

***Virginity does not
determine whether a
Roma girl is
worthy or not***



Table of Contents

1. Introduction	33
2. General data	34
3. A virgin or not?-parents' attitudes	35
3.1. The structure of polled parents	35
3.2. Parents' attitudes to customs concerning marriage	36
3.3. To change the tradition that a girl should be a virgin or not? – parents' attitudes	37
4. A virgin or not? – young men's attitudes	38
4. 1. The structure of polled young men	38
4.2. Polled young men's attitudes to their and Roma girls' sexual experience before marriage	38
4. 3. The choice of a marriage-partner –your own decision or parents' choice?	39
5. A virgin or not? – girls attitudes	40
5.1. The structure of polled girls	40
5.2. Polled girls' attitudes to sexual experience of Roma young men and women before marriage	41
5.3.The choice of a marriage-partner –your own decision or parents' choice?	42
6. Sociological analysis of the results of research „Virginity does not determine worthiness“ by Mirjana Popović, MA	42

1. Introduction

Respectable readers,

This is the brochure “Virginity does not determine whether a Roma girl is worthy or not” with the results of the research that Center for Roma Initiatives in Niksic did in February and March 2006. The research was carried out within the project „Virginity does not determine worthiness“, that is the part of a broader regional project «A virgin or not?», realised not only in Montenegro but in Serbia, Hungary, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Slovakia. This project was realised due to the financial support of the Women Roma center of the Institute for Open Society in New York through the foundation of its representative in Montenegro- Institute for Open Society.

The research is aimed at the public we would like to make familiar with the custom of «determining whether Roma girls are virgins for their wedding night» which is deeply rooted and wide - spread in Roma community. With this research Center for Roma Initiatives wants to start a discussion on this issue that is tabooed in Roma culture and tradition. We shall inform all the community about numerous problems that this custom makes to Roma girls. The procedure of determining girls' virginity is always stressful and humiliating. This test is a nightmare for the girls who are not virgins. Both their and their husband's families insult and beat them and afterwards marry them to older men who have a lot of children.

First of all, our aim is to check how much Roma community is prepared to talk about this issue and to determine why this tradition is deeply rooted among Romas in Montenegro. We tried as well to estimate how much Roma community, young Roma women and Romas are prepared, first of all, to regard the cult of virginity as a big burden, Roma girls are faced with, and as a problem that must be solved. At the same time, with this research we wanted to make all the community familiar with the seriousness of this problem which, under the definition of Roma culture, justifies and tolerates breaking of basic human rights of Roma women.

The research was done in seven towns in Montenegro: Podgorica, Nikšić, Cetinje, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Herceg Novi i Ulcinj, where 75% of Roma population live. Roma young men and women from 14 to 20 years old and Roma parents till 55 years were polled in all of these towns. Considering the fact that all these three groups, in accordance with the position they have in their families, have their own specific attitudes to the virginity of girls, polled lists were separately prepared for parents, for young men and for young women. Wanting to get authentic attitudes of all of these groups, we respected strict patriarchal relations on force in Roma family. So, Roma men, that enjoy high reputation and confidence in all these town, conducted polls with fathers and young men while the members of Roma center talked to mothers and Roma girls.

Roma center processed and analysed data due to the help of women-activists of SOS organisation in Niksic. Besides, Mirjana Popovic, M.A., engaged at the Faculty of Arts in Niksic, gave a professional sociological reference to the cult of virginity in Roma community. There are completed questionnaires with answers in attachment for those who want to study and analyse in detail information obtained in this research.

Fana Delija – coordinator
Center for Roma Initiatives - Niksic

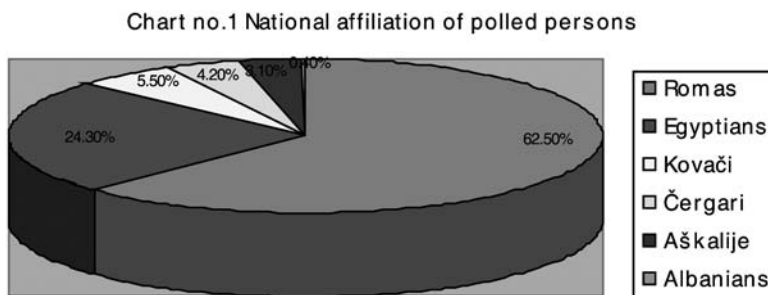
2. General data

The collecting of data for the research presented in this brochure was done from the middle of January to the middle of March 2006. Data were collected through polling young men and Roma girls who are twenty years old as well as marriage–partners who are fifty five years old or younger. Polls were conducted in seven towns in Montenegro: Podgorica, Berane, Nikšić, Bijelo Polje, Cetinje, Ulcinj i Herceg Novi. 105 parents, 91 girls and 92 young men¹ were polled. You can see the number of polled persons in each town in the table no. 1.

Town	Parents	Girls	Young men	All together
Podgorica	15	15	15	45
Nikšić	15	15	15	45
Cetinje	15	15	15	45
Berane	15	15	15	45
Herceg Novi	15	4	5	24
Ulcinj	15	14	12	41
Bijelo Polje	15	13	15	43
Total	105	91	92	288

Table no. 1 Data on the number of polled parents, girls and young men in each town

Since Roma minority members are nationally the members of different ethnic groups both in the world and in our country, you can see the national affiliation of the polled persons on the graph no.1:



Almost 90% of research members were Romas and Egyptians, the rest were Aškalijs, Čergari and Kovači, and one girl declared herself as Albanian. It is important to mention that answers of the members of different ethnic groups did not significantly differ. There were certain differences between answers to the position of children, freedom of movement and employment from town to town, but they were very small. However, the answers of the polled persons to the questions concerning girls' virginity were more or less unanimous.

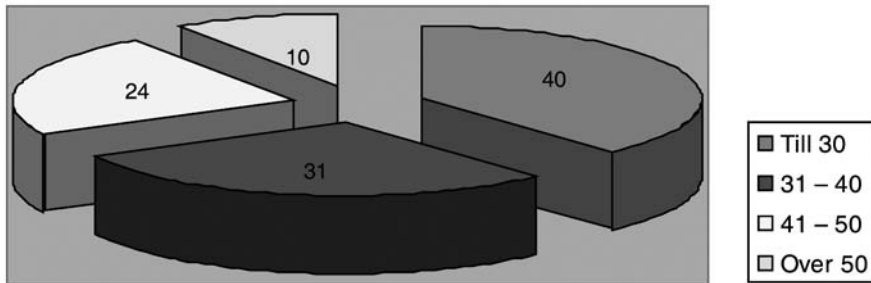
¹ At the beginning it was planned to poll 105 young men and 105 girls as well as parents. However, we could not find necessary number of girls and young men from fourteen to twenty years old in some towns, where the research was done. It was because some of them were already married and several of them did not want to answer the questions concerning this issue.

3. A virgin or not? - parents' attitudes

3.1. The structure of polled parents

105 Roma parents no older than 55 years old were polled in seven towns, where the research was done in accordance with the initial plan. It can be seen on the chart no.2 that two thirds of parents are younger than 40.

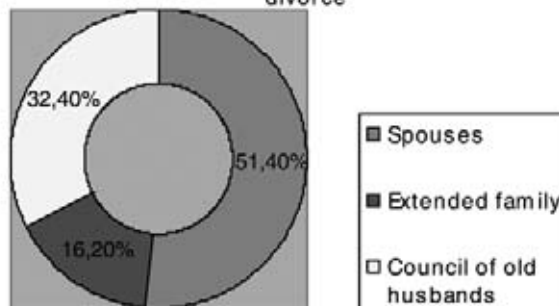
Chart no. 2 The age of polled parents



More than 73% of parents are illiterate or they have finished two or three grades of elementary school. About 40% of parents live in town while the rest live in distant outskirts or in villages. Only two polled Roma women or less than 5 % work while the rest of them are housewives. In most cases men answered that they worked in utility services, collected scrap or they had their small business(sale on flea market).

Almost 75 % of polled persons are married, and what is worth noticing is the high percentage of marriages (around 40 %), contracted due to parents' decision or the decisions of polled parents' extended families. A husband, as „the head of a family“, usually makes decisions in a family or a woman usually when she is a widow; some young spouses stated that decisions were made by their fathers/fathers-in-law, which speaks about very strong patriarchal structure of Roma family. Almost the half of polled parents (see graph no. 3) answered that „the council of old husbands or an extended family“ solved marriage problems of spouses and decided about divorce, which shows that customs have a very strong influence on the everyday life of a family.

Graph no. 3 Who solves marriage problems and decides about divorce



3.2. Parents' attitudes to customs concerning marriage

Roma family is poor, uneducated, and isolated from majority-community so that changes in the society influence her to a lesser degree. That is why the maintenance of centuries-old customs are paid a big attention to and respect for traditional norms is considered the most important index of the worthiness of a family. Marriage relations in Roma family are established according to strict rules that must be obeyed without opposition and those who break them will be severely punished. Besides, the whole family loses its reputation. This law on collective guilty imposes on all family members obligation to mutually control themselves and direct themselves to behave in accordance with traditional rules.

That is why Roma parents make their children familiar with the marriage-rules starting from childhood, which was confirmed by this poll where 87% of polled parents stated that this tradition was talked about in their families. From the remaining 13% some of them said that it was not necessary to talk about it in details because children already knew everything about it while the others had not talked to them yet because their children were too small.

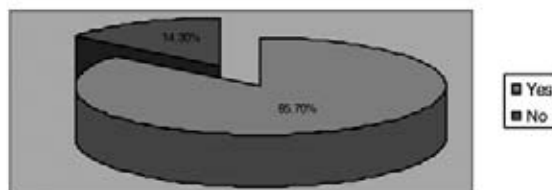
Every third young man or girl can make decisions themselves about getting married. The remaining marriages are settled by parents and an extended family (see table no.2). It is important to emphasise that one of the significant segments of this agreement is fixing a price that a bridegroom-to-be has to „pay for a bride“, by which Roma girls are regarded as goods that are sold or bought in the most possible open way. While doing so, the fact that these agreements always imply that a future bride enters a marriage as a virgin should not be ignored.

Who decides about getting married?	The number of answers	%
Young men and women themselves	35	33,3
Parents	41	39,1
Father	2	1,9
Mother	6	5,7
Extended family (grandfather, grandmother, uncle,...)	21	20
Total	105	100

Table no. 2 Who decides about your children's marriage?

70% of Roma families regard current customs concerning marriage as absolutely good. The remaining 30% have a critical attitude to these customs and consider that they should be changed. The most of those who are for changes would like to abolish the existing rule of buying a bride and to allow young men and women more freedom in choosing their marriage-partners. However, parents have almost agreed upon the question if a girl should be a virgin (see graph no. 4). In other words, every sixth said that virginity is not an obligatory condition for a girl to get married.

Graph no. 4 Should a girl enter a marriage as a virgin?



Parents offered the following basic arguments for their attitude: „it is the custom, something that is considered as a normal behaviour and something that shows that a girl is honest“.

Only 16% of parents would accept their daughter-in-law who is not a virgin and even 82% of them would return her home without thinking¹, which indicates that virginity was highly valued. The remaining 2% of parents considered that their sons should make such a decision, or first of all, they should see if a future daughter-in-law is obedient or if her family enjoys high reputation and then decide what to do.

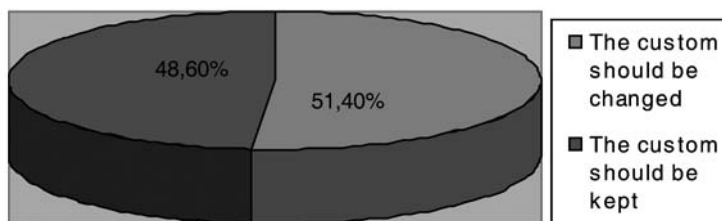
The virginity of spouses is one of customs existing in Roma tradition and according to it „only such a marriage can be successful“. However, this custom is not so strict for men as for women. Almost the half of parents consider that a son can have premarital sexual experience. They approved their opinion by saying:“ it is normal, he is a man, it can not be known if he had sex before marriage“. On the other hand, the same parents said:“ We would kill our daughter if she had a boyfriend before marriage“. These arguments clearly indicated that a family treated a daughter and a son in a different way.

What is encouraging about Roma parents' attitudes to their children's marriage is the fact that over 70% of them would allow their sons or daughters to marry the members of other national or religious affiliation. Their tolerance shows that Romas are prepared to integrate in social community. At this point a question arises:“ Is a majority-community open to mix with the members of Roma and non-Roma population?

3.3. To change the tradition that a girl should be a virgin or not? – parents' attitudes

93% of Romas think that the tradition that a girl should be virgin before marriage in Roma community is the custom descended from ancestors. Only 7% of them consider that it is connected to religion, first of all Muslim's. The research has shown that more than the half of polled parents thinks that „this custom should be changed regardless of being descended from ancestors“(see graph no.5)

Graph no.5 To keep or to change the custom of "bride's virginity"



However, this data should be questioned since 93% of polled persons think that the success of a marriage in Roma community depends on whether the girl entered the marriage as a virgin or not. In addition to it, three quarters of parents stated that they would like to be informed about a girl's virginity before marriage, which indicates that parents' attitude that tradition should be changed must be taken with certain doubt. Additional doubt about parents' sincerity expressed in graph no.5 is caused by their answers to the following question:“What makes a Roma girl worthy?(see table no.3)- Over 60% of parents stated that virginity was one of priority-characteristics, whereas almost the half of them thought that virginity was a characteristic that a Roma girl should have, which means that a girl's virginity and worthiness are equalised.

1 Quotation:„I do not need her if she is not a virgin“ was the most frequent reason for this decision

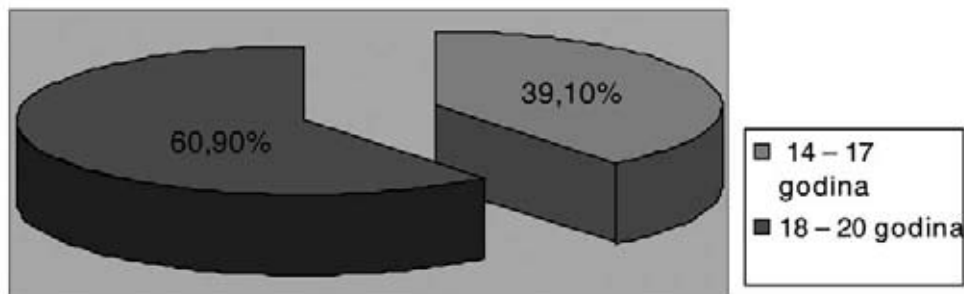
Town	A virgin for a wedding-night	Education	Respect for the old	Not to have a boyfriend before marriage	Not to go out in town	To obey parents	All together
Podgorica	9	3	2	0	1	3	5
Nikšić	8	4	2	1	0	3	0
Cetinje	12	3	1	0	1	0	0
Berane	9	0	4	1	0	2	4
Herceg Novi	5	7	6	0	1	4	4
Ulcinj	7	3	3	0	0	1	4
Bijelo Polje	13	0	1	0	0	1	0
Total	63	20	19	2	3	14	17

Table no.3 Parents' attitude to what makes a Roma girl worth

4. A virgin or not? – young men's attitudes

4.1. The structure of polled young men

92 young men from fourteen to twenty were polled in the research «Virginity does not determine worthiness» which Roma center did in seven towns in Montenegro. There were less than 40% of under-age persons (see chart no.6). More than a half of young men did not go to school at all or they finished only several grades of elementary school. Taking education structure in consideration in each town, it can be noticed that the situation is different in Cetinje and Herceg Novi, where about 80% of young men finished at least eight grades of elementary school.

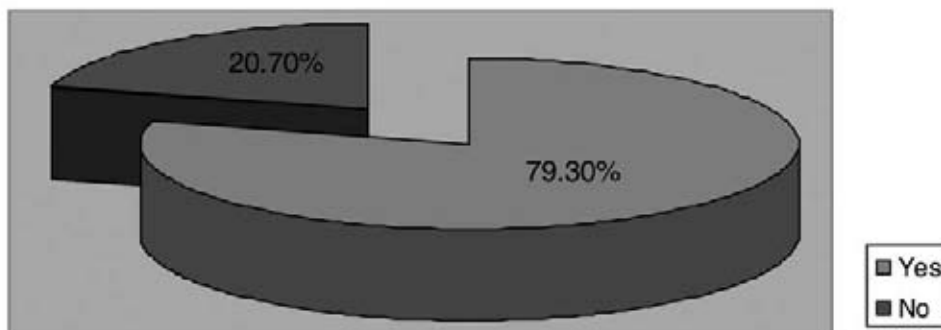


Every second polled young man obeys parents' decision without resistance whereas almost 90% of them decide themselves about their free time.

4.2. Polled young men's attitudes to their and Roma girls' sexual experience before marriage

The part of the poll that is about young men's sexuality starts with a question: "Are your dreams connected with sex?". Over 70% of polled young men answered „Yes“. Almost every young man (about 93% of them) searches for information about their sexual dilemmas and questions from their friends and three of them stated that they did not talk to anybody about it because they feel ashamed. This data causes worry when it is compared to most young men's attitude that they should have certain premarital sexual experience (see chart no.7).

Graph no.7 Is it right if young men have sex before marriage?



Considering the fact that most young men get married very early, when they are about twenty, it means that they enter sexual relations very early. If they are not informed about possible consequences of this act and if they feel ashamed to talk about it with the old, they can contract various venereal diseases. However, the fact that four fifths of young men want to hear experts' advice about sex is encouraging because "it is good to know more about it in order not to have problems later"¹

In this part of poll young men were questioned about whether girls should have premarital sexual experience as well. Over 60% of polled young men answered „No“ and they are prepared to condemn and pillory such girls. They justified their attitude mostly by referring to customs existing in Roma community. According to these customs girls who are not virgins before a wedding night are belittled and they shame their family at the same time.

4. 3. The choice of a marriage-partner –your own decision or parents' choice?

The research has shown that most polled young men do not want to enter a marriage before full age and almost half of them consider that getting married before twenty is too premature and wrong decision (see table no.4).

Town	Less than 18	18 – 20	21 and more
Podgorica	0	6	9
Nikšić	0	6	9
Cetinje	2	6	7
Berane	3	7	5
Herceg Novi	0	1	4
Ulcinj	3	3	6
Bijelo Polje	1	10	4
Total	9	39	44

Table no. 4 Which age is ideal for getting married?

Most polled young men (about 84%) mostly consider that they can choose their marriage-partners themselves and believe their parents will support their choice. However, every fifth young man is prepared to marry a completely unknown girl chosen by his parents.

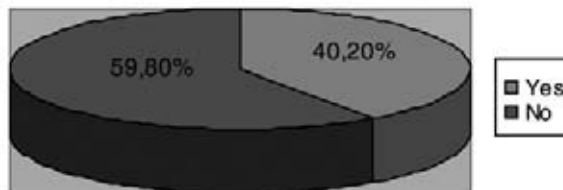
¹ Words of a polled young man are quoted and they mostly indicate majority's attitude

No matter whether they would choose a girl they love or enter an agreed marriage, young men have more or less the same opinion about one thing-their future wife should be a virgin. This attitude has 90% of them and almost the same percentage of them consider that it is a demand imposed on by their parents.

At this point it is difficult to differentiate between polled young men's personal attitude and centuries-old learnt model of behaviour and adopted systems of virtues that traditional Roma community has. However, data that every fourth young man demands for her future wife to be a virgin, because it is imposed by Roma tradition, shows that patriarchal laws, existing in Roma community, approve this demand.

The fact that almost the half of polled young men stated that they would continue to live with the girl who is not a virgin is encouraging (see graph no.9). The explanation of their attitude is especially optimistic:“ I would accept her because I love her; If I can have a girl before marriage then she can have a boyfriend before marriage as well“.

Graph no. 9 Would you accept your future wife if she is not a virgin?



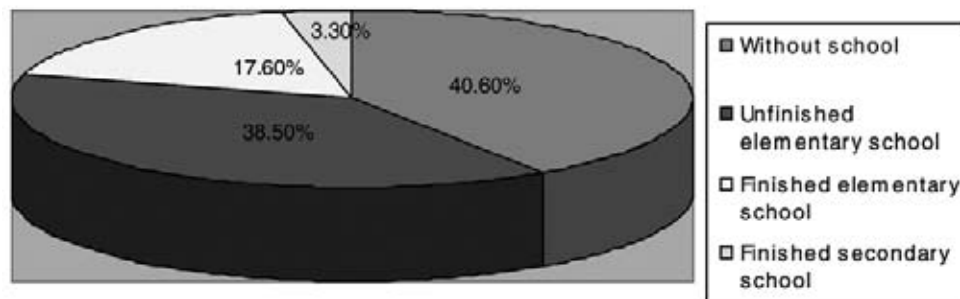
Having a certain doubt about this young men's attitude, which we can prescribe to juvenile illusions, we can, after all, say that this sounds very convincing when we take into account the fact that almost the half of polled young men stated that they would continue to live with the wife who was not a virgin even if their parents opposed it. This percentage, together with continued emancipation of Roma community, makes us believe that certain changes are possible to happen relatively quickly within its traditional structure. Over 70% of young men are prepared to change existing customs which represent law in Roma community. To tell the truth, the number of those who are prepared for radical changes is small (about 15%), but majority would like to change certain aspects of this custom. Some of them would like to change the aspect of entering a marriage when you are too young, some of them would like to abolish the custom of "buying a bride", while the others would like their parents not to check if a bride is a virgin after her wedding night.

5. A virgin or not? – girls attitudes

5.1. The structure of polled girls

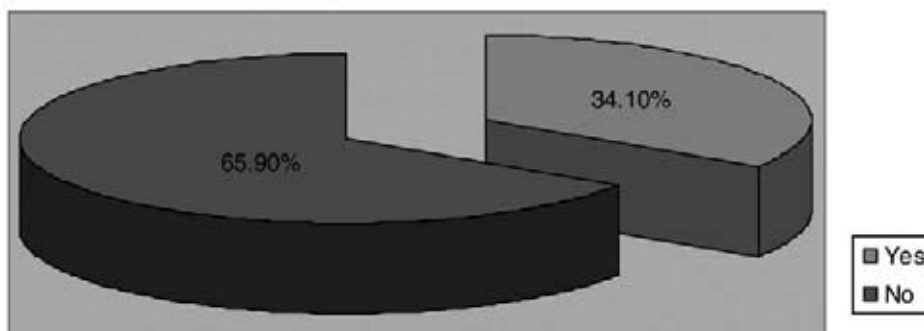
Within the reasearch „Virginity does not determine worthiness“ 91 Roma girls were polled. More than the half of them (53,8%) are younger than eighteen, and almost 80% of them are illiterate or they have finished several grades of elementary school (see graph no.10).

Chart no.10 Education structure of polled girls



Every third girl sometimes dares to oppose some parents' decision and only 26% of them can plan their free time themselves. If we take into account the fact that almost all young men stated that they had parents' permission to decide about their free time themselves, then it is not surprising that almost 70% of girls answered that they were not treated in the same way as their brothers by their families (see graph no.11)

Graph no.11 Are Roma girls and young men treated in the same way by their families?!



5.2. Polled girls' attitudes to sexual experience of Roma young men and women before marriage

Questions about the sexuality of young men and women were very stressful for most girls and they needed some time and patience to open and answer to these several questions. So, received results should be taken with a certain doubt because some polled young women answered in accordance with generally accepted attitudes in Roma community (see table no.5)

	Yes	No
Is it right if girls know something about sex before a marriage?	25,3%	74,7%
Is it right if young men know something about sex before a marriage?	70,4%	29,6%
Is it right if girls have sex before a marriage?	20,1%	79,9%
Is it right if young men have sex before a marriage?	75,8%	24,2%

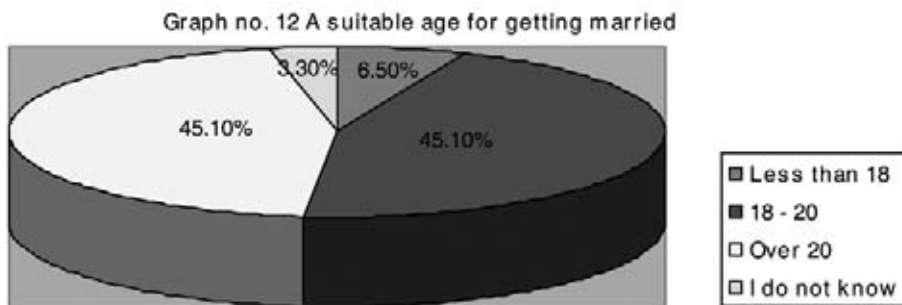
Table no. 5 Attitudes to the sexual knowledge of Roma young men and women

Considering the fact that Roma community is isolated and very strict to upbringing a Roma girl, it can be completely understandable that every fourth polled young woman said that girls should know something about sexual relation before entering a marriage „in order to know how to take care of themselves later when they get married“. What is a little surprising and encouraging in a way is data that 20% of polled girls think it is right if Roma women have sex before getting married. To tell the truth, they distanced from this by saying:“ It is normal to have premarital sexual relations, but Roma women must not do that“ and a number of them said that they should enter a marriage as virgins in order to avoid problems and abuse. If we know that about 80% of girls think that a Roma girl, who is not a virgin for her wedding night, is subjected to a difficult physical punishment and insults, then returned to parents and usually later married to an older man, the fact that they obey traditional rules and customs without resistance is not surprising.

Girls' attitudes to young men's sexual experience are in accordance with the general opinion in Roma community that men should have more experience and knowledge of sexual relations. The percentage of girls that approve the sexual freedom of young men was between 65% and 70%. They offered explanations for this attitude:“It is better for women if their husbands have experience and in addition to it, men can have total freedom because it can not be checked if he had premarital sexual relations“.

5.3.The choice of a marriage-partner –your own decision or parents' choice?

Most polled Roma girls consider that they should marry after full age (see graph no. 12)



A number of polled girls (about 60%) can not themselves choose their marriage-partners „because they must respect parents' decision“, and if they could choose, they would never get married to „the man they do not know and their parents chose“.

However, most of them would obey parents' decision because 90% of polled girls stated that „Roma girls, who escaped with the man they loved, are condemned by people and often returned, against their wish, to their parents because the council of the old decide about their future life“.

The fact that patriarchal laws in Roma community are strict to Roma girls is most likely cause of a low percentage of girls who would change the existing tradition. In fact, more than a half of girls would change these customs whereas over two thirds of young men had such an attitude.

6. Sociological analysis of the results of research

„Virginity does not determine worthiness“ by Mirjana Popović, MA

Generally, the social-economic position of Roma population is limited in all the segments of social life: education and literacy, participation of Romas in political life, both in their ethnic community and in overall population in culture,

employment, health protection. For example, this poll has shown that 60,6% of girls, 32,6% of young men and 48,5% of their parents did not finish any school while a special accent should be put on a high percentage of young women that were not offered any chance to be educated.

What is the characteristic of social existence of Romas is spacial-social and cultural segregation caused both by discrimination of majority-population against Romas and the behaviour of Romas who isolate themselves from the others in response to discrimination. In such defined social space exists the Roma woman and her social position depends on two factors:

1. marginalised position of Roma community
2. negative influence of tradition that is especially expressed in family relations in Roma community and in immediate Roma family

Buying a bride, checking her virginity while entering a marriage are some of customs deeply rooted in Roma tradition and its way of functioning. They put a woman not only in subordinate but in inhuman position as well, firstly at her parents' and then at her husband's (over 60% of husbands make important decisions in families) which she can enter only if she proves that she is a virgin. Otherwise, she is not a human being, she becomes a „thing“ her parents and her unsatisfied husband want to get rid of.

Each community functions on the basis of its system of virtues its members support and reinforce by their active participation. „Due to“ its system of virtues referring to marriage and conditions for entering a marriage, Roma community has been succeeding to be isolated social system, where there is no place for majority-population or general virtues which emerge from basic human rights system.

According to results of the poll, members of Roma community are not so prepared to talk about the existence of traditional elements in a customary law on marriage. Even 70% of polled persons-parents consider that it is a good custom, i.e. 90% of them points out that it is good if a girl enters a marriage as a virgin.

Parents', Roma young men and women's answers show that this custom is defined as a certain liability, but at the same time the influence of Roma community as a whole that imposes the respect for this custom is noticed. This custom is a certain coercion and 70,6% of young men answered that they would like their family and their wives' immediate family to know that the custom is respected and the bride is a virgin The percentage of girls is higher, over 90, which indicates that two qualitatively different standards, one for girls and one for young men, can be found in education system in Roma community. The results of this poll confirm once again that pressure on girls is much greater in the proces of implementing this customary norm. In fact, most of them want to show to the community that they respected the custom.

74% of parents answered that they would allow their children to get married to members of other religious affiliation. The sincerity of these answers should be questioned, especially if we consider the fact that customary law is strictly obeyed and that Roma community is isolated.

Data that 60% of parents emphasise the fact that girls' virginity determines their worthiness is alarming as well, whereas only 19% of them consider that education makes a girl worthy.

Answers given in the poll show that a younger population doubts this customary norm. This should not be surprising if we take into account the fact that the young often „go out“ from their ethnic community and they can see how other systems of virtues function.

40% of Roma young men answered that it was right if girls had sex before a marriage whereas 90% of them emphasized that they wanted their future wives to be virgins. These answers speak about young men's ambivalence and their being torn between their wish to get out of the traditional frame on one hand and being prepared to respect this customary law on the other.

What is positive about Roma girls' answers is the fact that they are conscious of being treated in a community and family in a different way in comparison to men, their fathers and brothers. 70,3% of them answered that brothers should have some knowledge about sex that is 75,8% answered that they should have sex before marriage. Perhaps this can be a good ground for starting the change in functioning of Roma community through the process of education and the change of Roma women position within it.

By the help of education process, virtues, having general humanistic and general human character and which are not in accordance with traditional ones existing in their ethnic community, would enter Roma community. It is certain that the word education is not a magic one that would at once change Roma population life from root, but it is certain that education is a key element in the process of their intergration in social community where there is no place for so cruel and inhuman traditional virtues. In the process of education Roma community would become open to majority-community by displaying virtues and richness of their culture. In that way Roma community would create a picture of itself different from the one that majority-population already has and which is full of prejudices and stereotypes.

Research results such as data on the number of parents, girls and young men polled in all the towns are shown in the tables below:

Town	Parents	Girls	Young men	All together
Podgorica	15	15	15	45
Nikšić	15	15	15	45
Cetinje	15	15	15	45
Berane	15	15	15	45
Herceg Novi	15	4	5	24
Ulcinj	15	14	12	41
Bijelo Polje	15	13	15	43
Total	105	91	92	288

I. The results of polls conducted with parents:

THE AGE OF THE POLLED PARENTS				
Town	Till 30 years	31 – 40	41 – 50	Over 50
Podgorica	2	6	4	3
Niksic	6	5	3	1
Cetinje	6	3	6	0
Berane	5	4	4	2
Herceg Novi	10	2	3	0
Ulcinj	3	6	3	3
Bijelo Polje	8	5	1	1
Total	40	31	24	10

NATIONAL AFFILIATION:					
Town	Romas	Egyptians	Cergari	Kovaci	Askalije
Podgorica	10	4	0	1	4
Nikšić	8	6	1	0	0
Cetinje	15	0	0	0	0
Berane	9	6	0	0	0
Herceg Novi	12	0	0	3	0
Ulcinj	11	0	0	0	0
Bijelo Polje	9	3	3	0	0
Total	74	19	4	4	4

MARITAL STATUS			
Town	Married	Divorced	Widow/widower
Podgorica	8	4	3
Nikšić	15	0	0
Cetinje	14	1	0
Berane	13	0	2
Herceg Novi	14	0	1
Ulcinj	15	0	0
Bijelo Polje	14	1	0
Total	93	6	6

ARE YOU LEGALLY MARRIED?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	9	6
Nikšić	11	4
Cetinje	8	7
Berane	9	6
Herceg Novi	12	3
Ulcinj	5	10
Bijelo Polje	10	5
Total	64	41

HAVE YOU YOURSELF CHOSEN YOUR MARRIAGE-PARTNER?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	7	8
Nikšić	14	1
Cetinje	10	5
Berane	9	6
Herceg Novi	9	6
Ulcinj	5	10
Bijelo Polje	10	5
Total	64	41

THE POLLED PERSONS, WHO ANSWERED NO, STATED THAT THE CHOICE OF THEIR PARTNER WAS IMPOSED ON THEM BY ¹ :		
Town	Extended family	Father
Podgorica	5	3
Nikšić	1	0
Cetinje	2	3
Berane	1	2
Herceg Novi	5	1
Ulcinj	2	2
Bijelo Polje	4	1
Total	20	12

1 Some of the polled persons did not state who imposed the choice of their partner on them

HAVE YOU FINISHED ANY FORMAL EDUCATION LEVEL?

Town	Without school	Unfinished elementary school	Finished elementary school	Unfinished secondary school	Finished secondary school	Two-year college-level or university
Podgorica	5	2	7	0	0	1
Nikšić	4	8	0	0	3	0
Cetinje	9	4	2	0	0	0
Berane	14	1	0	0	0	0
Herceg Novi	1	7	4	0	2	1
Ulcinj	10	2	3	0	0	0
Bijelo Polje	8	2	5	0	0	0
Total	51	26	21	0	5	2

WHAT IS YOUR PROFESSION?

Town	Employee	Technician	Housewife	Craftsman/Private business	None/Collecting scrap	Student	Retired person
Podgorica	2	0	5	5	2	0	1
Nikšić	6	2	7	0	0	0	0
Cetinje	7	0	8	0	0	0	0
Berane	4	0	7	2	2	0	0
Herceg Novi	7	0	5	2	0	1	0
Ulcinj	5	1	7	0	0	0	2
Bijelo Polje	0	1	6	1	7	0	0
Total	31	4	45	10	11	1	3

WHERE DO YOU LIVE?

Town	Village	Town
Podgorica	5	10
Nikšić	7	8
Cetinje	15	0
Berane	0	15
Herceg Novi	0	15
Ulcinj	11	4
Bijelo Polje	12	3
Total	50	55

WHO IN YOUR FAMILY MAKES IMPORTANT DECISIONS FOR LIFE?

Town	Husband	Wife	All together
Podgorica	10	3	2
Nikšić	12	0	3
Cetinje	11	1	3
Berane	12	3	0
Herceg Novi	6	1	8
Ulcinj	9	4	2
Bijelo Polje	3	3	9
Total	63	15	27

DO YOU TALK TO YOUR FAMILY ABOUT CUSTOMS AND TRADITION CONCERNING MARRIAGE?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	14	1
Nikšić	13	2
Cetinje	13	2
Berane	11	4
Herceg Novi	14	1
Ulcinj	14	1
Bijelo Polje	12	3
Total	91	14

Why No? It is not necessary/They know the customs; Children are too young; I decide about everything; That is a disgrace

WHAT DOES YOUR FAMILY THINK ABOUT THIS CUSTOM AND TRADITION?

Town	Custom is good	Custom is not good	Custom should be changed
Podgorica	12	0	3
Nikšić	10	2	3
Cetinje	9	1	5
Berane	15	0	0
Herceg Novi	7	1	7
Ulcinj	10	1	4
Bijelo Polje	10	1	4
Total	73	6	26

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT IF A GIRL ENTERS A MARRIAGE AS A VIRGIN?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	12	3
Nikšić	14	1
Cetinje	15	0
Berane	14	1
Herceg Novi	12	3
Ulcinj	13	2
Bijelo Polje	10	5
Total	90	15

Why Yes? It is imposed by the custom; A man knows that he is the only one; Otherwise, a family loses its reputation; We know that a girl respects us; It is better for her; All of us love her more; She has more freedom; It is normal

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF A GIRL WERE NOT A VIRGIN?

Town	I will return her back to her parents	I would beat her until she admits the truth	I will accept her as she is	A son has to decide
Podgorica	5	3	2	5
Nikšić	7	4	3	1
Cetinje	11	0	0	4
Berane	14	0	1	1
Herceg Novi	5	0	7	3
Ulcinj	9	0	1	5
Bijelo Polje	7	0	4	4
Total	57	7	18	23

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT IF A MAN ENTERS A MARRIAGE AS A VIRGIN?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	7	8
Nikšić	8	7
Cetinje	11	4
Berane	11	4
Herceg Novi	6	9
Ulcinj	9	6
Bijelo Polje	8	7
Total	60	45

WOULD YOU ACCEPT YOUR DAUGHTER-IN-LAW IF SHE IS NOT A VIRGIN?

Town	Yes	No	I do not know
Podgorica	4	11	0
Nikšić	4	10	1
Cetinje	4	11	0
Berane	12	3	0
Herceg Novi	6	8	1
Ulcinj	5	7	3
Bijelo Polje	8	5	2
Total	43	55	7

Why No? A man is a man; It is not strict for a man; It should be known that he is a man; A man can be with 100 women, but a woman with one man; A man should have experience

WHO DECIDES ABOUT WHEN YOUR CHILDREN ARE GOING TO GET MARRIED?

Town	They themselves	Father	Mother	Both a father and mother	Extended family
Podgorica	9	0	1	3	2
Nikšić	7	1	1	5	1
Cetinje	3	0	0	11	1
Berane	5	0	1	7	2
Herceg Novi	3	0	1	7	4
Ulcinj	2	1	0	5	7
Bijelo Polje	6	0	2	3	4
Total	35	2	6	41	21

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU FIND OUT THAT YOUR DAUGHTER HAS A BOYFRIEND BEFORE SHE GETS MARRIED?

Town	Marry him	I would kill her	Marry the other man	I will beat and lock her in the house	I would disown her	Nothing special	I will drive her out of the house
Podgorica	3	0	0	4	0	8	0
Nikšić	9	0	1	1	0	4	0
Cetinje	3	1	3	2	0	6	0
Berane	3	1	1	3	0	4	3
Herceg Novi	6	0	0	2	0	7	0
Ulcinj	2	0	7	1	1	4	0
Bijelo Polje	5	1	2	0	0	7	0
Total	31	3	14	13	1	40	3

HOW ARE MARRIAGE-PROBLEMS SOLVED AND WHEN DO SPOUSES DECIDE TO DEVORCE?

Town	Husband and wife solve their problems	An extended family gathers to solve a problem	Old husbands gathers to form a Council and solve problems
Podgorica	11	4	0
Nikšić	6	2	7
Cetinje	8	3	4
Berane	7	1	7
Herceg Novi	6	4	5
Ulcinj	6	3	6
Bijelo Polje	10	0	5
Total	54	17	34

WOULD YOU ALLOW YOUR DAUGHTER OR SON TO MARRY A MEMBER OF OTHER DENOMINATION OR NATIONAL AFFILIATION?

Town	Yes	No	I do not know
Podgorica	7	8	0
Nikšić	12	3	0
Cetinje	11	4	0
Berane	12	3	0
Herceg Novi	13	2	0
Ulcinj	9	6	0
Bijelo Polje	10	4	1
Total	74	30	1

Why if 'No'? Because of our religion and customs

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOUR DAUGHTER OR SON MARRY THE MEMBER OF OTHER ROMAS GROUPS (ASHKALIJE, EGYPTIANS, BLACKSMITH ROMAS, NOMAD ROMAS)?

Town	We will never allow her to return home	If her parents return her home, they will immediatelly marry her to an older man or the one who has children	We would accept it	I do not know
Podgorica	5	0	10	0
Nikšić	3	3	9	0
Cetinje	8	3	4	0
Berane	1	3	11	0
Herceg Novi	2	3	10	0
Ulcinj	2	1	12	0
Bijelo Polje	3	2	6	4
Total	24	15	62	4

TO WHOM BELONGS CHILDREN IF PARENTS DIVORCE?

Town	To father	To mather	They agree about it
Podgorica	4	3	8
Nikšić	13	1	1
Cetinje	5	7	3
Berane	7	5	3
Herceg Novi	8	2	5
Ulcinj	6	2	7
Bijelo Polje	2	10	3
Total	45	30	30

WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE INFORMED ABOUT THE VIRGINITY OF YOUR DAUGHTER-IN-LAW BEFORE NEGOTIATING A MARRIAGE?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	13	2
Nikšić	9	6
Cetinje	14	1
Berane	14	1
Herceg Novi	8	7
Lcinj	14	1
Bijelo Polje	9	6
Total	83	22

DO YOU THINK THAT SEXUAL RELATIONS BEFORE MARRIAGE CAN INFLUENCE A SUCCESSFUL OR UNSUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE?			
Town	Yes	No	I do not know
Podgorica	9	4	2
Nikšić	13	2	0
Cetinje	11	4	0
Berane	14	1	0
Herceg Novi	6	9	0
Ulcinj	8	7	0
Bijelo Polje	14	1	0
Total	75	28	2

WHERE DO CUSTOMS AND ROMA TRADITION ABOUT VIRGINITY COME FROM?			
Town	It is imposed by religion	It is a custom descended from our ancestors	I do not know
Podgorica	0	13	2
Nikšić	1	14	0
Cetinje	0	15	0
Berane	0	15	0
Herceg Novi	1	14	0
Ulcinj	2	13	0
Bijelo Polje	1	14	0
Total	5	98	2

Which religion imposes that? Moslems

DO YOU AGREE THAT THIS CUSTOM AND TRADITION SHOULD BE CHANGED?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	5	10
Nikšić	9	6
Cetinje	11	4
Berane	0	15
Herceg Novi	13	2
Ulcinj	10	5
Bijelo Polje	6	9
Total	54	51

Why Yes? Girls would have more freedom; The custom of buying a bride should be abolished; The custom is bad; Times have changed; I do not know

Why No? Tradition is good; Customs are important; Ancestors should be respected; This is good and should remain the same; Virginity is the most important thing for a girl

DO YOU THINK THAT WOMEN NEEDS TO BE EDUCATED?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	15	0
Nikšić	15	0
Cetinje	15	0
Berane	15	0
Herceg Novi	15	0
Ulcinj	14	1
Bijelo Polje	15	0
Total	104	1

Why if 'No'? So that they can not write love letters.

WHICH IS THE PROOF OF GIRL'S VIRGINITY ON HER WEDDING NIGHT?

Town	Blood on a sheet / sleeper	A bridegroom informs his family about it	I do not know
Podgorica	13	0	2
Nikšić	11	0	4
Cetinje	15	0	0
Berane	10	5	
Herceg Novi	11	0	4
Ulcinj	12	3	0
Bijelo Polje	10	5	0
Total	82	13	10

WHAT MAKES ROMA GIRL WORTHY?

Town	Virginity for her wedding night	Education	Respect for the old	Not to have a boyfriend before marriage	Not to go out to town	To obey her parents	All together
Podgorica	9	3	2	0	1	3	5
Nikšić	8	4	2	1	0	3	0
Cetinje	12	3	1	0	1	0	0
Berane	9	0	4	1	0	2	4
Herceg Novi	5	7	6	0	1	4	4
Ulcinj	7	3	3	0	0	1	4
Bijelo Polje	13	0	1	0	0	1	0
Total	63	20	19	2	3	14	17

IS IT BAD TO TALK TO CHILDREN ABOUT SEX?

Town	It is common not to talk	We should talk to them when they are 18	We should talk to them when they are younger
Podgorica ¹	0	0	0
Nikšić	7	7	2
Cetinje	8	4	3
Berane	9	4	2
Herceg Novi	9	4	2
Ulcinj	6	5	4
Bijelo Polje	7	4	4
Ukupno	60	28	17

II. The results of polls conducted with young men

THE AGE OF POLLED YOUNG MEN

Town	14 – 17 years	18 – 20 years
Podgorica	2	13
Nikšić	5	10
Cetinje	10	5
Berane	8	7
Herceg Novi	1	4
Ulcinj	6	6
Bijelo Polje	4	11
Total	36	56

1 There are more answers than polled parents because some of them circled several characteristics

NACIONAL AFFILIATION					
Town	Romas	Egyptians	Cergari	Kovaci	Aškalije
Podgorica	9	3	0	3	0
Nikšić	7	8	0	0	0
Cetinje	15	0	0	0	0
Berane	10	4	1	0	0
Herceg Novi	5	0	0	0	0
Ulcinj	5	5	0	2	0
Bijelo Polje	13	0	1	0	1
Total	64	20	2	5	1

HAVE YOU FINISHED ANY FORMAL EDUCATION LEVEL?					
Town	Without school	Unfinished elementary school	Finished elementary school	Unfinished secondary school	Finished secondary school
Podgorica	1	11	0	0	3
Nikšić	3	8	2	0	2
Cetinje	4	0	11	0	0
Berane	11	3	1	0	0
Herceg Novi	0	0	4	0	1
Ulcinj	6	1	4	0	1
Bijelo Polje	5	2	6	0	2
Total	30	25	28	0	9

DO YOU ACCEPT DECISIONS MADE BY YOUR PARENTS?			
Town	Always	Sometimes	Never
Podgorica	4	11	0
Nikšić	7	8	0
Cetinje	2	13	0
Berane	9	5	1
Herceg Novi	4	1	0
Ulcinj	5	6	1
Bijelo Polje	13	2	0
Total	44	46	2

DO YOU YOURSELF DECIDE ABOUT YOUR FREE TIME?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	15	0
Nikšić	12	3
Cetinje	12	3
Berane	14	1
Herceg Novi	5	0
Ulcinj	9	3
Bijelo Polje	15	0
Total	82	10

ARE YOUR DREAMS CONNECTED WITH SEX?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	13	2
Nikšić	12	3
Cetinje	8	7
Berane	9	6
Herceg Novi	2	3
Ulcinj	8	4
Bijelo Polje	14	1
Total	66	26

YOU TALK ABOUT SEX WITH:				
Town	Parents	Friends	Both with parents and friends	Nobody
Podgorica	0	15	0	0
Nikšić				
Cetinje	0	12	0	3
Berane	0	15	0	0
Herceg Novi	0	4	1	0
Ulcinj	2	10	0	0
Bijelo Polje	0	15	0	0
Total	2	86	1	3

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT IF YOUNG MEN HAVE SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?			DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT IF GIRLS HAVE SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?			DO YOU WANT YOUR FUTURE WIFE TO BE A VIRGIN?		
Town	Yes	No	Town	Yes	No	Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	14	1	Podgorica	7	8	Podgorica	14	1
Nikšić	14	1	Nikšić	7	8	Nikšić	13	2
Cetinje	12	3	Cetinje	1	14	Cetinje	14	1
Berane	6	9	Berane	4	11	Berane	15	0
Herceg Novi	4	1	Herceg Novi	2	3	Herceg Novi	4	1
Ulcinj	10	2	Ulcinj	4	8	Ulcinj	10	2
Bijelo Polje	13	2	Bijelo Polje	11	4	Bijelo Polje	14	1
Total	73	19	Total	36	56	Total	84	8

Why Yes? It is normal/natural; Because these are modern times; A man has to have experience; They do not know why; I want it; I have to know what to expect in marriage; The same as others

Why No? Their parents forbade them; That is imposed by Romas customs; You can contract various diseases; A man should enter a marriage as virgins as well

YOU WANT YOUR FUTURE WIFE TO BE A VIRGIN BECAUSE OF:				
Town	Tradition	Parents' wish	The polled person's wish	All together
Podgorica	7	0	7	0
Nikšić	4	2	7	0
Cetinje	1	0	13	0
Berane	6	4	5	0
Herceg Novi	0	0	4	0
Ulcinj	3	0	5	2
Bijelo Polje	2	0	13	0
Total	23	6	61	2

WOULD YOU ACCEPT YOUR FUTURE WIFE IF SHE IS NOT A VIRGIN?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	7	8
Nikšić	6	9
Cetinje	3	12
Berane	2	13
Herceg Novi	5	0
Ulcinj	6	6
Bijelo Polje	9	6
Total	38	54

Why Yes? Because I love her; If I can have sex before marriage, she can as well; No comment; Virgins are crazy

Why No? She is dishonest; Because of tradition; I do not want her to have another man; Because of trust; That is a disgrace both for me and my parents; I do not need the woman who had sex with many men; I do not need such a woman; I want it to be that way

DID YOU DISCUSS THIS WITH YOUR PARENTS?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	3	12
Nikšić	4	11
Cetinje	12	3
Berane	5	10
Herceg Novi	2	3
Ulcinj	2	10
Bijelo Polje	9	6
Total	37	55

WHAT DO YOUR PARENTS THINK ABOUT THIS? (VIRGIN OR NOT)?

Town	She must be a virgin	She does not need to be a virgin
Podgorica	15	0
Nikšić	9	6
Cetinje	15	0
Berane	14	1
Herceg Novi	5	0
Ulcinj	9	3
Bijelo Polje	14	0
Total	82	10

IF YOUR PARENTS DO NOT ACCEPT YOUR FUTURE WIFE WHO IS NOT A VIRGIN, WHAT WILL YOU DO?

Town	I will keep her if I love her	I will drive her away	I will obey my parents
Podgorica	11	4	0
Nikšić	7	6	2
Cetinje	1	14	0
Berane	4	11	0
Herceg Novi	2	3	0
Ulcinj	5	1	6
Bijelo Polje	8	4	3
Total	38	43	11

WOULD YOU LIKE THAT YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR FUTURE WIFE'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY TO FIND OUT THAT SHE IS A VIRGIN OR NOT?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	8	7
Nikšić	9	6
Cetinje	13	2
Berane	10	5
Herceg Novi	2	3
Ulcinj	11	1
Bijelo Polje	12	3
Total	65	27

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR YOU TO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	15	0
Nikšić	14	1
Cetinje	9	6
Berane	8	7
Herceg Novi	4	1
Ulcinj	12	0
Bijelo Polje	12	3
Total	73	18

Why Yes? It is good to know; It is better, It is normal; I do not know

Why No? It is imposed by the custom; I am shy

CAN YOU YOURSELF CHOOSE YOUR MARRIAGE-PARTNER?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	11	4
Nikšić	13	2
Cetinje	11	4
Berane	15	0
Herceg Novi	4	1
Ulcinj	8	4
Bijelo Polje	15	0
Total	77	15

Why if No? - It is imposed by the custom; Parents decide about it; A father and brothers decide about it

AT WHICH AGE SHOULD YOU MARRY?

Town	Less than 18	18 - 20	21 and more
Podgorica	0	6	9
Nikšić	0	6	9
Cetinje	2	6	7
Berane	3	7	5
Herceg Novi	0	1	4
Ulcinj	3	3	6
Bijelo Polje	1	10	4
Total	9	39	44

ARE YOU PREPARED TO MARRY THE GIRL YOU DO NOT KNOW OR WOULD YOU CHOOSE THE GIRL YOU LOVE?

Town	You would choose the girl you love	You would accept to marry an unknown girl	It does not matter
Podgorica	13	2	0
Nikšić	15	0	0
Cetinje	15	0	0
Berane	12	0	3
Herceg Novi	5	0	0
Ulcinj	5	7	0
Bijelo Polje	8	7	0
Total	73	16	3

DO YOU CONDEMN THE GIRLS FOR NOT BEING VIRGINS BEFORE MARRIAGE?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	7	8
Nikšić	4	11
Cetinje	14	1
Berane	11	4
Herceg Novi	1	4
Ulcinj	8	4
Bijelo Polje	8	7
Total	53	39

Why if Yes? She is not honest; She shames our custom; It is a disgrace; She has sex with everybody;

WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE THIS CUSTOM/TRADITION?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	9	6
Nikšić	14	1
Cetinje	12	3
Berane	2	13
Herceg Novi	4	1
Ulcinj	5	7
Bijelo Polje	13	2
Total	59	33

Why if No? The custom is good; This custom suits me; That was the case for ages; That is girls' problem; I do not have any idea; The change of custom could cause conflicts between Romas.

WHAT WOULD YOU CHANGE CONCERNING THIS CUSTOM?

Town	We shall choose a girl ourselves	We shall not buy a bride	Parents should not check if a girl is a virgin or not	We should not marry when we are young	No comment	Nothing	Everything
Podgorica	8	0	0	0	0	7	0
Nikšić	0	4	2	0	0	6	3
Cetinje		5		6		4	
Berane	2		2			11	0
Herceg Novi	0		0		1	0	4
Ulcinj	1		0			10	1
Bijelo Polje	3	0	2	0	0	4	6
Total	14	9	6	6	1	41	14

III. The results of polls conducted with girls

AGE:		
Town	14 – 17 years	18 – 20
Podgorica	9	6
Nikšić	7	8
Cetinje	8	7
Berane	13	2
Herceg Novi	1	3
Ulcinj	6	8
Bijelo Polje	5	8
Total	49	42

NATIONAL AFFILIATION:						
Town	Romas	Egyptians	Albanians	Cergari	Kovaci	Aškalije
Podgorica	7	5	0	0	2	1
Nikšić	10	5	0	0	0	0
Cetinje	13	1	1	0	0	0
Berane	8	3	0	4	0	0
Herceg Novi	4	0	0	0	0	0
Ulcinj	0	7	0	0	4	3
Bijelo Polje	2	10	0	0	1	0
Total	44	31	0	4	7	4

HAVE YOU FINISHED ANY FORMAL EDUCATION LEVEL?					
Town	Without school	Unfinished elementary school.	Finished elementary school	Unfinished secondary school	Finished secondary school
Podgorica	6	8	1	0	0
Nikšić	4	8	2	0	1
Cetinje	6	9	0	0	0
Berane	14	0	1	0	0
Herceg Novi	0	0	4	0	0
Ulcinj	3	4	6	0	1
Bijelo Polje	4	7	2	0	1
Total	37	35	16	0	3

DO YOU ACCEPT DECISIONS MADE BY YOUR PARENTS?			
Town	Always	Sometimes	Never
Podgorica	6	9	0
Nikšić	11	4	0
Cetinje	11	4	1
Berane	13	2	0
Herceg Novi	3	1	0
Ulcinj	10	4	0
Bijelo Polje	5	8	0
Total	59	31	1

CAN YOU YOURSELF DECIDE ABOUT YOUR FREE TIME?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	6	9
Nikšić	5	10
Cetinje	3	12
Berane	1	14
Herceg Novi	1	3
Ulcinj	5	9
Bijelo Polje	4	9
Total	25	66

DOES YOUR FAMILY TREAT YOU IN THE SAME WAY AS YOUR BROTHER?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	7	8
Nikšić	6	9
Cetinje	0	15
Berane	7	8
Herceg Novi	2	2
Ulcinj	5	9
Bijelo Polje	4	9
Total	31	60

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR YOU TO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	9	6
Nikšić	3	12
Cetinje	2	13
Berane	3	2
Herceg Novi	1	3
Ulcinj	2	12
Bijelo Polje	2	11
Total	23	68

Why Yes? Like that; It is better to know; Because of venereal diseases; It is normal; In order to be careful

Why No? - It is a disgrace; I do not know; You loses your reputation; I am a girl; It is imposed by religion; I am not interested

DO YOU THINK THAT YOUNG MEN SHOULD KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?			
Town	Yes	No	I do not know
Podgorica	13	1	1
Nikšić	10	1	3
Cetinje	6	9	0
Berane	11	4	0
Herceg Novi	3	1	0
Ulcinj	11	3	0
Bijelo Polje	11	1	1
Total	66	20	5

Why Yes? They are men, they must know; It is normal; In order to protect both me and him; Because of various venereal diseases; Not to be stupid in front of a woman; It is better for a woman that he knows; It is not a disgrace for them

Why No? It is a disgrace for them as well; I do not know; It should be the same both for us and them

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT IF GIRLS HAVE SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	7	8
Nikšić	1	14
Cetinje	2	13
Berane	0	15
Herceg Novi	2	2
Ulcinj	3	11
Bijelo Polje	4	9
Total	19	72

Why Yes? It is normal; Yes, but I must not

Why No? It is a disgrace for all; It must not be done; It is immoral; I do not know; They are not honest; They preserve both their and their family's reputation; They can not marry if they are not virgins; That is a great disgrace; To avoid problems

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT IF YOUNG MEN HAVE SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	14	1
Nikšić	10	5
Cetinje	12	3
Berane	6	9
Herceg Novi	3	1
Ulcinj	12	2
Bijelo Polje	12	1
Total	69	22

Why Yes? I do not know; They have more freedom; To have more experience; We can not know if they had sex before marriage; They are men and they are allowed to do everything; To know something

Why No? Men should be virgins as well; These are our customs; Their parents do not allow them; It is a disgrace for them as well

WOULD YOU LIKE THAT YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR FUTURE HUSBAND'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY FIND OUT THAT YOU ARE A VIRGIN OR NOT?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	15	0
Nikšić	14	1
Cetinje	15	0
Berane	12	3
Herceg Novi	3	1
Ulcinj	13	1
Bijelo Polje	11	2
Total	83	8

DO YOU THINK THAT THE GIRL, WHO IS NOT A VIRGIN, WOULD BE ACCEPTED?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	9	6
Nikšić	7	8
Cetinje	6	9
Berane	3	12
Herceg Novi	3	1
Ulcinj	8	6
Bijelo Polje	3	10
Total	39	52

Why Yes? It depends on a husband; It depends on a family; If his family loves her, they will accept her; Nowadays, it is normal; It is not a custom, but if a husband loves her, he can accept her

Why No? It is imposed by the custom; They would kill her; They would beat her and return her back to her parents; She is not pure; Tradition is most important; Although she got married, she is thinking of another men; It is a disgrace; She should marry the man she had sex with

DO YOU THINK THAT THIS CUSTOM/TRADITION SHOULD BE CHANGED ?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	12	3
Nikšić	10	5
Cetinje	10	5
Berane	4	11
Herceg Novi	4	0
Ulcinj	6	8
Bijelo Polje	8	5
Total	54	37

Why Yes? It is a bad custom; Because girls get married when they are too young; I do not know; It is a big burden; The custom is oldfashioned; Women suffer from it; It is not good;

Why No? Tradition is good; It suits me; It is respect for family

CAN YOU YOURSELF CHOOSE YOUR MARRIAGE-PARTNER?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	13	2
Nikšić	10	5
Cetinje	5	10
Berane	7	8
Herceg Novi	3	1
Ulcinj	6	8
Bijelo Polje	10	3
Total	54	37

Why Yes? Parents said that to me; Because I love him and I will escape; At the end they will accept him

Why No? Parents do not allow me to do that; It is better if parents decide about it; Family decides about it; Parents' decision must be obeyed

DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS RIGHT TO MARRY A COUSIN?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	0	15
Nikšić	0	15
Cetinje	0	15
Berane	1	14
Herceg Novi	0	4
Ulcinj	0	14
Bijelo Polje	0	13
Total	1	90

ARE YOU PREPARED TO MARRY THE MAN YOU DO NOT KNOW OR WOULD YOU CHOOSE THE MAN YOU LOVE?

Town	My choice	Parents' choice
Podgorica	13	2
Nikšić	5	10
Cetinje	7	8
Berane	10	5
Herceg Novi	3	1
Ulcinj	10	4
Bijelo Polje	12	1
Total	60	31

WOULD YOUR IMMEDIATE FAMILY RESPECT YOUR DECISION TO MARRY THE MAN YOU WANT?

Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	10	5
Nikšić	7	8
Cetinje	4	11
Berane	7	8
Herceg Novi	3	1
Ulcinj	4	10
Bijelo Polje	5	8
Total	40	51

Why No? It is imposed by the custom; If I do that, I will not respect my parents; They would not allow me to live with them; It would be a disgrace; Parents decide about it

DO PEOPLE CONDEMN A GIRL WHO LEFT HOME?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	12	3
Nikšić	15	0
Cetinje	14	1
Berane	12	3
Herceg Novi	4	0
Ulcinj	14	0
Bijelo Polje	9	4
Total	80	11

How? She is considered immoral; She shamed her family; They beat her; They gossip about her; The Council decide about her life; Her family condemns her; Her neighbours disparage her

WHAT HAPPENS WITH THE GIRL WHO IS NOT A VIRGIN WHEN SHE ENTERS A MARRIAGE?		
Town	She is accepted/It depends on a boyfriend	They beat her/return her home/marry her to an old man
Podgorica	2	13
Nikšić	2	13
Cetinje	3	12
Berane	1	14
Herceg Novi	2	2
Ulcinj	5	9
Bijelo Polje	5	8
Total	20	71

DO YOU CONDEMN SUCH GIRLS?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	4	11
Nikšić	9	6
Cetinje	6	9
Berane	10	5
Herceg Novi	1	3
Ulcinj	7	7
Bijelo Polje	6	7
Total	43	48

Why if Yes? She is immoral; I can do that in a nice way; She is dishonest; Customs must be respected; I feel a shame as well because of that

DO YOU THINK THAT THIS CUSTOM CAN BE CHANGED IN FUTURE AND WHICH CHANGES WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE?		
Town	Yes	No
Podgorica	12	3
Nikšić	11	4
Cetinje	10	5
Berane	4	11
Herceg Novi	4	0
Ulcinj	4	10
Bijelo Polje	9	4
Total	54	37

Why Yes? Everything should be changed; They should not marry us too early; A bride should not be bought; We should have freedom to love the men we want; We should have the same rights as men do; We should be independent

Why No? Because it can not be changed; Everything is right; It suits me.