, and in the diplomatic and consular missions and representative offices of Montenegro 43% of employees are women, whereas only 17.6% are Ambassadors. The same report states: “Women own only 4% of houses, 8% of land and 14%

1 Women and Men in Montenegro, Statistical Office of Montenegro- Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, Podgorica, 2018, p. 10.

2 Ibid., page 42.

3 Report on Labor for 2018, Employment Agency of Montenegro, Podgorica, 2019, page 3

4 Gender Mirror of Political Parties in Montenegro, EU- Ministry of Human and Minority Rights- UNDP, Podgorica, 2017, p. 18-21.

5 Ibid., p. 23-32.

6 Information on participation of women in judicial and legislative branches, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, Podgorica, 2015

of holiday houses in Montenegro.⁷

One of the research assumptions was that employment relationship of women working in public administration is “better regulated” than for those working in commercial sector, and that they are less vulnerable to certain types of discrimination and mobbing during employment process and during their employment. Discrimination is motivated by different factors, as for example by: age, physical appearance, marital status and personal intentions regarding parenting, but also ethnicity, sexual orientation and existence of some form of disability. The disseminators of discrimination against women are not exclusively men, as this phenomenon is also prevalent among women themselves.

Finally, one of the most vulnerable groups is the category of mothers, and particularly single mothers, whose position in the labor market is conditioned by the lack of support from the society as a whole. Apart from the institutional and systemic framework, the deepening of gender differences is also being affected by traditional understanding of male–female relationships and unequal division of family responsibilities, which additionally complicates establishing of balance between the private and business spheres.

This research seeks to come to conclusions about the key obstacles women face in the Montenegrin labor market, understanding the crucial differences between work engagement in public and private sectors, as well as the causes and ways of combating discrimination and mobbing of women.

Note 1: Considering that this is a qualitative research, it was infeasible to have a sample containing 32% of female respondents with primary or incomplete primary school education, or 3.5% of female respondents without any type of education. Firstly, this is because the report of the Statistical Office of Montenegro provided information for female population over 15 years of age, which implies that high school students make a part of percentage of women with completed or incomplete primary education. More specifically, these are girls that have completed their primary education, but have not yet completed their secondary education. It would be methodologically unsound to include that kind of profile of female respondents, due to the fact that these are minors, and that the topic of the research relates to women’s labor rights and employment process, and this profile of female respondents still has no experiential connection. At the same time, our attempts to interview several women who do not have any education or have only primary education (and who mainly live in the peripheral parts of the country) have been unsuccessful do to their unwillingness to talk about this topic. **In that regard, findings and conclusions contained in this research represent an analysis of the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of women with secondary and higher education.**

Note 2: In spite of all the efforts of our research team, several stakeholders did not respond to our calls or have refused to participate in the research (Ministry of Economy, KIPS, NLB Bank, CODRA Hospital, Public Preschool Institution “Ljubica Popovic”, Sportina, Ltd).

⁷ Report: Women in Management in Montenegro, Association of Employers of Montenegro, Podgorica, 2017, p. 26-27.

Initial Conclusions

- Most of the respondents believe **women are discriminated** against in the Montenegrin labor market, with the exception of the stakeholders (from the top of the hierarchy level) who believe women are **not discriminated** against. Most of the respondents believe **men find work more easily**, with the exception of the respondents from the central region and stakeholders (employed in public sector) who overwhelmingly believe men and women have **equal** chances to find work.
- Although women believe they are discriminated against when looking for employment or applying for a job, the majority of respondents believe that women and men are **paid equally for doing the same job**.
- Most of the respondents also believe that both women and men are equally exposed to **precarious work**.
- Most of the respondents believe that the **tradition and patriarchal aspects of Montenegrin society** are the main reasons why women are discriminated against when seeking employment or inheriting property.
- Most of the respondents believe that the division into women's and men's occupations **exists**, and women from the northern region mainly agree with this type of division.
- Most of the respondents, regardless of their category, believe that pregnancy and maternity **have adverse effect on woman's employment and working status**.
- Most of the respondents believe women are exposed to **sexual harassment and mobbing** at work.
- Most of the respondents (predominantly belonging to the categories of unemployed women or employed on the lower hierarchy level, and women from the central region) believe that women are more exposed to discrimination and mobbing - **in the private sector**, with the exception of the respondents working in the private sector, who overwhelmingly believe that women are exposed to discrimination and mobbing **equally - in both sectors**.
- Those respondents who work in the public sector or are unemployed and who come from the southern or central region are better **informed about laws and institutions that protect women from discrimination** from the respondents who work in the private sector or come from the northern region, as they are **almost totally unfamiliar** with these mechanisms.
- Most of the respondents believe that the role of the **state is crucial** when it comes to adequate balancing of work and family responsibilities of women.

1. Key findings from in-depth interviews conducted with (un)employed women

1.1 Structure of respondents

In order to examine opinions of women about the issues regarding their position in the labor market, CeMI conducted 20 in-depth interviews with women.

The respondents were selected according to the following criteria:

WORKING STATUS: 13 employed and 7 unemployed women;

EDUCATION: 10 respondents with higher education and 10 with secondary education;

ETHNICITY: 4 members of national minorities and 16 members of the majority nation (Montenegrin or Serbian).

LOCATION: 4 women living in rural areas, 16 women living in urban areas.

The respondents were also categorized by age criterion, in the following manner:

- 5 women aged 18 to 25;
- 7 women aged 26 to 40;
- 6 women aged 41-65;
- 2 women over 65 years.

The structure of employed women (13) is as follows:

- 6 women with secondary education;
- 7 women with higher education;
- 2 women belonging to national minorities;
- 11 women who are members of the majority people;
- 10 women living in urban areas;
- 3 women living in rural areas;
- One woman between the ages of 18 and 25;
- 4 women between the ages of 26 and 40;
- 6 women between the ages of 41 and 65;

- 2 women over 65.
- The structure of unemployed women (7 in total) is as follows:
- 4 women with secondary education;
 - 3 women with higher education;
 - 2 women belonging to national minorities;
 - 5 women who are members of the majority people;
 - 6 women living in urban areas;
 - 1 woman living in rural areas;
 - 4 women between the ages of 18 and 25;
 - 3 women between the ages of 26 and 40;
 - / women between the ages of 41 and 65;
 - / women over 65 years.

1.1.1 Key findings from in-depth interviews conducted with employed women

Have you ever been employed? If you have, what type of contract did you have, and for how long? How did you get hired, what were the deciding factors? Did anyone help you to get employed?

When asked about the **type of contract they signed with their employers**, most respondents (8) have rather similar experience. When it comes to the respondents with secondary school education, they usually sign a fixed-term contract or service contract, which is especially characteristic of employment in the trade sector, service sector, and similar. Namely, most of the respondents with secondary education have a fixed-term contract, which is renewed periodically, for a number of years. The period of “waiting” for a permanent employment contract **lasts for several years**, even up to ten years for one respondent. However, fixed-term contracts are not the only negative occurrence. Namely, some of the respondents have started working **without a formal legal basis**, i.e. without signing a contract, without officially being reported to the competent institutions, without insurance and other benefits they are entitled to under the Labor Law.

The respondents with higher education are in relatively similar situation, as most of them work or have worked under a fixed-term employment contract. However, while the majority of women with higher education level have received, after a certain period, a permanent employment contract from their employer, this is not the case for women with secondary vocational education. It is interesting to note that older respondents who started working more than 30 years ago managed to do so through a public announcement, i.e. through the Employment Agency, and were immediately given a permanent employment contract.

In most cases, the respondents were recruited through referral, personal contact/acquaintance, or so-called “connections”. Although most of the respondents believe they possessed necessary qualities, experience, and abilities that recommended them for a particular job, they felt that assistance from another person was necessary, so many respondents consciously used this assistance.

Unlike younger respondents, older respondents have different employment experiences. Namely, older respondents, both those who have secondary and higher education, have fixed-term contracts, whereby they obtained employment through a public advertisement published by the Employment Agency of Montenegro. This information is justified by the fact that 30 years ago there were many more open vacancies in the labor market, and that employment was done through the Employment Agency rather than through personal contacts.

Did you have any experience in job search through responding to advertised vacancies, direct contact with the employer, and similar? Did you have positive or negative experiences in that process? Please explain what it looked like.

Many respondents (7) have no confidence in **job search through advertised vacancies**, which is a dominant reason why large number of respondents had no experience in looking for a job in this manner. This is a characteristic of both women with secondary education and those with higher education. Even those respondents who responded to the advertisements felt that without having a personal contact, a recommendation, a referral, etc., responding to the advertisement could not help them with getting employment, despite having adequate qualifications. Thus, of the respondents with experience of active job search, a **significant number (8) found employment with the help of someone** (recommendations, so-called “connections”, referrals, receiving information that a certain position would become vacant and that a call for competition would be announced, etc.). The respondents living in rural areas stated that a key reason for not applying for advertised positions included **family duties and responsibilities connected to raising children** that were solely their concern and which they could not share with their spouses.

However, despite the significant mistrust which is characteristics for most female respondents when it comes to job search through advertised vacancies, some of them believe that their work qualifications and abilities were later of key importance for **extending their employment**.

The conclusion is that younger and middle-aged respondents had **predominantly negative experiences** in applying for jobs through advertised vacancies. On the contrary, older respondents found employment a few decades ago through a public advertisement published by the Employment Agency of Montenegro. Nevertheless, they believe that this type of employment is rare today.

Did you have problems at work just because of some of your personal characteristics, as for example: because you are a woman, because of your appearance, because you are or you are not a mother, because of your religion, political affiliation, because you have or you do not have a partner ... Please explain what it looked like.

When asked if they had a **problem at work because of their personal characteristics** (for example: because she is a woman, because of her appearance, because she is or she is not a mother, because of her religion, political affiliation, because she has or doesn't have a partner, etc.) only a few of respondents replied in the negative. However, it should be noted that these respondents also stated that they obtained employment through a specific recommendation, that is, through assistance from another person, which could potentially be the reason why they did not have negative experience or problems at work for the stated reasons.

Most of the respondents (9) claimed that they had problems at work for some reason. Mostly they had problems with their employer because of **their own attitudes towards work**, or have opposed the views of the employer and for that reason have suffered consequences. Three respondents suffered mobbing at work but **never reported it**. It is interesting to note that mobbing came from a woman who performed a certain position of a supervisor, and in only one case it was a man who performed sexual violence.

Among the respondents who had specific problems at work were those who were not given the opportunity to extend the employment contract after it expired, due to pregnancy. Namely, one respondent worked until her seventh month of pregnancy, that is, until her contract expired. Those with bigger family responsibilities and young children also had problems at work, especially in trade and service industries where overtime is a common practice. Among the respondents, a middle-aged woman with disability was fired because of her age, and it seems that the employer was looking for a younger, more attractive woman to work in the retail shop.

What raises concern is a situation with a respondent, who claims that at the same time she signed a fixed-term employment contract she was forced to **simultaneously sign an undated agreement on termination of employment**, which would get used or dated at the moment when the worker becomes pregnant, has a dispute with the employer or in a similar circumstance.

Has an employer ever asked you about your plans for family extension?

A large majority (7) of the respondents has been asked by the employer **about their plans for family extension** during hiring or extending employment. It is interesting to note that several women have had this (negative) experience happen several times in their lives, when changing employers, while a divorced respondent believes that this status even helped her in her employment. Respondents who have this experience believe that in Montenegro often women are dismissed when they get pregnant, and one respondent personally had such an experience.

A small number (4) of respondents replied that they have not been asked about plans for family extension by the employer during employment. Information that half of these respondents obtained employment through personal acquaintance or recommendation should certainly be taken into account. Respondents believe that family extension questions are more frequently asked during employment in the private sector and with employment of younger women, while cases of such questions in the public sector are much less common.

Are there any particular groups of women who are particularly discriminated against by employers, which places them at a disadvantage?

Respondents believe that **older women have the most difficulty to get employed**, and that they are most discriminated against because of their age and looks. This basis of **discrimination** is especially prevalent in the sectors of trade, services, sales, etc., in which employers explicitly favor younger women. This is evidenced by the information provided by one of the respondent who says that in many companies, older women are terminated due to an alleged reduction in force, not because of their (in)abilities and (lack of) training, but only because of their age. They are then replaced by much younger women, who do not actually have the capacity and knowledge to perform their roles.

It is interesting to note that the respondents believe that young women, although least discriminated against since they can find employment more easily, are actually in a very difficult position because they are being manipulated. They are under great pressure and expectations that they should not start families, that they should not take on larger family responsibilities, that they do not give birth and the like. For this reason, some respondents (4) highlight unmarried women as the least discriminated category, because they get employed more easily than married women, while other respondents consider them to be the most discriminated against, as they often delay or abandon their family plans, for fear of losing their jobs.

Among other groups of women who are especially discriminated against, the respondents mention the position of **persons with disabilities, Roma women**, as well as women with **young children** and **family responsibilities** or are planning to start a family, women with lower education, single mothers, and poor women. Fewer respondents believe that women are only being discriminated against if they try to fight for better working conditions, if they have opposing opinions to those of their employer, regardless of the sector in which they work, and that is why they suffer from mobbing.

Most of the respondents (8) believe that certain forms of discrimination are present in both the public and private sectors, although they are of a completely different nature. The form and level of discrimination, according to the respondents, depend on the sector (in private sector discrimination is much more prevalent than in the public sector) or a particular economy branch (for example: in the field of trade, services, small and/or medium-sized private businesses it is much more prevalent than in some other fields like education, health, etc.). When it comes to the sectors or branches

of the economy, the majority of respondents especially emphasize discrimination against women working in the **trade sector**. Their working conditions are very bad, often unworthy of a human being, while there are frequent cases of work without a formal legal basis, with unpaid overtime hours, with no days off during holidays and paid vacation days. In this sector, women who are unmarried, have no partner and no family expansion plans are favored.

A very small number of respondents (2) do not believe that in Montenegro there are certain types of discrimination as a systemic problem, since these examples can only be individual, i.e. characteristic for possibly only certain employers.

Would the employers hire a woman who is pregnant? Please elaborate your response

When asked **if employers would hire a pregnant woman**, almost all respondents (12) were sure they would not. Among them, there are those who point out that, unlike in the private sector, women are much more protected in the public sector; although they have witnessed situations that women in the public sector who do not have a permanent employment contract when they become pregnant do not get the opportunity to extend the contract, but are only kept in their position until their contract expires.

In state administration bodies women who have permanent employment contract have full protection, since legal provisions which set forth the protection of pregnant women and women on maternity leave are respected, which is not the case in the private sector. The key reasons for this situation are the focus of private employers on multiplying their profit, since the employment of a new worker to replace a woman on sick leave represents an additional financial burden. Women working in the private sector are even less likely to decide to have offspring because of the strong fear of job loss that may be caused by maternity/parental leave.

Do employers in your profession care about woman's personal appearance? Please elaborate your response

The respondents (6) consider that in some sectors, i.e. positions such as in commerce, sales, tourism, restaurant business, positions that involve working directly with consumers/consumers, etc., **physical appearance of women is very important to employers in hiring process**. Respondents even believe that in larger companies the dress code is not respected, solely because employers place emphasis on the physical appearance of employees, and often even on their physical attractiveness.

While the overwhelming majority of respondents (8) condemn this phenomenon, it is interesting to note that one respondent justifies such practices of the employers, believing that more attractive and better groomed woman will be a better and more detail oriented employee.

Respondents believe that in other sectors such as state administration bodies, some sectors such as education, judiciary, health, etc., physical appearance of women does not matter. Fewer (5) respondents believe that regardless of the sector, the appearance of a woman is not important in employment, but their skills and work experience are of vital importance. However, it is interesting that these respondents did not get employed through open public vacancy announcement, but through a referral.

Do employers in your profession care about woman's age?

The majority of respondents (8) believe that **employers find age of women to be important during the hiring process**. This is especially true in the trade sector, i.e. in those companies and sectors where employers try to generate higher profits by hiring younger workers. One respondent even had personal experience of losing a job due to her appearance and age. However, a significant majority of respondents believe that age is important during hiring process, but not in all sectors. Namely, in many sectors, such as state administration, judiciary, health, education, the age of employees is not important. It is interesting to note that one respondent justifies this phenomenon, believing that younger women are more capable of performing work assignments.

Do employers in your profession care about marital status of a woman?

Most of the respondents (8) believe that **marital status of women is important to employers during the hiring process**, which is mostly characteristic for the private sector. Such practices are explained by the fact that employers fear for their profits, assuming that women who have bigger family responsibilities, or are pregnant, are less efficient, more absent from work, and are less committed to their work responsibilities. Very few women consider marital status to be irrelevant in private sector employment.

What are your working hours? Do you work in shifts, and if so, in what way? Are you entitled to paid annual leave, overtime pay, paid holidays...?

Most of the respondents (10) work only in day shifts and are **entitled to paid annual leave and paid holidays**. This is especially characteristic of women with higher education and is connected to the type of employment or contract they have with the employer. In contrast, many respondents, predominantly those with secondary vocational education, often stayed late at work without paid overtime, and often worked without paid annual leave.

Does your family life sometimes suffer because of your work responsibilities? Please elaborate your response.

Almost all respondents (9) who have children and similar family responsibilities claim that **their family life is suffering because of their work responsibilities**. Due to the business policy of employers who do not have full understanding of the family responsibilities of working women, respondents believe that they have less time for family and that children suffer most, especially when it comes to working weekends, overtime work, etc. The aggravating circumstance comes

from a fact that Montenegro is still dominated by patriarchal beliefs that men should not help women and that women should be solely responsible for taking care of family responsibilities. There are very few examples of respondents whose private sector employer was reasonable about their family problems and their obligations towards children. Respondents whose family life does not suffer because of work responsibilities are not married.

Does your work sometimes suffer because of family responsibilities? Please elaborate your response.

Unlike the fact that their family life suffers to a certain extent because of their business responsibilities, examples of respondents whose **work suffers because of family responsibilities** are much less frequent. This information is particularly interesting having in mind the patriarchal properties of Montenegrin society in which a woman does not share her obligations equally with her husband. Some respondents (4) even consider that neglecting work obligations because of family life is not tolerated, so this is one of the key reasons for such data, while a couple of respondents do not even justify neglecting of work responsibilities for family life.

Who is your biggest support in meeting all these obligations?

The vast majority (9) of the respondents have the biggest support in the **family** when it comes to work and family responsibilities. When it comes to housework and childcare the respondents most often mention they get help from their sisters or mothers, and only rarely from their husbands, which confirms the presence of patriarchal aspects of Montenegrin culture when it comes to family roles of men and women. However, there are those respondents who do not have family support in carrying out of their work tasks, and even in one case a partner requested from the respondent to have full control over her earnings, and there are those who suffer pressure from the wider family that the work at home should not be equally distributed, that the woman does not need to advance in her career, does not need to be more independent, etc.

What needs to be done in order to improve the position of women at work? And what should be done to protect them against discrimination?

In order to **improve the position of women at work and increase their protection against discrimination**, the respondents believe that the implementation of the laws should be improved, the controls and inspections of employers should be introduced in order to check that they respect the legal provisions, as well as the provisions of collective agreements that protect women at work, and which provide them with certain protections in case of pregnancy and childbirth, overtime pay; which protects them from discrimination on various grounds, and especially discrimination based on physical appearance, age, marriage plans and family extension plans. According to the respondents, special attention should be paid to strengthening of the work of the inspection bodies, because they have certain agreements with employers, which are the reasons why they are never fined or prosecuted.

Respondents believe that working conditions need to be drastically improved in many sectors, especially in those that do not offer decent working conditions to their employees.

Respondents believe it is necessary to provide better protection to women so that they can stop being afraid of losing their job if they seek respect for their rights, if they report mobbing and sexual harassment. It is necessary to speak publicly about the problems, to emphasize them publicly, in order to change the awareness among women themselves about the need to improve their working conditions, but also among men, employers and the population in general.

Also, the respondents believe that it is necessary to organize public support for women in starting their private businesses.

Respondents also noted that women themselves need to fight for improving their position in society and in the labor market, that they need to speak publicly about their problems, invest more in their education, but it is also necessary for the entire population to overcome stereotypes according to which women should only be committed housework.

There is also a need to strengthen confidence in the work of institutions that need to protect women at work, which is not at a satisfactory level, but also trust in organizations dealing with the protection of human rights. Respondents point to many cases in which a woman was a victim of mobbing but has never reported it, due to the pressure exerted on her by her colleagues, family, and also because of distrust in the work of institutions. On the other hand, only resolved mobbing cases (which are still lacking), impartial inspection controls, indiscriminate punishment, full implementation of the law can encourage women to fight to improve their position in the labor market and to report the cases of violation of their rights.

What laws and institutions protect women from discrimination and mobbing? How effective are they?

Respondents believe that women with lower education are not informed about legal provisions and institutions that protect them at work. However, interviews with the respondents showed that the vast majority of them are almost utterly unfamiliar with the **laws that protect women from discrimination and mobbing**. Only a couple of respondents (3) with higher education mentioned the Labor Law, the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, the Constitution of Montenegro as legal acts that provide protection to women at work, whereas regarding institutions they mentioned the police, the Union of Free Trade Unions, the Ombudsman and various organizations working on protection of women's rights. One of the key reasons they mention for not being familiar with the law is the fear of losing their jobs, which is used to justify inertia and lack of interest in solving problems, lack of confidence in the work of the institutions and their efficiency (for example: they mention that none of the mobbing cases have received final court ruling).

If you would like to start a private business now, what would you be concerned about and who would you be able to expect support from?

Among the respondents, one woman started her own business and she had family support in doing so. In **starting a private business**, most respondents would expect support from the family, while the least would expect help from the state. Respondents are most concerned about the financial support they would need from banks, the Investment and Development Fund, but they also worry about harmonizing family responsibilities and commitments deriving from starting of a business that would certainly require big sacrifices. Many respondents believe they would strive to ensure that their employees have all working conditions as required by law.

In contrast, several respondents (4) would not start their own businesses out of fear that the business would not succeed and they couldn't return the investment, then out of fear of male competition, as well as due to home duties that would take away the time needed to devote to their business.

1.1.2 Key findings from in-depth interviews conducted with unemployed women

Have you ever been employed? If you have, based on what type of contract, and for how long? How did you get hired, what were the decisive factors? Did anyone help you to get a job?

In the case of respondents who declare themselves as currently unemployed, in relation to the question regarding the **type of their employment contract**, the vast majority replied that they had concluded service contracts that lasted on average from 3 to 6 months and were periodically renewed. These were mainly seasonal jobs, defined as either fixed-term contracts or part-time jobs out of their professional field, regulated as service contracts.

A small number of respondents indicated that they received their first employment in their professional field through the Government's vocational training program for secondary and tertiary degree graduates, but none received a contract extension after the program ended.

By analyzing the **decisive factors** that have determined the employment, or work engagement of these persons, a distinction can be made between persons with secondary education who think that assistance with employment to be crucial, that is, who have been employed with the help of a third person or upon recommendation; and highly educated individuals who emphasize that they came to employment through their own education and their biography, regardless of the type of engagement.

An interesting case is the experience of one of the secondary school graduates who has been volunteering in a state institution for the past year (the service contract is renewed on a monthly basis) because, taught by the experience of other people, she thinks that this is the only way to get a job there.

Findings of the research indicate that perception of unemployed women regarding decisive factors for employment differs with regard to the level of education, and not age.

Do you have any experience in job search through responding to vacancy announcements, direct contact with the employer, etc.? Did you have positive or negative experiences in the process? Please explain what it looked like.

Most respondents strongly believe that applying for a job through **vacancy announcements** does not represent the primary/effective platform for action when seeking employment, that is, that it generally does not produce positive results. However, it is evident that people with a high level of education focus on vacancy announcements when searching for jobs, since they believe that this is the only way to get a job in their profession. On the other hand, persons with secondary education consider that **direct contact with the employer** is of great importance, or perceive the existence of so-called "connections", or involvement of a third party as the main guarantee of employment.

It is important to point out that only one of the respondents with higher education sought employment through the Employment Agency and in this case she had a negative experience because she was offered a temporary job in another municipality (from Niksic she was supposed to travel to Zabljak every day) with working hours from 7am to 7pm which was not feasible given that the respondent had a small child. The rest of the respondents generally share the opinion that the Employment Agency lacks credibility and that it is very rare that the desired job can be found through this institution.

When asked if they have encountered any obstacles at work due to some of their personal characteristics, i.e. physical appearance, age, marital status or parenthood, the majority of respondents (4) cited that, in their personal experience, age and physical appearance are the most typical reason for unequal treatment in employment.

Namely, younger respondents are often "exploited" by older colleagues and do whatever they are told, regardless of their job description. Also, younger people are often prejudiced by their older colleagues, who believe that, due to lack of work experience, they will not be able to perform the job and meet the expectations. One of the obvious problems is the unwillingness of more experienced colleagues to transfer knowledge to younger coworkers.

On the other hand, there is a strong opinion that older women, mainly in their fifties, find it harder to find a job due to the lack of efficiency and energy that younger workers possess. The older part of the female workforce, therefore, often experiences discrimination and even works for a lower salary. In the opinion of the respondents, there is no significant difference in treatment between public and private sector, and one of the respondents points out that during her engagement in a state institution, no older workers were employed.

Some of the respondents (2) point out that **physical appearance** is an important factor in employment, especially in the trade, service, tourism and public relations sectors, or if the very nature of the job dictates constant contact with clients. It is interesting to mention that respondents with higher level of education do not believe that physical appearance is an important factor in employment in their branch, and that in their case person's expertise is of outmost importance.

Although they are aware that the question about **family extension planning** often gets asked during job interviews, the majority of unemployed respondents (4) did not personally have that experience mainly because they were either recommended for a job or were too young to start a family at the time of the job interview. Although they do not emphasize that **marital status** is crucial in employment, the majority of respondents, from the experience of their acquaintances and information obtained through the media, consider that it is important for employers to know whether a woman intends to start or extend a family because it implies the imminence of greater family responsibilities and maternity leave, decreased commitment to work, unwillingness to work overtime and, consequently, lower performance;

When asked **if the employer would hire a pregnant woman**, all respondents gave a negative response. Their response is motivated by the fact that employers deliberately avoid to employ a pregnant woman because they are all looking for a worker for a longer time period and want to avoid the situation of seeking a replacement and paying another person for the same job. This situation in the labor market creates an additional burden for the female part of the workforce, who has to think "strategically" about family planning when entering employment.

Which women are the most discriminated against at work? What are their characteristics, where do they work? And which ones are not discriminated against?

Respondents believe that, despite its relative suppression in the public sector, discrimination is present in both the public and private sectors, and that this phenomenon is the result of different motivations. The respondents believe that women who put their family ahead of their careers are the most discriminated against, and thus, to some extent, they consciously consent to an inferior position in relation to men within certain structures. Also, discrimination on a national basis is noticeable, and for that reason Roma women are most often placed in an unenviable position to perform physically challenging tasks of cleaners and janitors.

Research findings show that a few (2) respondents believe that victims of mobbing are women who openly fight for their attitudes and better working conditions, but also that women's emancipation is the only way to fight for equal treatment in the labor market.

One respondent stated that she, together with several female colleagues, had been the victim of mobbing by her superior, but that their complaint had been rejected on the grounds that the state institution in which she was working was in deficit of that profile of employees.

Only one respondent, with higher education, points out that she has never had any experience with some form of discrimination or mobbing, and believes that woman's character determines her susceptibility and/or resistance to any form of discrimination.

Does your family life sometimes suffer because of your work responsibilities? And vice versa? Who is your biggest support in meeting all these obligations?

When it comes to organization of work obligations in relation to family duties, the majority of respondents pointed out that they do not allow their private obligations to affect the quality and efficiency of their work. All respondents emphasized that their family and spouse provide the greatest support in organizing their responsibilities. Three respondents who are married emphasize that the course of their career depends on the choice of partner, i.e. balancing of work and family obligations. In that regard, it is an emblematic case of a member of a national minority who was not allowed by her husband to continue with education and subsequently seek employment, which resulted in divorce.

On the other hand, for half of the respondents, their family life at some point suffered due to work responsibilities, mainly because of overtime work and lack of understanding by employers. Two respondents pointed out that during their employment, they could have taken a day off solely in emergencies, or that their family life suffered constantly because they were working twelve hour shifts.

What needs to be done in order to improve the position of women at work? And what needs to be done to protect them against discrimination? What would **be the most important to you?**

Most respondents (5), regardless of their level of education, agree that the equality of women in the labor market depends primarily on the willingness of the state to create conditions for respect of labor rights equally for both men and women, but also of employers' awareness of their work and respect of their efforts. Another obstacle to the improvement of status of women is clearly visible traces of the traditionally patriarchal society in Montenegro, which deepens the inequality in the distribution of family responsibilities between spouses and thus impedes the realization of women at the business plan.

Some of the respondents emphasize that the effectiveness of fight against discrimination depends on the willingness and determination of women to resist the rhetoric of inequality, as well as the solidarity of all the workers in the fight for the equal rights of all employees.

What laws and institutions protect women from discrimination and mobbing? How effective are they? Taking into consideration the **laws and institutions that protect women from discrimination and mobbing**, it has been noticeable that respondents with higher degree of education are better informed about this issue. This group of respondents mentions the Labor Law as the primary source of protection against discrimination at work, followed by the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination in the Workplace from 2012, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. Respondents also believe that key institutions are competent ministries and the Employment Agency.

Nevertheless, most of the respondents (4), regardless of their level of education, doubt the effectiveness of the law and thinks it would be extremely difficult to win in a lawsuit against an employer, and many women choose to remain silent and consciously

suffer mobbing to save their jobs.

Within the group of respondents, there is a case of a respondent who had an example of mobbing at work, which was reported, but nothing has changed. Also, one of the respondents, who had to change three different means of transportation daily to get to work during her internship, repeatedly approached the competent institutions on several occasions, requesting that she be allowed to work in the municipality where she resides, but her request was not fulfilled.

Although there is a dominant lack of trust in the current legal framework and institutions in charge of protecting labor rights, one of the respondents believes that women have someone to turn to, but that in reality the problem is with women who do not fully exercise their rights for fear that their actions may negatively impact their work engagement.

Now if you wanted to start a private business, what would you be concerned about and if and from whom could you expect support?

When it comes to women's entrepreneurship, that is, starting a private business, respondents would primarily expect support from their families. They believe that the biggest obstacle along the way is financial dependence, and that if they were to decide to take that step, they would need to turn to one of the institutions that finance such projects, such as the Investment and Development Fund, or ask the family for the necessary financial resources.

Although the dominant position among the respondents was that they would have a difficult time deciding to start a private business, one of them thinks that encouraging women's entrepreneurship is one of the necessary measures for empowering women in the labor market.

1.1.4. Conclusions derived from key findings from in-depth interviews conducted with employed and unemployed women

Analyzing and comparing key findings of interviews conducted with employed and unemployed women, the following can be concluded:

1. When it comes to the employed women, the majority of respondents with secondary education (4) do not have full-time employment, but have a fixed-term contract, which is renewed periodically for a number of years. Among them, there are those who perform their work without a formal legal basis, that is, without signing a work contract and the rights that follow under the Labor Law. In contrast, the waiting period for a permanent employment contract is much shorter for respondents with higher education degrees.

We have obtained similar data through interviews with unemployed women as well. Most of the (4) unemployed respondents replied that they were employed on a service contract, which lasted on average from 3 to 6 months, and were renewed periodically. These were mostly seasonal jobs, or part-time jobs out of their professional field.

The vast majority of the employed respondents (8) believe that they obtained their employment through a recommendation, a personal contact / acquaintance, or "connections," considering that this is the only way to gain work engagement. The rest of the employed respondents are older women, who obtained employment through a public advertisement published by the Employment Agency several decades ago when employment was conducted through the Employment Agency, and not through personal contacts.

On the other hand, unemployed women with secondary education find assistance crucial for getting a job, while those with a high level of education emphasize that they came to employment through their own education and skills.

2. Young and middle-aged respondents have a predominantly negative experience in applying for job openings through vacancy announcements. Namely, a significant number of respondents have never had the experience of job searching through open vacancy announcements because of the distrust they have in this type of job search. Even those respondents who responded to the vacancy announcements felt that without having a personal contact, recommendation, referral, etc., responding to the announcement could not make them get a job, despite having adequate qualifications. Respondents living in rural areas did not respond to the vacancy announcement due to the fact that they also had family responsibilities and responsibilities for raising children, which were solely their concern, that they could not share with their spouses.

In contrast, older respondents found employment a few decades ago through a public vacancy announcement published by the Employment Agency of Montenegro. However, respondents believe that the Employment Agency today lacks credibility when it comes to mediation in seeking employment.

Similarly, the belief that applying for a job through vacancy announcement is not an effective way of seeking employment is deep-rooted in the majority of unemployed respondents. However, it is evident that people with a higher level of education focus on job search ads, since they believe that this is the only way to get a job in their profession. On the other hand, persons with a secondary education believe that direct contact with the employer, i.e. an intervention from a third person is of great importance when searching for a job.

3. Most of the employed respondents (9) had problems at work due to their personal characteristics, such as: expressing views that are against the views of the employer, pregnancy, age, appearance, disability. Often these problems have resulted in termination of their work engagement. A smaller number of interviewed employees, namely those who got employed through personal "connection," did not have such problems during their work engagement.

Similarly, most unemployed respondents cite age and appearance as the most common reason for unequal employment

treatment. While older women find that older women, mostly in their fifties, find it more difficult to get a job because of the lack of efficiency and energy that younger workers have, which is characteristic of both the public and private sectors, other unemployed women of younger age were often "exploited" by older colleagues.

4. A significant majority of the respondents (7) received a question from the employer about family extension planning during hiring process or extending employment, with such issues being more common in the private sector. Interviews show that the status of a single or divorced woman is desirable in obtaining employment, while getting a dismissal or not extending the contract to a pregnant woman is the experience of our respondents as well. Few respondents did not have this experience, but it should be taken into account that half of them obtained employment through personal acquaintance or recommendation, which may be why their marital status or family plans were not relevant for employment.

On the other hand, unemployed women, although aware that the issue of family extension planning is often discussed during job interviews, did not personally encounter them mainly because they were recommended or were too young at the time of looking for a job to start a family. Although they do not emphasize that marital status is crucial in employment, the majority of respondents, from the experience of their acquaintances and information obtained through the media, consider that it is important for employers whether a woman intends to start or extend a family because it implies the imminence of greater family responsibilities and maternity leave, decreased commitment to work, lack of willingness to work overtime and, consequently, lower performance;

5. The vast majority of employed respondents (9) believe that women are discriminated against in the labor market. The most discriminated and most difficult to reach employment are older women, women with disabilities, Roma women, as well as women who have young children and family responsibilities or are planning to start a family, then women with lower education, women who are single mothers, and women who are poor. Some respondents highlight unmarried women as the least discriminated category because they find it easier to get a job than married women, while others find that they are the most discriminated against, as they often delay or abandon their family plans for fear of losing their jobs.

The form and degree of discrimination depends on the sector (in the private sector, discrimination is far more prevalent than the public sector) or on a particular branch of the economy (e.g. in the trade, services, small / medium-sized private businesses it is much more prevalent than in some other sectors such as education, health, and similar). Most respondents particularly emphasized discrimination against women working in the trade sector, as their working conditions are very poor, often unworthy of a human being.

A very small number of employed respondents do not believe that there are certain forms of discrimination against women in the labor market in Montenegro, but that these are only individual cases.

Unlike employees, unemployed women believe that discrimination is present in both public and private sectors. They find that women who put their family ahead of their careers are the most discriminated against and thus, to some extent, they consciously consent to an inferior position in relation to men within certain structures.

The unemployed women also consider that we are witnesses of discrimination based on nationality, as evidenced by the fact that Roma women are most often placed in an unenviable position, that they perform difficult physical jobs as cleaners and janitors. Also, unemployed women see mobbing victims and women who openly fight for their views and better working conditions, as a category that is significantly discriminated against.

6. Almost all respondents, both employed and unemployed, felt that employers in Montenegro would not hire a pregnant woman.

However, there is a clear distinction between the private sector, in which a pregnant woman has no certainty about keeping her job, and the public sector in which a women employed on the basis of the permanent employment contract is fully protected under the law. The study found that women working in the private sector find it more difficult to have children because they are terrified of losing their jobs that can be caused by pregnancy/maternity leave.

7. A significant majority of respondents, both employed (6) and unemployed (4), consider that the physical appearance of a woman is crucial when hiring in the private sector, especially when it comes to positions that involve working directly with consumers/customers, which is especially characteristic for some sectors, i.e. positions, such as trade, sales, tourism, restaurant, etc.

Only a small number of respondents consider that, regardless of the sector, the appearance of a woman is not important for employment, but skills and work experience are of the crucial importance. However, it is interesting that these respondents did not get a job through public announcement, but through a referral.

8. A significant majority of respondents believe that age of female candidates is important to employers, which is especially characteristic for the private sector and some sectors of the economy. One respondent even had personal experience of losing her job due to her appearance and age.

9. Most employed respondents believe that marital status of female candidates is important to employers, which is especially characteristic for the private sector, in which employers fear that women who have greater family responsibilities or are pregnant will be less efficient, more absent from work, and be less committed to their work responsibilities, while

very few women consider marital status to be irrelevant in employment. On the other hand, most unemployed women did not face this problem personally, mainly because they were recommended or were too young at the time of looking for a job to start a family. However, they also, from the experience of their acquaintances and the information they have obtained through the media, believe that employers care whether a woman intends to start or extend a family.

10. Most of the respondents (10) who have full-time employment and higher education work only in day shifts and are entitled to paid annual leave and non-working holidays. In contrast, respondents with secondary vocational education who periodically had fixed-term contracts have the experience of frequently staying up late at work without paid overtime, and even often worked without paid annual leave.

11. Almost all employees who have children and family responsibilities claim that their family life suffers due to their work responsibilities, which is not the case with unmarried respondents. Respondents who are employed in the private sector find that employers do not have understanding for family responsibilities of working women, and that they have less time for family, which is why children suffer the most. Similarly, most of the unemployed respondents believe that their family life at some point suffered due to work responsibilities, mainly because of overtime work and lack of understanding of their employers.

Aggravating circumstance is the fact that in Montenegro there are still patriarchal views according to which men should not help women, and women should singlehandedly take care of all family responsibilities.

12. Employed respondents believe that employers do not tolerate neglecting of work responsibilities because of family reasons, which is why most of them did not have this experience, whereas several respondents do not justify neglecting someone's work because of their family.

13. The vast majority of employed respondents (9) gets the most of support from their family. However, when it comes to assistance with house duties and childcare, respondents more frequently mention getting help from their sisters and mothers, and less from their husbands, which confirms the prevalence of patriarchal patterns of Montenegrin culture when it comes to family roles of men and women. However, there are those employed respondents who do not have family support in carrying out their work tasks, while there are also pressures from the wider family that work at home should not be equally distributed, that a woman should not get promoted at work, should not be more independent, and similar.

Most of the unemployed respondents (6) point out that their greatest support in organizing their responsibilities is provided by family and spouse, and they also believe that the course of their career and balancing of family and work duties depends on the choice of the partner. However, there is a very characteristic case of a member of a national minority population who was not allowed by her husband to continue her education and subsequently seek employment, which resulted in a divorce.

14. In order to improve the position of women in the labor market, the employed respondents state that implementation of the laws should be improved, introducing controls and inspections of employers in order to check that they comply with the legal provisions, as well as the provisions of collective agreements that protect women at work. Respondents believe that it is necessary to provide better protection to women so that they can rid themselves of fear of losing their job if they demand respecting of their rights, and if they report mobbing or sexual harassment.

Since we are witnessing many cases where a woman suffers mobbing but has never reported it, due to pressure exerted by her colleagues, family, but also because of distrust in the work of institutions, the employed respondents believe that there is a need to build confidence in the work of institutions for protection of employed women, in order to witness impartial inspection controls, indiscriminate punishment and full implementation of the laws. Respondents also emphasize the need to overcome stereotypes that state that a woman should only be devoted to house chores.

Respondents also felt that there was a need to speak more publicly about problems, in order to change the awareness among women themselves about the need to improve their working conditions, but also among men, employers and the general population.

Similarly, unemployed respondents believe that equality of women in the labor market depends primarily on the willingness of the state to create conditions for respecting labor rights for men and women equally, but also on awareness of the employers about their work and respect for their work.

Another obstacle to the improvement of position of women is clearly visible traces of the traditionally patriarchal society in Montenegro, which deepens the inequalities in distribution of family responsibilities between spouses and thus impedes the personal growth of women at the business plan.

15. Most of the employed respondents (8) are almost utterly unaware of the laws that protect women from discrimination and mobbing. Only a couple of respondents (3) with higher education cited the Labor Law, the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, the Constitution of Montenegro as legal acts protecting women at work, while the institutions mentioned were the police, the Union of Free Trade Unions, the Ombudsman, various organizations for protection of women's rights. Among the key reasons for not being familiar with the laws are the fear of losing their jobs, which justifies inertia and lack of interest in solving problems, distrust in the work of institutions and their efficiency.

However, in the group of the unemployed respondents, there was a higher level of awareness in this area, especially for those with higher education. This group of respondents mentions the Labor Law as the primary source of protection against discrimination at work, followed by Law on Prohibition of Discrimination in the Workplace from 2012, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. Respondents also believe that the key institutions in this respect are the competent ministries and the Employment Agency.

Most of the unemployed respondents, as in the case of employees, doubt in the effectiveness of the laws and find it would be very difficult to win a lawsuit against an employer, and many women choose to remain silent and consciously suffer mobbing to save their jobs.

16. In starting a private business, most respondents would expect support from the family, while they would least expect help from the state. Respondents are most concerned with financial opportunities, and reconciling of family responsibilities and obligations around starting a business. Fewer respondents would not start their own business out of fear that the business would not succeed and if they could return the money invested, then out of fear of male competition, as well as obligations at home that would not allow them sufficient time to devote to the business.

1.2. Key findings of the interviews conducted with the decision makers

1.2.1. Structure of respondents

For the purpose of this research, 22 interviews were conducted with stakeholders (male and female decision makers). Of these, four groups were created, according to the criteria of sectoral, vocational and gender affiliation: (1) female respondents employed in the private sector (six female respondents); (2) female respondents employed in the public sector (nine female respondents); (3) mixed group: female respondents employed by the university [as professors] (five female respondents); (4) a control group,⁸ consisting of two male subjects. Interviews with two female respondents from the NGO sector were excluded from the analysis because of methodological ineptness and lack of complementarity with other interviews. This criterion was intended to integrate and consolidate the answers received, to qualitatively fit them into mentioned groups, and to compare them with the responses received from similar profiles of respondents and finally to obtain useful findings and data.

1.2.2. Key findings of the interviews conducted with stakeholders

1. Do you find that women are being discriminated against in the Montenegrin labor market? Are they finding it harder to get a job than men?

The overwhelming majority of respondents (5 of them) who are employed in the private sector believe that women are **not discriminated** against in the Montenegrin labor market and that they find jobs in the same way as men. The exception is one respondent, who comes from a company that works on promotion of human resources.

Respondents employed by the universities (as professors), whether state or private, also find that women are **not discriminated** against in the Montenegrin labor market and that they find jobs in the same way as men. A slight exception is one respondent, who is not quite decisive in the view that women are discriminated against, but cites as possible factors of discrimination: age and marital status.

Respondents employed in the public sector are strongly divided on this point. Five respondents believe that women **are discriminated** against, while 4 respondents **believe that they are not discriminated** against. However, if we analyze the structure of the respondents, we come to the following conclusions: 1) those respondents who believe that women *are discriminated* against, are in *lower positions* in the work hierarchy (journalist, head of unit or department, MP, etc.); 2) while those respondents who believe that women are *not discriminated* against are at the very top of the hierarchy (director, acting director general, inspector general, deputy director of a joint stock company). The above facts imply that for *women in the public sector*, the **position on the hierarchical scale** generally defines their position about this issue.

The control interviews have shown that the respondents (men) felt that women **were discriminated** against and that they had a harder time finding jobs, however, they did not state this explicitly, but provided statistical data, which were obtained by the institutions where they work/which they manage.

2. Are there "male" and "female" occupations in Montenegro? If yes, which ones are male and which are female and why is that so?

The overwhelming majority of respondents (5 of them) who are employed in the private sector believe that **there is a division** into "male" and "female occupations". Some of them blame tradition and cultural patterns for this, and some believe that this division is logical because of different physical predispositions of men and women. An exception is

⁸ A control group / Control interviews serve to collate the responses between male and female respondents, and whether overly dissonant answers to certain questions can trigger desirable conclusions. Findings obtained from the control interviews do not necessarily need to be presented, as they may turn out to be irrelevant to fundamental conclusions.

one respondent who said that there is **no strict division**, but that there are tendencies towards it.

All respondents employed by the universities believe that **there is a division** into "male" and "female" occupations. They mainly blame the traditional component of Montenegrin society for such division, but they add that situation is similar in the rest of the developed world. Still, most of them think that it is logical that heavy physical work is done by men, but that it is illogical that men are more represented in politics.

As in the previous question, women working in the public sector are clearly divided. Six respondents believe that **there is a division** into 'male' and 'female' occupations, while three respondents believe that it does **not exist**. It is interesting to analyze the position on the hierarchical scale of those women who said that such a division does not exist; there are three respondents in the positions of: director, acting director general and inspector general. The conclusion is that the position of the respondent in the work hierarchy also influences their perceptions about this issue. It is interesting to add that the respondent in the position of - *the deputy director*, despite replying that she believes that the division of occupation - exists, added that this division is becoming less and less noticeable and that the number of women in management is increasing.

Control interviews showed that respondents (men) felt that this division **did not exist**, referring to the official data of the institutions where they work/which they manage.

3. In your opinion, is there a gender pay gap? Please elaborate your opinion.

It is very interesting to analyze the responses of respondents who are working in the private sector. Only one respondent answered that **there is gender pay gap**, and this response came from the respondent working for a company that deals with improvement of human resources. Other respondents gave **vague answers**, such as: "It should not exist."; "I don't think it exists, but I can't be certain."; "I do not know."; and similar.

Respondents working at universities have a divided stance on this issue. Two respondents (both from a state university) believe that **it exists**, noting that Montenegro is not an exception and that the situation is similar in some EU countries, stressing that the income disparity does not exist in the public but in the private sector. Two respondents (one from a state university, one from a private university) said that they felt that there was **no gender pay gap** at all, while one respondent (from a private university) replied that she **did not know**.

Respondents employed in the public sector are again strongly divided on this issue. Five respondents believe that the gender pay gap **exists**, while four respondents believe that there is **no gap**. However, if we analyze the structure of the respondents, we come to the same conclusions as in the first question: 1) those respondents who believe that *there is a wage gap*, are in *lower positions* in the work hierarchy (journalist, head of units or departments, MPs and similar); 2) while those respondents who believe that there is *no income gap*, are at the very top of the hierarchy (director, acting director general, inspector general, deputy director of a joint stock company). The above facts imply that for women in the public sector, the **position on the hierarchical scale** generally defines their position on this issue.

Control interviews have shown that the respondents (men) were divided on this issue. One respondent believes that the gap **does not exist**, whereas the other thinks that **it exists**. They both refer to the information they have obtained from the institutions where they work/which they manage.

4. Are women more protected in some sectors than in the others? Is there a difference in the position of women in the public and private sectors?

Respondents working in the private sector are divided on this issue. Two respondents (specialist, director) think that women are more protected in the **private sector**. Two respondents believe that the position of women is better in the **public sector**. One of them is a manager and the other comes from a company that works on improvement of human resources. One respondent (specialist) felt that they were equally protected **in both sectors**, and one (director) claimed that she **did not know**. If we analyze the structure, we will see that hierarchical positioning does not affect the respondents' perception of this issue, but another factor. Respondents who believe that women are better positioned in the *private sector / or in both sectors* come from private companies whose majority owners are foreigners. The exception is one respondent, who comes from a company that works on improvement of human resources. The respondent, who claims that women in the public sector are better off, comes from a private company owned by Montenegrin citizens. The respondent who answered that she *did not know* was a Montenegrin citizen herself and the owner of the company she headed. From this we can conclude that the attitude towards this issue is influenced by the fact whether the owner of the company in the private sector in which the respondent works is a foreigner or a Montenegrin citizen. Conclusion: Respondents working in companies owned by foreigners consider the position of women in the private sector / or in both sectors to be better, while respondents working in companies owned by Montenegrin citizens believe that women in the public sector are better off.

Respondents working at universities also have an expectedly divided stance on this issue. Respondents from the State University believe that women are more protected in the **public sector**, and claim that is the reason women aspire to work in this sector. As for the private sector, they think that women's labor rights are the most violated in trade and in the hospitality industry. Respondents from private universities believe that there is **no difference** in the treatment of women in the public and private sector. Respondents employed in the public sector are also divided on this issue. Five respondents believe that women are more protected in the **public sector**, while four respondents believe that they are equally protected in **both sectors**. *None of the respondents claimed that women were more protected in the private sector.* And in this case, if we analyze the structure, we will see that hierarchical position does not affect respondents'

perceptions of this issue, but other factors that require deeper research.

Control interviews showed that the respondents (men) saw this issue differently. One respondent refused to respond to the question, as the institution for which he works/which he manages did not carry out such research. The other respondent believes that women are more protected in the public sector and this conclusion is a regular part of the annual report of the institution for which he works/ which he manages.

5. Do you think that employers in Montenegro discriminate against women on the basis of gender? Give some examples.

Respondents working in the private sector are divided on this issue. While two respondents decisively answered that employers **do not discriminate** against women on the basis of gender, one respondent gave a **neutral answer**, insisting that it was not happening at her company. The other three respondents stressed that **discrimination existed**, but from different perspectives. One respondent stated that this was because of "age or physical appearance", another because of "maternity leave", while a third respondent said that discrimination existed only in the public sector. It is interesting to note that almost all respondents who work in companies owned by foreigners, regardless of whether they answered in the affirmative or negative to the above question, point out that *discrimination does not occur in the company where they work*. An additional curiosity is that respondents who work in companies owned by Montenegrin citizens strongly agree that gender discrimination does not exist.

Respondents working at universities expressed divided views on this issue. Two respondents (from a state university) believe that employers **discriminate against women** by asking illegal questions, and that this is particularly prevalent in the private sector. Two respondents (from private universities) answered almost identically: **they did not consider women to be discriminated** against, referring to personal experiences, claiming that they did not know the situation in other workplaces. One respondent (from a state university) felt that employers **did not discriminate** against women on the basis of gender, but that they were isolated cases.

Respondents working in the public sector are divided on this issue, according to the same criteria as in the *first and third questions*. After analyzing the structure of the respondents, we come to familiar conclusions: 1) those respondents who consider that employers **discriminate** against women on the basis of gender, are in *lower positions in the work hierarchy* (journalist, head of department or department, MP, similar); 2) while those respondents who consider that employers **do not discriminate** against women on the basis of gender, are at the *very top of the hierarchy* (director, acting director-general, inspector-general, deputy director of Joint Stock Company). The above facts imply that *for women in the public sector*, the **position on the hierarchical scale** generally defines their position about this issue.

Control interviews showed that the respondents (men) saw this issue differently. One respondent declined to answer, as the institution for which he works/which he manages did not carry out such research. The other respondent found that both women and men were discriminated against, noting that women were particularly discriminated against during pregnancy.

6. In what ways does the state protect women from discrimination (what laws, institutions ...)? Which mechanisms are appropriate, which are not, and what needs to be introduced or improved.

Respondents working in the private sector are **insufficiently informed about the laws and institutions that protect women from discrimination**. Four respondents **did not comment on the laws and institutions** at all, while in the context of the mechanisms they stated that it was necessary to improve resources: opening new kindergartens, extending hours of daycares for children, stimulating female entrepreneurship, preventing abuse in the sick leave system, etc. Two respondents stated that they knew the **Labor Law** and **Law on Prohibition of Discrimination**, however, gave only general assessments: that EU positive practices should be implemented and the trend that tradition is stronger than law should be prevented.

Respondents working at a state university (*Faculties of social sciences and humanities*) **are familiar with the laws and institutions that protect women's labor rights** (Labor Law, Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, Ombudsman, etc.). They believe that it is necessary to improve the economic environment and to improve the legal framework regarding the protection of women in relation to pregnancy and maternity. One of the respondents, who is also politically active, sees the most common violations of women's labor rights in the field of hospitality and trade, and in this sense considers it necessary to increase control of the private sector. Two respondents from private universities **did not show a clear understanding of the laws and institutions**, which can be justified by the fact that they come from the *field of natural sciences*.

Respondents working in the public sector are **relatively informed about legislation and institutions that protect women's labor rights**. Four respondents **showed knowledge** of the laws and institutions (Labor Law, General Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, Law on Prohibition of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities, Law on Gender Equality, Administration for Inspection Affairs, Ombudsman, etc.). Three respondents gave **only a general assessment** that the legal framework was good (without mentioning specific laws and institutions), but that there were problems in its implementation. While two respondents **did not express their views** on the legal and institutional mechanisms for the protection of women's labor rights.

Control interviews showed that one male respondent was **completely unfamiliar** with the institutional and legal mechanisms for protection of women's labor rights, while another respondent was **fully familiar** with those. This requires special research on this topic when it comes to the male population.

7. How does a woman today balance her work and family responsibilities? Who helps her, and who hinders her, and what does the state need to provide her with?

Respondents working in the private sector (six of them) **unanimously** believe that the **role of the state is crucial** and that the state is obliged to provide better quality support services (longer working hours of kindergarten and daycare in schools, opening of new kindergartens, shorter working hours, raising the level of social security, etc.)

Respondents working at the university are **divided** on this issue. Two respondents from a state university believe that balancing between work and family responsibilities depends **solely on woman**. According to them, the role of the state is secondary ("The state has done enough."), but they do not negate the need to develop support services, especially kindergartens. Two respondents from private universities believe that the **state is obliged** to develop more advanced services, first of all: new kindergartens, but also to develop a new concept of education that will take into account the psychological development of children. One respondent (from a state university) also felt that the **state is obliged** to provide a system in which women would not be forced to choose between work and family responsibilities. It follows from the above that respondents who are employed at a state university tend to conclude that balancing work and family responsibilities depends primarily on women, while respondents from private universities believe that it depends on the systemic regulation, which is a responsibility of the state.

Respondents working in the public sector are also divided. However, the majority (four in total) consider **the state is obliged** to provide a high standard and support services (kindergartens, extended day care in kindergartens and schools, construction of new kindergartens, days off and part-time work, free sports and recreational activities for children, etc.). Three respondents believe this balancing **depends on women** and (or) on partner support. One respondent refused to answer. If we analyze the structure of the respondents, we will see that their position on the hierarchical scale partly influences their response. Women in high positions (Director, Acting Director General, Inspector General) believe that balancing responsibilities depends on the woman and (or) support of the partner, while the responsibility of the state is emphasized by those respondents who are in lower positions in the labor hierarchy (Head of Section, Head of Department, MP, Vice President). The above facts imply that *for women in the public sector*, their **position on the hierarchical scale** generally defines their position on this issue.

Control interviews have shown that one male respondent **could not provide response to the question** because he did not have adequate information about the aforementioned, while the second male respondent blamed **the tradition**, which prevents women from being successful in both fields.

8. How widespread is female entrepreneurship? What incentive measures do you know? What are the obstacles to women engaging in entrepreneurship?

Respondents working in the private sector agree women are **not sufficiently engaged** in entrepreneurship. Most of them have not heard of incentive measures, and they recognize the main obstacles to female entrepreneurship: lack of courage, lack of awareness, cultural moment, tradition and tax barriers. Only one respondent said that the situation in this field was improving.

Respondents working at the university, whether public or private, agree that women are **sufficiently engaged in entrepreneurship**, and that it is gaining momentum. The activities of the Investment Development Fund (IRF) and the Employment Agency are examples of the incentive measures they provided. They also agree that the biggest obstacle to female entrepreneurship is the lack of courage.

Respondents working in the public sector (six of them) overwhelmingly believe that women are **sufficiently engaged in entrepreneurship** and that progress in this regard is strong. These respondents cite the examples of the IRF, the Employment Agency and the Ministry of Agriculture, which stimulate entrepreneurship among women. They believe that the biggest obstacles are the lack of courage and confidence, as well as stereotypes. One respondent said that she did not know the extent to which entrepreneurship was prevalent among women, although she had heard about the incentive measures provided by the IRF. Also, one respondent said that women are insufficiently engaged in entrepreneurship (only 10% in the entrepreneurial core), while one respondent refused to provide a response.

From the given responses, we can conclude that women from the private sector have a completely opposite opinion, in this regard, compared to women from the public sector and from the university. Respondents working in the private sector believe that women are under-represented in the entrepreneurship in Montenegro, while respondents from the public sector and from universities believe that they are sufficiently represented.

Control interviews showed that one male respondent **could not provide response** to the question because he did not have adequate information about it (although he had heard about IRF incentive measures), while the second male respondent noted that **significant progress** was evident in this field.

9. Why do women in Montenegro in most cases have much less capital and much less real estate than men?

Almost all respondents, whether working in the private sector, at the university or in the public sector, believe that the main reasons why women in most cases have much less capital and much less real estate than men can be found in- **customary norms, or traditional understanding of inheritance law, and renunciation of property in favor of male heirs**. The male respondents gave the same responses. Only one respondent, employed in the public sector, declined to answer the question.

10. Is the Law on Inheritance of Property adhered to? What are the obstacles for full compliance with the law?

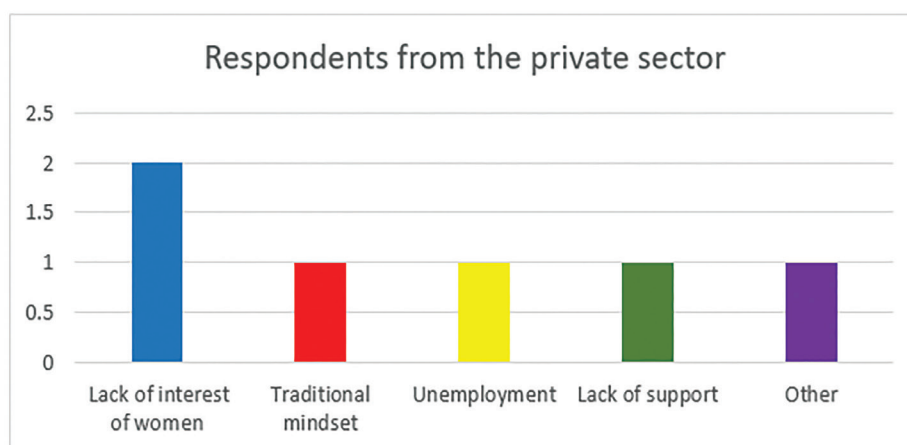
Almost all respondents, whether working in the private sector, at the university, or in the public sector, believe that

the *Law on Inheritance of Property* is **respected**. In cases where the property is inherited only by male heirs, it is usually the result of the woman's consent, or renunciation of the property in the course of the probate process. Respondents agree that the main obstacle to fair implementation of the law is the traditional / patriarchal understanding of the role of men and women in the family. The exception are two respondents: 1) a respondent employed in the private sector who insisted that **the law was insufficiently respected**, giving similar arguments that most of the respondents made who said that the law was respected; 2) a respondent employed in the public sector, who declined to answer the question.

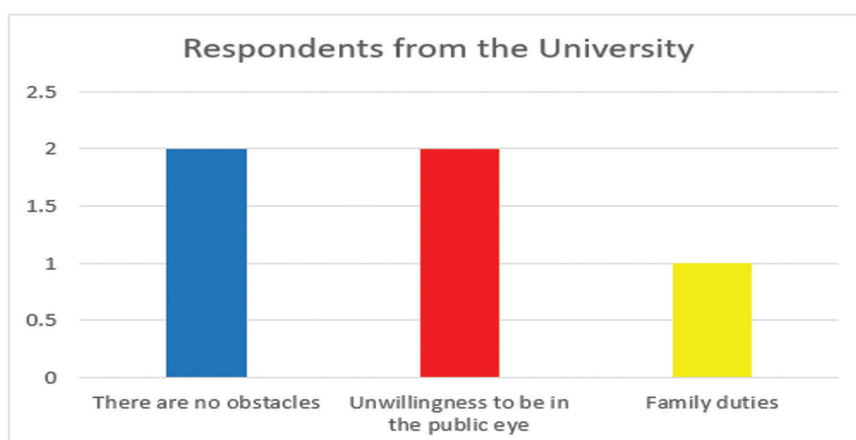
In the control interviews, we note that one respondent believes that the law is **fully respected**, without citing obstacles; while the other respondent felt that the law was being respected but that women were relinquishing their rights in the inheritance process in favor of male heirs.

11. In your opinion, what are the key obstacles to greater participation of women in public life?

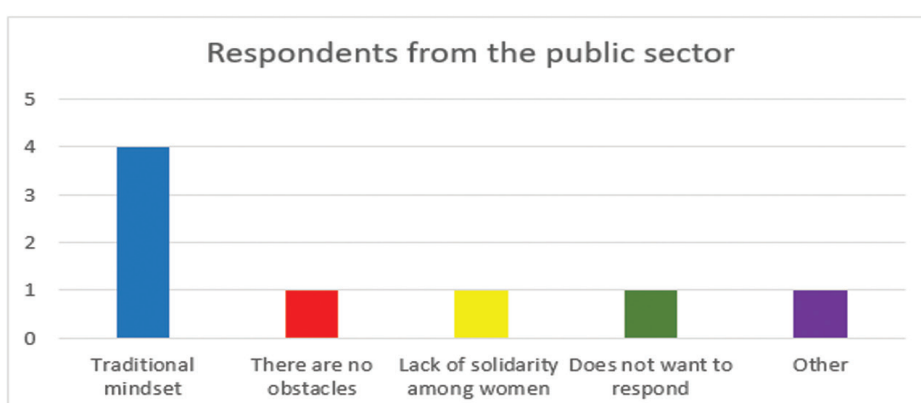
Respondents from the private sector emphasized the following obstacles in this manner:



Respondents from the university emphasized the following obstacles in this manner:



Respondents from the public sector emphasized the following obstacles in this manner:

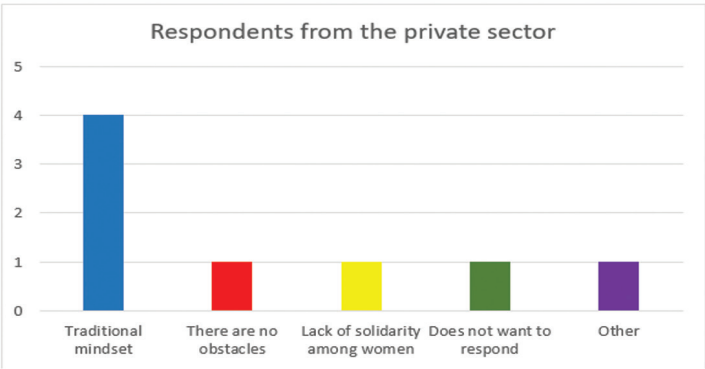


We can conclude from the presented data that these three categories identify different types of obstacles when it comes to greater participation of women in public life. Respondents from the university have a stronger perception that *obstacles do not exist* or that **women do not like being in the spotlight**. Respondents working in the public sector overwhelmingly believe that the main obstacle is a **traditional mindset**, while respondents working in the private sector believe the main reason is **lack of interest of women in participating in public life**.

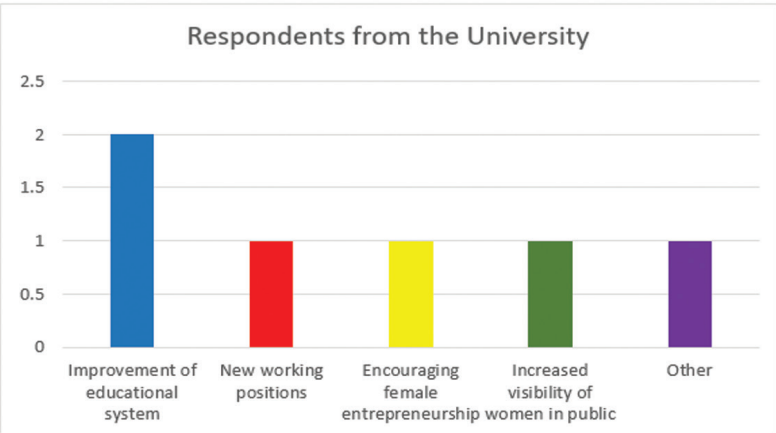
In the control interviews it was noticeable that one respondent believes that the main obstacle to greater participation of women in public life is **their lack of interest**, while another respondent considers that there is an **under-representation of women in high positions in the society**.

12. In your opinion, what are the key mechanisms for improving women’s employment?

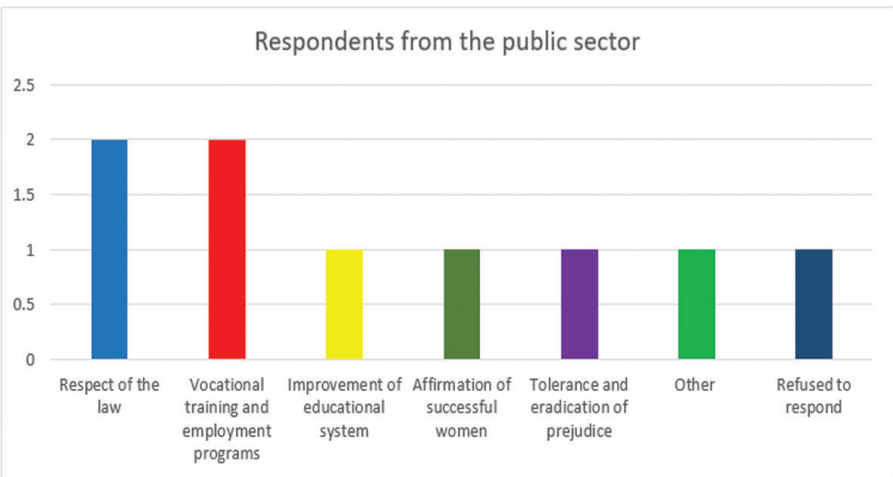
Respondents from the private sector emphasized the following mechanisms in this manner:



Respondents from the university emphasized the following mechanisms in this manner:



Respondents from the public sector emphasized the following mechanisms in this manner:



1.2.3. Conclusions derived from key findings of the in-depth interviews conducted with the stakeholders

1. The overwhelming majority of respondents (5 of them) who are employed in the private sector believe that women **are not discriminated** against in the Montenegrin labor market and that they find jobs in the same way as men. Respondents working at universities (as professors), both public and private, also believe that women are **not discriminated** against in the Montenegrin labor market and that they find jobs in the same way as men. Respondents employed in the public sector are **divided** on this issue and their position about it depends on their position on the hierarchical scale. Thus, those respondents who think that women *are discriminated* against occupy *lower positions in the labor hierarchy*, while those respondents who believe that women are *not discriminated* against are *at the top of the hierarchy*.

It is very interesting to compare the views of male stakeholders and female stakeholders with the views of women who are not decision makers on this issue. Namely, unlike stakeholders, most employed and unemployed women find that women in the labor market are discriminated against. In their opinion, women who are most discriminated against and find it the most difficult to find jobs are older women, women with disabilities, Roma women, as well as women who have young children and family responsibilities or are planning to start a family, then women with lower education, women who are single mothers and women who are poor. While most employed women find discrimination in the private sector to be far more prevalent than in the public sector, unemployed women find discrimination present in both the public and private sectors. Most respondents particularly emphasized discrimination against women working in the trade sector, as their working conditions are very poor, often unworthy of a human being. What is very important to point out is that, unlike stakeholders, a very small number of employed respondents do not believe that there are certain forms of discrimination against women in the labor market in Montenegro, and that these are only individual cases.

2. The overwhelming majority of respondents (5 of them) who are employed in the private sector believe that **there is a division** into "male" and "female" occupations. All respondents employed by universities also believe that **there is a division** into "male" and "female" occupations. As was the situation with the previous question, women working in the public sector are divided. Thus, those respondents who believe that the occupational *division exists*, are *in lower positions in the labor hierarchy*, while those respondents who believe that the occupational *division does not exist*, are *at the very top of the hierarchy*.

3. The majority of respondents working in the private sector did not give clear answers to the question whether there is a gender pay gap. Respondents working at universities are divided on this issue; respondents from a state university generally consider that **there is a gap** in income, while respondents from private universities claim that **gap does not exist** or that **they do not know** if it exists. From this, we can conclude that the perception on this matter is different in public and private universities, but for such a conclusion a special research needs to be conducted. Respondents working in the public sector are also strongly divided on this issue. Those respondents who believe that the *income gap exists* are in *lower positions in the labor hierarchy*, while those respondents who believe that the *income gap does not exist* are *at the very top of the hierarchy*. The above facts imply that for women in the public sector, **the position on the hierarchical scale** generally defines their position on this issue.

4. Respondents working in companies **owned by foreigners** consider the position of women in **the private sector/ or in both sectors** to be better, while respondents working in **companies owned by Montenegrin citizens** believe that women in the **public sector** are in a better position. Hierarchical positioning does not affect respondents' perceptions of this issue. Respondents from a state university believe that women are more protected in the **public sector**, while respondents from private universities believe that there is **no difference** in the treatment of women in the public and private sector. For respondents working in the public sector, a position on the hierarchy does not define their position on this issue. The factors that influence their attitudes require deeper analysis.

5. All respondents who work in companies owned by foreigners, regardless of whether they believe that employers discriminate against women on the basis of gender, point out that *discrimination does not occur in the company where they work*. Also, respondents who work in companies owned by Montenegrin nationals strongly believe that gender discrimination does not exist. Respondents from a state university generally consider that employers **discriminate against women**, while respondents from private universities **do not consider women to be discriminated** against. From this we can assume that the perception on this matter is different in public and private universities, but for such a conclusion a special research needs to be conducted. Those respondents who consider that employers **discriminate** against women on the basis of gender are in *lower positions in the labor hierarchy* (journalist, head of department or department, MP, etc.), while those respondents who consider that employers **do not discriminate** against women on the basis of gender are *at the very top of the hierarchy*. The above facts imply that for *women in the public sector*, the **position on the hierarchical scale** generally defines their position about this issue.

6. Respondents working in the private sector are **insufficiently informed about the laws and institutions that protect women from discrimination**. Respondents working at a state university (*at the faculties of social sciences and humanities*) are **familiar with the laws and institutions that protect women's labor rights**. Respondents from private universities **did not show a clear knowledge of the laws and institutions**, which can be justified by the fact that they come from *the field of natural sciences*. In this context, it can be assumed that female academics in the field of natural sciences have less knowledge about the legal and institutional mechanisms for the protection of women. However, more accurate findings on this issue require deeper research. Respondents working in the public sector are **relatively informed about legislation and institutions that protect women's labor rights**. The aforementioned implies that respondents from both the public sector and universities are noticeably more informed about laws and institutions

that protect women from discrimination than respondents working in the private sector.

7. Respondents working in the private sector **unanimously** believe that the **role of the state is crucial** when it comes to adequate balancing of women's work and family responsibilities. On the other hand, respondents employed at a state university tend to believe that balancing of work and family responsibilities depends *primarily on women themselves*, while respondents from private universities believe that this depends on systemic regulation, which is the responsibility of the *state*. If we analyze the structure of respondents working in the public sector, we will see that their position on the hierarchical scale **partly** influences their answers. Women in high positions believe that balancing responsibilities depends on the woman and (or) support of the partner, while the responsibility of the state is emphasized by those respondents who are in lower positions in the labor hierarchy.

8. Respondents working in the private sector agree that women are **insufficiently represented** in entrepreneurship and they have generally not heard of incentive measures. Respondents working at the university, whether public or private, agree that **women are sufficiently represented** in business and emphasize knowledge of incentive measures (IRF, Employment Agency). Respondents working in the public sector dominantly believe that women **are sufficiently represented** and also show knowledge of incentive measures. From the above answers, we can conclude that women from the private sector have a completely opposite opinion compared to women from the public sector and from the university, both when it comes to the perception of entrepreneurship representation, both when it comes to representation of women and knowledge of the incentive measures.

9. Almost all respondents, whether working in the private sector, at the university, or in the public sector, consider that the main reasons why women in most cases possess much less capital and less real estate than men are: **the tradition, or traditional understanding of the inheritance law, and renunciation of property in favor of male heirs**.

10. Almost all respondents, whether working in the private sector, at the university, or in the public sector, believe that the Law on Inheritance of Property **is respected**. In cases where the property is inherited only by male heirs, it is usually the result of the woman's consent, or renunciation of the property in the course of the probate process.

11. Respondents from the university strongly believe that there are **no obstacles** to greater participation of women in public life, but that women **do not like being in the spotlight**. Respondents working in the public sector strongly believe that the main obstacle is a **traditional mindset**, while respondents working in the private sector believe the main reason is **lack of interest of women for participating in public life**. From this we can conclude that the perceptions of the respondents from the university, in this respect, are noticeably different from women working in the private and public sectors.

12. Taking into consideration the diversity of the respondents' answers, in exploring key mechanisms for improving women's employment, we consider that their answers to question No. 12 have no usable methodological value. They can serve the purpose of qualitative factography, in the context of locating the most prominent mechanisms highlighted by the respondents. However, their excessive diversity and abundance indicate their methodological uselessness.

If we were to compare several key findings of interviews conducted with male and female stakeholders and interviews conducted with employed and unemployed women, where the views of the two groups differ significantly, we would single out the following:

- The vast majority of male and female stakeholders believe that women are **not discriminated** against in the Montenegrin labor market. This opinion is shared by those who are employed in the public sector in high positions, while only female stakeholders working in lower positions in the state administration find that women are discriminated against.

Unlike stakeholders, the vast majority of employed and unemployed women find that women in the labor market **are discriminated** against. Among them, they emphasize difficult and unequal position of older women, women with disabilities, Roma women, women who have young children and family responsibilities or are planning to start a family, women with lower education, women who are single mothers, and women who are poor, but also women trying to fight for their rights, for better working conditions and for greater implementation of the Labor Law. Employed and unemployed women even go further in explaining these claims, stating that the form and degree of discrimination vary from sector to sector. Namely, in the private sector discrimination is far more prevalent than the public sector, with differences being evident even between different sectors of the economy (e.g. in the fields of trade, services, small/medium-sized private businesses, discrimination and difficult working conditions are much more prevalent than in some other sectors).

- While private sector stakeholders are **insufficiently informed about laws and institutions that protect women from discrimination**, public sector and university stakeholders are noticeably more informed about laws and institutions that protect women from discrimination than respondents working in the private sector. The situation with employed women is quite similar. However, there is a **greater awareness** among unemployed women about this issue, which may be caused by unemployment, job loss or earlier attempts to improve their working conditions.

While stakeholders from the private sector or lower levels of public administration see the role of the state as very important when it comes to improving the position of women in the labor market and quality balancing of women's work and family responsibilities, stakeholders occupying higher positions in public administration consider that this depends on the women themselves and (or) on the support of the partner. However, employed and unemployed women see a solution to this problem in: improving enforcement of the laws, introducing stronger controls and measures of employers' inspection, relieving women of the fear of losing their job if they demand respect for their rights, reporting mobbing or sexual harassment, but also in relieving them of the burden the traditional patriarchal society in Montenegro,

which deepens the inequality in the division of family responsibilities between spouses and thus hinders fulfilment of a woman on a work plan.

- While many stakeholders (11 of them) believe that **women are sufficiently represented in business**, they do not seem to be aware of the key obstacles women face in starting a business, such as financial opportunities, lack of capital since they are rarely inheriting parental assets, the burden of harmonizing family responsibilities, fear of the lack of support, fear of male competition and many others.

- Lastly, one of the key obstacles to the equal position of women and men in the Montenegrin labor market, mentioned by all respondents, should not be overlooked: patriarchy, characteristics of Montenegrin mentality and ingrained stereotypes in Montenegrin society and their impact on higher employment and emancipation of women, followed by traditional understanding of gender relations and gender differences. The patriarchal character of Montenegrin society still represents a significant obstacle that prevents women from engaging in business ventures on their own, being more proactive in the labor market, and occupying higher positions in society. When it comes to obligations in the private and family spheres, the gender division of labor in Montenegro is so pronounced that it causes a great burden on women, which further negatively affects their social participation and employment. Numerous responsibilities, such as childcare and care for other family members, housework, household care, are a significant burden for all women, regardless of whether and to what extent they are employed.

Focus groups

1.1. Structure of focus group participants

Four focus groups were organized for the purpose of this research. Three focus groups consisted exclusively of women, from three Montenegrin municipalities (Berane, Budva, Podgorica), while one (control) focus group (implemented in Podgorica) consisted exclusively of men. The work of four focus groups involved 38 people, of which 29 were women and 9 were men.

If we analyze the structure of the respondents in the female focus groups, we can categorize them in the following manner:

EDUCATION: 15 women with higher education and 14 women with secondary education degrees.

WORKING STATUS: 18 employed and 11 unemployed women.

REGIONAL AFFILIATION: 11 from the southern region, 9 from the northern and 9 from the central region.

NATIONALITY: 13 - Montenegrin, 12 - Serbian, 4 - national minorities.

The respondents were also categorized by age criterion, in the following manner:

- 4 women from 18 to 25 years;
- 11 women from 26 to 40 years;
- 13 women from 41 to 65 years;
- 1 woman over 65;

If we analyze the structure of the respondents in the male (control) focus group (Podgorica), we can categorize them in the following manner:

EDUCATION: 7 man with higher education and 2 with secondary education degrees.

WORKING STATUS: 8 employed and 1 unemployed.

NATIONALITY: 3 - Montenegrin, 2 - Serbian, 2 - National Minorities, 1 - Yugoslav, 1 - Unclear.

The respondents were also categorized by age criterion, in the following manner:

- 2 men 18 to 25 years;
- 4 men from 26 to 40 years old;
- 2 men from 41 to 65 years;
- 1 male over 65 years.

1.2. Key findings

When it comes to the basic findings of the research, related to male and female respondents who participated in the work of focus groups, they were presented at a general level, through an overall (joint) analysis of the responses. Where appropriate, responses will be analyzed, depending on the location/ region where the focus group was held.

1. Who finds job easier to get, men or women?

The prevailing belief of the female respondents, regardless of education, work status, age or nationality, is that men can get jobs easier. The only criterion that influences women's perceptions about this issue is regional affiliation. Specifically, 8 respondents (out of 29) believe that men and women find jobs - equally. Of the 8 respondents with this gave this response, 7 come from the central region (Podgorica). From this we can conclude that women from the central region have a different perception about this issue than women from the southern or northern region.

The respondents stated that the assumed challenge in balancing work and family responsibilities was the reason for more challenging access to the labor market by women, but that this makes promotions difficult as well. Thus, a respondent from the north states that men from her firm always had a better job than her and that these same men could have been promoted, but that the woman who had a family was not in that position, especially because (due to family duties) she could not stay at work after working hours. A similar example is cited by another respondent who stated that "female" jobs are usually invisible (she mentions housework and raising children), and that no one takes these duties into consideration. At the same time, they state that employers have a preconceived opinion that a woman will not be able to devote herself to work because of family responsibilities. Even those respondents who did not answer this question decisively, stated that women had problems at work during promotion, while men did not have such problems. Respondents from the south believe that men have an advantage when looking for a job, primarily because of the patriarchal surroundings, but also because employers believe that women are more likely to go on sick leave and maternity leave, and that the work will suffer for that reason. In contrast to the northern and southern regions, respondents from the central region have a different perception. Thus, one respondent stated that she most often encountered job advertisements written in feminine grammatical gender. Another respondent (even) states that - women have the advantage of employment, citing chain stores, super markets, etc.; where women can always find employment. Some respondents also pointed out that women with secondary education find it easier to get a job than women with higher education, and that the second ones in the context of (in) equality are equal with men.

The results of the male (control) focus group partially deviate from the female responses. The relative majority of

respondents (four of them) find that men find jobs more easily, while the rest gave different responses (I don't know, they find jobs equally, women find jobs more easily). Men expressed these views regardless of their personal characteristics (education, work status, age or nationality). One respondent (even) stated that women find jobs more easily, because they are more charming and empathetic. In this regard, more detailed research, with a larger sample is needed, when it comes to male perceptions on this issue.

Respondents see the reasons for male privilege in employment as patriarchal heritage. It is interesting to compare the responses received from two male respondents. One respondent stated: "I think that men absolutely have an advantage in finding jobs and that discrimination against women is so layered, especially in the part that women do not get jobs because of the huge risk that they will decide to become mothers during employment, and for that reason employers do not want to pay the expenses ..." Another respondent, however, had a relatively contrary view: "I do not know if you have notices while walking around the city, often at retail stores, shops, boutiques and so on you can see a sign- female worker needed. Nowhere have I seen any employer write- worker needed. Another example: since I often shop in a store belonging to a big chain supermarket, I only ever saw one male cashier working there. In our country, the only things that are working are trade, tourism..."

2. Research shows that women are often paid less than men for performing the same jobs. Do you find this to be true, and if so, do you have any idea why this is a case in our country?

The prevailing attitude of the respondents, regardless of their education, work status, age, regional or national affiliation, is that women and men are paid equally to perform the same jobs.

Respondents working in the public sector also added that the norms and coefficients are the same for each employee (regardless of gender). One respondent from the central region cited the case that one woman was paid more than another woman even though they were doing the same job, while a respondent from the southern region cited the case of a woman who had a higher education degree than her colleague and was paid less than him.

The results of the male (control) focus group did not deviate significantly from the female responses. Although the majority believe that women and men are paid equally for doing the same jobs, a third of respondents believe that women are paid less.

Thus, one respondent thinks that "when you are born as a man, you have immediately been given a certain right. When you are born as a woman then you are property - you belong to your brother, father, husband (in future) and to fight this ... you need totally different mindset, and few women manage to do that." Several respondents concluded that capitalistic system is to blame for discrimination - of both women and men.

3. How do tradition and patriarchal aspects of society affect women's employment and treatment at work?

The prevailing attitude of the respondents, regardless of education, work status, age, regional or national affiliation, is that tradition has a negative impact on women's employment. Respondents emphasize as factors of negative influence: patriarchal value system, binary view of occupations, stereotypes that a woman is unable to cope (even) with some regular activities (such as driving a car), motherhood ("a woman's job is to give birth and raise children"), equating women with weaknesses, from which some insults are derived ("wench", "you are just a woman"), etc. Some respondents (predominantly from the southern region) nevertheless stated that, regardless of its presence, patriarchy is decreasing (at least in the southern region).

One respondent from the north stated: "I think that the patriarchal system determines everything when it comes to woman, from her education, promotion, employment, then establishment of family, until her death. A woman seems to have a caregiver constantly during that long life. This is first her father, then brother, husband, son, until her death, and normally there is a place for the employer somewhere in there. So a woman can never cope with the idea that she should be self-sufficient and that she can make some decisions for herself without these accompanying male defenders." The next respondent shared the problem her daughter faced, who expressed a desire to enroll in a technical college, which aroused criticism from the closest members of the family, because "it is not a college for a woman". A respondent from the central region, a teacher by profession, shared her work experience where there is a practice of assigning classes with children who "misbehave" to male teachers, as there is an impression that a woman would not be able to control such a class. One respondent shared a personal experience of dealing with prejudices and stereotypes that women are worse off in certain jobs than men, such as film directors. One respondent pointed out that there are a large number of women who are not allowed to work by husbands in Montenegro, and added that she knew of an example of a woman who was not allowed by her husband to drive a car. Several respondents stated that this could be viewed as psychological abuse. The respondent, who recently became a mother, added that when she was younger she could much more easily find jobs, while now it is much more difficult for her. She also noted that people in her area were amazed after she told them that she shared with her husband the responsibilities of raising children. One respondent had an interesting thought, she said that being of female gender in Montenegro is very often treated as an insult, and that as a driver she had the experience that some men (with the intention of "offending" her) called her in traffic "wench", and on one occasion the police officer (judging by her attitude) ironically told her that "she was acting like a real woman". The respondent, in middle age, stated that the patriarchy in Montenegro was extremely strong, and that she was forced to marry by the age of 20, raise children, and that she began to work only after she turned 35. One of the youngest respondents stated that patriarchal awareness in Montenegro comes from the family, and that it is especially nurtured by older women. The respondent therefore quotes her grandmother, who told her for her 22nd birthday: "Well, my son, when girl turns twenty-two, she stops being a girl!" The oldest respondent in the group insisted that she had no similar experience and

that she felt she was in the twilight zone. She mentions the example of a colleague in the office, who makes coffee for female coworkers, but also an example of her husband who is involved in household chores: handing laundry to dry, making coffee, etc. Several respondents from the south stated that patriarchal mindset is less and less present, but that this way of thinking is adopted from the primary family. Other respondent pointed out that she sometimes gives her daughter advice that she herself disagrees with and which can be seen as patriarchal "limitations". The next respondent stated that employment was not so much influenced by patriarchy as by the employer's perception of whether he could really benefit from an employee. Middle aged respondent although she states that the influence of patriarchy exists in her city, also mentions that it is less pronounced than in some other Montenegrin regions: "We are a tourist place, open, full of people, there are many people coming, different cultures, we mix, we see a lot of different things."

The results of the male (control) focus group on this issue do not deviate from the answers given by women. Everyone agrees that there is an influence of patriarchy and that it is negative, but they think that patriarchy is criticized more than some other significant problems in the society. They believe that patriarchal education has its positive functions, but that it is misinterpreted today. Some respondents came to the view that, despite patriarchy, it was the woman who preserved the Montenegrin family. On the other hand, the oldest respondent said that women in Montenegro, through active participation in the war, won their rights.

One respondent points out: "Orange cannot grow in the north, if you catch my drift. We have to introduce it a little differently. Patriarchy cannot be expelled from this area, at least that is my opinion. Our effort to control it produces a counter-effect in the male population." The respondent also added that he knew that women had higher wages in bookmakers than men. Some respondents expressed different views: "It is difficult to be a woman in Montenegro. They are the most discriminated group in Montenegro. (...) Tradition is not necessarily a bad thing. We have really good elements in our tradition. But some traditional 'values' are not really values, they should be eradicated." One respondent stated a different opinion: "To me, being traditional (...) it is a great thing (...) because men become men and because they create authority in the family and because they bring in the law in the family. And women, too. We say that in Islam: woman is the pillar of the family, and woman is the teacher of generations." The oldest respondent, responding to a comment that women kept the Montenegrin family alive (especially during wars) by staying at home, disagreed with this and stated that over hundred thousands of women participated in the war, and a quarter of them were killed; and that in that war they won their rights.

4. Do you think that in Montenegro there is a traditional division to male and female jobs? Do you agree with such a division?

The prevailing opinion of the respondents, regardless of their education, work status or nationality, is that **this division exists and that they do not agree with such a division**. The only criterion that influences women's perceptions of this issue is *regional affiliation*. Specifically, 7 respondents (out of 29) **agree** with this division (they consider this division logical); and the overwhelming majority (5 of them) come from the northern region. From this it follows that all respondents (9 of them) from the northern region responded that the traditional division into male and female occupations **exists**, whereas 5 of them (*aged from 26 to 40*) agreed (in terms of the value judgement) with this division. In other Montenegrin regions, the overwhelming majority of women **do not agree** with this division in value.

Respondents from the north (5 of them) who agreed with this division stated that for some jobs women were not physically predestined (meaning physically demanding jobs). However, one respondent has a very interesting opinion: "Now this is a bit contradictory, but when I spoke about emancipation a while ago, I by no means want that emancipation to deprive me and other women of femininity. This is usually a male counter-attack, when it comes to equality - "you should go and cut wood." I don't want any woman to cut wood. (...) But when I talk about emancipation and division of work institutionally, I think that where there is power, that there is a need for women to decide more, to rise intellectually, because both men and women can make limited progress when relying solely on their physical strength, because all this has its own shelf life, while we witness that intellectual work, personal growth, does not only helps us, but the whole society." The youngest respondent built upon this statement: "Both men and women should do what they want and what they think they should be good at. If a woman wants to be a miner, so be it. If a man wants to be a kindergarten teacher, then so be it. Regardless if it is a man or a woman, they should do what they like and they think they would be good at". Respondents from the central region expressed different views, while one of them was particularly explicit: "I am absolutely convinced that every job that a man can do, a woman can do too. Even when it comes to cutting wood at home, I personally do not need help (...) I just recently realized something... we keep saying: he helps me around the house, he helps me with the kids... you see? We also think that it is not their duty, but it is their goodwill". She also added that, as someone who works together with her husband, she faces situations where extremely educated and emancipated people, including foreigners, mostly seek advice and opinion of her husband, and never hers ... which she points to as a worrying fact. The general attitude of the respondents from the central region is that women can do absolutely all the work performed by men (e.g. the job of a car mechanic, although they are not aware that there is a female car mechanic in Montenegro). One respondent also gave an example of her acquaintance, who did not get a job as a manager at one firm, just because she was female, and her employer even told her that. When it comes to the southern region, it is interesting to quote one respondent: "I am afraid not to be misunderstood, but I will quote the native people from Budva, who would now say, 'This is not Montenegro, this is the coastal region.' I'm sure there are many more divisions between men and women in the rest of Montenegro." However, another respondent said that there was a pronounced division in men and women, and asked, "Why can't a woman run a football club? Why are no women firefighters in Budva? Here, I'll apply to be a firefighter. I think in the fire company they would be very surprised if I applied. But why can't I be a firefighter?" Several interviewees blamed the mentality, and said that women could

also drive trucks, buses, trams, and planes ... and they find it funny when they see a report on that "phenomenon" being aired on television, as if it was normal to treat it as some kind of curiosity. Another respondent stated that there were nevertheless some positive examples, such as the Montenegrin Army, where women were also presented as officers, and that the ship *Jadran* had a female captain. In that sense, she sees the limits that women set for themselves as the biggest problem, although there are obviously some positive examples. The respondent (teacher) mentioned the case of her daughter, who wished to study medicine, and had a female doctor tell her the following: "Your future as a surgeon is this: you are one of two surgeons in Montenegro with the same qualities, the same qualifications and where the time comes to make a selection the man will get a specialization, and you will not, because you are female." The respondent added that it was a very humiliating for her daughter, at that moment. The youngest respondent in the group added the following: "As far as the job of the surgeon is concerned, it also needs mental strength. For women, there will always be some part of the mother's instinct, or emotional sensitivity, and it may be easier and safer to be done by a man than a woman." This did not cause controversy.

The results of the male (control) focus group partially deviate from the female responses. A relative majority of respondents (five of them) believe that the traditional division into male and female jobs **exists**, while the rest are **divided** in the responses they gave (*it does not exist, I do not know*). Almost all the men who noted that the division of jobs existed, added that they did not agree with such a division. Men expressed these views regardless of categorical affiliation (education, work status, age, or nationality). In this regard, more detailed research, with a larger sample, when it comes to male perceptions on this issue is needed.

One respondent said that this division is natural: "I absolutely think that there has been this division of labor since the beginning of time. God gave this separation, and man because of his nature should do certain jobs, and a woman because of her emotional nature and as a nurturer should do some jobs, because they are a gentler sex, but again I say and do not limit that woman can have her choice and be able to do what she wants." This comment did not raise controversy.

5. How does pregnancy and maternity affect woman's employment and working status?

The absolute majority of respondents, regardless of their education, work status, age, regional or national affiliation, believe that pregnancy and maternity - **adversely affect woman's employment and working status**. It is interesting to point out that unemployed women, without exception, consider that pregnancy and maternity have adverse effect, while a small number of employed women said that it **does not affect** them.

The respondent from the northern region immediately shared her experience in this matter, discovering that she had been fired after disclosing that she was pregnant, which was very emotional for her: "When I was pregnant with my first child and I told my employer that I was pregnant, almost automatically they made me go on sick leave within two days. So I had to go on sick leave and I could not work, and I was not bothered by pregnancy, it was not difficult for me to work. I worked as a teacher, I didn't do anything hard. (...) I felt so happy when I found out that I was going to become a mother. However, this work situation hit me hard..." The second respondent shared the following experience: "I did not give birth to a second child 'thanks to' my first employer. I was employed, we already had one child. We financially depended a lot on my salary. When I was planning a second pregnancy, by the very mention of it, I was told 'in case you stay pregnant you will not be able to return to work, this job will not wait for you', etc. Basically, I was deprived of another child solely because of work." Several respondents then blamed the "cruelty" of the private sector for this situation, and that the issue in the public sector is quite well regulated. The next respondent mentioned the fact that women were abusing benefits in the public sector, and had "extended" maternity leave for years, and refuted the previous respondents who spoke affirmatively about the public sector. Specifically, her position is that women who do not have an indefinite ("permanent") contract are not protected, but that while they are on maternity leave and their contract expires, they can easily lose their jobs (she cites her personal example). One respondent, who works in the public sector, referred to the Labor Law, which protects women and obliges the employer to move them into permanent employment after 24 months of employment; the first respondent responded promptly and cited her example, because her employer had several companies, and just before the expiration of 24 months' period, he would "move" her from one company to another, exposing serious legal loopholes in the law. The next respondent, who worked in the public sector, shared a completely different experience from previous respondents. She was not terminated during her maternity leave because she had a permanent contract but was not paid her salary (some were even retroactively taken away), so she was forced to sue her director, and she won the lawsuit. She is currently unemployed. Most respondents from the central region did not have this type of experiences, but they agree that they are happening and are quite noticeable. One respondent (however) talked about her experience and mentioned that when she interviewed for a job at a private company, she was asked if she planned to form a family. Respondents from the southern region said that this problem is most prevalent in the private sector. One respondent stated that in private companies, women, with adult children, had the advantage in getting employed, while another respondent stated that when applying for a job in a private company, she was asked if she was planning to get married and have children. The next respondent cited the example of her daughter, who had a *permanent contract* with a private company, but after getting pregnant, her superior told her, "If I had known, I would not have ever given you a permanent employment contract." After she returned from maternity leave, her superior had cut her pay (in half), forcing her to quit on her own. She is still unemployed. The last respondent also cited the example of her daughter who was immediately fired after getting pregnant.

All male respondents, regardless of education, work status, age or nationality, expressed the view that pregnancy and maternity **adversely affect** woman's employment and working status.

Respondents mainly blame the system and the state, while some emphasize the understanding for private business

owners: "We do not have strong companies. And if he (the employer) takes a woman who is pregnant, who is to go on maternity leave, under the provisions of the Labor Law, he must immediately find a replacement and now he no longer has one employee but two. Even a third employee may get hired. There are cases where the replacement goes on maternity leave too, so three women need to be paid for one working position. The companies just cannot afford it.

6. Do you find women more exposed to "precarious work" contracts than men?

The absolute majority of respondents, regardless of their education, job status, age, regional or national affiliation, consider that both men and women are equally exposed to "precarious" work contracts.

Respondents from the northern region are generally not overly informed about "undeclared employment", while some report that some people like moonlighting, because at the same time they receive social assistance or retirement benefits. Respondents from the central region consider that there is no discrimination against women on this issue, but general discrimination, especially when it comes to uninsured workers or "minimum wage" insurance. Respondents from the southern region consider that men who work on construction - and are not officially employed, or women who work as maids, who are also not officially employed - are treated in the same way. One respondent cited a concrete example: "This pertains to the policy of the employers, and again to the personal interest of the employee himself (...) you will much rather work for 500 euros undeclared than work for 350 EUR under a proper contract." General consensus is that both women and men are treated in the same way.

"An absolute majority of male respondents also believe that men and women are equally exposed to **"precarious work" contracts**, however a third of respondents believe that women are more exposed to them (without more precise reasoning). These respondents mainly belong to the categories of employed and highly educated men, who declare themselves Montenegrins.

One respondent explained why she felt that women were more exposed to "undeclared employment": "Some studies have shown that about 35,000 women are employed in commerce, about 16,000 in tourism, so that the highest percentage of women employed and these women are under some stressful contracts, where they are limited to a month, two, three." The respondent added that such short-term contracts were extended for three or four years so that the worker would not get pregnant and that she has first-hand knowledge of this because he works in such a place in whose jurisdiction it is to monitor these phenomena. The following respondent said that this issue is much more influenced by other criteria, such as nationality: "Here is a banal example. A man from Macedonia has arrived, he will enter into undeclared employment, gender does not play a role here."

7. To what extent are women exposed to sexual harassment and mobbing at work?

The absolute majority of respondents believe that women **are exposed** to sexual harassment and mobbing at work. In particular, highly educated and employed respondents consider women to be **significantly** exposed to these phenomena. Those respondents who believe that **sexual harassment and mobbing are not present** are the most represented (more than a third) in the following categories: unemployed women, women with secondary education, women from the southern region and members of the Montenegrin national community. It is interesting to point out that while the members of the Montenegrin national community are relatively divided on this issue, the overwhelming majority of members of the Serbian national community (10 out of 12) consider women exposed to sexual harassment and mobbing at work - **to a significant extent**. The complete divide over this issue is also evident in the respondents between the *ages of 18 and 25* and *between 41 and 65*; namely, about 50% of women of this age believe that there is **no** sexual harassment and mobbing at work, while about 50% believe that **there is and to a significant extent**.

One respondent from the northern region shared her personal experience when it came to mobbing and sexual harassment at work and compared it to a man and a dog, saying very emotionally: "I made one big mistake and I would recommend to all of you that if something like this happens, you should report it to the police first and then to the competent authority in the company (...) I think it is very much represented in the companies and that women like me are afraid to report it not to cause bigger problems. (...) I had a scalpel threat, he was waiving with it and threatening: "I'll cut your throat." (...) I hid it from everyone for years, I hid it from my family as well. (...) I do not know you, but I really want to share this with you; The fact that someone who is mentally ill, and pathologically in love with you does not mean that he has the right to treat you like that, not to let you sit... That you should not be left alone in the same room with that person for a moment. (...) He was spending time unnecessarily at my workplace and I was simply unable to function normally, to work, because he was constantly there and I was constantly expecting something. I was not afraid for my life, the place is covered with cameras, that's all right, but you are not comfortable having someone stand by your neck and wave around with a scalpel, at the same time ordering goods, and knowing that I open and receive goods. He orders a couple of these scalpels, these are all ways in which he indirectly threatens you. No, I am not a weak woman, I am well above him, I am stronger than him, but at one point you just want to get away from it all because it starts to affect your health and your private life, your family and your child. (...) In fact, everyone in my company knows this, I have evidence. But I'm not going to just sit around and do nothing because someone has to pay because I'm in therapy now." The youngest respondent in the group responded to this as follows: "Ever since you first asked the question, I've been asking myself ... have I ever heard that someone in my environment had this experience, and then I get it, I don't have any similar story, I didn't hear anything ... Nobody told me, I didn't see anywhere ... And then I realize how much of a problem is in us, as we do not talk about it..." The next respondent admitted that she did not know what mobbing was, but that she can guess... because she had a problem with her director, who was making unsavory comments about her marital status. As she states, he commented on her plan to take out a loan as follows: "A loan, what do you need a loan

for? Marry, you'd better find someone to buy it for you..." However, after disagreeing with his statements every time, he would say that *he was joking*, and that her colleagues also perceived this as a joke. Respondents from the central region also shared their experiences. First the respondent stated that she experienced inappropriate tongs from men, in the form of tasteless comments, while working seasonally on the coast, emphasizing the stereotypes our society has with regard to the profession of waitresses. The next respondent, who works at school, had a different kind of a problem. As someone who does not wear makeup and wear high heels, she was forbidden from coming to work without makeup and in flat shoes, because of the defined stereotype of what a professor should look like. Respondents state that mobbing and sexual harassment are often manifested verbally through nicknames: doll, kitten, honey, babe, etc. The oldest respondent denies having ever had such experiences, while one respondent cites the case of her superior, who is a public figure, and who commented on her physical appearance at work, with different sexual connotations: "But it was so disgusting to me that I just stood there and looked down and left the room. It was a wrong reaction, I understand, but somehow I did not expect anyone who could be my father to comment on my physical appearance." Another respondent stated that she was well aware that in one state institution, all women were required to wear heels. Several respondents agreed that mobbing and sexual harassment existed even though they had no personal experience, while the last respondent in the group stated that she had received suggestive and uplifting comments from a colleague, after which she immediately reacted. Women from the southern region provided different answers. While the first respondent stated that this is less present in the southern region (due to a different mentality), the next respondent stated that she had been exposed to a sexist offer of the following kind: "About ten days ago, I had an offer to join a political party, and I was literally told: 'It is not because you are a professor, but simply because you are a woman, and we need a woman.' I refused, of course, and then the same person told me, 'Yes, I forgot you had a daughter. You know what it would mean for our party to have your daughter appear in photos. 'It's sexual harassment for me.' Several respondents stated that there were no such occurrences, referring to personal experiences, while some were reserved in their responses.

All male respondents responded that they believed **women were exposed** to sexual harassment and mobbing at work. Of these, an overwhelming majority (8 out of 9) responded that they were exposed to the above **to a great extent**, and only one respondent responded that they were exposed to it but to a lesser extent.

One respondent shared the experience from his surroundings: "I find it largely present. I say this from my experiences, friends who have told me how bosses treat them and what names they call them, how they treat them, not primarily as workers, but they overstep the boundaries, such as in the way they are addressing you, talking about intimate things. (...) They are afraid for their work, they are simply forced to remain silent and forget about it in a certain way, and they will not talk about it."

8. In which sector are women most exposed to discrimination and mobbing?

A slight majority of respondents (12 of them) believe that women are mostly exposed to discrimination and mobbing - **in the private sector**. This view is overwhelmingly supported by highly educated and employed women from the central region (regardless of nationality). A small minority (10 of them) believe that women are **equally** exposed to discrimination and mobbing, **both in the private and public sectors**. It is interesting to note that the absolute majority of respondents from the northern region (Berane) share this view, while none of the respondents from the central region (Podgorica) shares this view; on the contrary, (as noted above) respondents from the central region felt that women were most exposed to discrimination - in the private sector, although they did not want to specify the reasons why they thought so. Respondents from the southern region (Budva) are completely divided on this issue (50: 50% in their responses), implying that women from different Montenegrin regions have different views and different experiences on this issue. There is also a clear divide between the respondents aged 41-60 years, in the ratio of 50: 50% (half of the respondents believe that women are more exposed to discrimination in the **private sector** and half **in both sectors**). It is important to emphasize that the criterion of nationality does not affect the perception of women on this issue at all.

Respondents from the northern region reported that women were more exposed to discrimination and mobbing in 'lower skilled jobs', in the hospitality industry, trade, etc.; while one respondent insisted on a *father-in-law* as an important person who, through his reputation or social capital, could provide job security for his son's wife. She cites an example that she spoke with a psychologist about mobbing suffered by her director, and that she asked her inquiringly, "- Do you have someone to call him?" - I asked: why should someone call him? "Well, just to hear you have someone, to pay attention to how he treats you." Respondents from the central region, although not stating the precise reasons, consider women more vulnerable to discrimination and mobbing in the private sector. Women in the southern region have explicitly stated why women are more discriminated against in the private sector - they state that women in the public sector have unions and some instances that they can refer to, which is not the case with the private sector, where the private individual has much greater authority. They are also of the opinion that people in the public sector come to jobs *through connection*, and the very fact that someone has their back gives them greater security in the workplace. One respondent stated that the above depends on the person who is the superior, on his personality, character, upbringing, mental state, and that in both private and public company (...) situation is the same, there are good directors in private companies and good directors in public companies. However, another respondent briefly opposed this view: "You do not suffer mobbing from directors only."

The results of the male (control) focus group deviate significantly from the female responses. A relative majority of respondents (six of them) believe that women are exposed to discrimination and mobbing - **in both sectors**. Other respondents found that women were more exposed to these - **in the private sector**. It is interesting to say that these respondents belong to the category of national minorities. Nevertheless, we believe that more detailed research, with a larger sample, is needed to understand men's perceptions of this issue.

9. Are you informed of the institutional, i.e. legal mechanisms that enable equality of women in seeking jobs and in employment?

The absolute majority of respondents, coming from the southern or central region, **are informed** about the mechanisms that enable women to be treated equally when they are during employment or while looking for work. When it comes to unemployed women, the response distribution is 50: 50%. However, the absolute majority of respondents from the northern region (7 out of 9) are **not at all familiar** with these mechanisms, implying that the key criterion for women's perception in this regard is regional affiliation. The criterion of nationality does not significantly affect the perception of women on this issue, but it is important to note that the largest number of uninformed female respondents on this issue was observed in the Serbian national community (about 30%). It is additionally interesting to note that women aged 41-65 are more informed on this issue than women in the younger age groups.

Respondents in the northern region are unfamiliar with the legal mechanisms, while some mention certain institutions (Employment Agency, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights) that they believe can protect their rights. The respondents from the central region, although informed, believe that the institutions are not transparent enough and that there is insufficient work being done to educate women. In this regard, one respondent from the central region asked the following question: "If we are younger educated girls who have trouble being informed about these issues, what about women living in rural areas, what about women who are not educated enough, what about women who are illiterate, what about women living with some minority groups, such as in Roma settlements and so on?" In the southern region, women have shown greater openness to discuss other solutions when it comes to greater equality of women in employment. They specifically addressed the legislation, stating that it was relatively good, but only on paper. They believe that information on these issues is accessible to everyone, but that the biggest problem is the informational illiteracy of women, especially the older generation. One respondent thinks that women's awareness of their rights is *futile* if these same laws are not respected, especially by the institutions: "I know that Minister of Education got sent I do not know how many letters against a certain person who is mobbing employed women, but it was not effective. So what do I get from being informed about the law if I do not have feedback?"

The results of the male (control) focus group partially deviate from the female responses. *Five respondents were aware* of the above mechanisms, while four **were not**. Most of the respondents (four of them) do not know whether the legislation is being adhered to in this respect, while a third of respondents believe that it is not respected. Respondents expressed these views regardless of standardized criteria (education, employment status, age or nationality). In this regard, more detailed research, with a larger sample, when it comes to male perceptions on this issue is needed.

One respondent emphasized that the regulations were better regulated in the former Yugoslavia, while another responded, arguing that the laws in the old Yugoslavia did not recognize domestic violence, and added: "When it comes to information, there is an office for gender equality at the national level, and there are now offices at the local level. There is now an ombudsman at the national level. All we have to do is implement laws into society, enforce the laws, and they have already started." Most respondents, however, agreed that the legislation was not implemented appropriately.

10. Do you think that there are some other obstacles that we have not mentioned that hinder women's employment and greater job security? What do you see as potential solutions when it comes to improving the position and greater equality of women in employment, and their security and full protection of their human and labor rights?

Due to the heterogeneity and diversity of the views expressed, we will summarize the respondents' answers in several conclusions: In the central and northern regions, the respondents pointed out that the previous questions covered the most important topics, which were thematically related to women's employment and their greater job security. It is also interesting to note that several respondents from the southern and central regions have raised the issue of physical appearance as a criterion for employment, which is an additional problem for women who are not perceived by society as attractive. One respondent from the northern region stated that, in "90% of the competitions, they require a photo to be sent ... which I don't think should be done. Because, as soon as you ask for a photo of someone, it means that by the looks you will determine..." The next respondent emphasized the importance of relationships between women, with the conclusion that women do not support each other sufficiently and that they are mostly hostile to each other. She cites the example of her close friend, who was constantly under pressure from the female part of the family to get pregnant. One respondent (also from the central region) reported that she had experienced the greatest inconvenience and some kind of mobbing from women, not men, at her job. The next respondent spoke about the voluntary consent of women to discrimination, namely those who choose to stay 'at home', or to be housewives. Interestingly, the youngest respondent from the southern region also problematized the issue of physical appearance, as an important criterion for employment (she cited the job of a flight attendant as an example). Another respondent responded to her comment, stating that physical appearance in Budva is extremely important when hiring: "I know a language teacher who has been sitting home for ten years and after each interview receives a negative answer because she does not look good, does not fall into the category of pretty women."

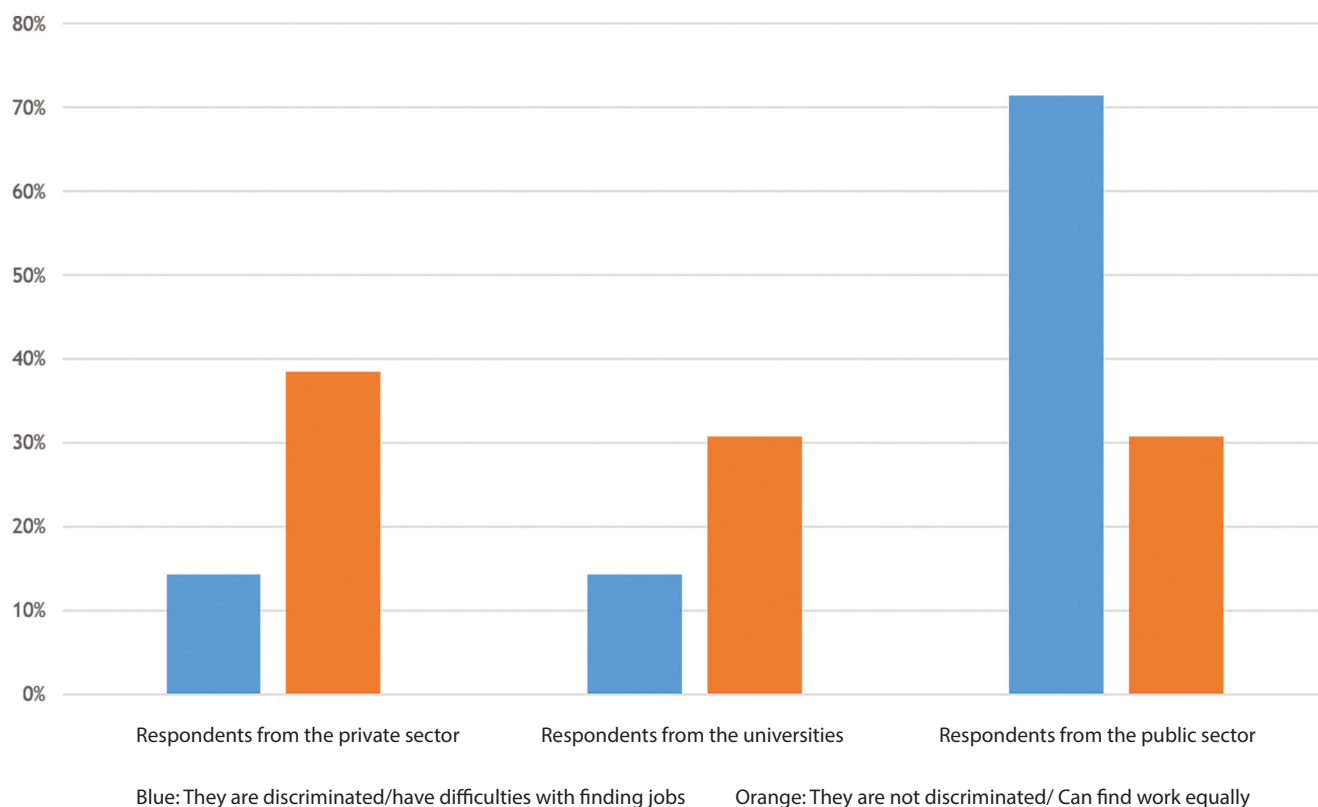
The responses within the male (control) focus group were somewhat more consolidated. A relative majority of respondents believe that a key solution, in the context of improving the position of women in employment, is better enforcement of the laws, while some respondents emphasized the importance of better education and pressure mechanisms, such as strong unions. One respondent recalled the importance of physical appearance when it came to women: "A woman who is more beautiful and attractive is more likely to get a job."

Interviews with the stakeholders

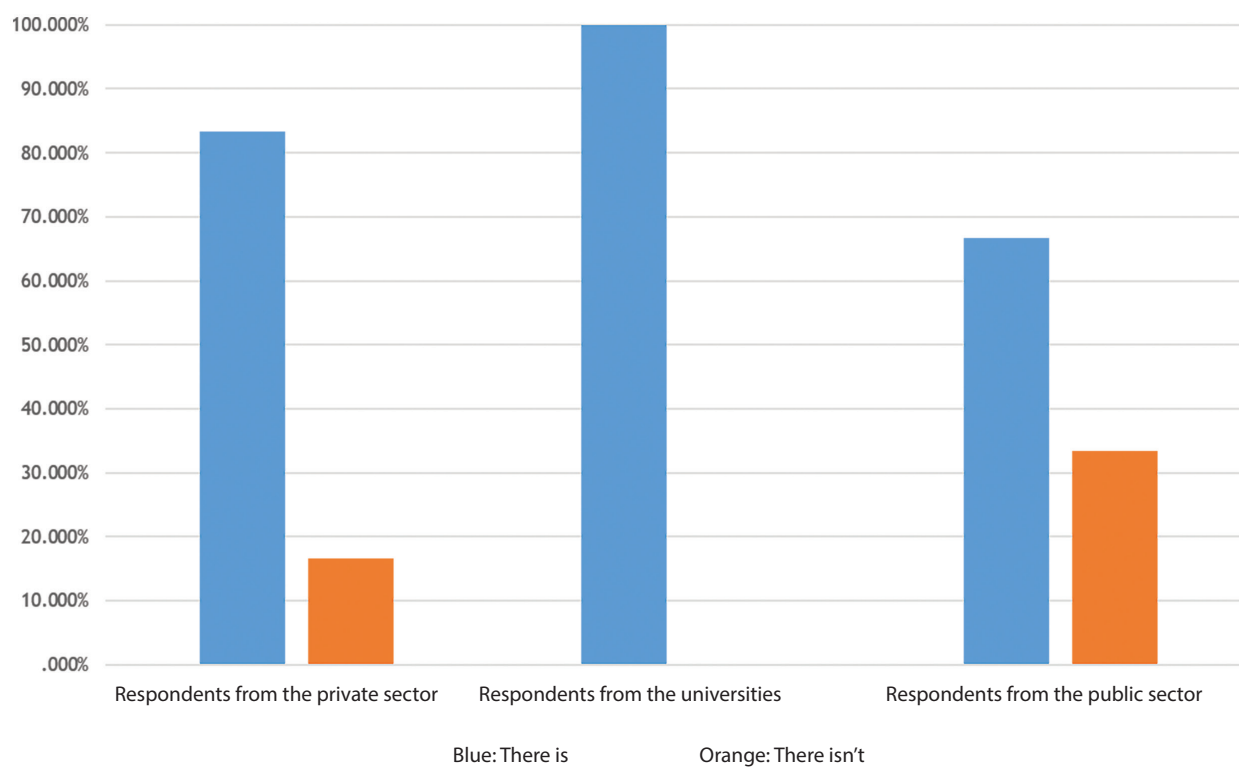
The field research was conducted by the Center for Monitoring and Research (CeMI) from December 2018 to February 2019.

For the purpose of this research, 22 interviews were conducted with male and female stakeholders (decision makers). From this, four groups were created, according to the criteria of sectoral, vocational and gender affiliation: 1) respondents who are employed in the private sector (six respondents); (2) respondents employed in the public sector (nine respondents); (3) mixed group: respondents employed by the university [as professor] (five respondents); (4) a control group consisting of two male subjects. Interviews with two respondents from the NGO sector were excluded from the analysis because of methodological ineptness and lack of complementarity with other interviews. This criterion was intended to integrate and consolidate the answers received, to qualitatively fit them into mentioned groups, and to compare them with the responses received from similar profiles of respondents, and finally to obtain useful findings and data.

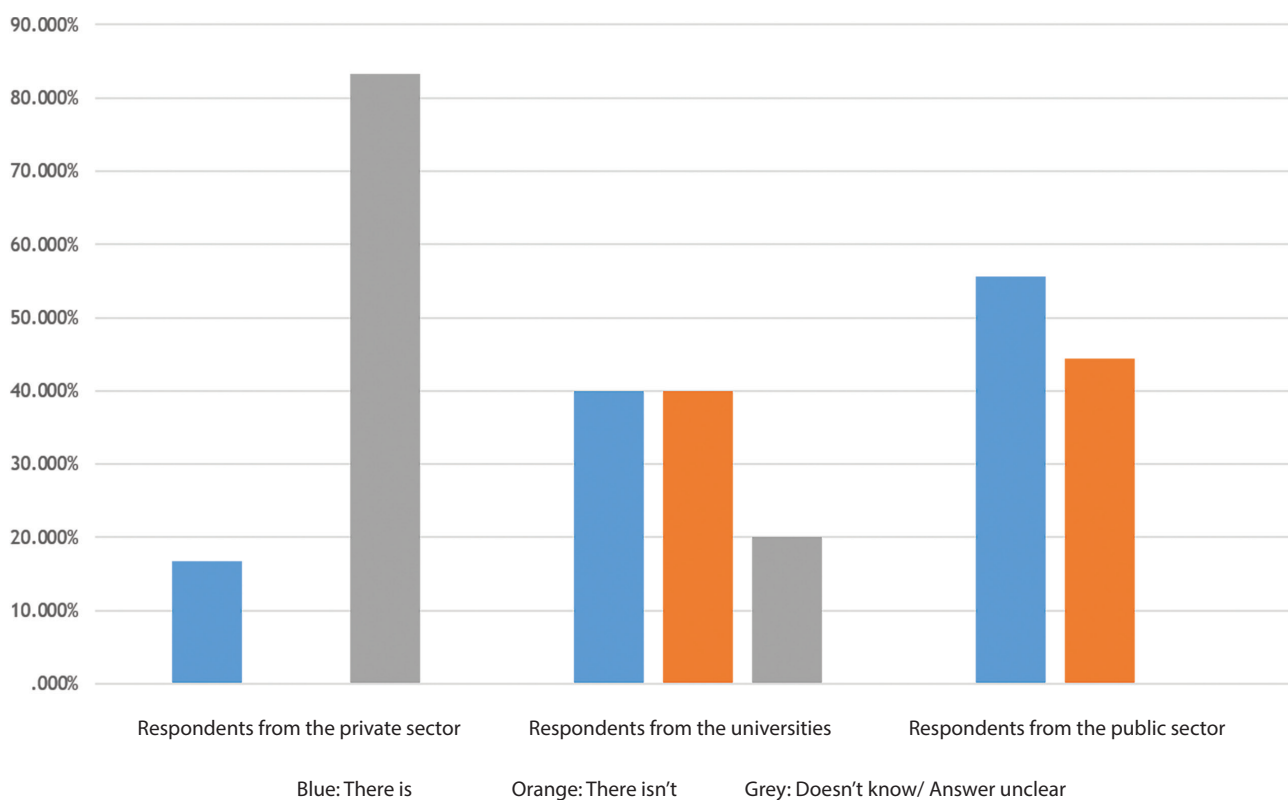
1. Are women discriminated against in the Montenegrin labor market?



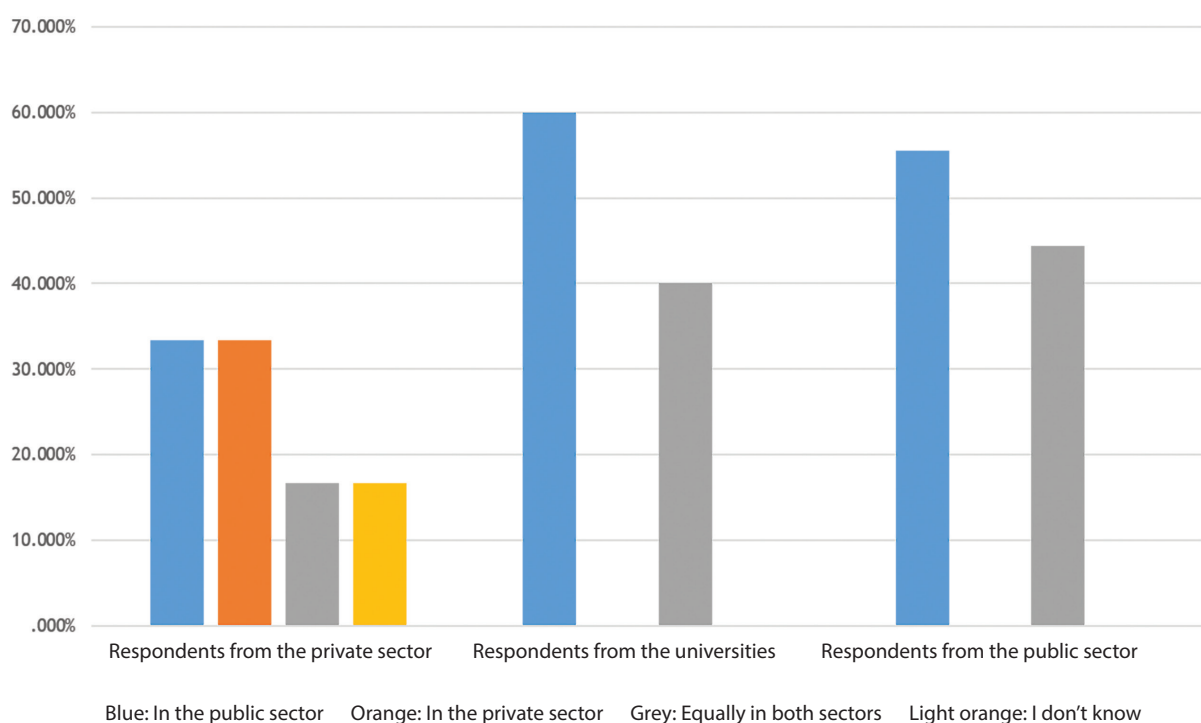
2. Is there a division into male and female occupations in Montenegro?



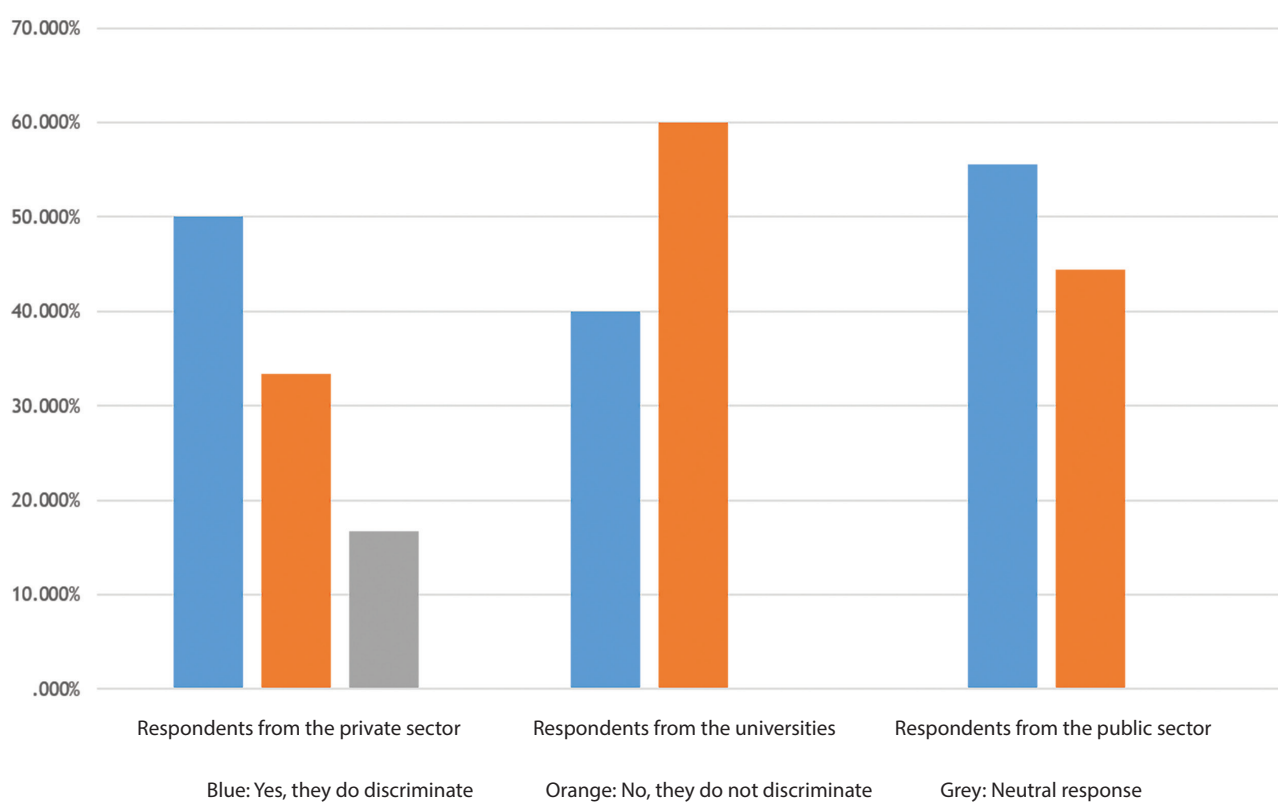
3. Is there a gender wage gap in Montenegro between women and men?



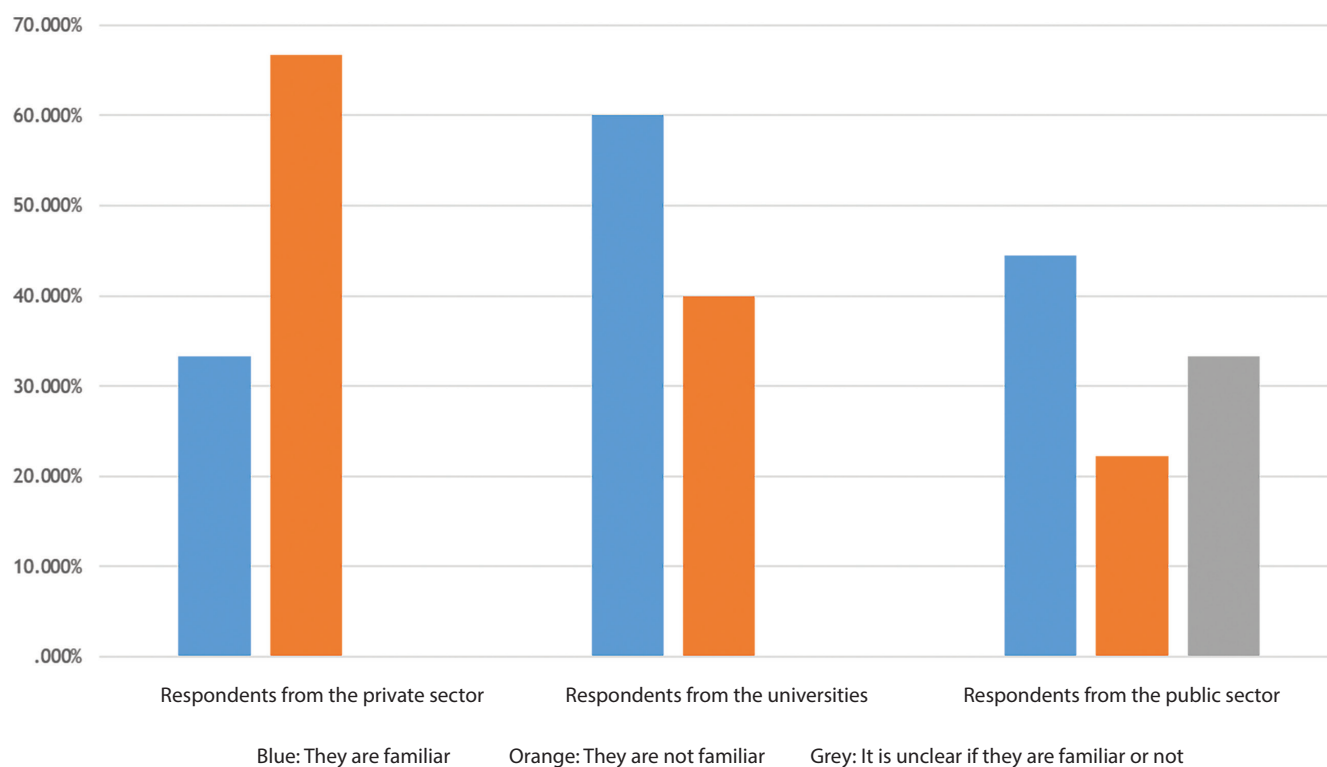
4. In which sectors are women better protected?



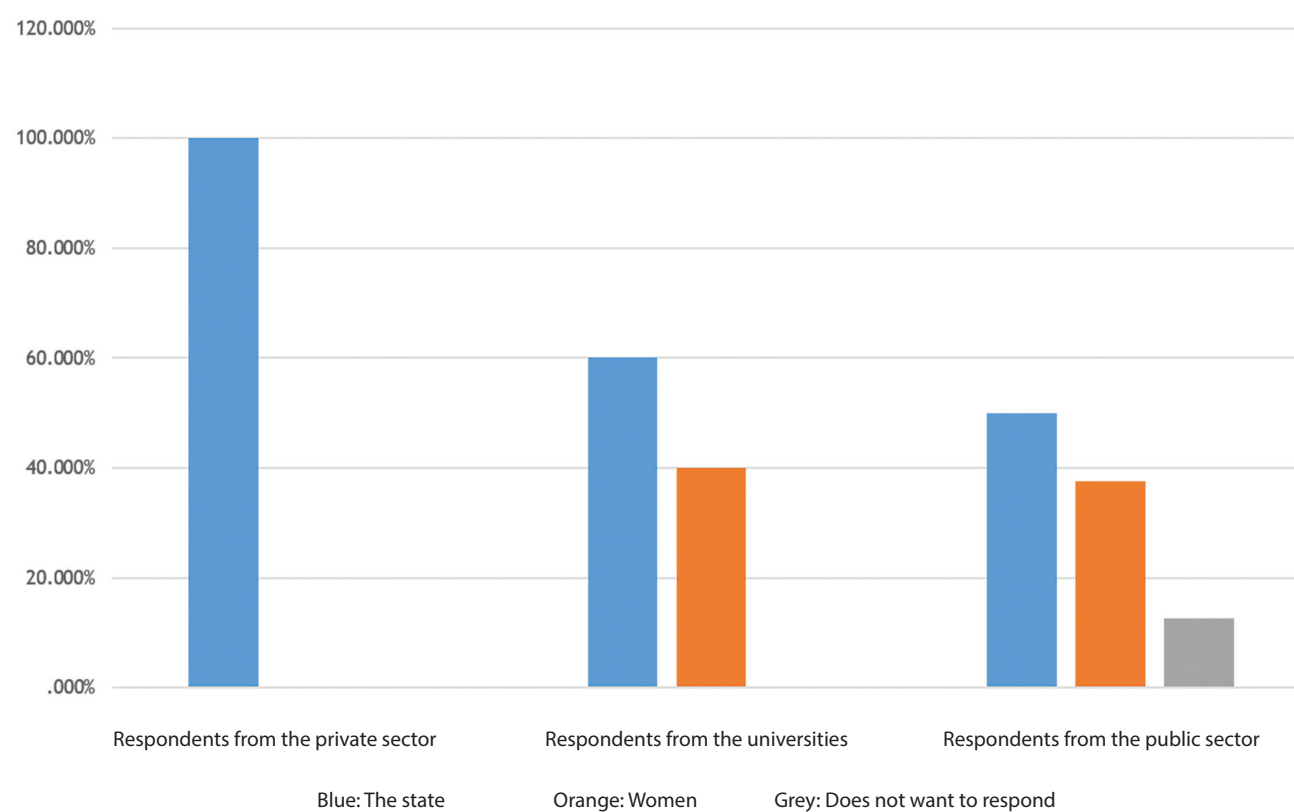
5. Do employers discriminate against women on the basis of gender?



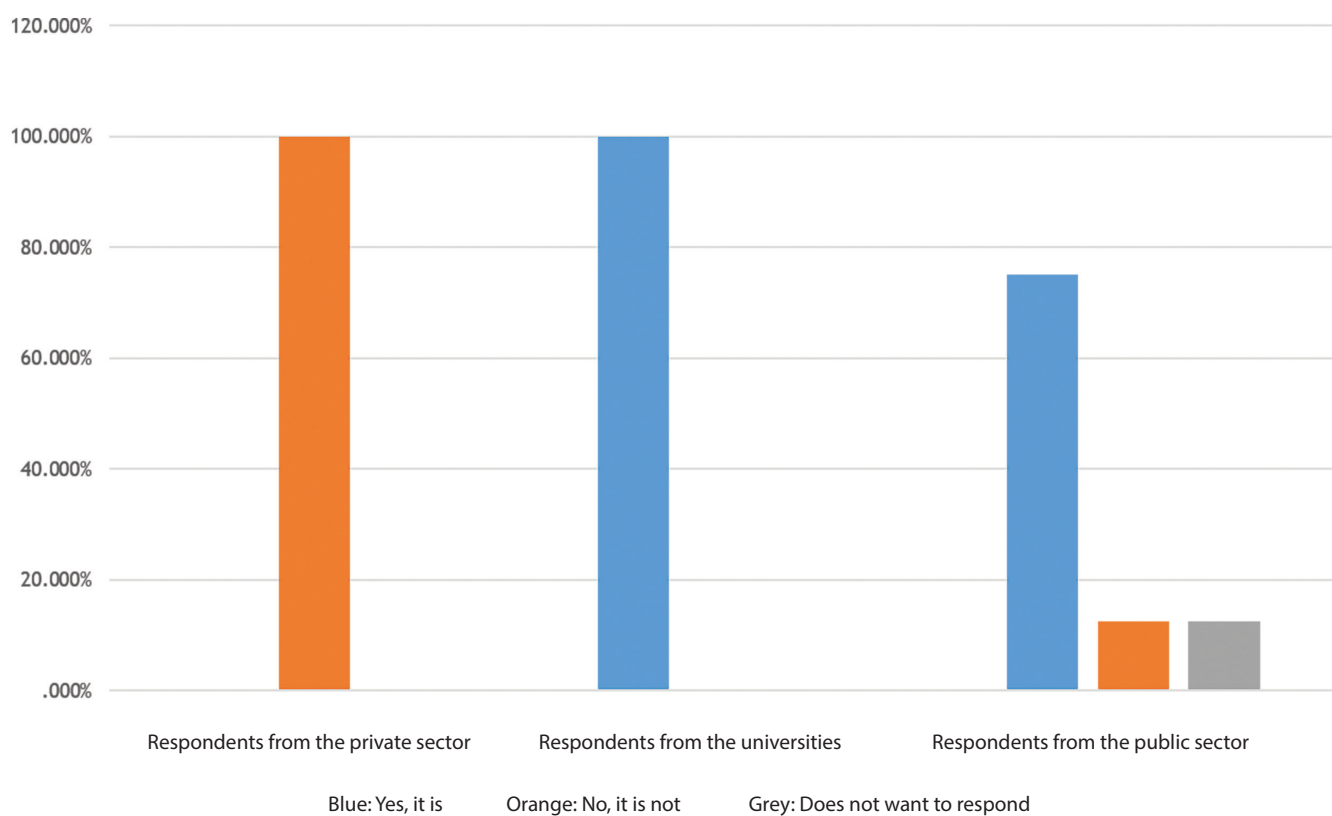
6. Are you familiar with the legal and institutional mechanisms for protecting women's labor rights?



7. Who is primary responsible for balancing of women's family and work responsibilities?



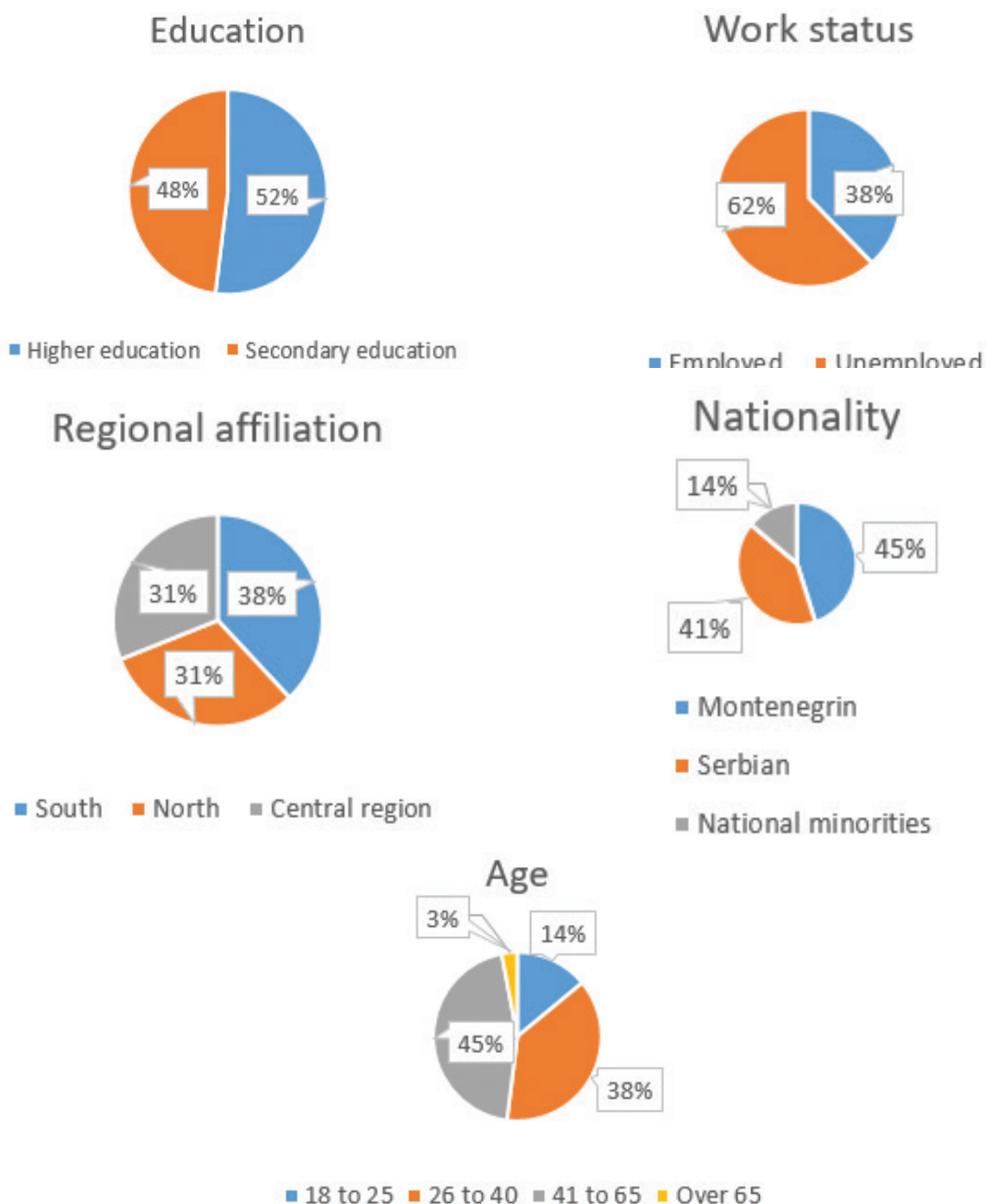
8. Are women sufficiently represented in business in Montenegro?



Focus groups- findings

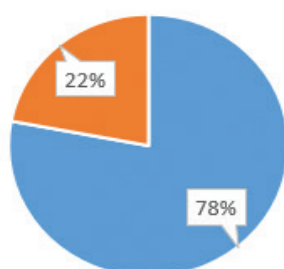
The field research was conducted by the Center for Monitoring and Research (CeMI) from December 2018 to February 2019. For the purpose of this research, four focus groups were organized. Three focus groups consisted exclusively of women, in three Montenegrin municipalities (Berane, Budva, Podgorica), while one (control) focus group (implemented in Podgorica) consisted only of men. The work of four focus groups involved 38 people, of which 29 were women and 9 were men.

Structure of participants:



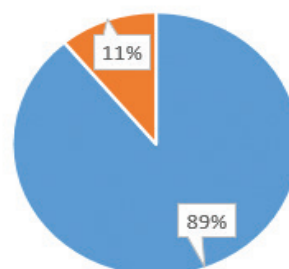
Structure of participants:

Education



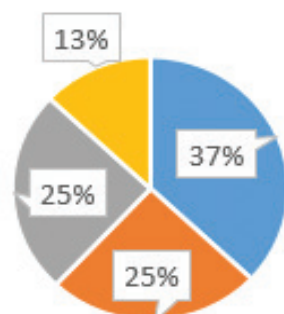
■ Higher education ■ Secondary education

Work status



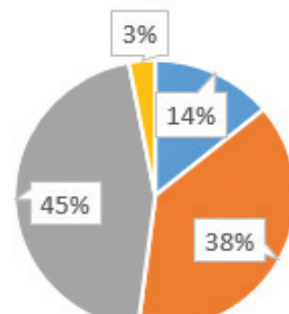
■ Employed ■ Unemployed

Nationality



■ Montenegrin ■ Serbian
■ National minorities ■ Other

Age

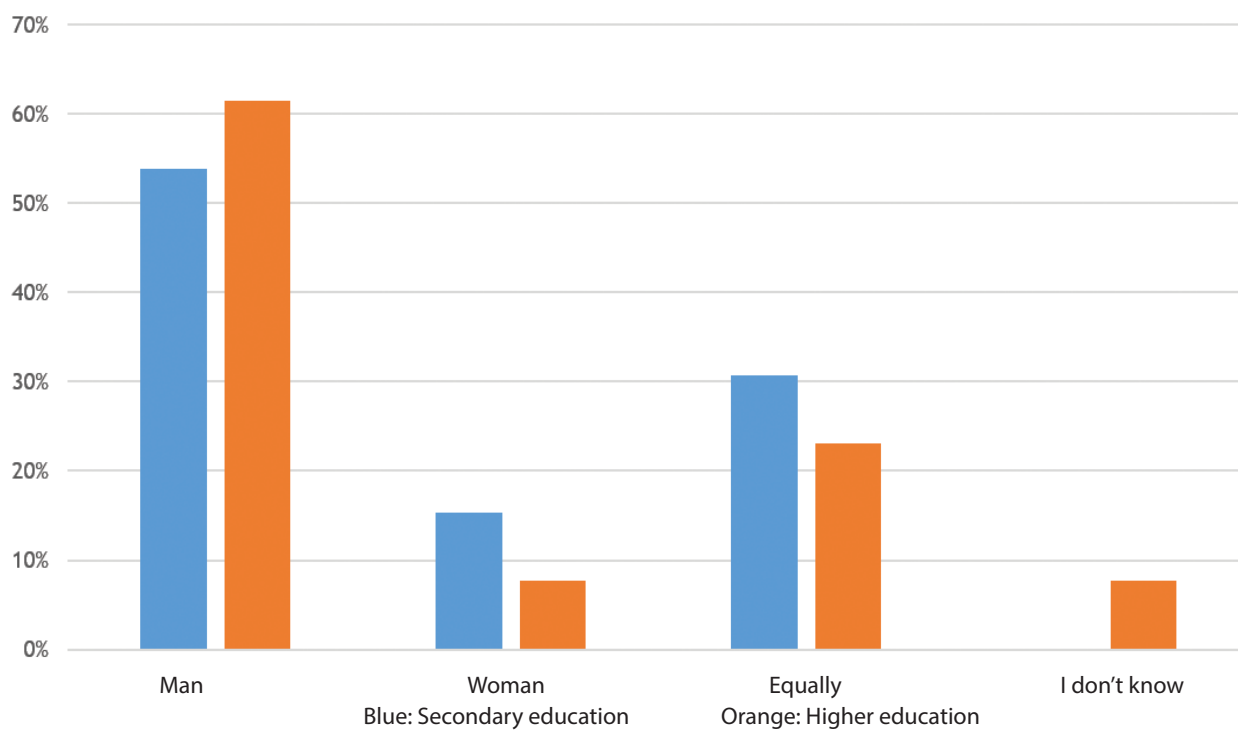


■ 18 to 25 ■ 26 to 40 ■ 41 to 65 ■ Over 65

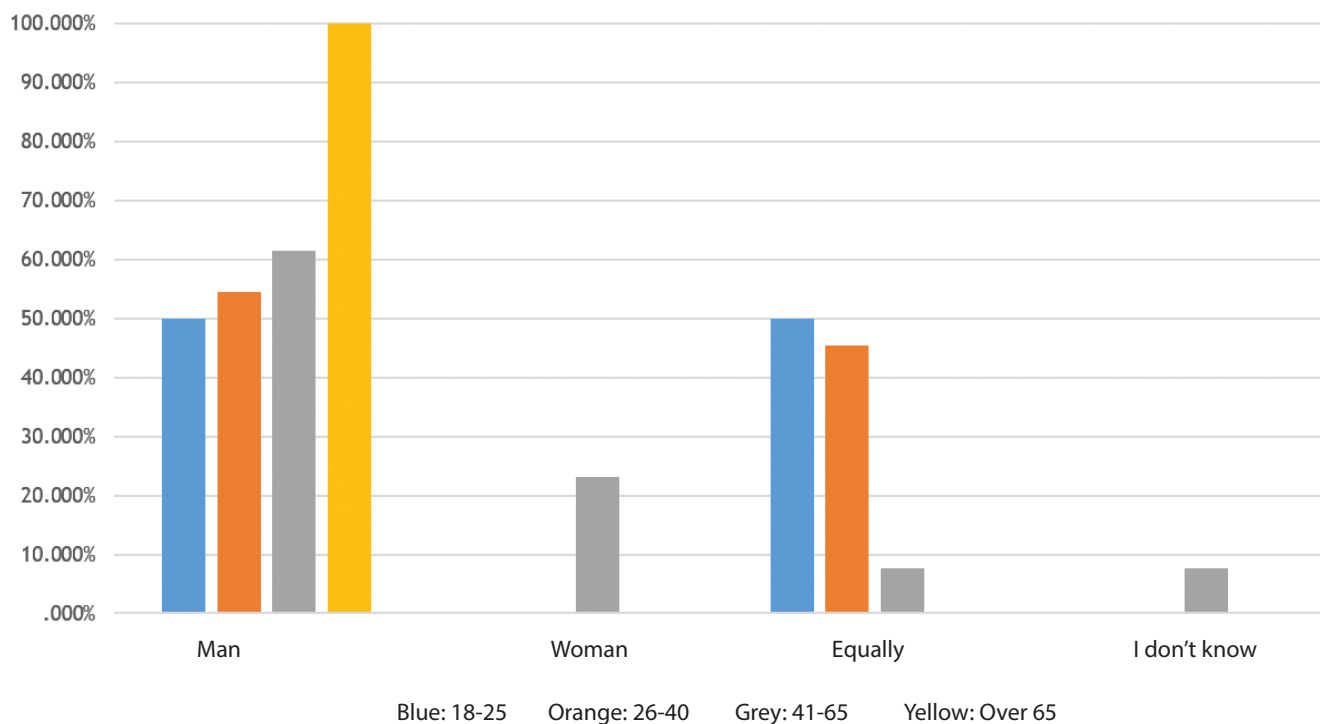
Focus groups- women

1. Who finds job more easily?

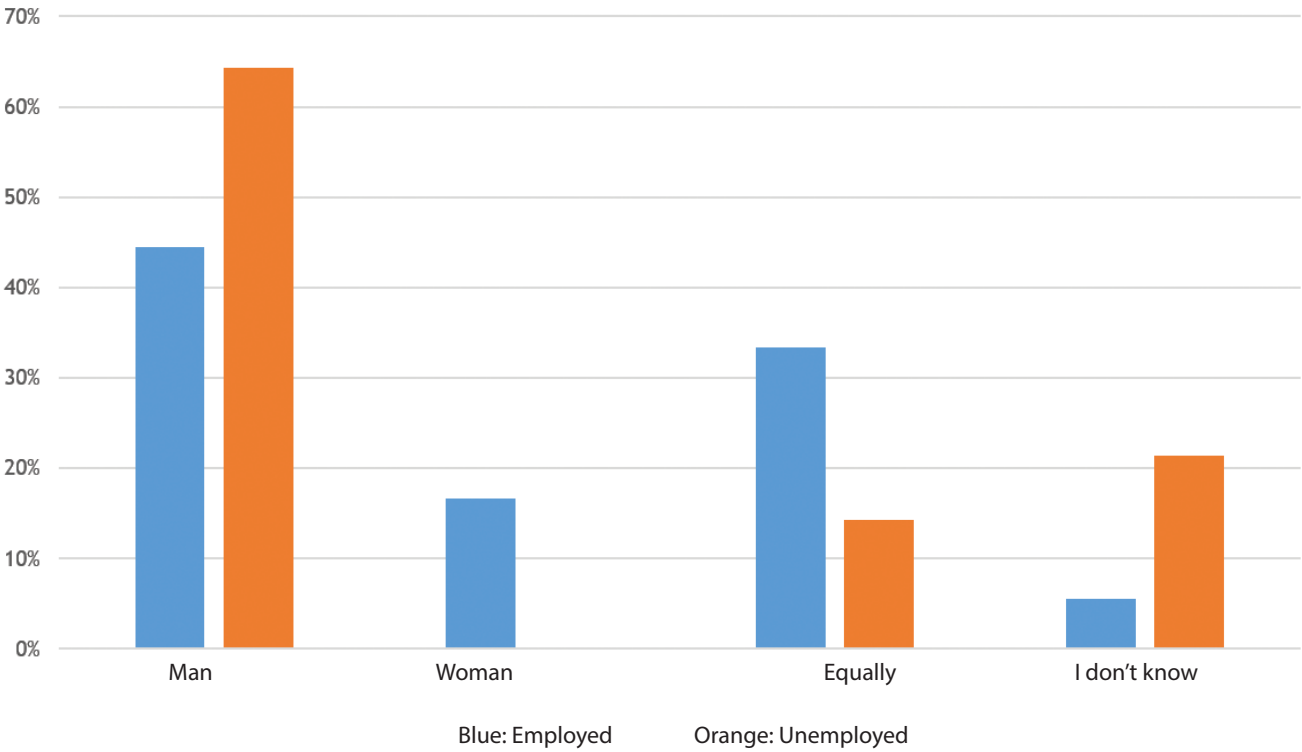
Education



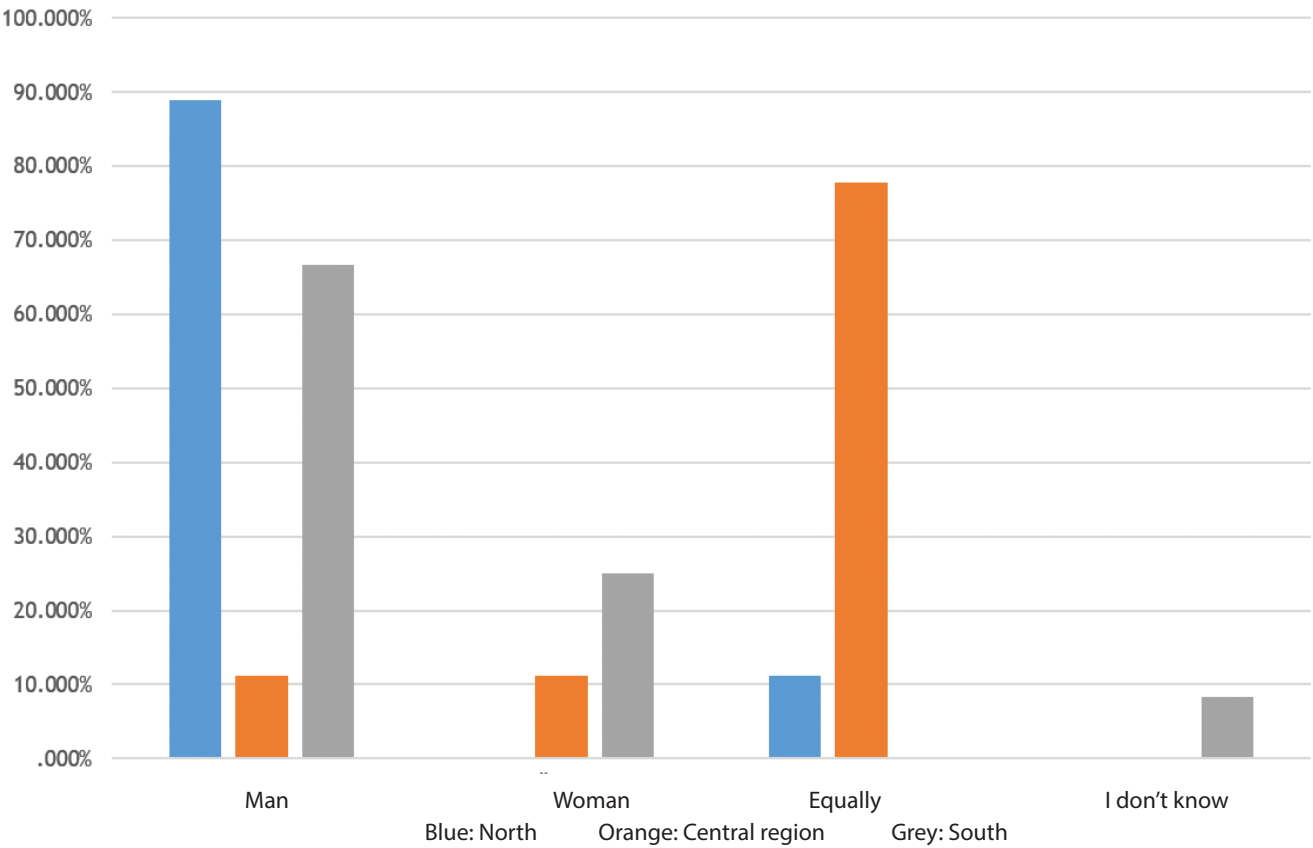
Age



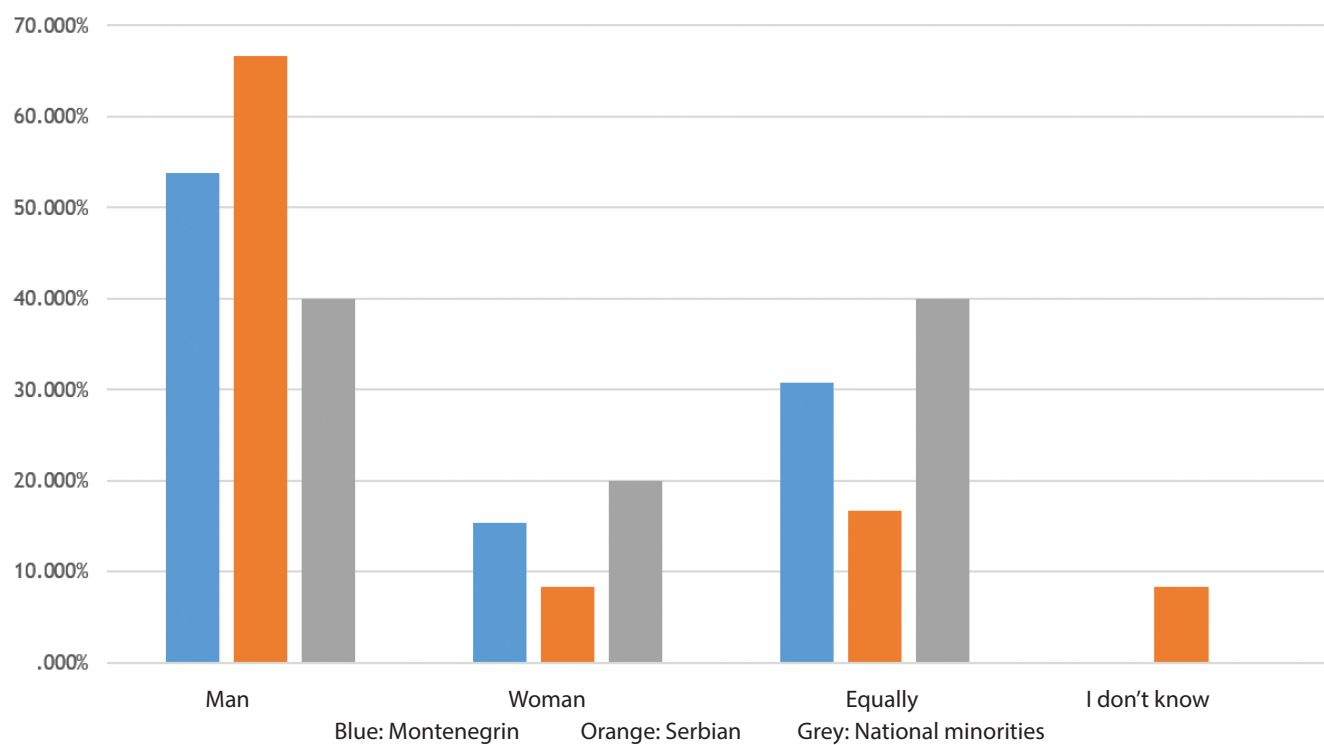
Work status



Region

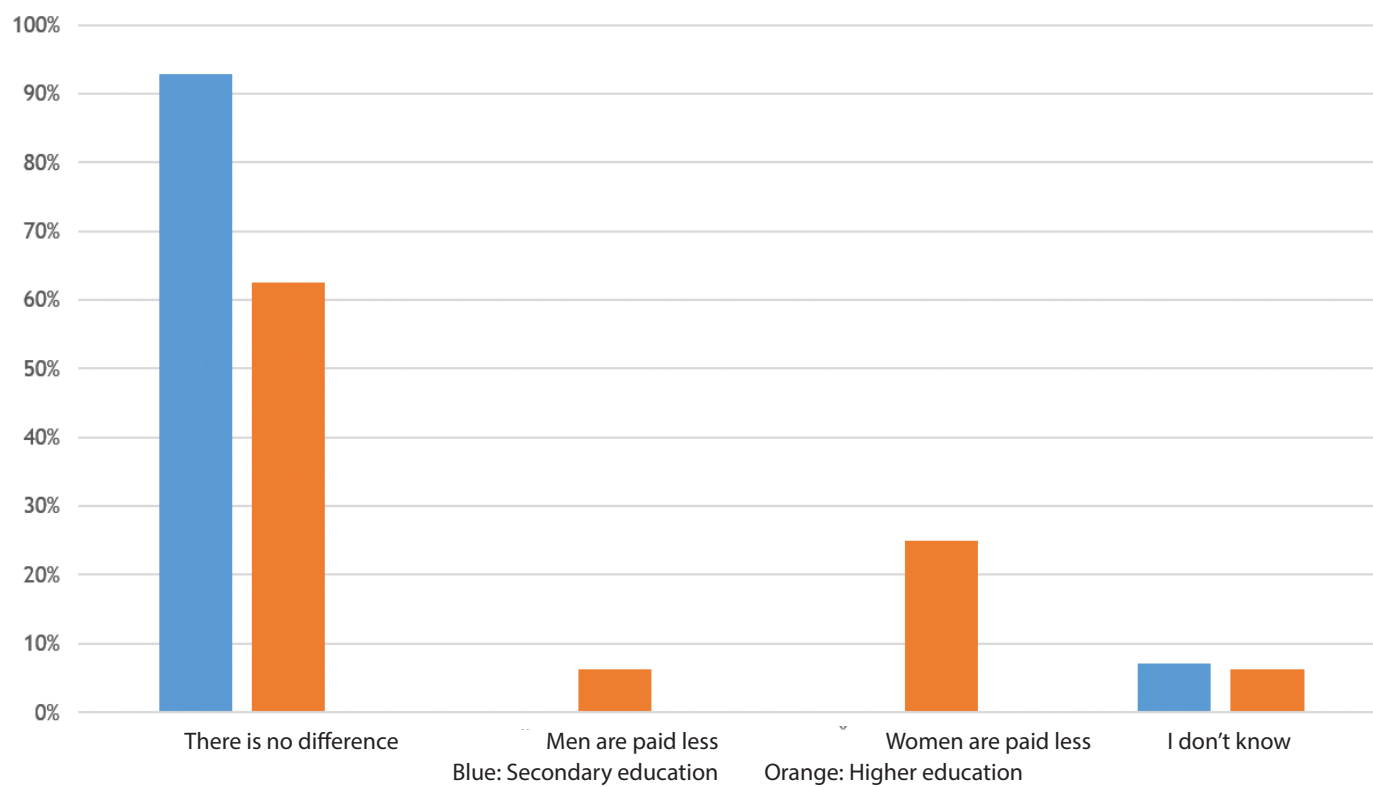


Nationality

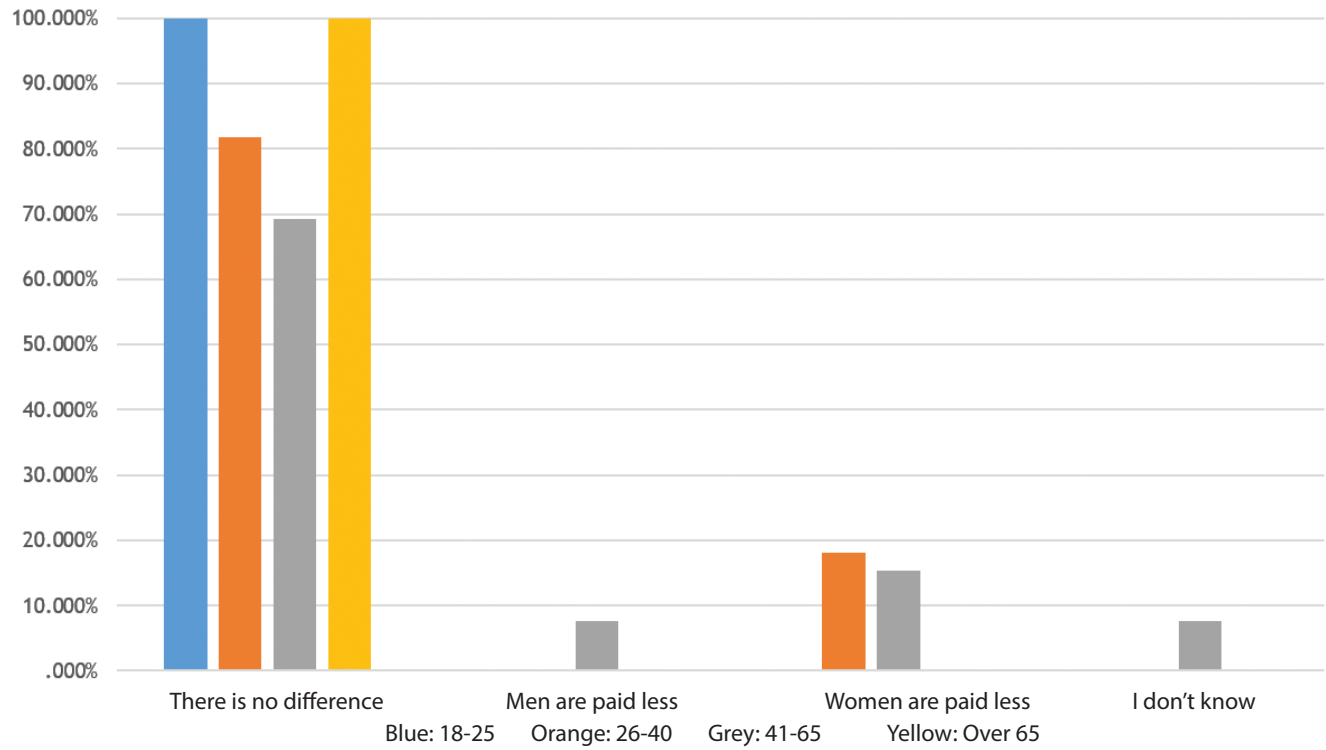


2. Are women paid less than men for doing the same jobs?

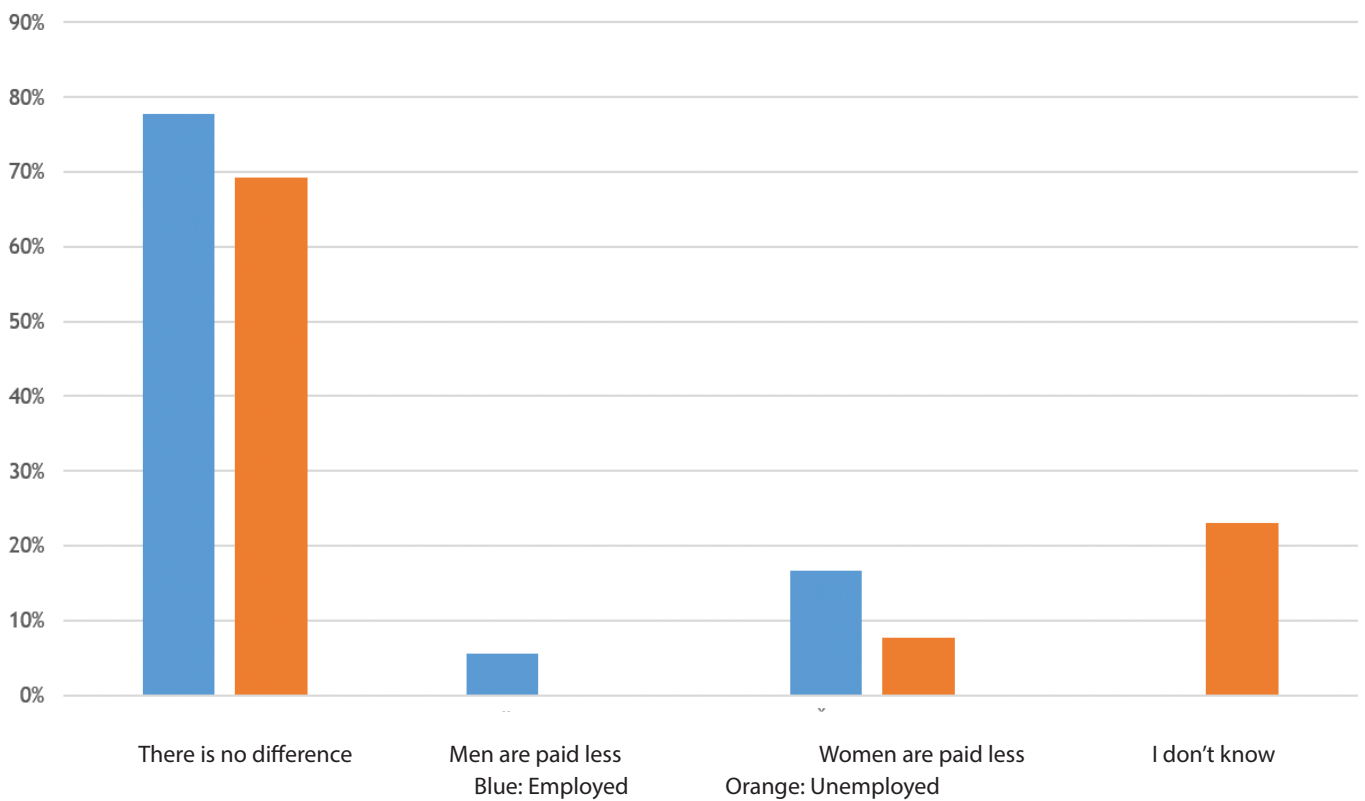
Education



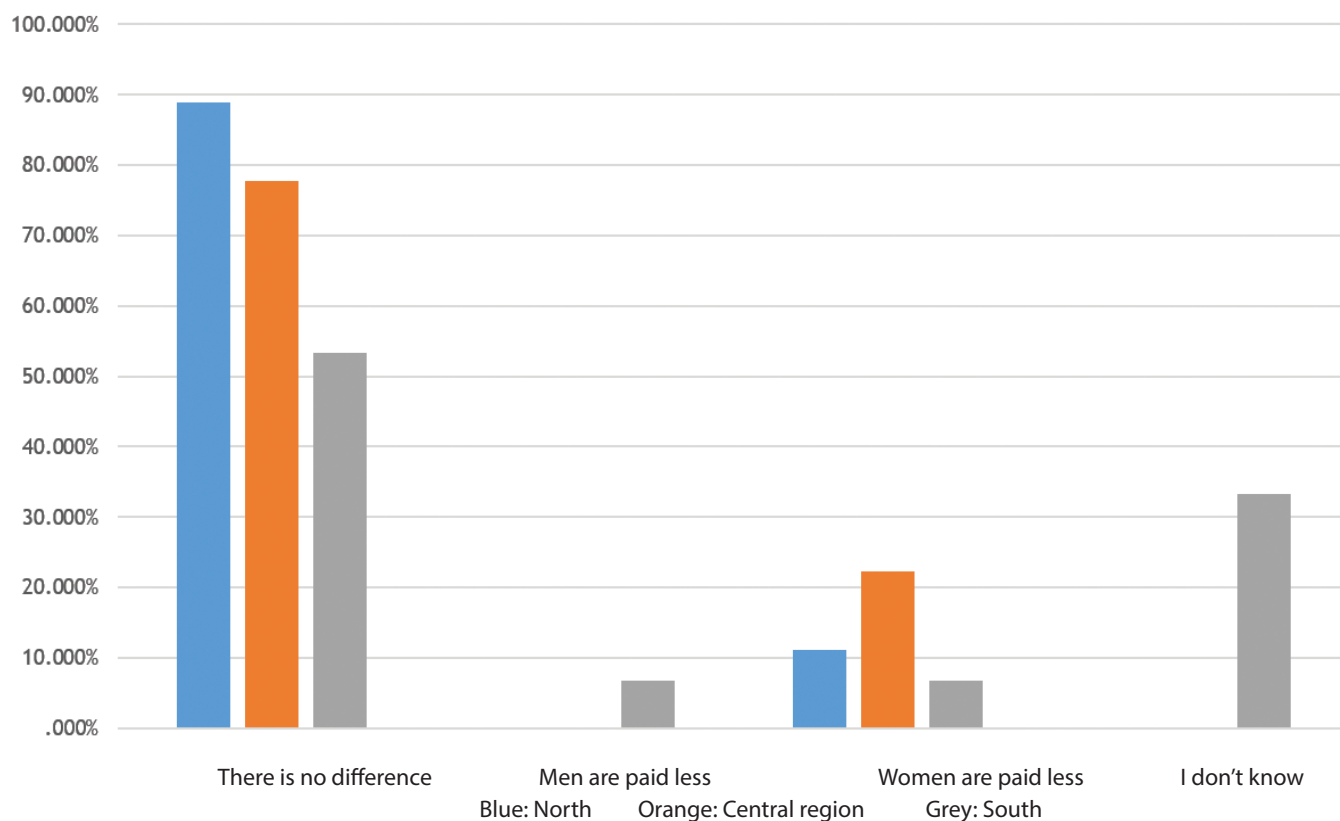
Age



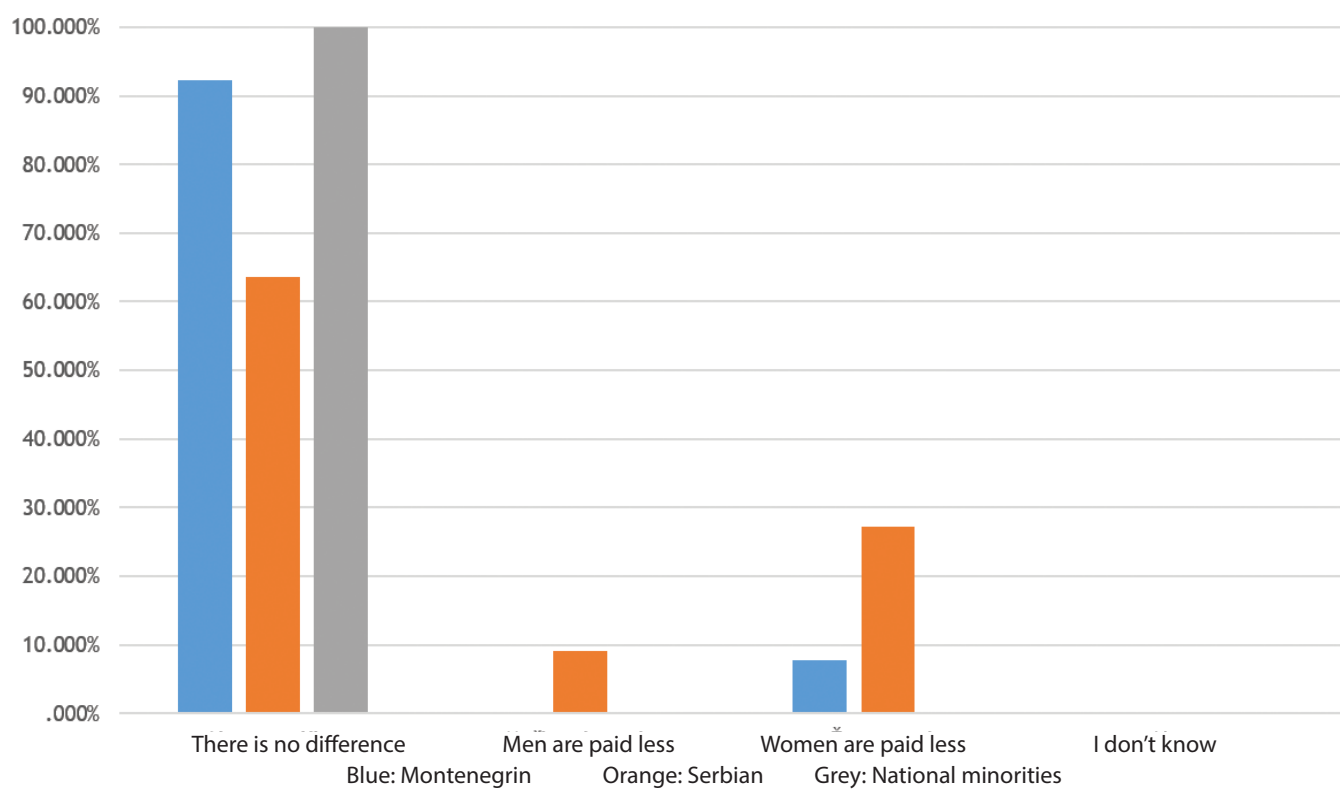
Work status



Region

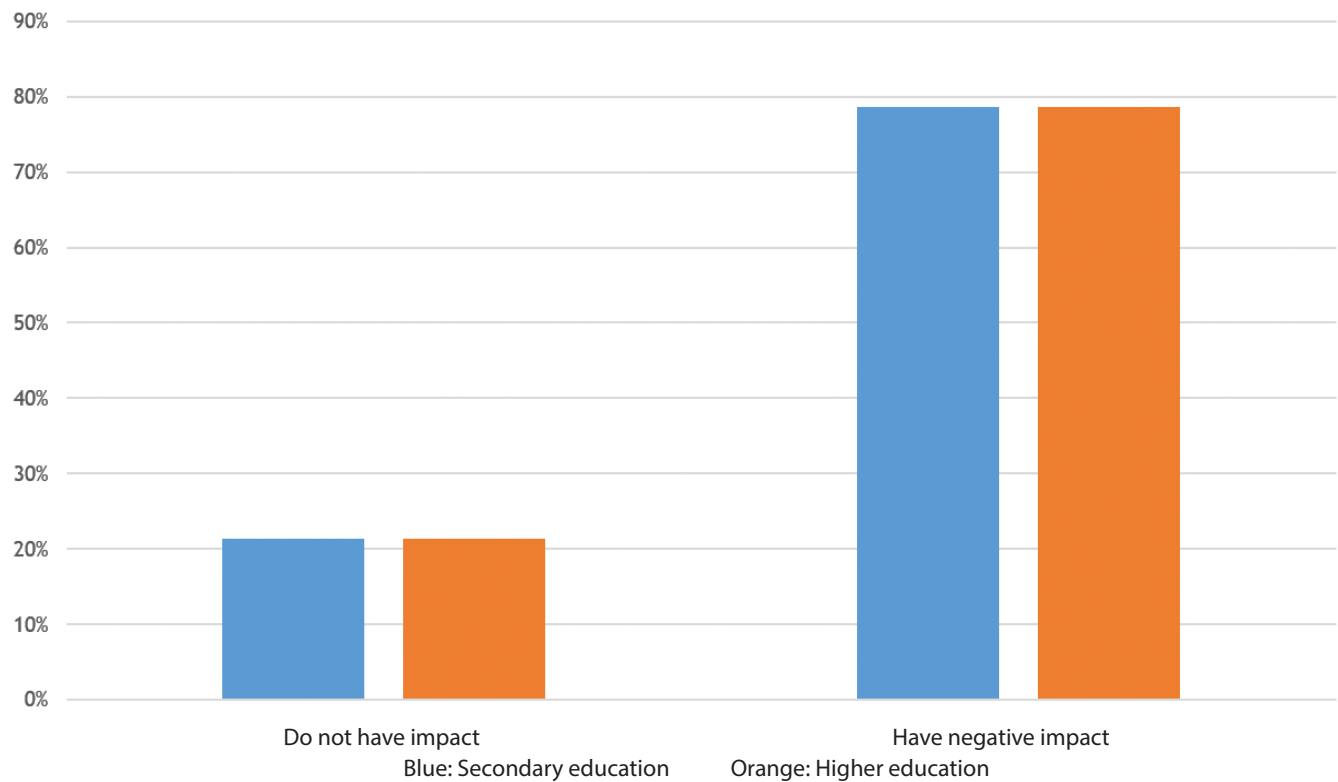


Nationality

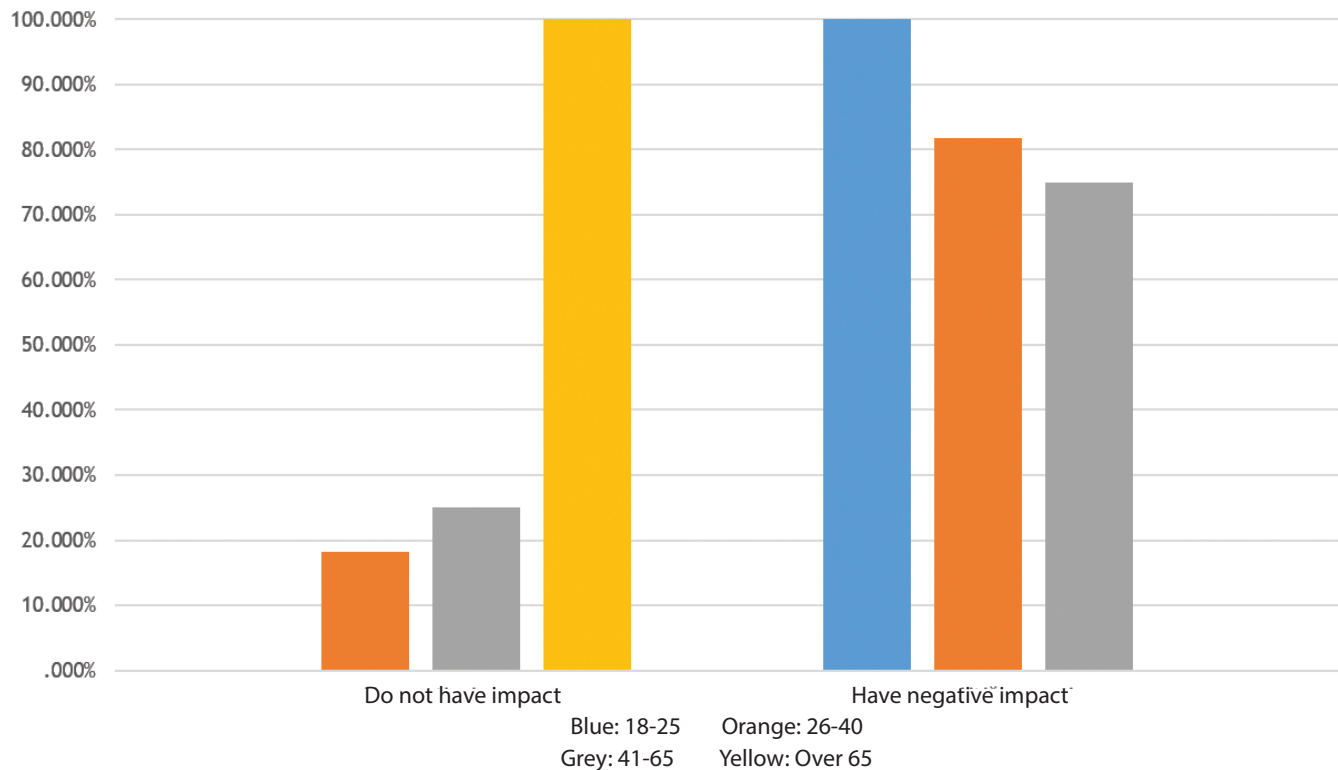


3, How do tradition and patriarchy affect women’s employment and treatment at work?

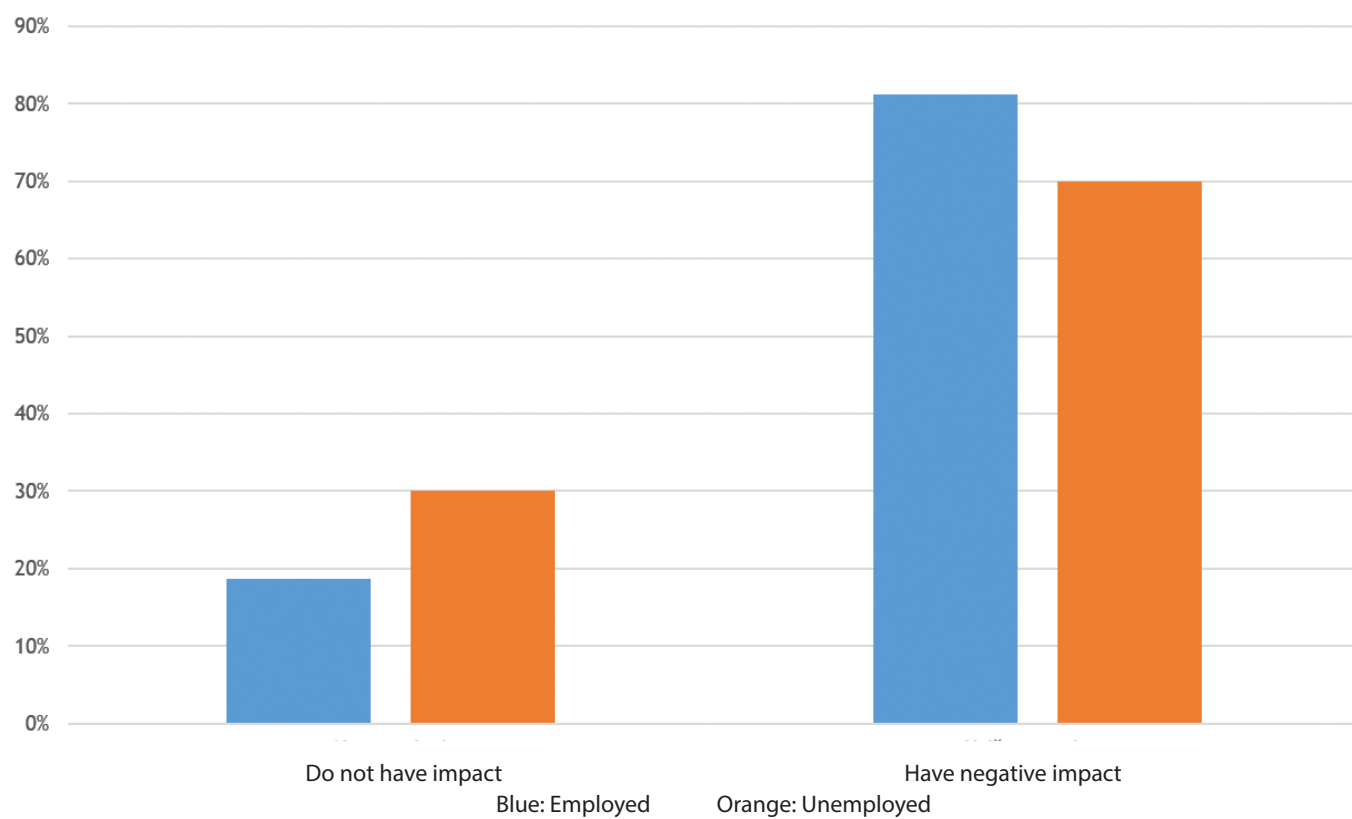
Education



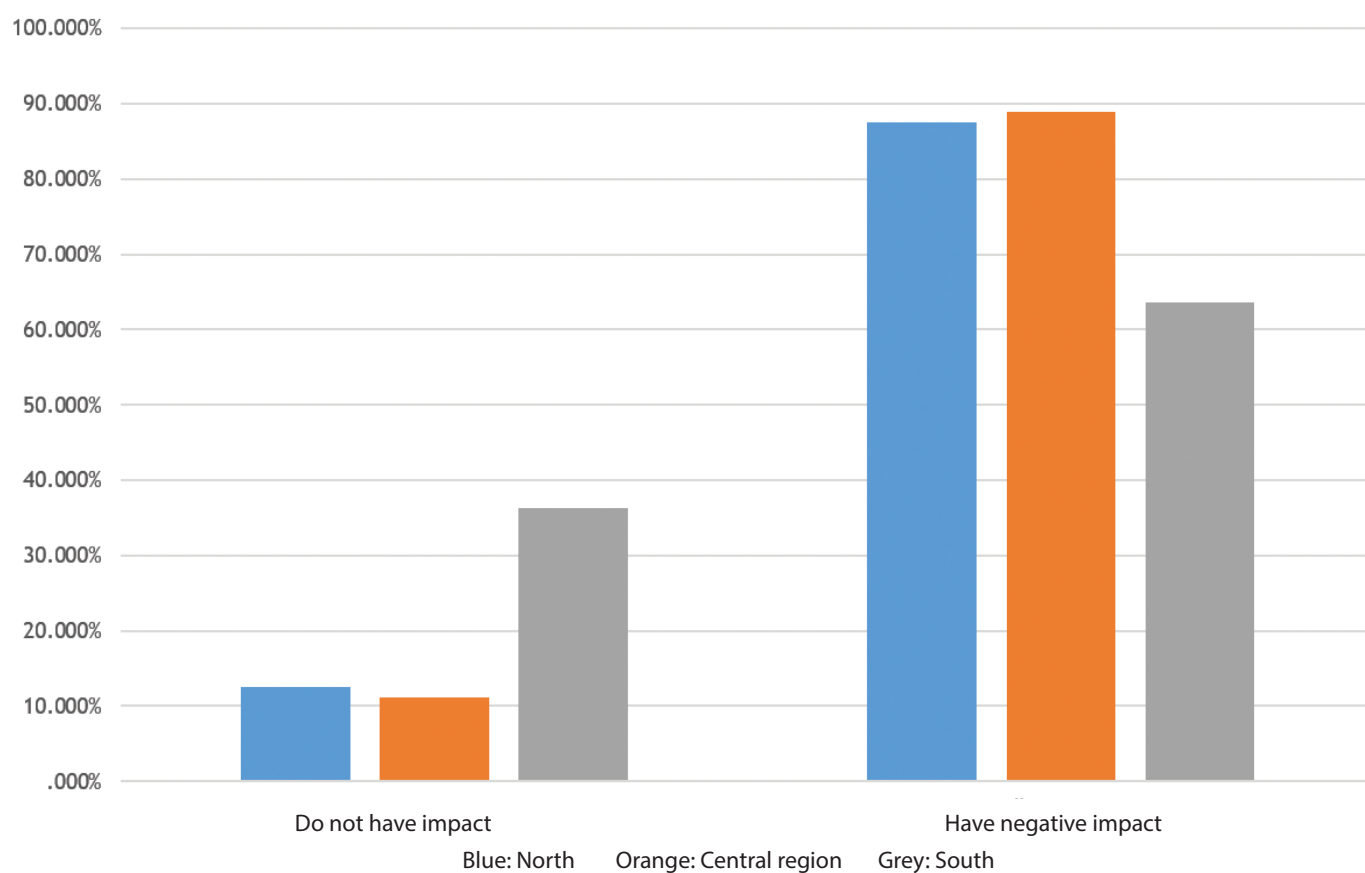
Age



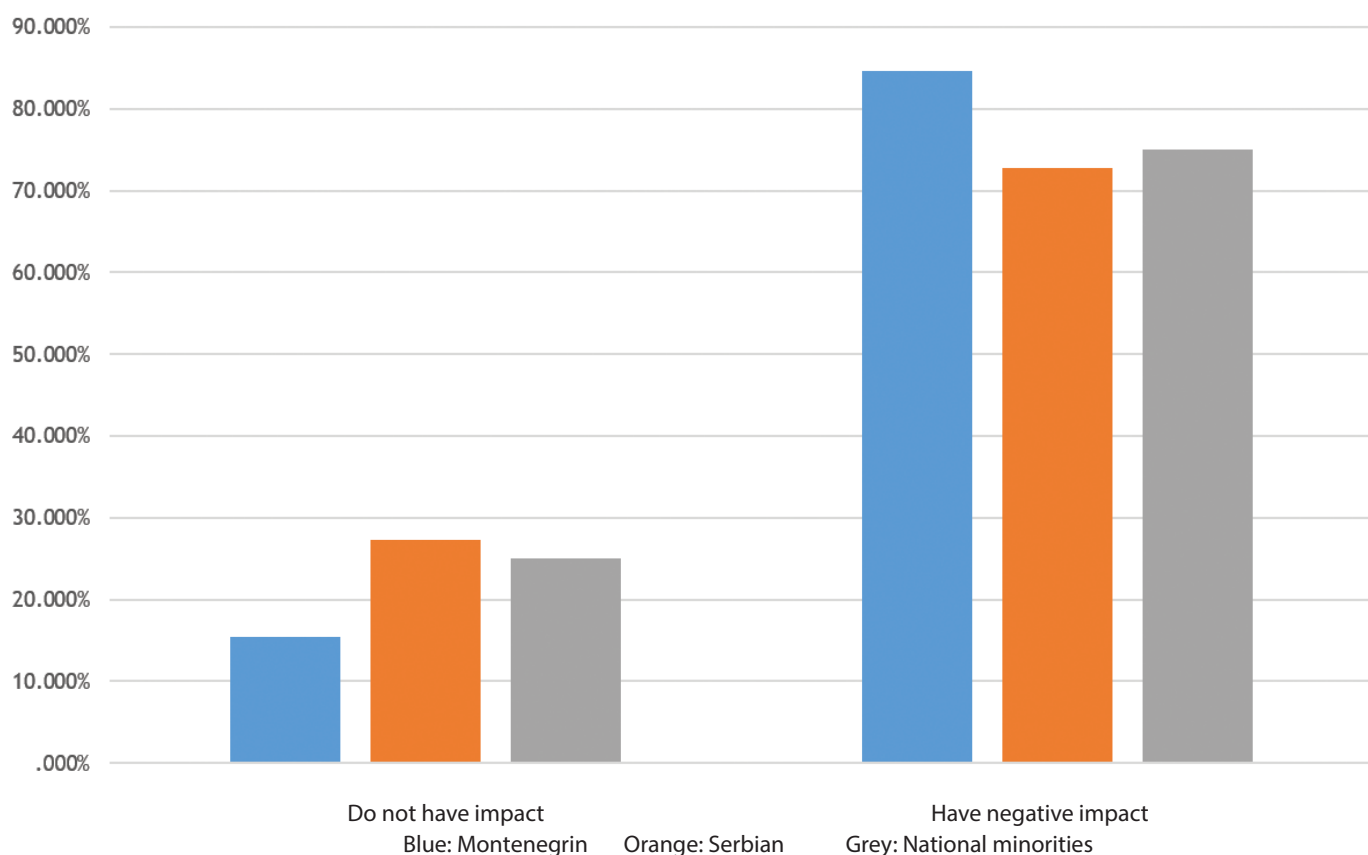
Work status



Region

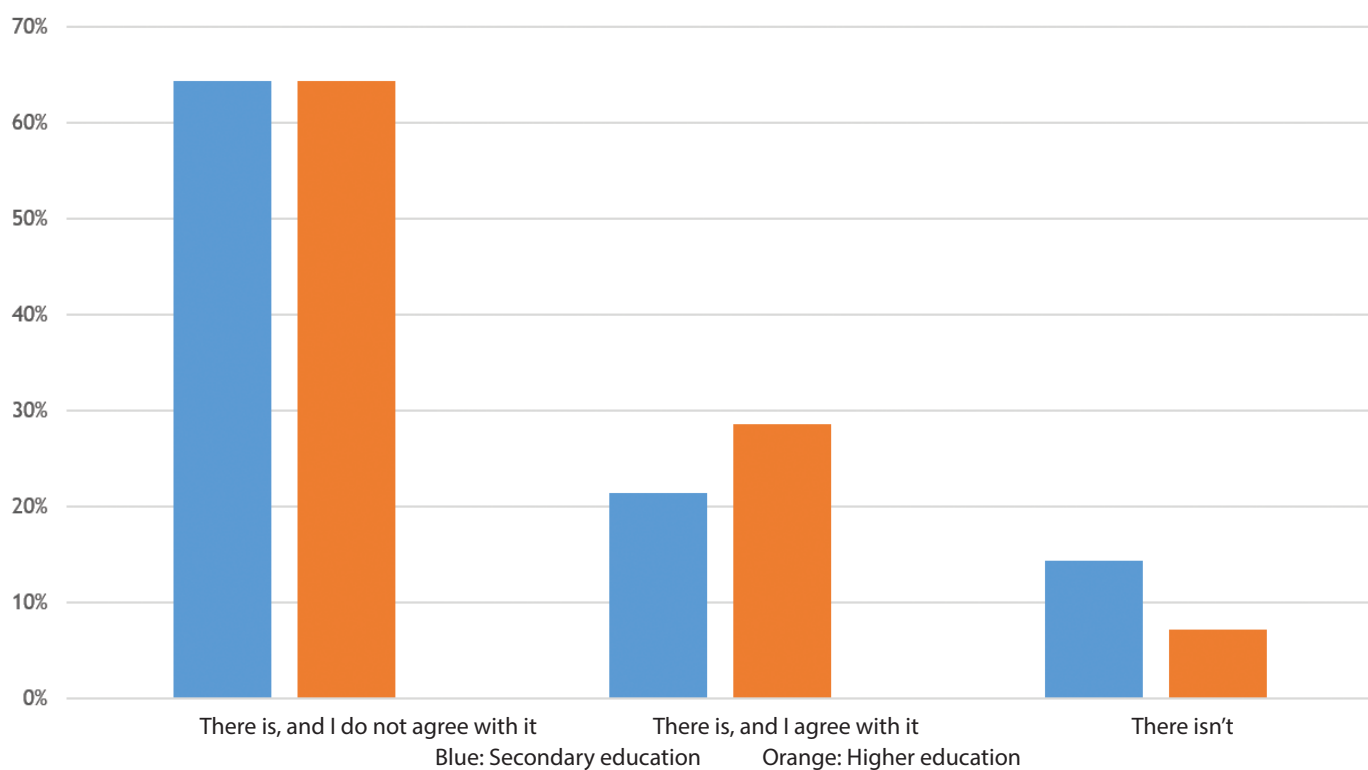


Nationality

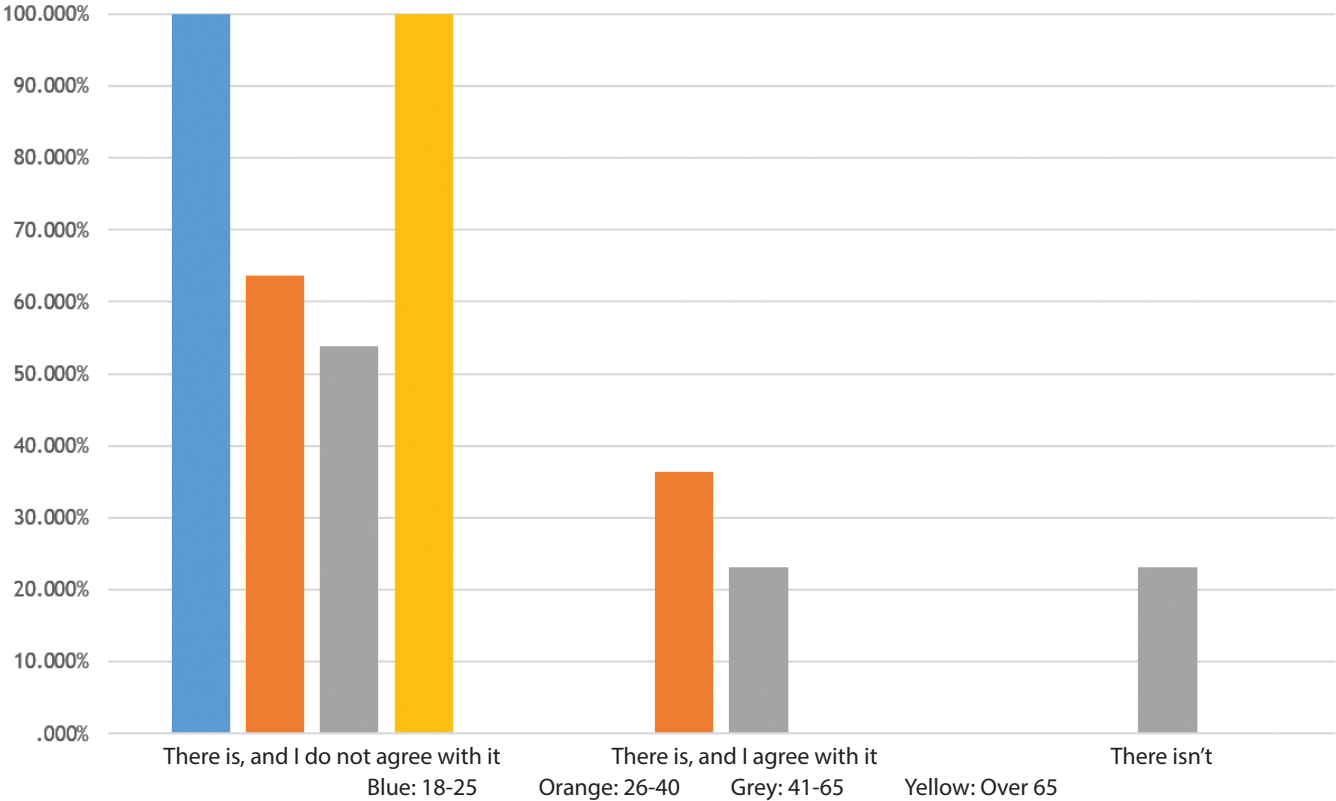


4. Do you think that there is a division into male and female jobs, and do you agree with such a division?

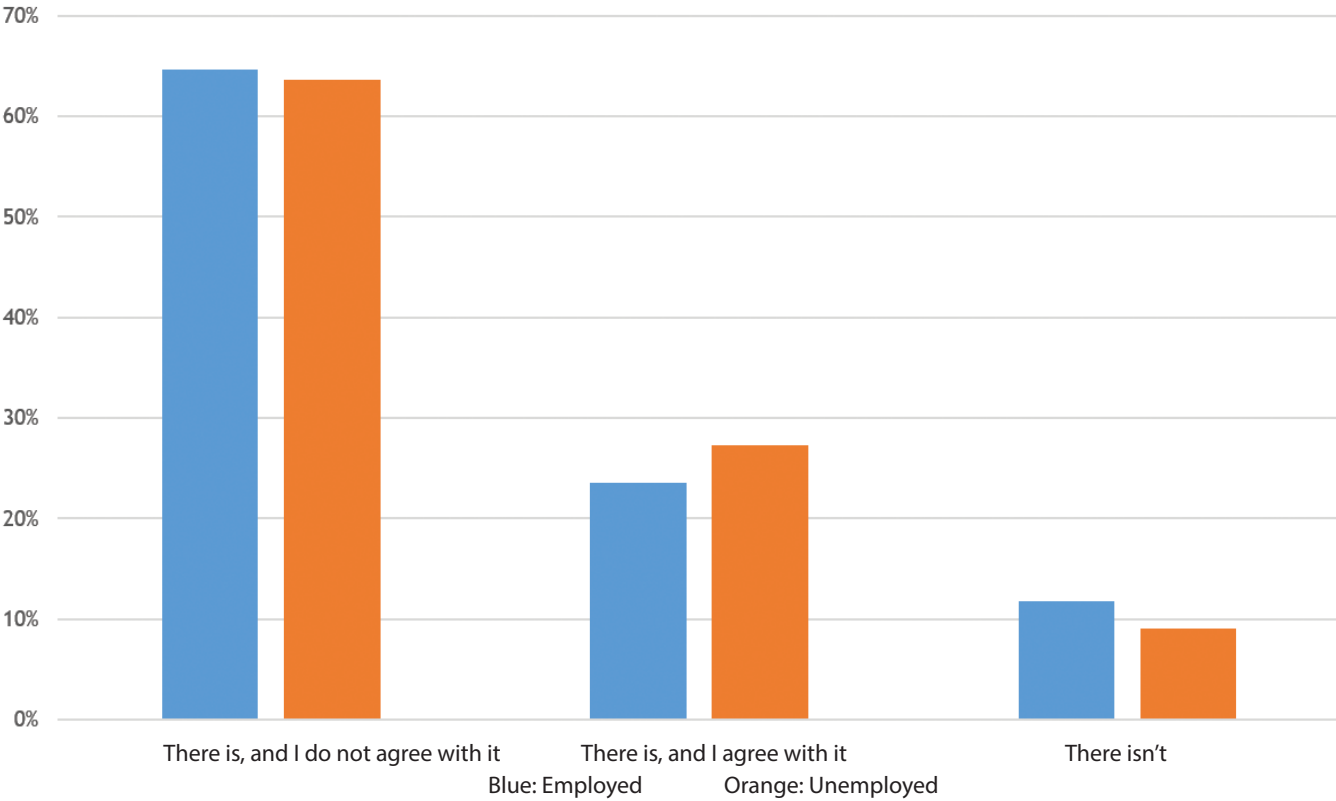
Education



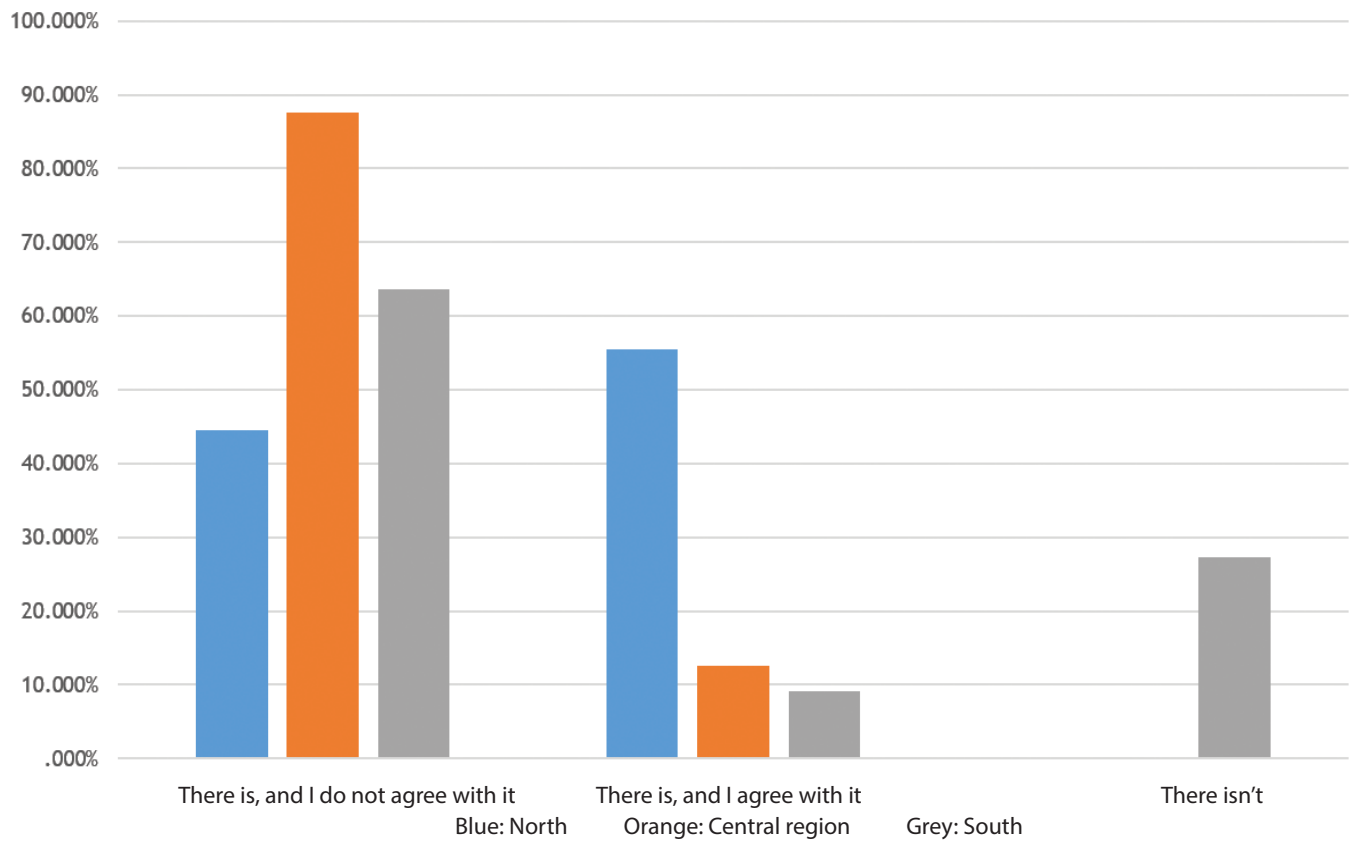
Age



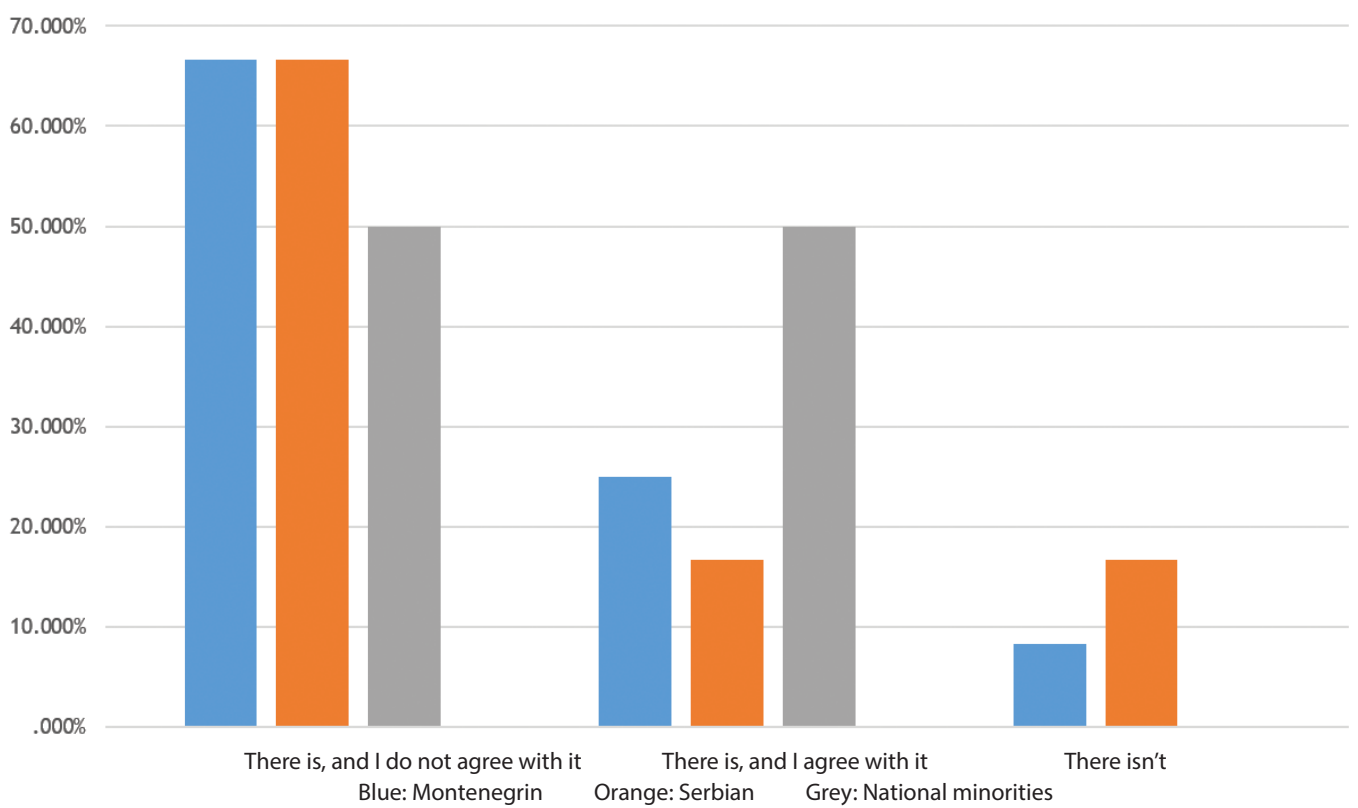
Work status



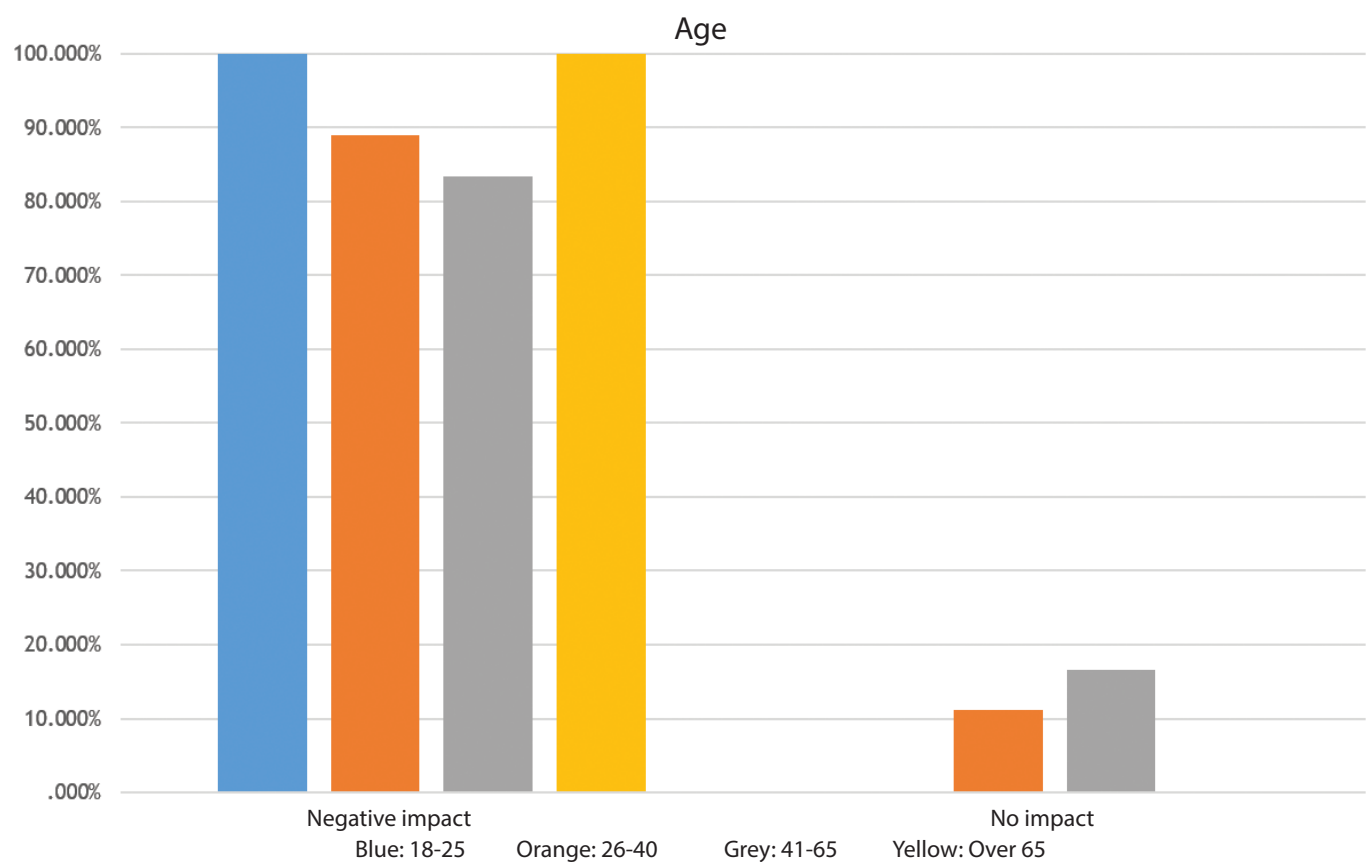
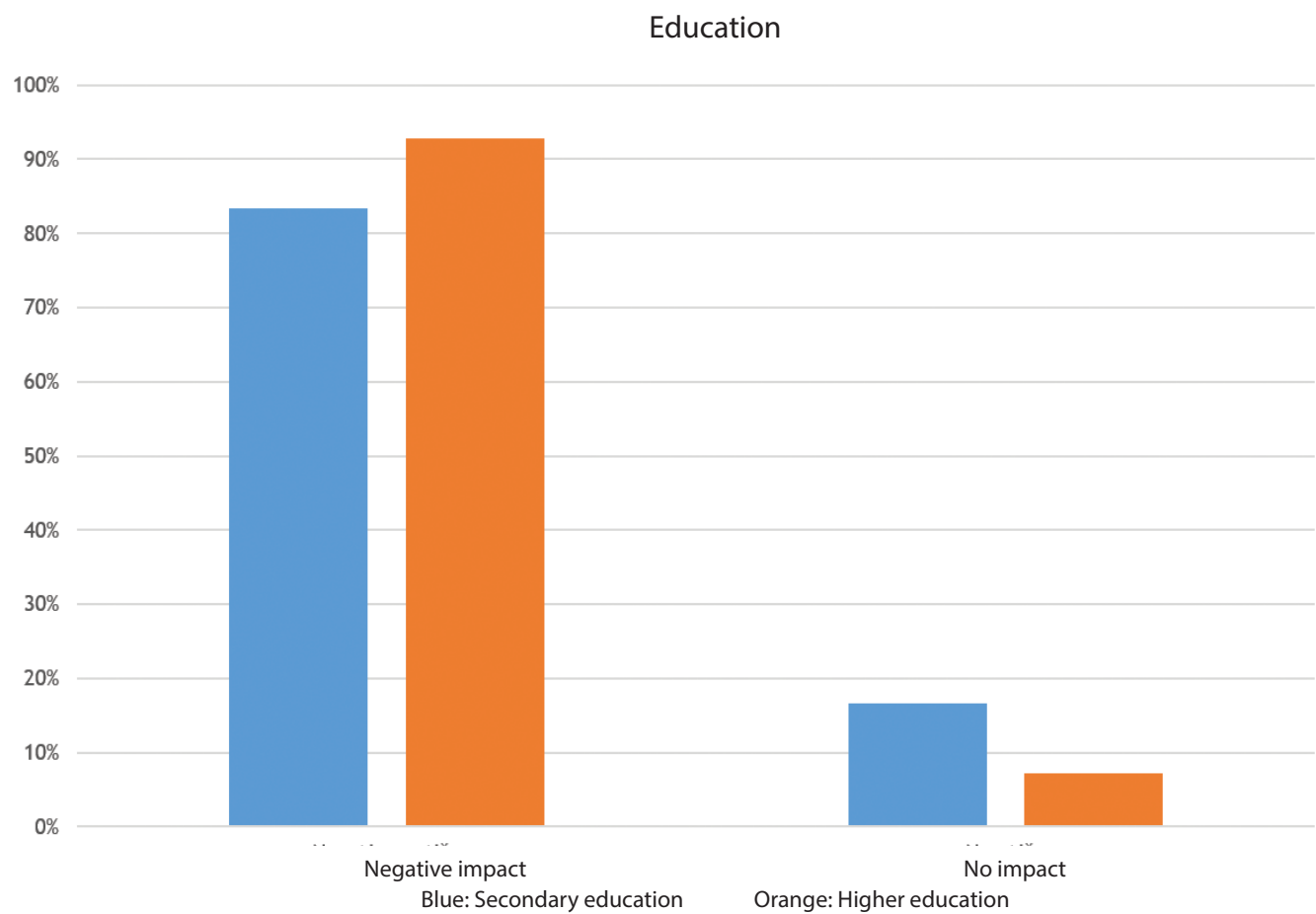
Region



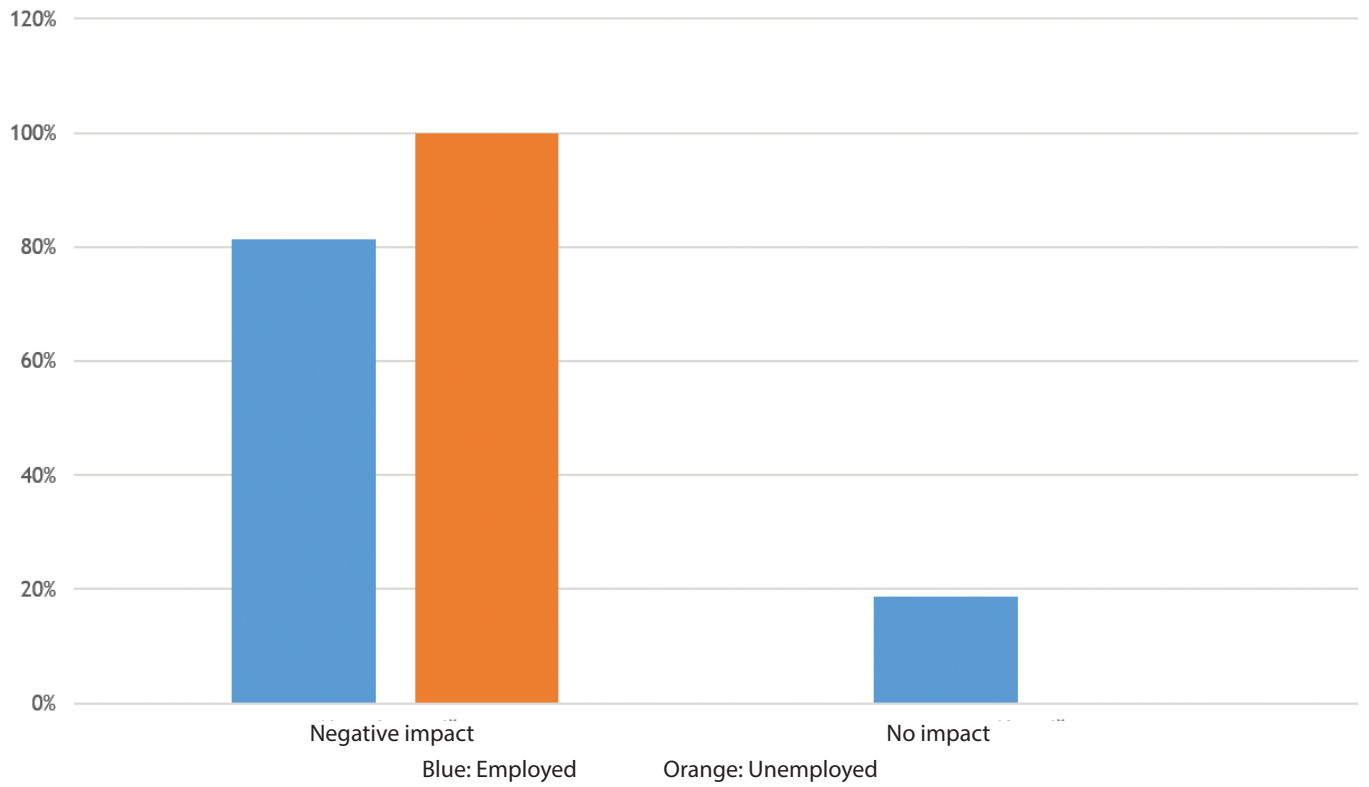
Nationality



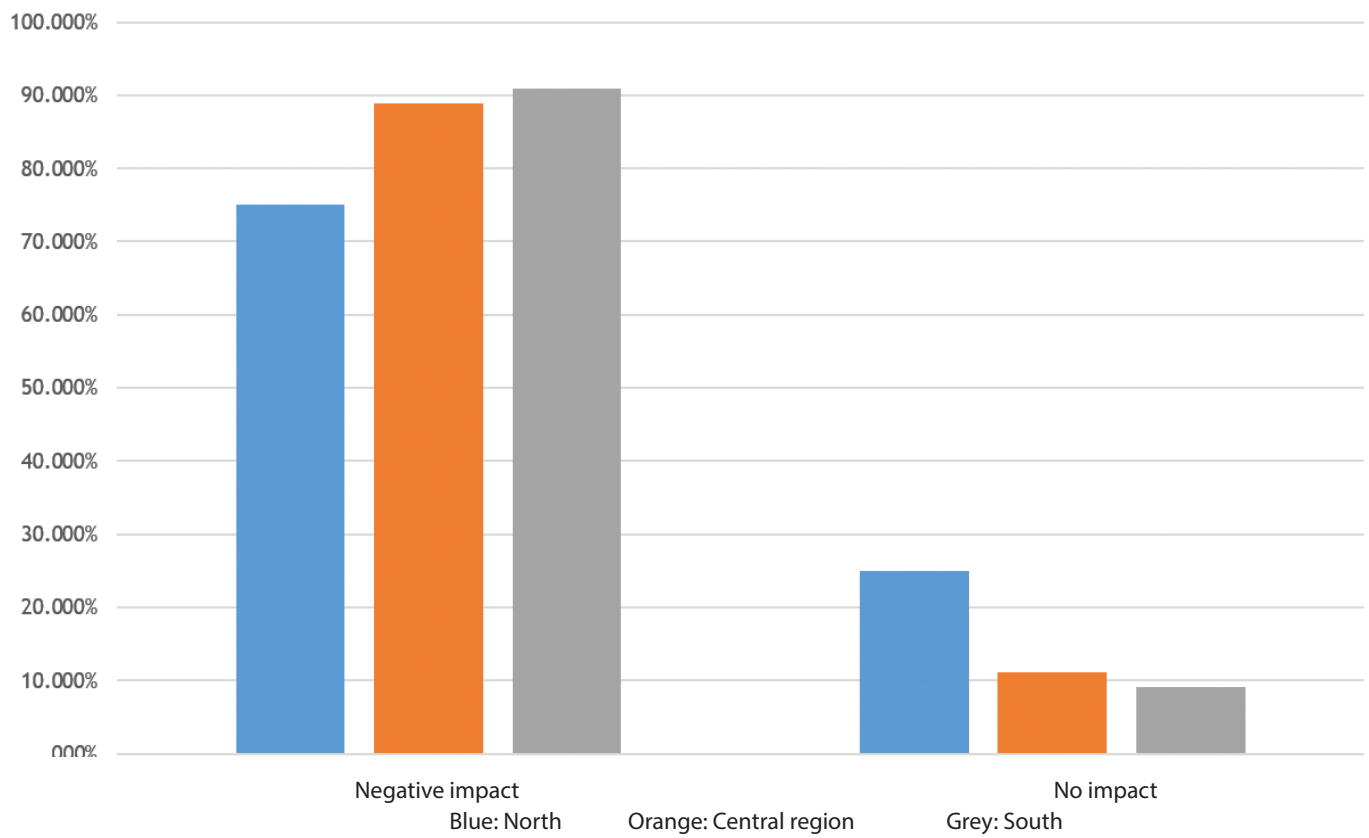
5. In what way does pregnancy and motherhood affect woman’s employment and working status?

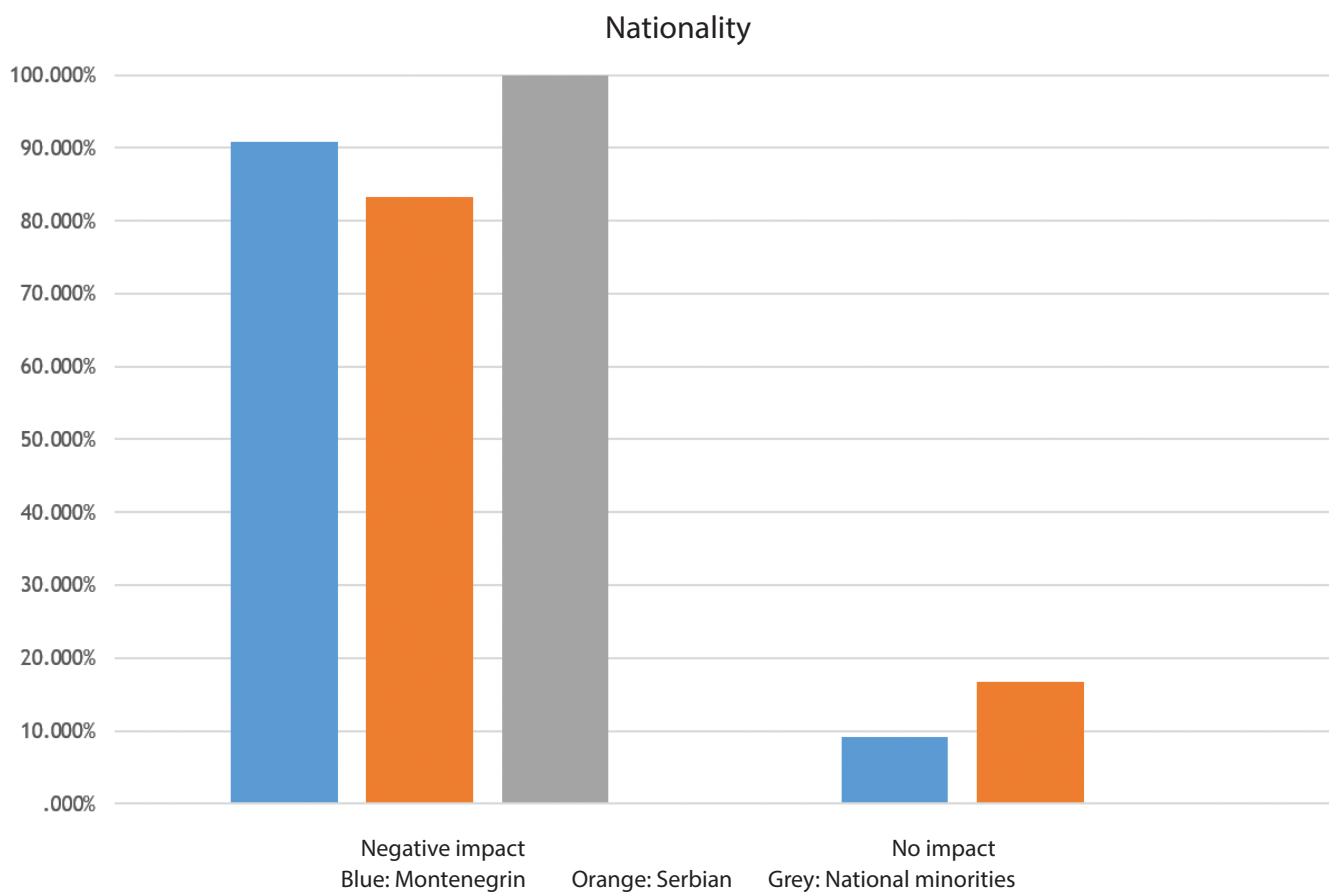


Work status

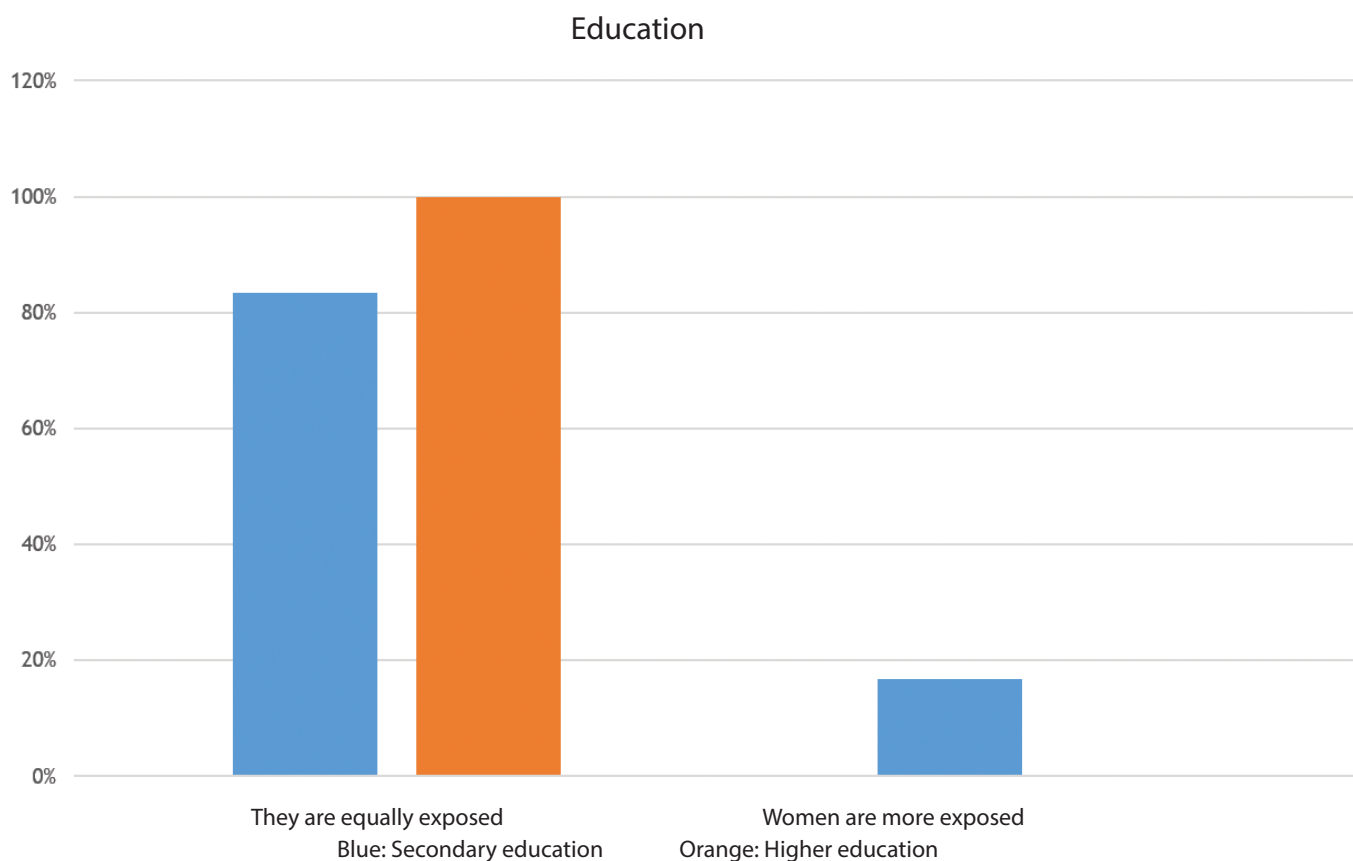


Region

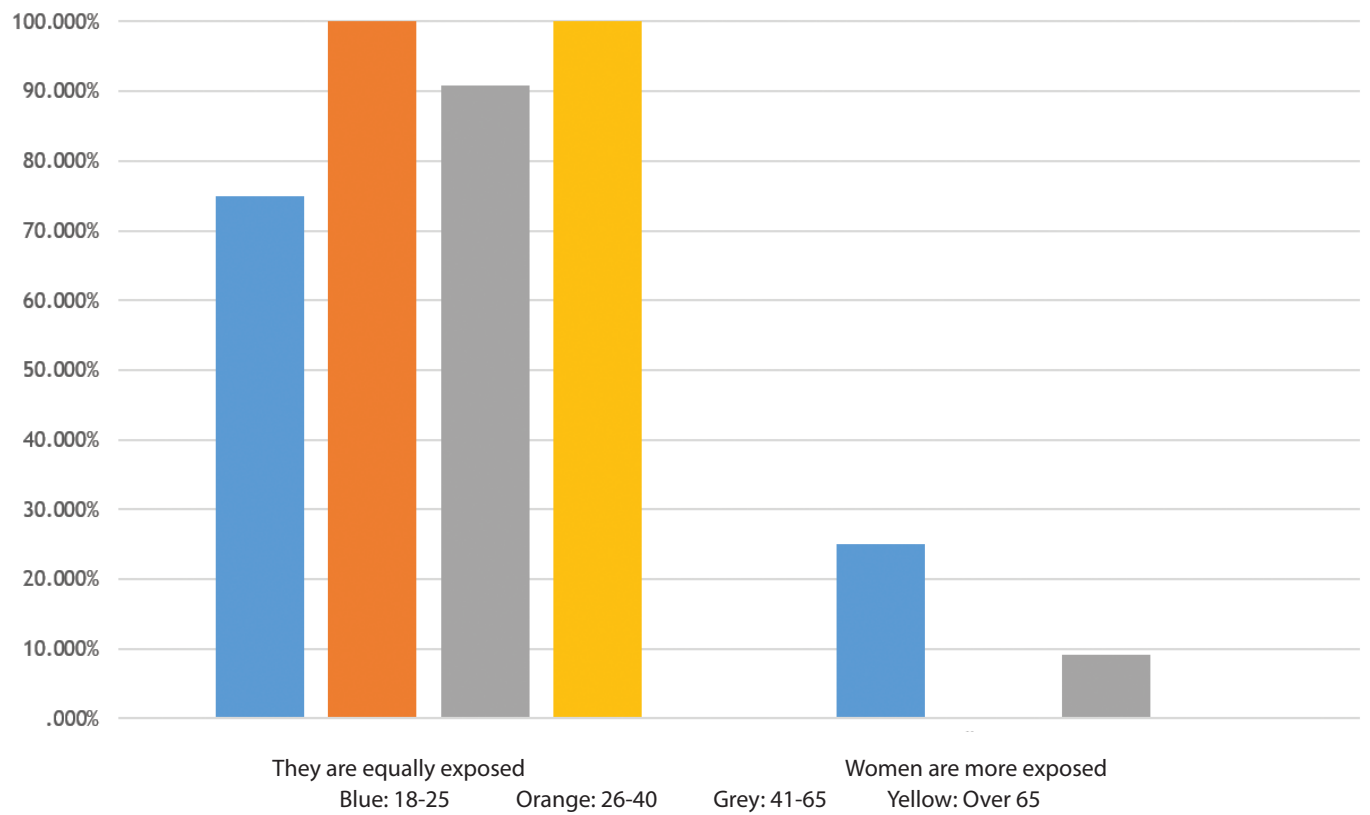




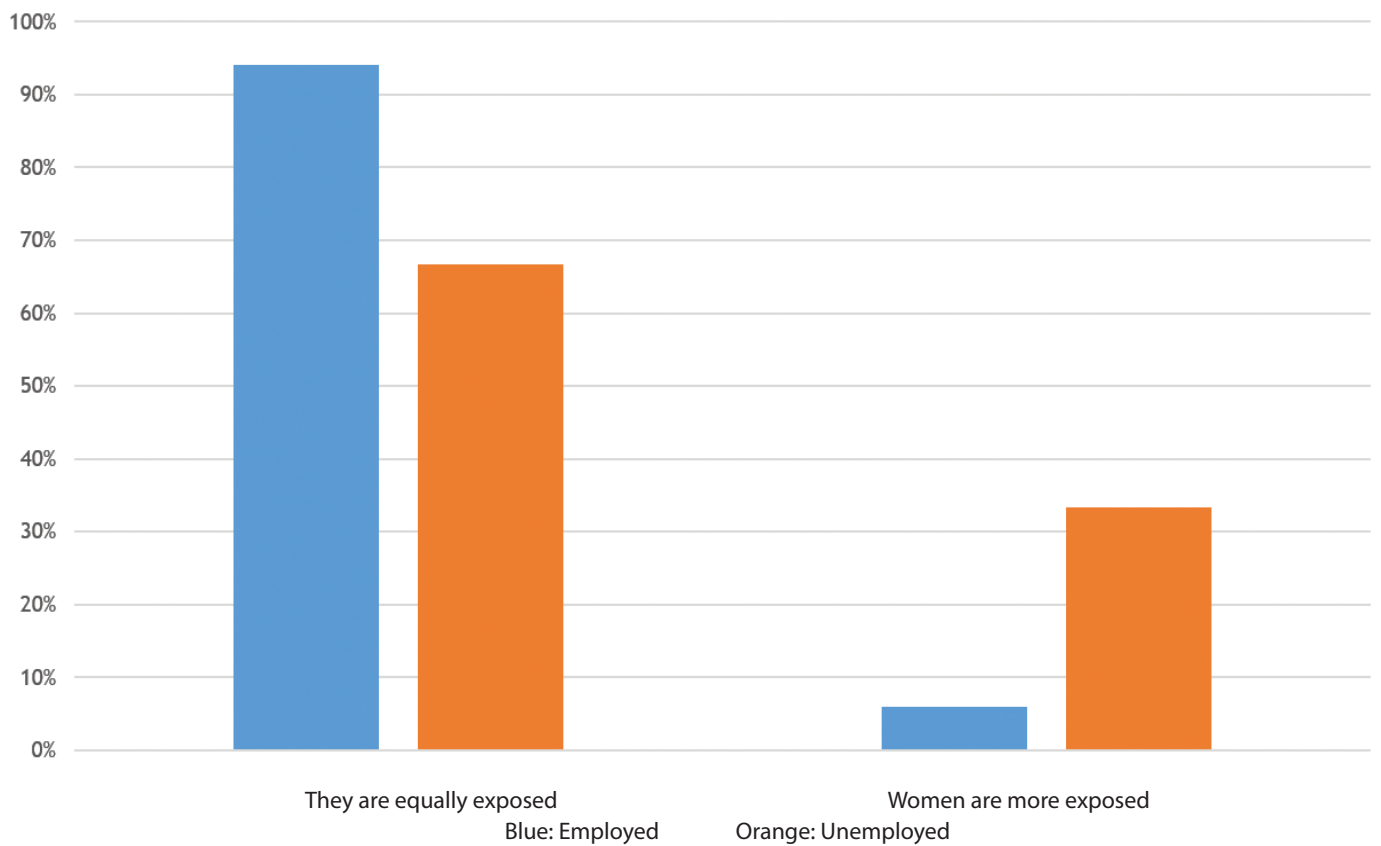
6. Do you find that women are more exposed to precarious contracts and undeclared work than men?



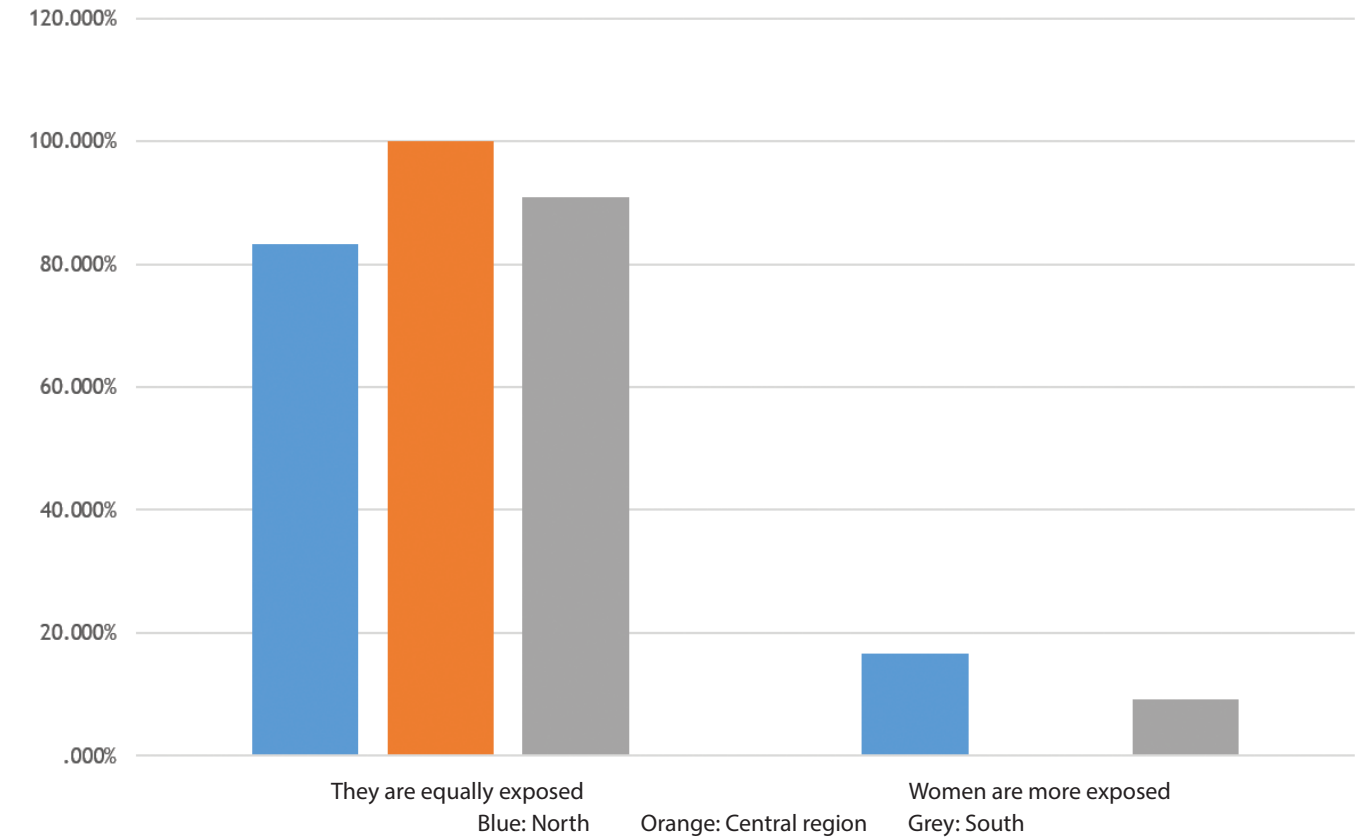
Age



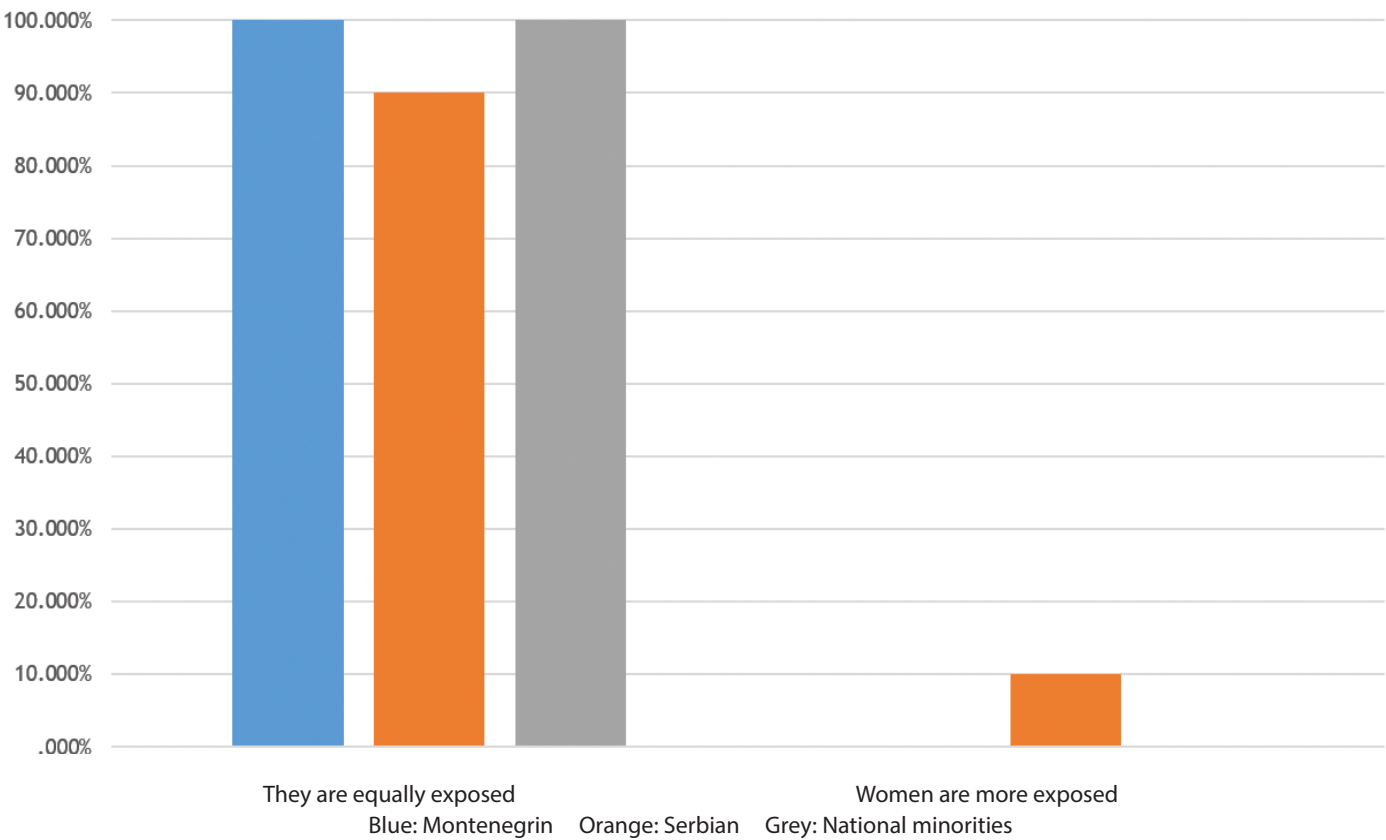
Work status



Region

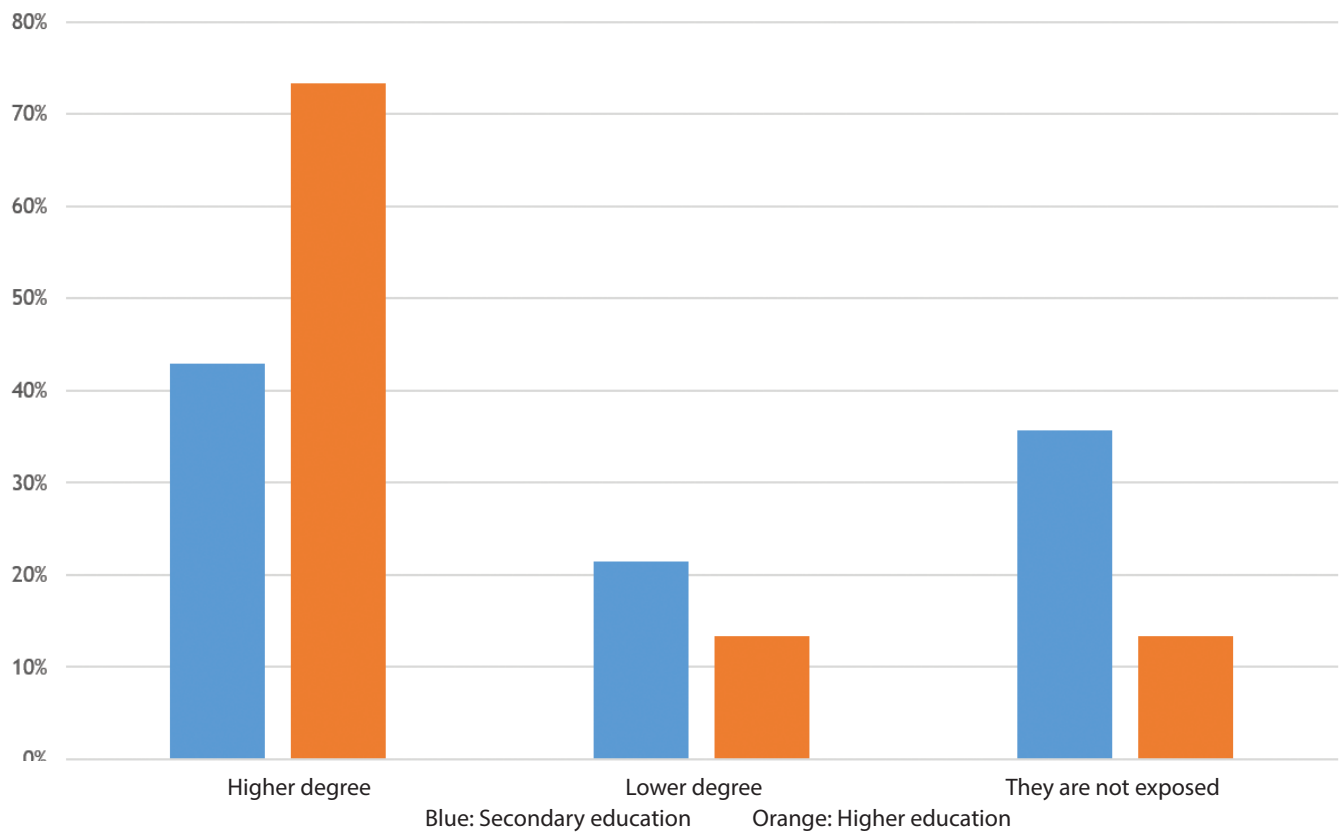


Nationality

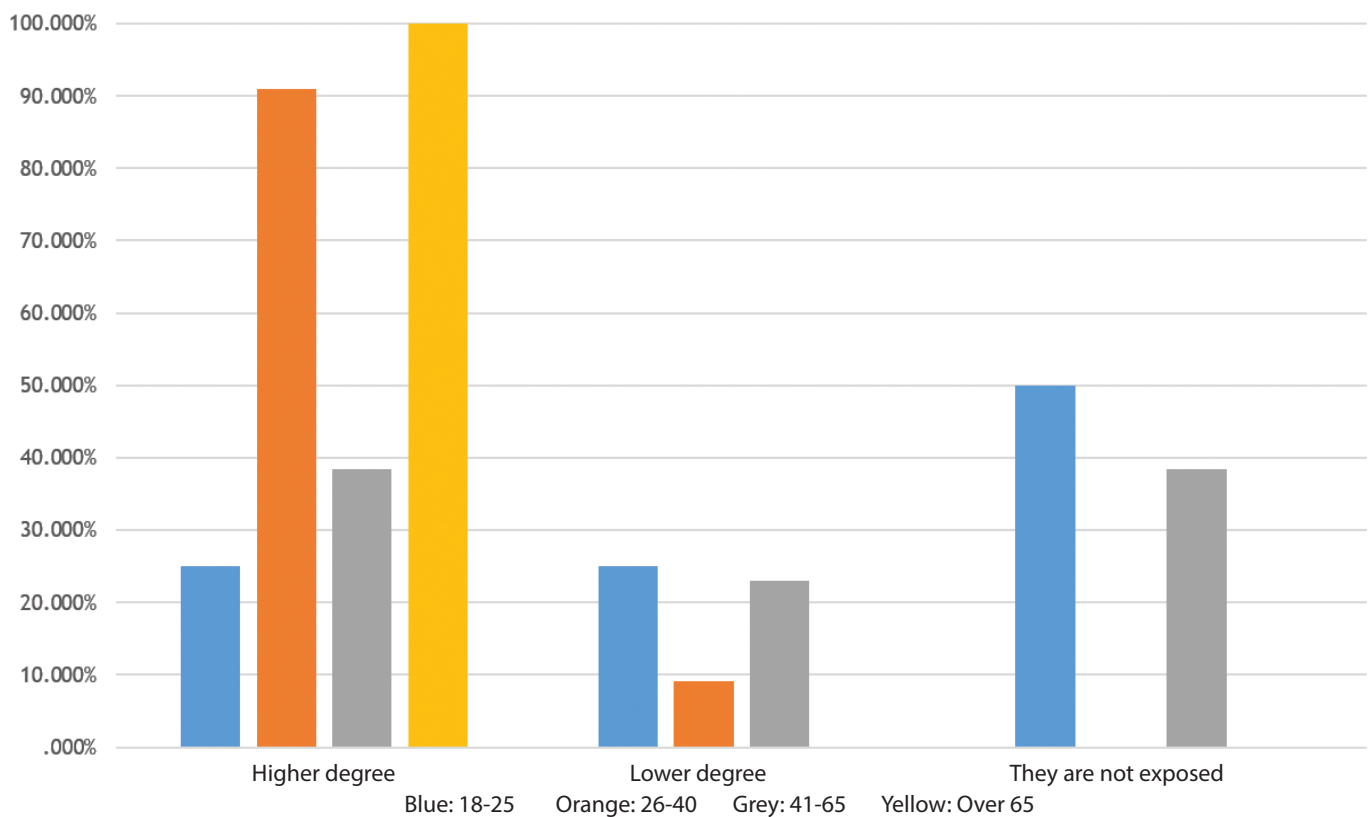


7. To what extent are women exposed to sexual harassment and mobbing at work?

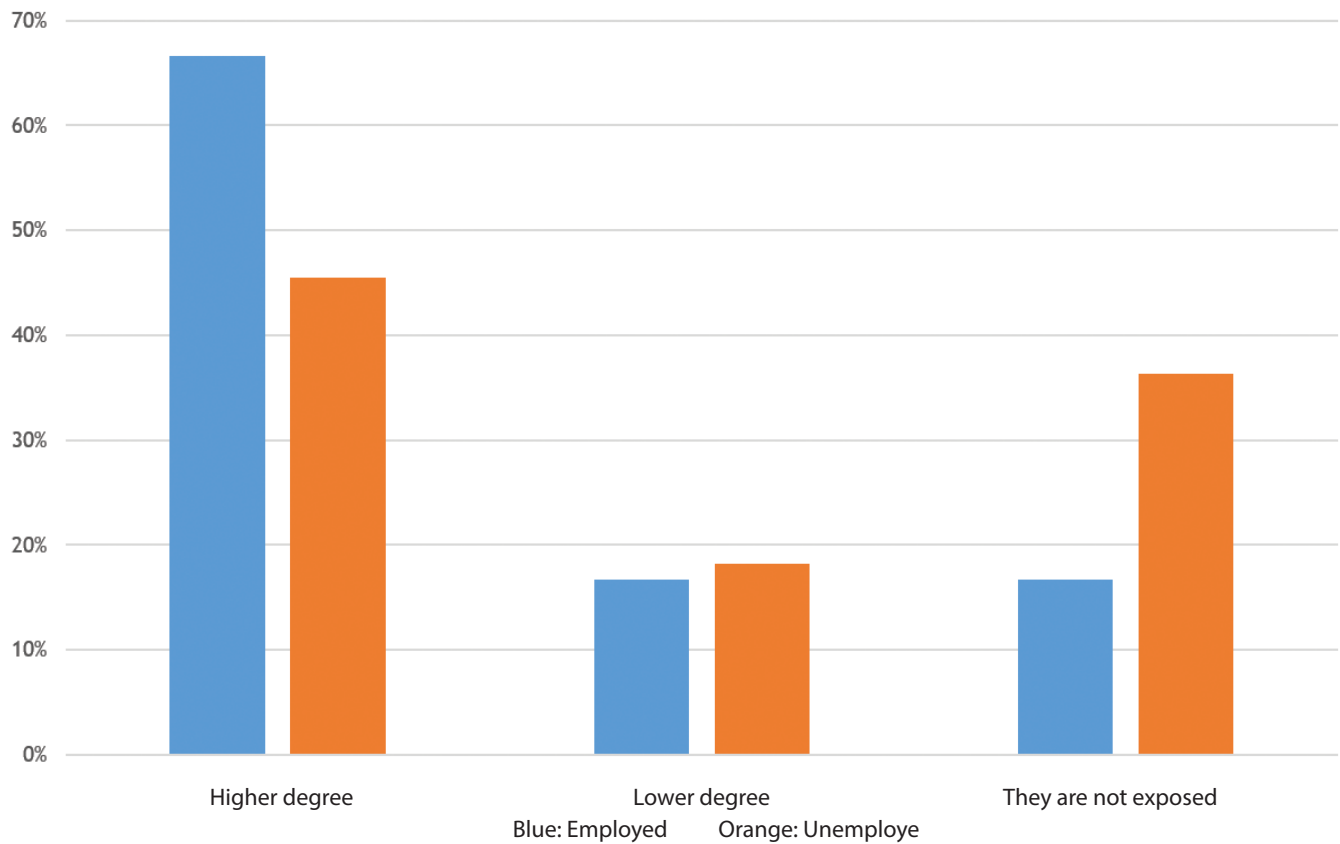
Education



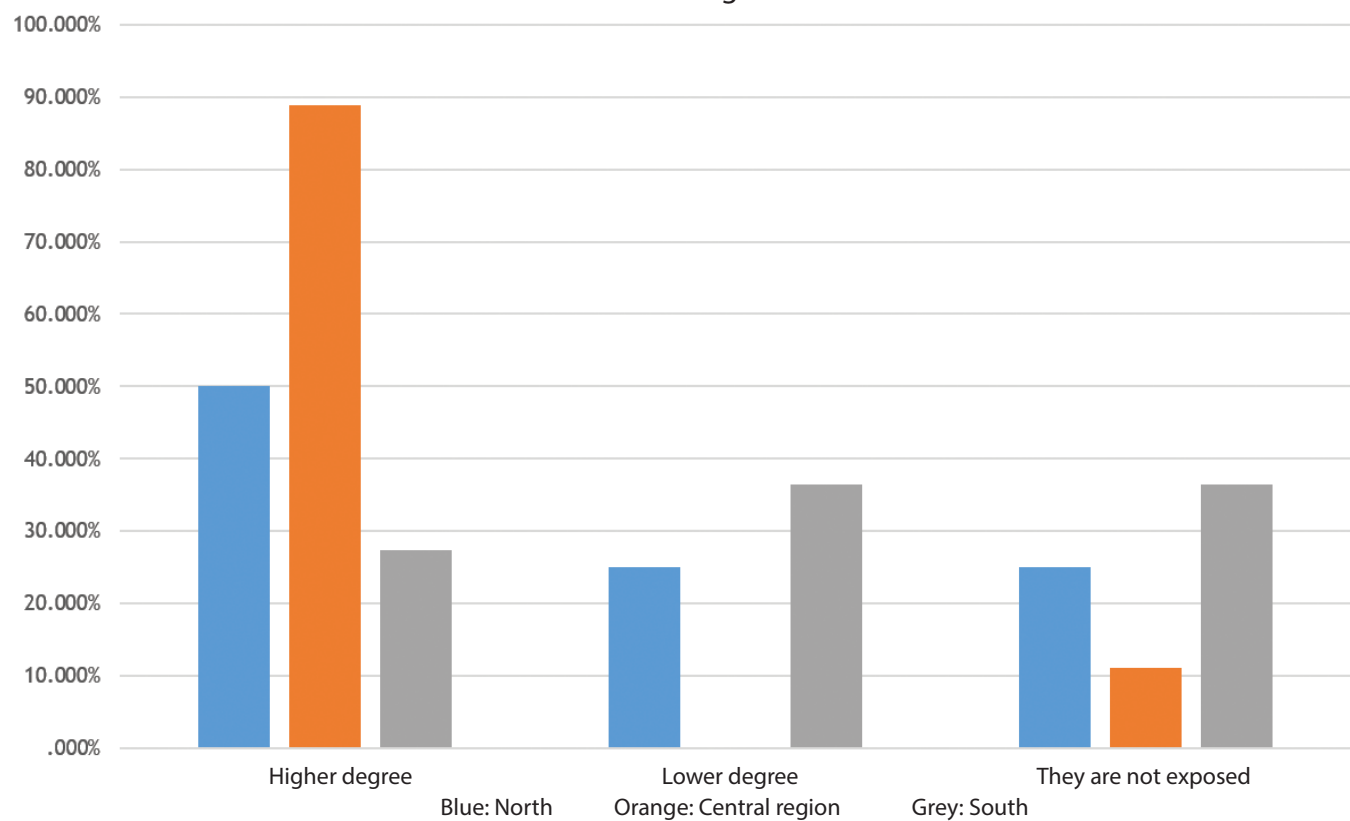
Age



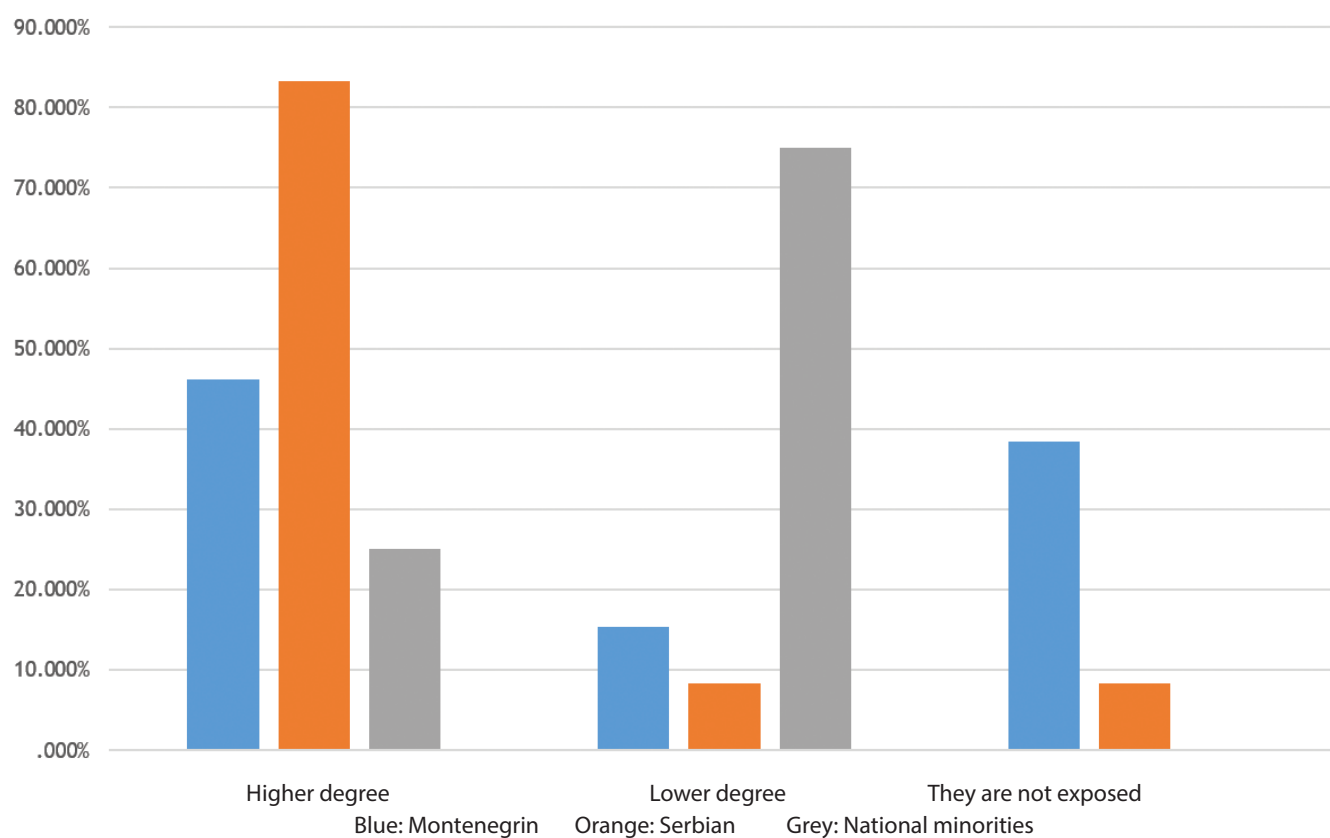
Work status



Region

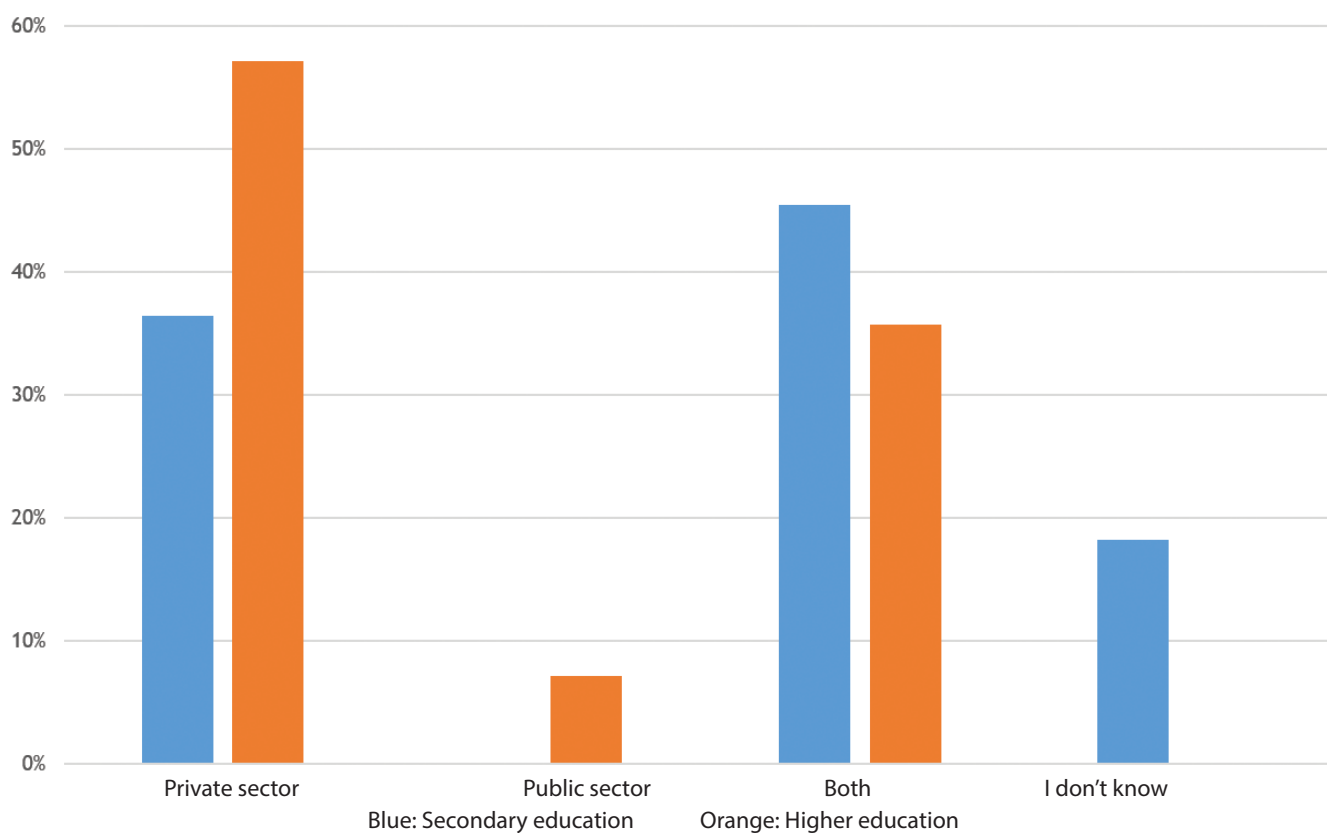


Nationality

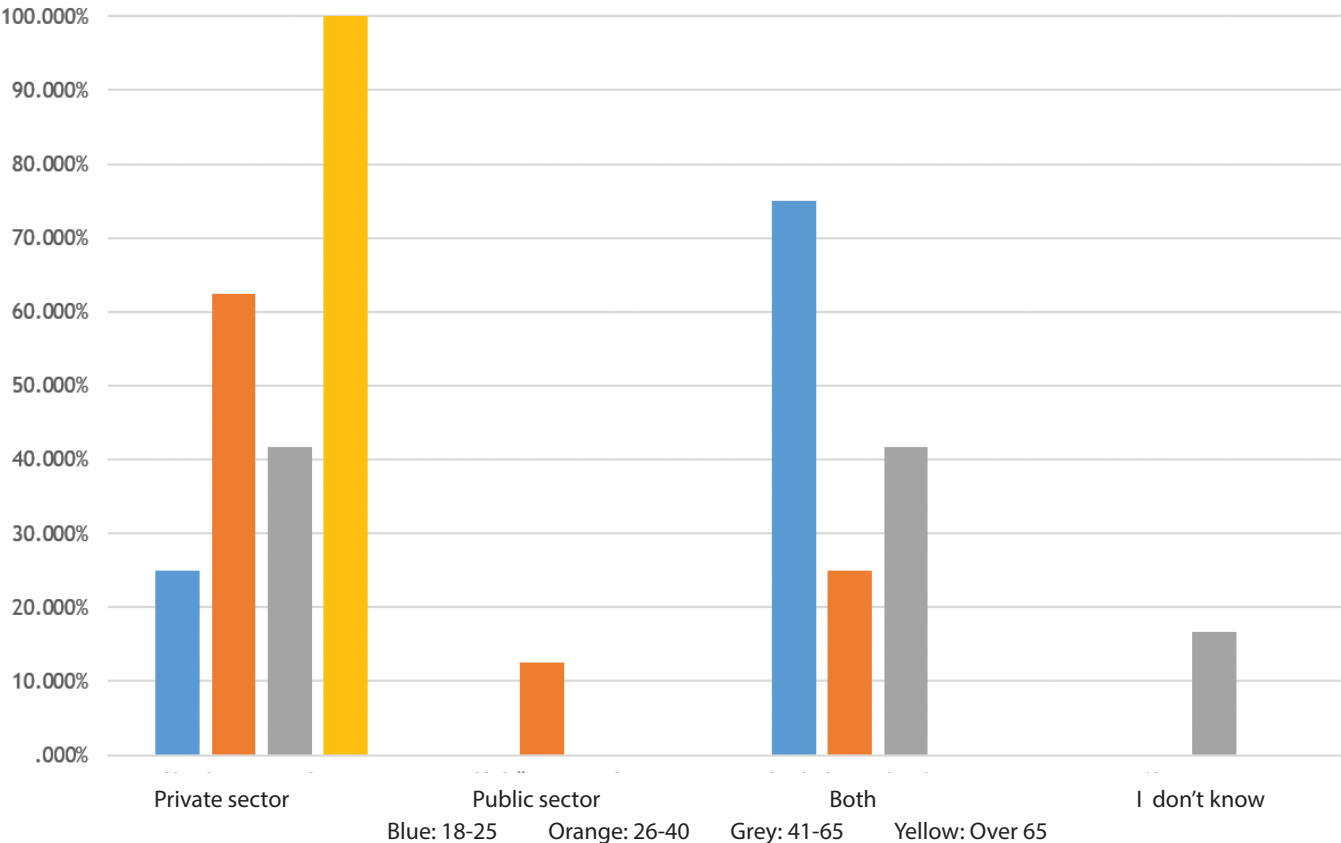


8. In which sector are women more exposed to discrimination and mobbing?

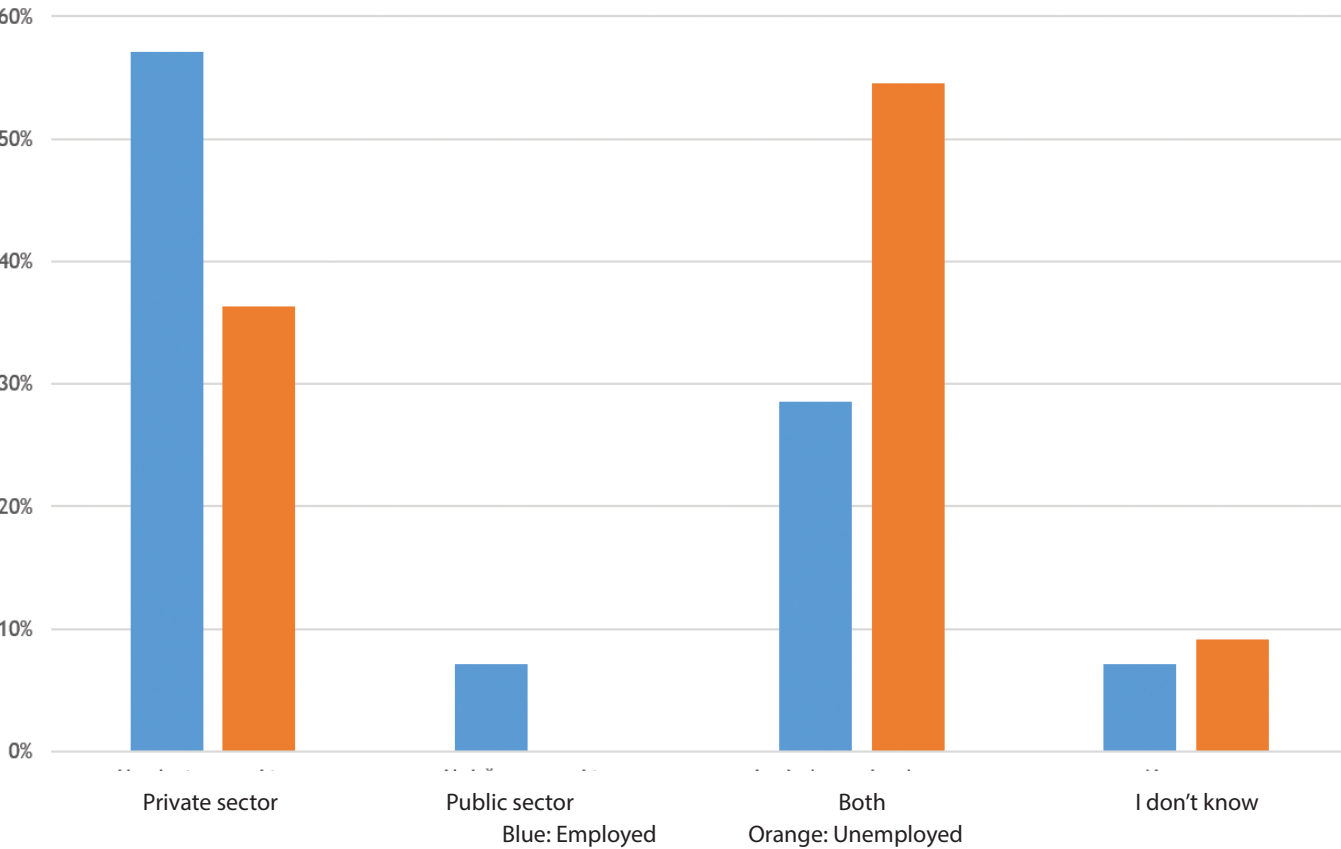
Education



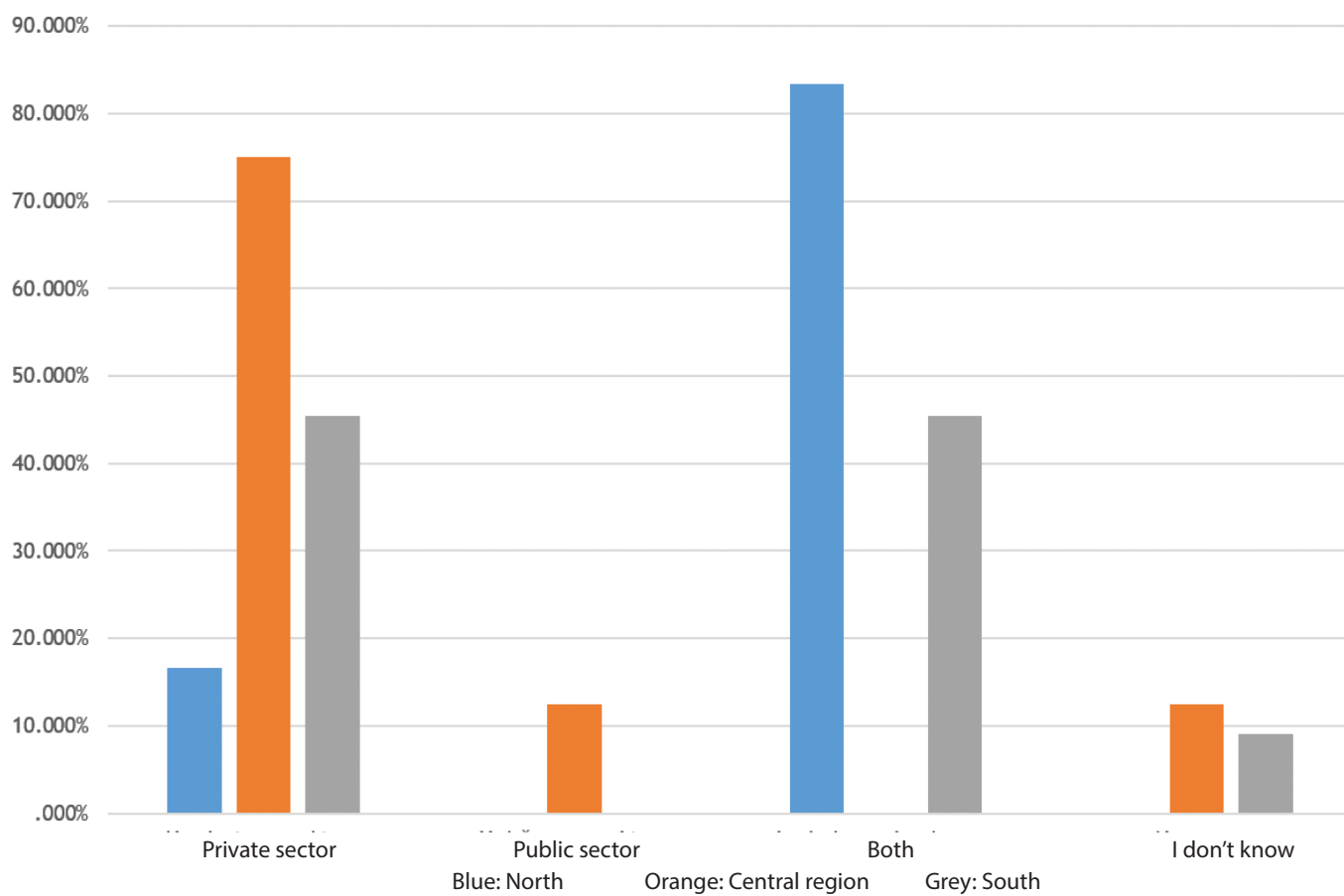
Age



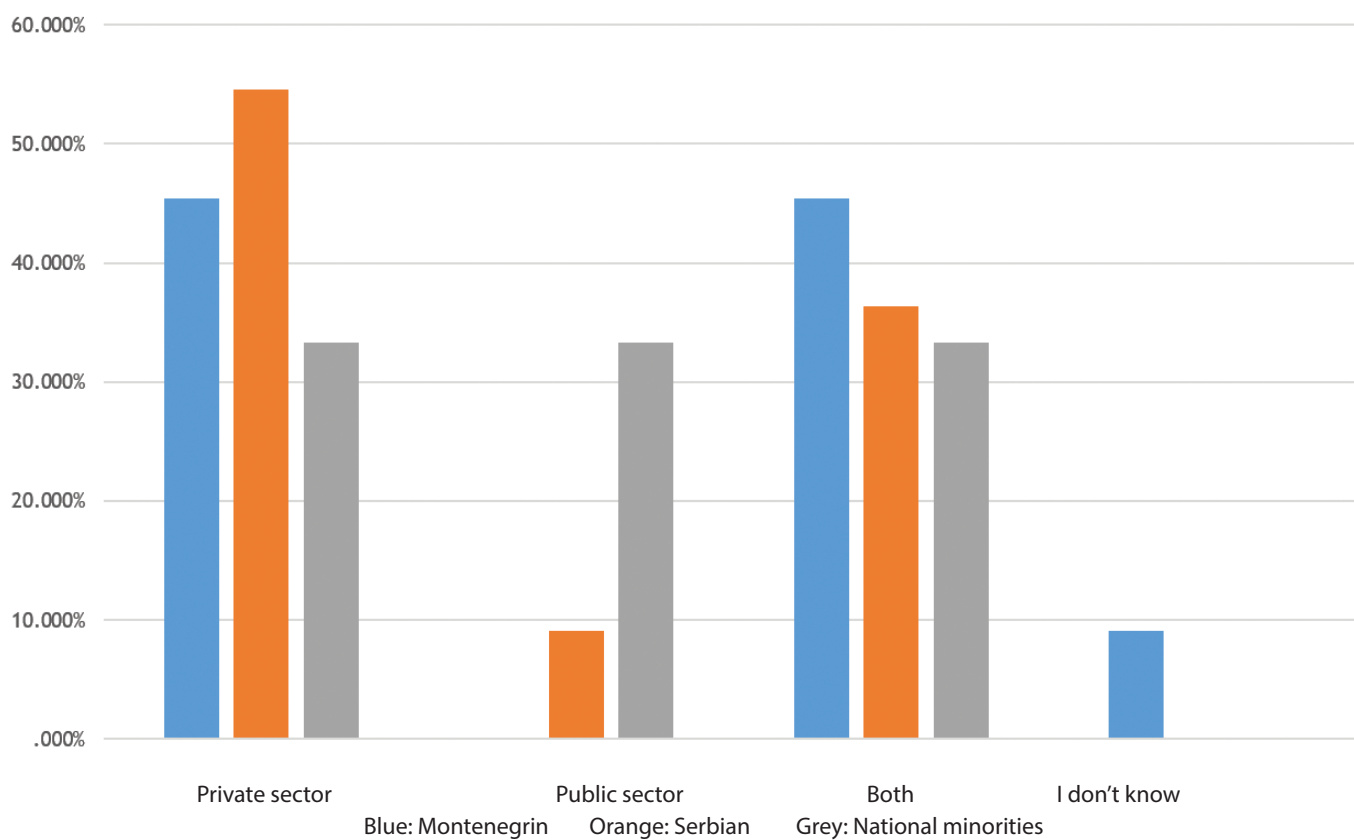
Work status



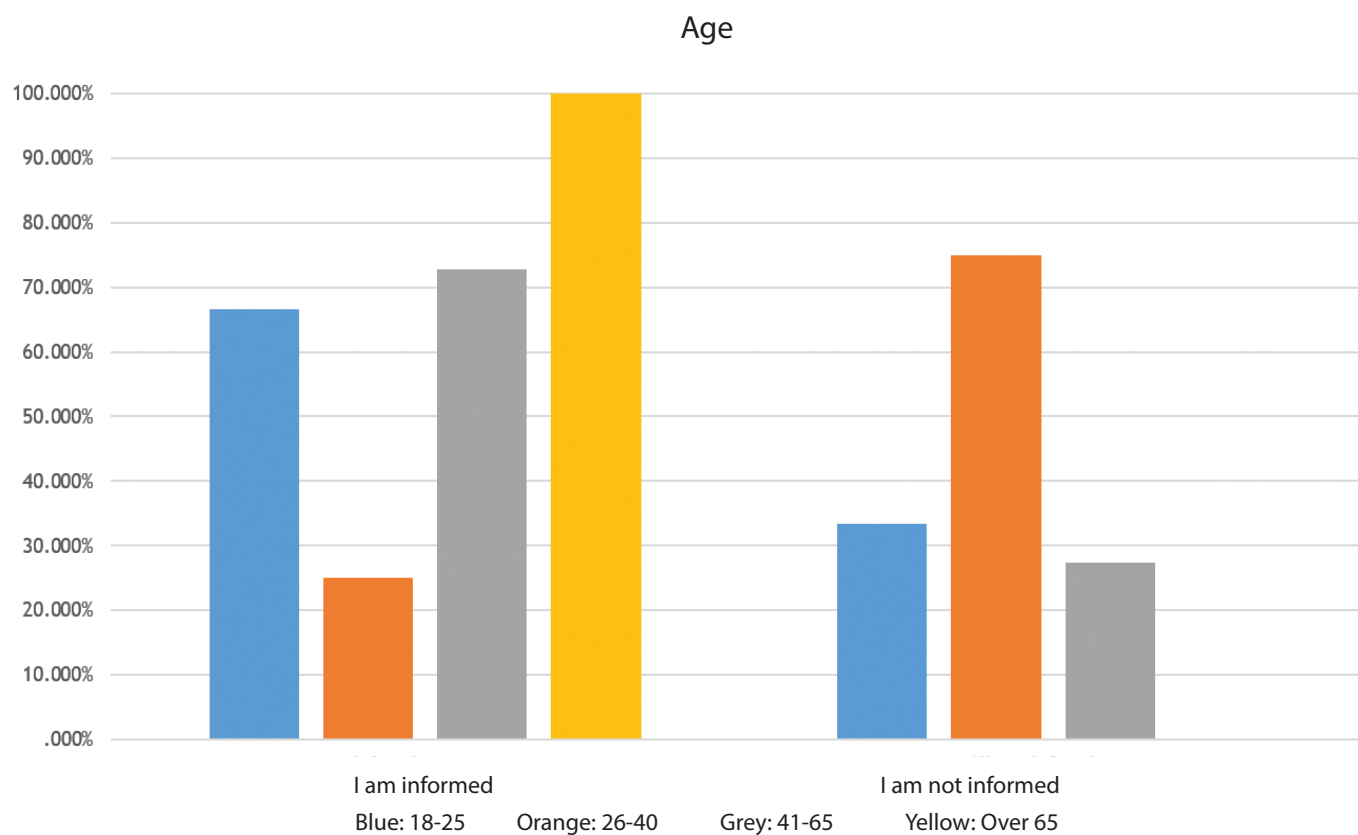
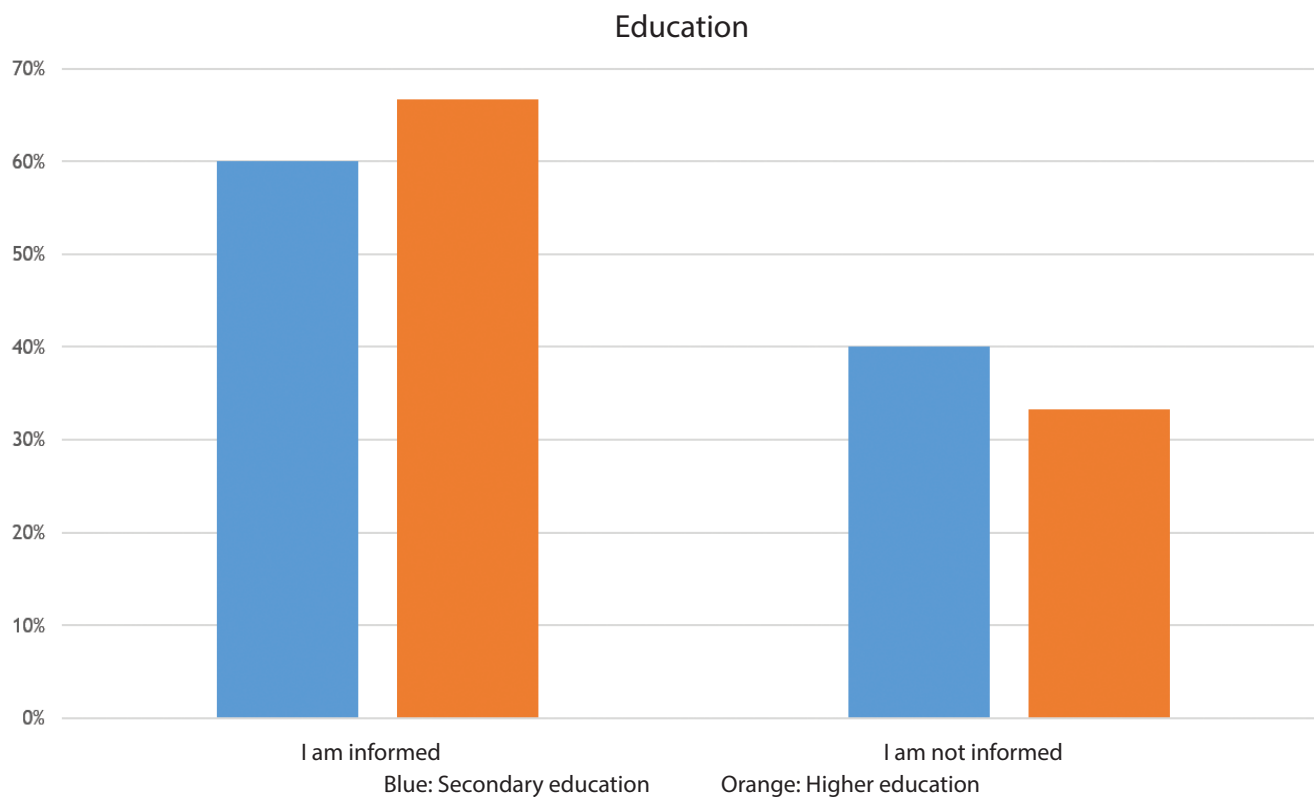
Region



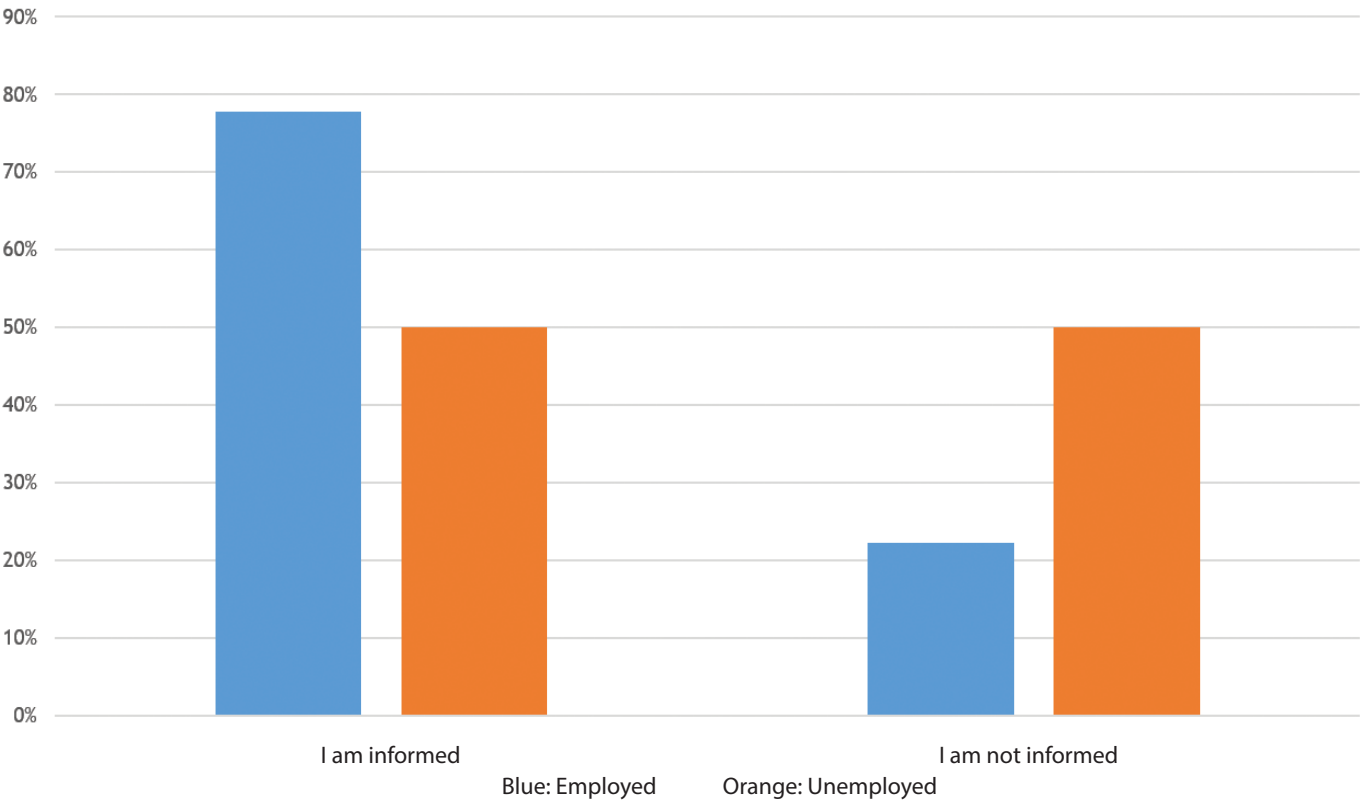
Nationality



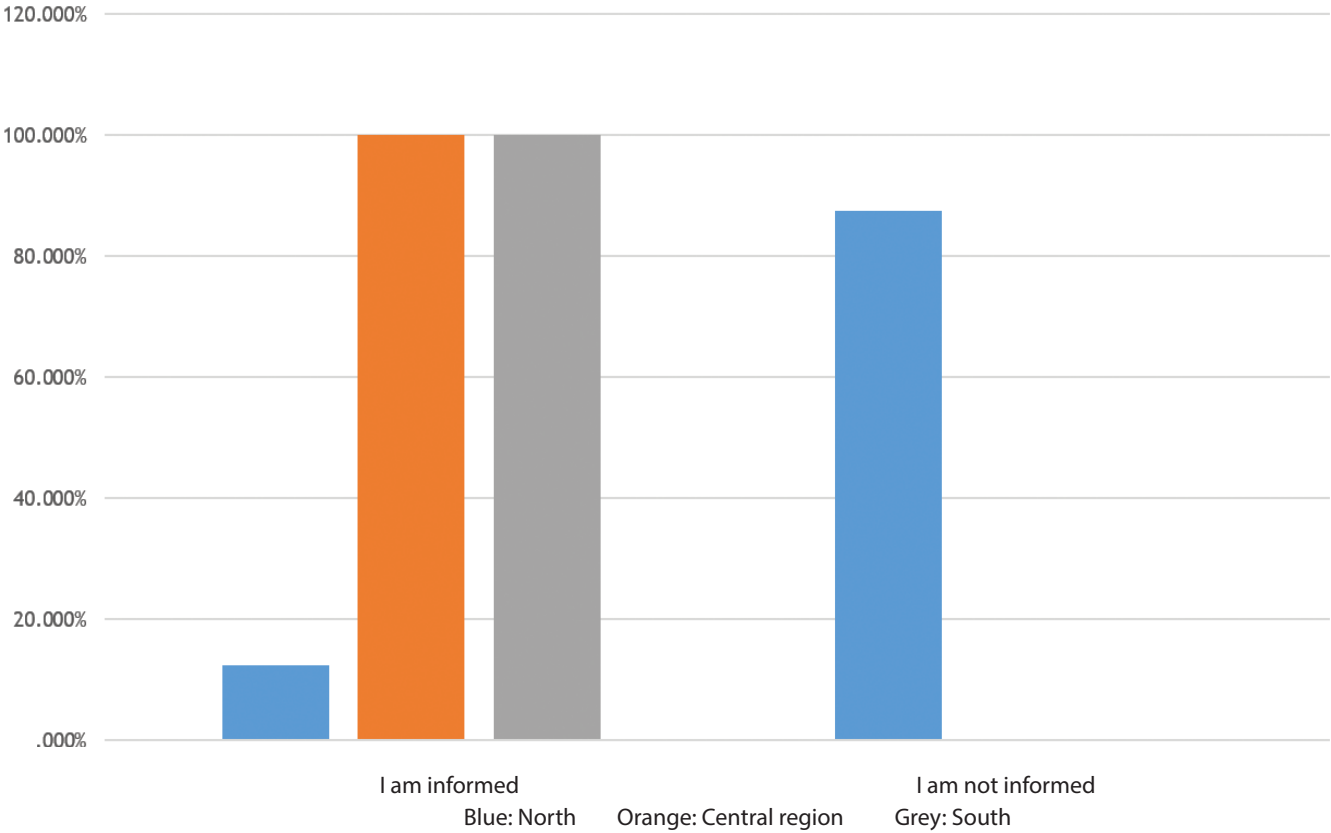
9. Are you familiar with the institutional / legal mechanisms that enable women to be treated equally at work / when looking for work?



Work status



Region



Nationality

