GENDER STEREOTYPES AND ROLES THROUGH THE EYES OF YOUTH:

before and after the beginning of full-scale Russian aggression

Report on the results of the research

Prepared by Info Sapiens for NGO Insight
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CONTENT

List of acronyms 3

Research purpose and methodology 4

Overview of the research 9

1. Gender aspects of upbringing and intergenerational differences 16

1.1. Quantitative research 16

1.1.1. Models of distribution of roles in families, gender aspects of the upbringing process 16

1.1.2. Gender stereotypes in different generations 22

1.2. Qualitative research 30

1.2.1. Models of distribution of roles in families, gender aspects of the upbringing process 30

1.2.2. Gender stereotypes in different generations 34

2. The influence of gender stereotypes and norms on life and opportunities for self-realization 38

2.1. Quantitative research 39

2.2. Qualitative research 41

3. The impact of war on gender stereotypes 50

3.1. Quantitative research 51

3.2. Qualitative research 59

3.2.1. Assessment of the prevalence of stereotypes, bias and discrimination in Ukraine before the full-scale war, including on the basis of gender 59

3.2.2. The impact of full-scale war on perceptions of gender roles 65

3.2.3. The impact of full-scale war on transgender people 75

4. Priority changes in issues of equal rights and opportunities for men and women in Ukraine (according to qualitative research) 78

Conclusions 84

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ATO — Anti-Terrorist Operation in Ukraine

HRT — hormone replacement therapy

IDI — in-depth interviews

IDP — internally displaced person

NGO — Non-Governmental Organization

TA — target audience

RESEARCH PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

Gender stereotypes are widespread in Ukraine and are associated with deep-rooted patriarchal norms that shape gender roles in a narrow and stereotypical way. According to a gender analysis of the Danish Neighborhood Program conducted in April 2021, the invasion of the Russian Federation in Crimea and Donbas contributed to the consolidation of binary gender roles, according to which men are perceived as defenders and heroes, and women are either primarily caring mothers or those in need of protection. The trauma and consequences of a full-scale invasion have yet to be explored, including the impact on gender roles and stereotypes.

This study was conducted by Info Sapiens at commission of the NGO Insight in November 2022.

The purpose of the research is to study the prevalence of gender stereotypes among youth, including in the context of a full-scale war. Youth in this study is defined as people aged 15–25, although under Ukrainian legislation, youth is defined as people aged 15-34 and this is how it is defined in most studies (see the section "Overview of the research conducted"). The initiators of this research — NGO Insight, the Center "Women's Perspectives" and the Ukrainian Women's Fund — plan to use the results of the study for advocacy, policy development, various activities, training programs and projects.

The research includes literature review, qualitative and quantitative surveys.

Methodology of qualitative research

A total of 20 in-depth interviews (IDI) were were conducted with representatives of the following target categories:

Cisgender youth (10 IDI – further "Youth"):

- equally men/women aged 15-25;
- residents of different regions of Ukraine (Kyiv, Northern, Southern, Central, Eastern and Western regions);
- live in settlements of different types and sizes (Kyiv, oblast and raion centers, villages)

Transgender youth (10 IDI):

- equally transgender men and transgender women, as well as non-binary transgender people aged 15–25;
- residents of different regions and settlements of different sizes, currently the majority live in Kyiv.

Also displaced people and refugees were represented among both categories.

Transgender youth naturally demonstrated a higher awareness of gender issues, therefore, regarding some topics, a larger number of presented quotes are from the survey of this audience.

The interviews were mostly conducted online using the Zoom platform (several interviews were conducted in Telegram at the request of the respondents and due to the power outage), the average duration of the interview was 60 minutes.

Quantitative research methodology

The research was conducted as a computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) with calls to mobile phones. On average, the duration of one interview was about 15 minutes.

A total of **1,008** respondents were interviewed, of which **408** are young people aged **15–25**, **225** of them are males and **183** are females and **600**, out of which **224** are males and **356** are females aged **26** and older. The marginal theoretical error for youth is **4.9%**, and for the entire sample — **3.1%**.

After the field stage, weighting was applied by the following parameters: age, gender, area of residence until February 24, 2022, the size of the settlement until February 24, 2022, according to the data of the State Statistics Service on the distribution of the population as of January 1, 2022, excluding temporarily occupied Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sevastopol and Russian-occupied territories of Ukraine.

In order to track the dynamics in the prevalence of gender stereotypes, questions from previous studies on this topic were included in the questionnaire (the sample of which represents the population over 18 years old, and for a correct comparison on the graphs, data of this survey was accordingly recalculated):

2020. World Values Survey. The field stage of the research in Ukraine in July-August 2020 was conducted by Info Sapiens company and the NGO Social Monitoring Center. The nationally representative sample consisted of **1,289 respondents**, the method was personal interview at respondent's home.

2018. Omnibus GfK Ukraine. The field stage was conducted in February. The nationally representative sample consisted of **1,000 interviews,** the method was personal interview at respondent's home.

2009. Study of the prevalence of gender stereotypes by GfK Ukraine for the EU project "Women's and Children's Rights in Ukraine — Communication Component". The field stage was conducted in December. The nationally representative sample consisted of **1,600 interviews**, the method was personal interview at respondent's home.

Limitations of the research and comparison with previous studies

The results of a qualitative study of the general population aged 15-25 are somewhat dissonant with the results of a quantitative study — the respondents of the qualitative study to a greater extent share the ideas of gender equality. There are two possible explanations for this. First, the announcement of the research topic during recruitment could attract precisely those respondents who are interested in this topic and demotivate those who consider gender equality a non-existent problem. Second, in the quantitative study, young people may have agreed with socially established cliches about gender roles, while the qualitative study showed that they are not guided by these cliches in their lives.

The quantitative survey almost doesn't include Ukrainian men and women who have gone abroad — it was possible to conduct only 26 interviews with them, because they usually turn off the phone or do not pick up the phone.

The quantitative survey does not cover settlements occupied in 2022, where Ukrainian operators do not provide mobile telephone services.

The quantitative survey does not cover people who do not use mobile communication — according to pre-war data, they make up about 5% of the population and about 2% of the youth.

The studies of 2022 and previous years, the results of which are presented in this report, are not completely comparable, because the territory and the method of conducting differ, but we believe that it is permissible to compare the data at the level of trends.

Principles and ethics

Info Sapiens complies with all research standards of ICC/ESOMAR. Also the non-discrimination policy was adopted by Info Sapiens[1]: the discrimination of the employees or any other stakeholders by race, political, religious or other views, sex, age, health, ethnic or social origin, citizenship, family or social status, place of living, sexual orientation, gender identity, language and other criteria is forbidden. All employees and stakeholders have the possibility to send the complaint to the Director or Deputy Director if they consider that their rights were violated. The interviews were conducted voluntarily (the informed consent was received verbally) and confidentially. No personal information about the respondent was gathered except for his or her name (for qualitative part only) and telephone number provided for the control purpose which was stored separately from the data and will be deleted in 3 months after the project's end. The interviewers don't see the respondent's telephone numbers dialed centrally and don't have access to the respondent's personal data — the data is stored on Info Sapiens server separately from the respondent's answers. The respondents were warned about the recording of the FGDs. The transcripts of FGDs and quotations were presented without identifying the respondent. In case of an air alert, the interviewers will not work and are obliged to go to the shelter. If the air alert happens during the interview the interviewer asks the respondents to go to the shelter and continue the interview there (if it's possible to do it privately). If the respondent refuses to go to the shelter the interviewer goes there alone and asks the respondent when (s)he can return and continue the interview.

[1]Available via the link: https://www.sapiens.com.ua/ua/gender-policy

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

The main source of information about the attitude of teenagers and young people to gender issues, their gender expectations and stereotypes are two types of research: nationwide representative surveys with available data on differences in the positions of respondents of different age groups and focused surveys of teenagers and young people in Ukraine with the inclusion of relevant blocks.

Lots of data indicate age and generational changes in society's attitude to the distribution of gender roles, to manifestations of gender-based violence and gender stereotypes: younger respondents are less likely to share traditional views compared to representatives of older age groups. For example, according to the survey "Attitudes of citizens towards gender-based and domestic violence" conducted by Info Sapiens in 2019 within the framework of the Break the Circle project, 66% of Ukrainians believe that the current generation is more intolerant of gender-based violence than the previous ones. Also, young people are more often ready to intervene in a situation of violence and more often consider it unacceptable, compared to the older generation[2].

The Generation of Independence study, conducted in August 2021 by Rating Group based on a nationwide survey with a focus on the age group of 16-30 years, revealed a greater openness of girls to changes in traditional behavior patterns. Girls aged 16-24 stand out in at least three aspects: they are generally more open to change and seek self-determination more than their male peers, they are more career-oriented than boys, and they also have a higher level of tolerance for LGBT and childfree people[3].

[2]Attitude of citizens towards gender-based and domestic violence / Info Sapiens; UNFPA Ukraine, United Nations Population Fund. 2020. - 22 p. Available via the link: https://ukraine.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/break_the_circle_omnibus_2020_.pdf

[3]Rating group. (2021). Generation of Independence: values and motivations. Available via the link https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/pokolenie_nezavisimosti_cennosti_i_motivacii.html

The Ukrainian generation Z: Attitudes and Values study based on a survey of teenagers and young people (aged 14-29), conducted in 2017 by New Europe Center and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, together with the sociological company GfK Ukraine, found that improving the position of women should become a priority task of the Ukrainian government, according to 40% of respondents. However, this position was second to last in the ranking of such tasks: the first three positions were taken by fighting crime and corruption (70%), economic growth and development (68%) and reducing unemployment (66%). 86% of the surveyed women and 94% of the surveyed men have never encountered discrimination based on gender, which may actually indicate, among other things, the inability to identify the manifestations of such discrimination.

Although it was not the direct focus of the above mentioned study, the issue of gender roles can be indirectly most clearly traced through the example of the marriage and reproductive attitudes of young people.

The young people surveyed are almost unanimous in how they see their family future — 86% of respondents chose the option "married with children", while a family with two children was the most desirable option. Almost half of the respondents (48%) said that they plan or would like to have two children. Among women, this percentage is slightly higher than among men (51% versus 45%), and there are fewer undecided among them. Women's attitudes are expected to be somewhat more traditional, given the prevalence of traditional models of gender socialization, when girls are primarily oriented towards fulfilling the role of wife and mother. In particular, the percentage of those who do not see their future without children is higher among women than among men, while having children and a husband are equally very important for them. Thus, 94% of female respondents said that children are "very important/important" for them for a happy life, and the same number said that it is important to have a husband.

Among male respondents, these figures are 87% and 88%, respectively. The greater focus of the interviewed girls and women on creating a family and having children may appear to contradict the results of the "Generation of Independence" project, where girls demonstrated a greater orientation to a career. However, these views can be reconciled given the persistence and normativity of the gender contract model of the working mother, which involves wom-

en combining professional and family roles. In addition, the category "youth" is actually diverse in the context of the life cycle: for girls under the age of 24, the values of self-realization may be more relevant, but from the age of 25 — the values of creating a family.

The Ukrainian Generation Z study also showed the persistence of parenting models: a significant number of young people plan to imitate their parents in raising their children: 22% plan to raise the same way, and 45% —almost the same way. Only one in five wants to raise in a different way, and 3% — in a completely different way[4].

The issue of gender stereotypes was more clearly studied in the survey of teenagers Health and Behavioral Orientations of School-Aged Youth, implemented by the Ukrainian Institute of Social Research within the framework of the international project Health behavior school-aged children in 2018. It was found that a significant part of today's teenagers (especially boys) share traditional views on the roles of women and men and support gender stereotypes. In particular, almost a third of boys (30.9%) and 17% of girls agree that entering a higher education institution is more important for sons than for daughters. 40.7% of boys and 26.6% of girls agreed that the father should have more power than the mother in making family decisions. The fact that studying well at school is more important for boys than for girls was noted by 28.0% of boys and half as many girls (14.0%). 43.2% of boys and 11.6% of girls recognized the better leadership qualities of young men compared to girls. 44.0% of boys and 30.5% of girls agreed that girls should strive to become a good wife and mother rather than having a professional or business career.

An index of gender stereotypes was calculated for five of the above statements: a very high level (agreement with the above statement was expressed in all five questions) was demonstrated by 7.4% of the interviewed teenagers; high level (agreement with three or four statements) — 14.7%; average level (agreement with any two statements) — 13.3%; low level (agreement with any one statement) — 20.2%; the absence of stereotypical views (they did not agree with any of the statements) was found by slightly less than half of the respondents — 44.4%. The level of support for gender stereotypes depends on the

[4] Haidai, D., Zarembo, K., Litra, L., Lymar, O. and Solodkyi, S. (2017) Ukrainian Generation Z: Values and orientations: results of a nationwide survey. New Europe Center. Available via the link: http://neweurope.org.ua/analytics/ukrayinske-pokolinnya-z-tsinnosti-ta-oriyentyry/

educational level. The lowest level of stereotypical views was demonstrated by students of institutions of higher education, and higher than average by students of vocational and technical education institutions. The dependence of the prevalence of gender stereotypes on the level of education of parents was also revealed - the higher the level of education of the mother or father, the less adolescents broadcast gender stereotypes[5].

The dynamics of generational changes can also be traced on the example of the attitude towards the rights of LGBT people. According to the survey conducted by the Rating Group from July 20 to August 9, 2021, 47% of Ukrainians have a negative attitude towards LGBT+ people. Along with this, the share of such respondents was the smallest in the 16-24 age group (24%)[6].

According to the data of two waves of representative surveys conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the public organization Information Center for Human Rights, in two years (from 2016 to 2018) the share of those who believe that most often discrimination in Ukraine happens on the basis of sexual orientation has slightly increased (from 21.6% to 24.9%). In general, this form of discrimination, according to respondents, ranks third in prevalence after age and disability discrimination. Young people spoke more often about the spread of such discrimination.

According to a national survey conducted by USAID/ENGAGE and GfK Ukraine in 2018, 40% of respondents would not want homosexual people to be their neighbors[7]. Similar data were obtained as a result of the above-mentioned survey of young people, conducted by the New Europe Center and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation together with GfK Ukraine in 2017: 44% of Ukrainian youth agreed that "homosexuality

[5] Social conditioning and health indicators of adolescents and young people: according to the results of a sociological study within the framework of the international project "Health and behavioral orientations of school-aged youth": monogr. / O. M. Balakireva, T. V. Bondar and others. ; of science ed. O. M. Balakireva; UNICEF, NGO "Ukrainian Institute of Social Research named after O. Yaremenko". — K.: Foliant Polygraphic Center, 2019. — 127 c.

[6] Rating Group. (2021) Generation of Independence: values and motivations. [online] Rating Group. Available via the link: : http://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/pokolenie_nezavisimosti_cennosti_i_motivacii.html?fbclid=IwAR2Xal3A0eEVa8nhNRUgGVK45DeAhE3e2m2on7c_EtYIFwdtWOcdWoNMHPM

[7] USAID/ENGAGE National Survey on Civic Engagement. (2018). Available via the link: https://sapiens.com.ua/publications/socpol-research/80/presentation.pdf

can never be justified", 40% of Ukrainian youth would not want to see homosexuals as their neighbors at all[8].

However, Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine is likely to intensify progress towards creating a more inclusive society in the sense of equal rights for LGBT people as part of a worldview and discursive war with "Russian world". A study conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in May 2022 showed that twice as many respondents than 6 years ago (64%) support the fact that residents of Ukraine with a homosexual orientation should have the same rights as other citizens of our country. The percentage of those who are undecided has halved to 10%. The most supportive of LGBT equality in Ukraine are younger respondents, residents of large cities, more educated and wealthy people[9]. Positive changes in attitudes towards LGBT people and their rights are also evidenced by the data of the Info Sapiens study conducted in April 2022. In particular, the share of those who believe that homosexual people should have equal rights with other citizens has almost doubled (compared to 2018, according to the survey of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology) — from 33.7% to 63.7%[10].

Several studies carried out in Ukraine on a related topic involved educational environment. For example, in 2019, All Ukrainian Charitable Organization Fulcrum (Auco Fulcrum) conducted the first national study of the school environment in Ukraine with the aim of obtaining data on bullying based on sexual orientation and gender identity in schools and its impact on the lives of LGBT teenagers. An online survey of 717 male and female students showed a considerable number of challenges and problems faced by teenagers of this group, namely: 48.7% of those surveyed at school feel in danger because of their sexual orientation; 72.8% of respondents noted that they heard homophobic phrases from school staff; 53.5% of LGBT students were subjected to physical

[8] Haidai, D., Zarembo, K., Litra, L., Lymar, O. and Solodkyi, S. (2017) Ukrainian Generation Z: Values and orientations: results of a nationwide survey. New Europe Center. Available via the link: http://neweurope.org.ua/analytics/ukrayinske-pokolinnya-z-tsinnosti-ta-oriyentyry/

[9] Kyiv International Institute of Sociology. (2022) Perception of LGBT people and their rights in Ukraine: May 2022. Analytical report. Available via the link: https://gay.org.ua/publications/AReport_NashSvit_May2022.pdf

[10] Martsenyuk, T. (2022) To be or not to be: Attitudes of Ukrainian society about gender equality. [online] Forum for Ukrainian Studies. Available via the link: https://ukrainian-studies.ca/2022/09/06/to-be-or-not-to-be-attitudes-of-ukrainian-society-about-gender-equality-and-diversity-after-russias-invasion-of-ukraine/

bullying (such as pushing or pulling) during the past year; 47.2% of respondents in the last year before the survey became victims of "cyberbullying" — an electronic form of bullying through text messages or posts on social networks, and 47.0% of LGBT students and students were subjected to sexual harassment (such as inappropriate touching or sexually explicit comments, etc.).

The topic of prejudices of the teaching and parenting communities towards LGBT+ people was partly the focus of the Awareness and Attitude Of The Teaching Community And Parents To Comprehensive Sexuality Education study, conducted in 2020 by the CEDOS think tank in partnership with the Info Sapiens Research Agency and with the support of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine. According to the research, 36% of the surveyed teachers and 44% of the surveyed parents are convinced that non-heterosexual orientation needs treatment[11].

According to classic works on the effects of war on gender relations and roles, wars can reinforce traditionalist ideas about the roles of women and men. However, Ukrainian sociology will still have to study the nature and scope of such changes, including in the youth environment. The contours of these changes have already been outlined in a number of studies. According to official data, as of July 2022, more than 1 million people in Ukraine are involved in the security and defense sector. Although not all men, or even most of them, are on the front lines, gendered expectations that men should or must fight are quite strong. According to research by the CEDOS think tank, in the first month of the full-scale war, some IDPs reported negative treatment by local residents. This was especially true of men — because of the idea that men are defenders and should fight, not stay safe. According to some respondents, these prejudices led to obstacles in access to housing: people did not always want to provide housing to men[12].

However, the impact of war on the transformation of gender expectations, stereotypes and ideals happens through a long period of time, which is a challenge for sociological research.

[11] CEDOS think tank, Info Sapiens Research Agency. (2020) Awareness and attitude of the teaching community and parents to comprehensive sexuality education. Availablevia the link: https://cedos.org.ua/researches/obiznanist-ta-stavlennia-vchytelskoi-spilnoty-i-batkiv-do-kompleksnoi-seksualnoi-osvity/

[12] CEDOS think tanks. (2022). The first days of the full-scale war in Ukraine: thoughts, experiences, actions. Available via the link: https://cedos.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/pershi-dni-povnomasshtabnoyi-vijny-v-ukrayini-2.pdf

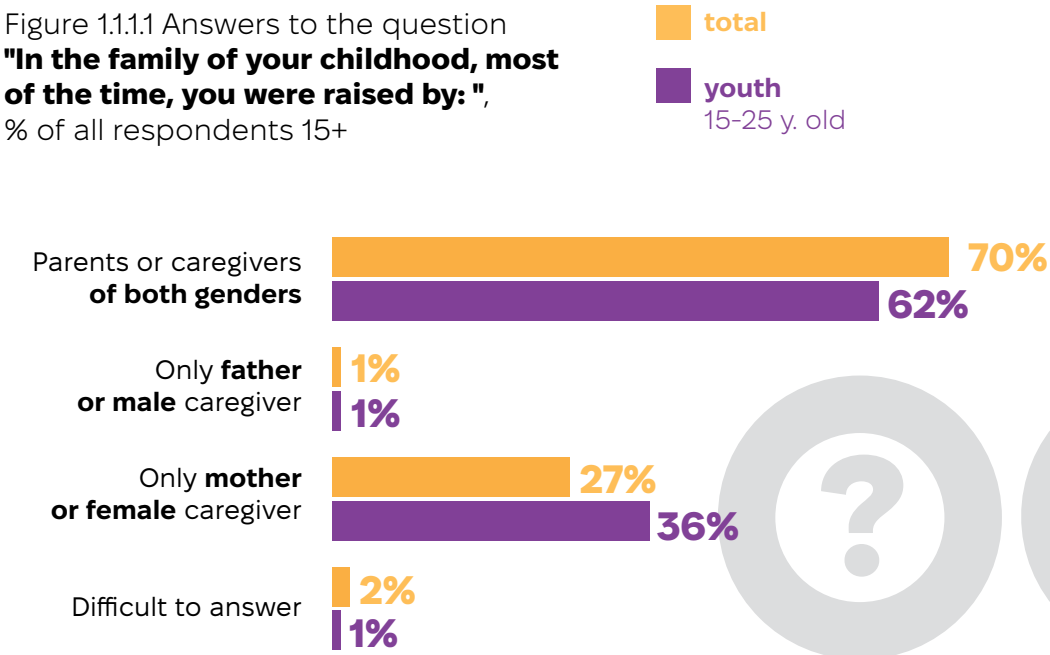
1. GENDER ASPECTS OF UPBRINGING AND INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

1.1 Quantitative research

1.1.1 Models of distribution of roles in families, gender aspects of the upbringing process

In general, 70% of the population in childhood was raised by parents or caregivers of both genders, among young people under 25 this share decreases to 62%, which may be related to the changing role of marriage in society and the increase in the number of mothers who raise children independently (only 1 % of respondents was raised only by a father or a male caregiver).

Figure 1.1.1.1 Answers to the question **"In the family of your childhood, most of the time, you were raised by: "**, % of all respondents 15+



About one-fifth of respondents (19%) reported that in their childhood family the leadership position belonged to men, in 2009 there were a third of such respondents (34%). Taking into account the dynamics of the data, we see a tendency for situations where both partners are equal or when the leadership position belongs to women.

Figure 1.1.1.2 Answers to the question **"In your childhood family mainly:"**, % of all respondents 15+

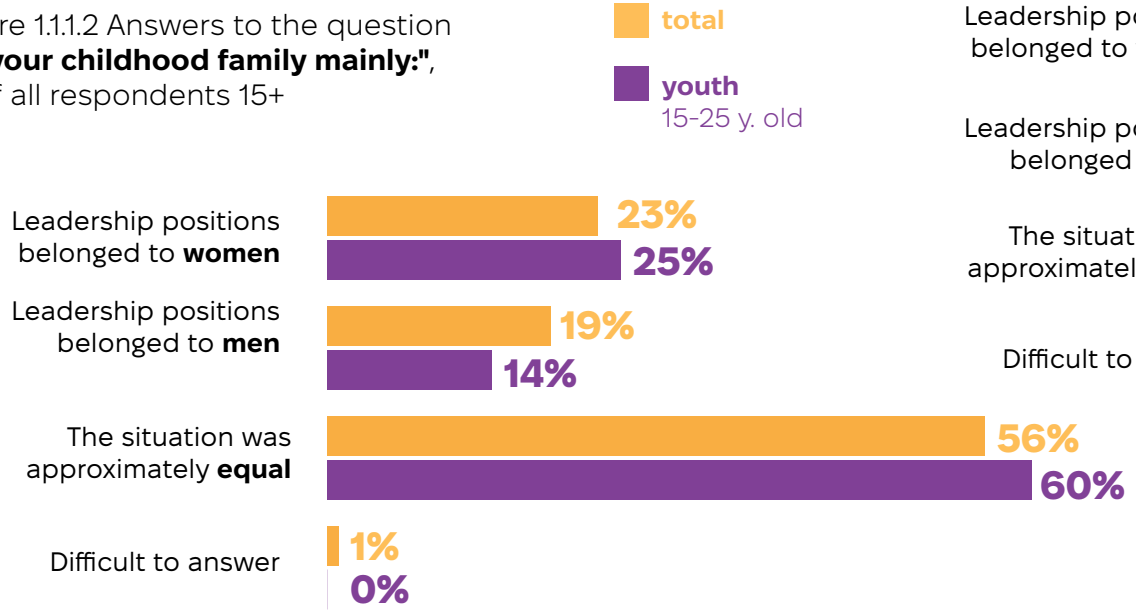
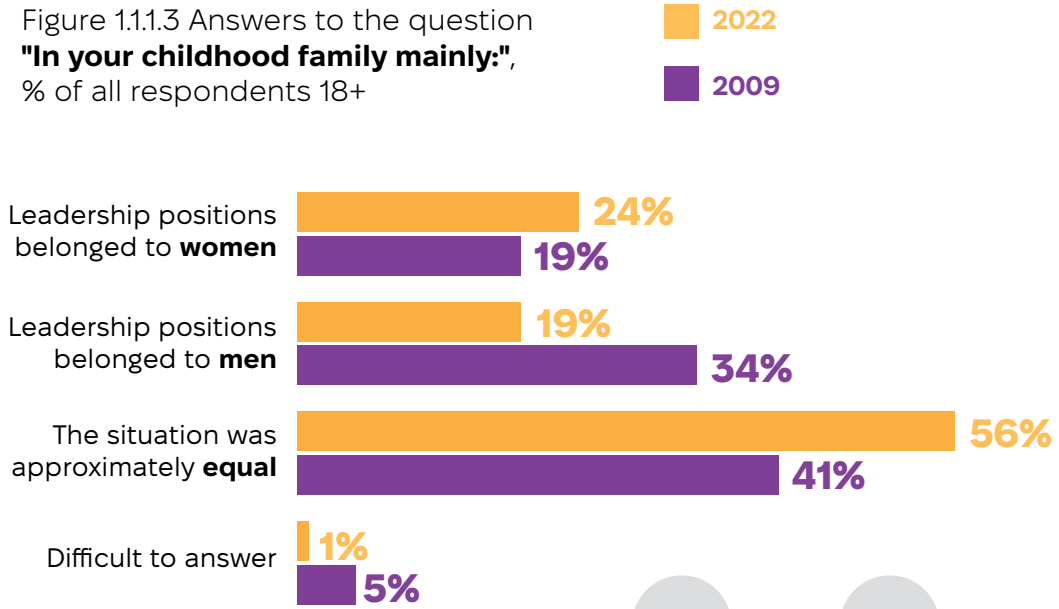


Figure 1.1.1.3 Answers to the question **"In your childhood family mainly:"**, % of all respondents 18+



There are tendencies to decrease the desire to have a child of a certain gender, and more and more potential parents do not pay attention to the gender of the future child. At the same time, there is a negative trend that young people prefer a son more often than the general population, because of men (8% of them prefer a son).

Figure 1.1.1.4 Answers to the question **"If you had a choice, would you prefer to have a daughter or a son or would you treat a child of any gender equally?"**, % of all respondents 15+

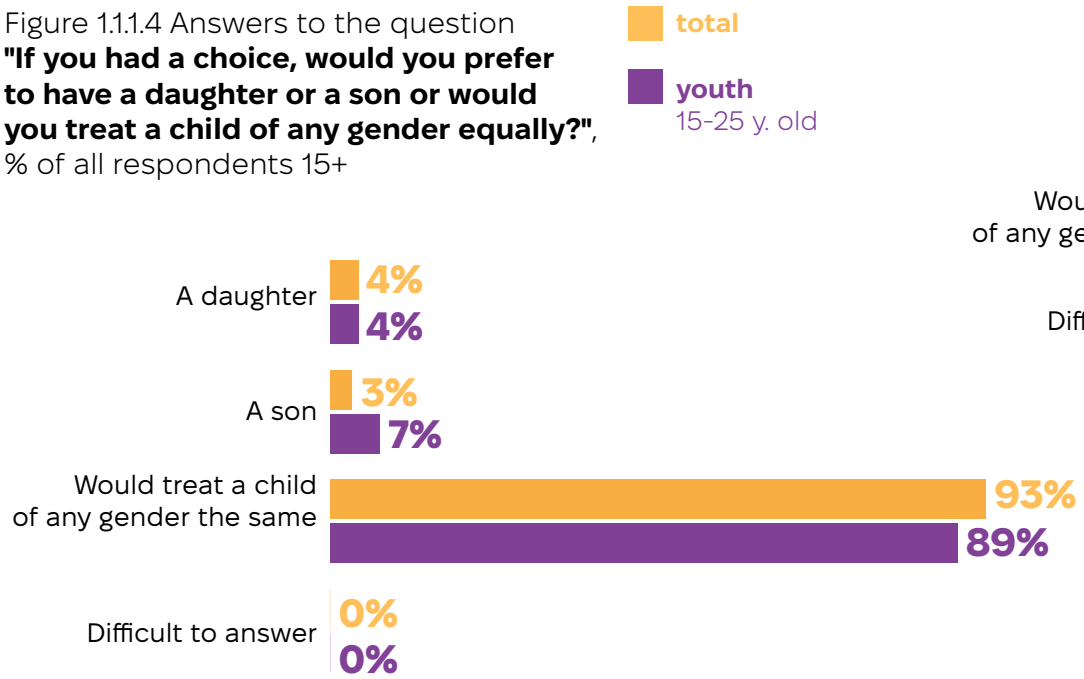
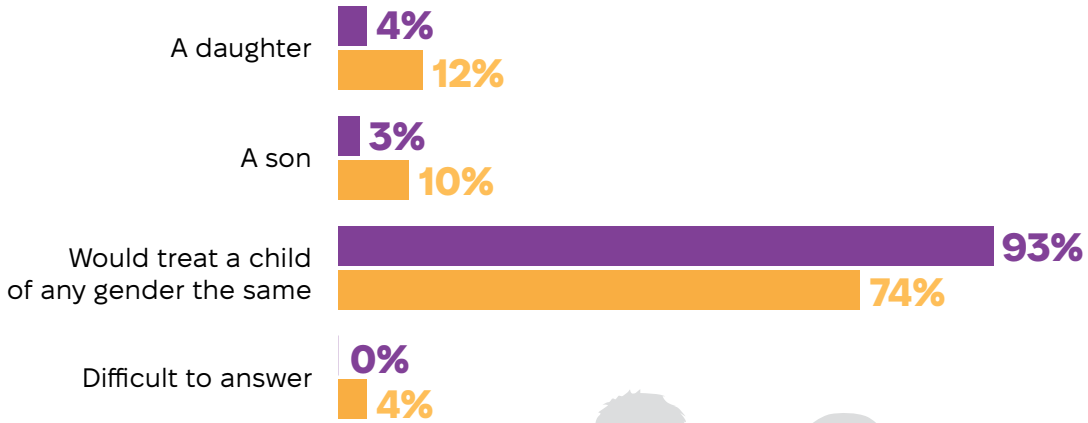


Figure 1.1.1.5 Answers to the question **"If you had a choice, would you prefer to have a daughter or a son or would you treat a child of any gender equally?"**, % of all respondents 18+



The trends regarding the perception of responsibility for raising children are changing radically — the majority of respondents are convinced that both parents should be equally responsible for raising both girls and boys (82% and 78%, respectively), while in 2009, a third of respondents (33%) believed that the mother should be more responsible for raising a girl, and one fifth (20%) — that the father should be more responsible for raising a boy.

90% of young people aged 15–25 and 81% of the general population are sure that both mother and father should equally perform most of the household duties of caring for the child in case if both parents work; in 2009, the share of such answers was 60%, another third (34%) of respondents believed that the entire burden of child care should fall on the mother. But still, about 15% of respondents maintain the idea that the mother is responsible for raising a girl, and the father is responsible for raising a boy, however, such an idea is half as common among young people.

Currently, half (54%) of the respondents generally say that both a mother and a father can take "maternity leave" and take care of the child after the first months of life, depending on whose career is more successful, who is more busy or who is better at taking care of the child; in 2009, only a quarter (26%) of respondents expressed this opinion.

Figure 1.1.1.6 Answers to the question
"Who is more responsible for raising a girl: a mother, a father or parents together to the same extent?",
% of all respondents 15+

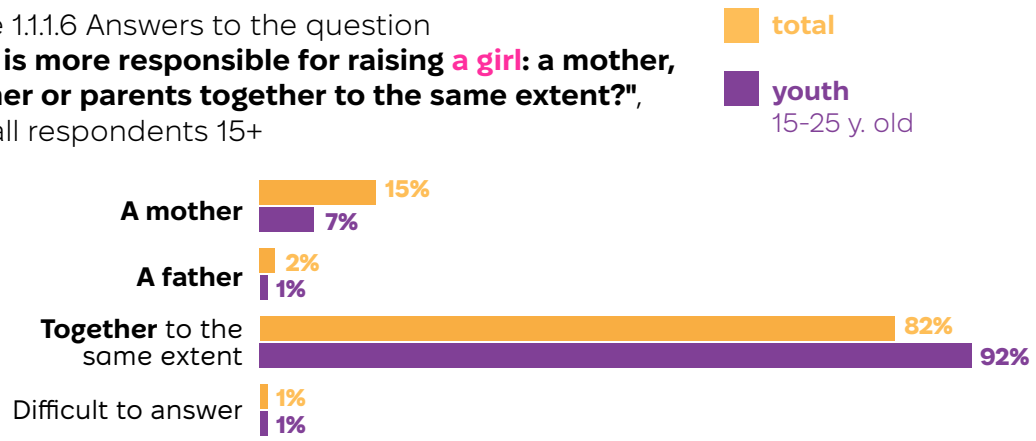


Figure 1.1.1.7 Answers to the question
"Who is more responsible for raising a girl: a mother, a father or parents together to the same extent?",
% of all respondents 18+

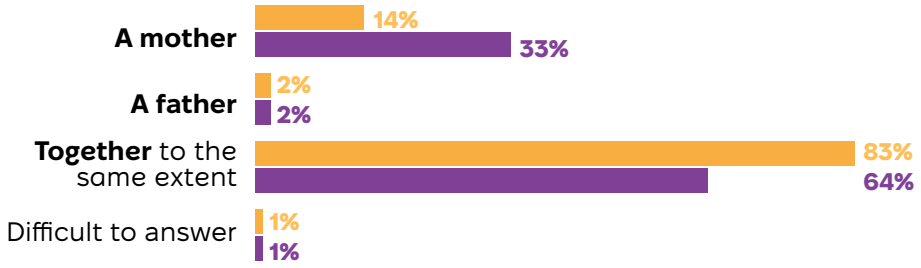


Figure 1.1.1.8 Answers to the question
"Who is more responsible for raising a boy: a mother, a father or parents together to the same extent?", % of all respondents 15+

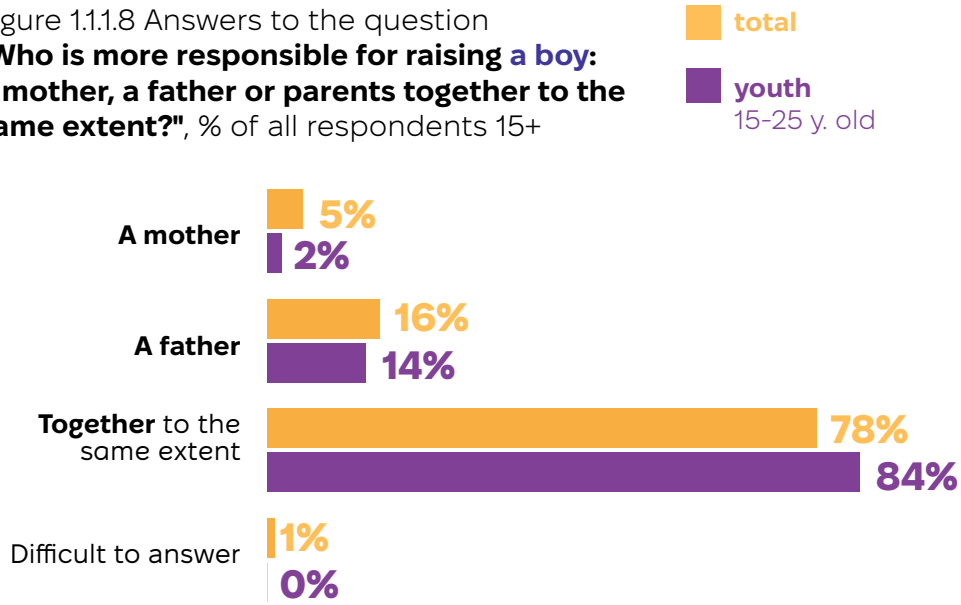


Figure 1.1.1.9 Answers to the question
"Who is more responsible for raising a boy: a mother, a father or parents together to the same extent?",
% of all respondents 18+

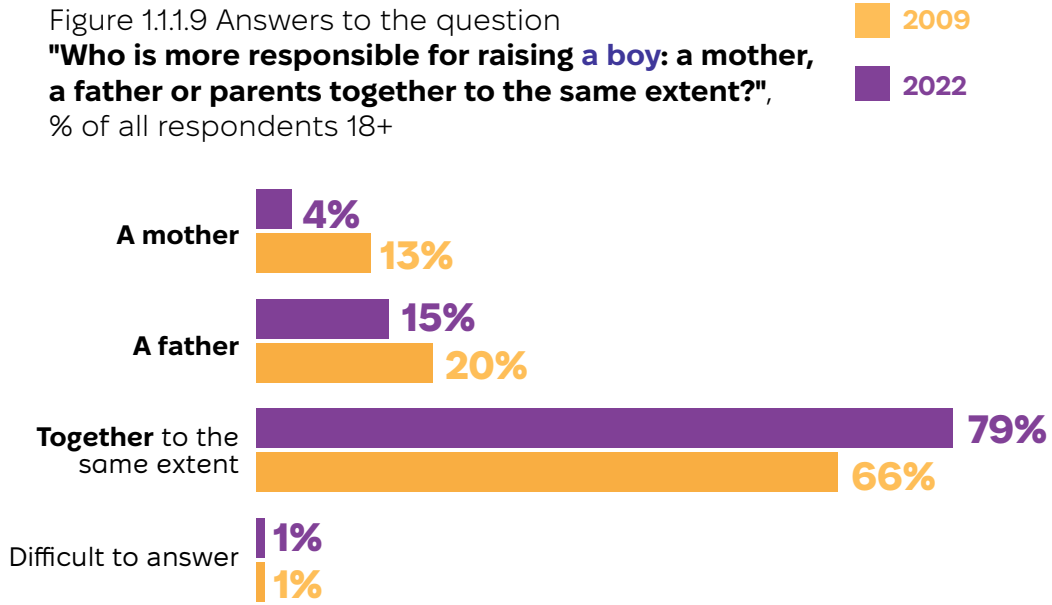


Figure 1.1.1.10 Answers to the question
"And who should perform most of the household duties of caring for the child (feeding, dressing, etc.) in the case both mother and father work?",
% of all respondents 15+

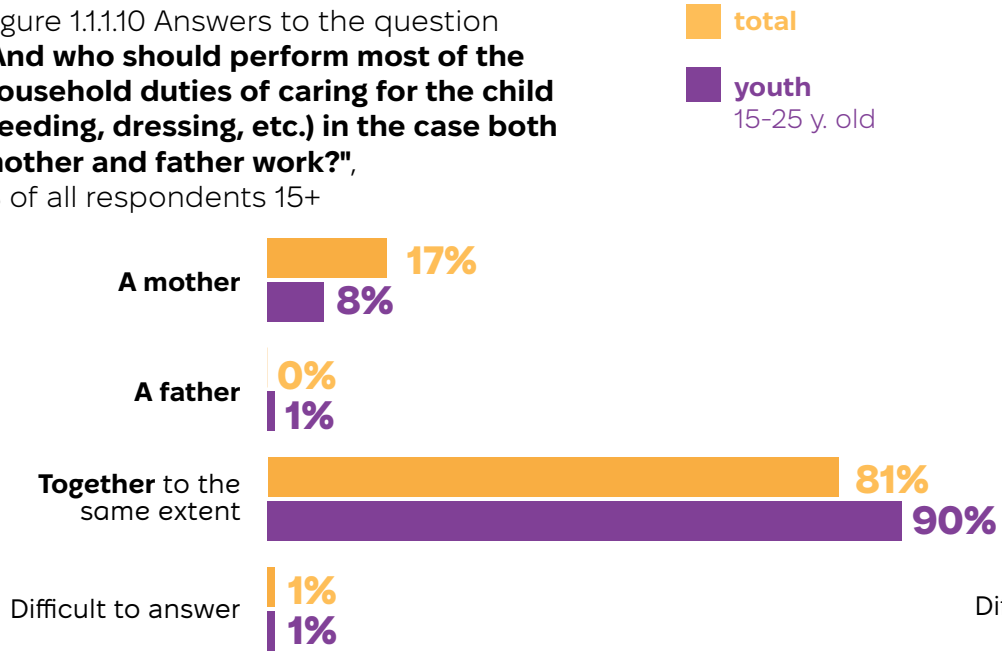


Figure 1.1.1.11 Answers to the question
"And who should perform most of the household duties of caring for the child (feeding, dressing, etc.) in the case both mother and father work?",
% of all respondents 18+

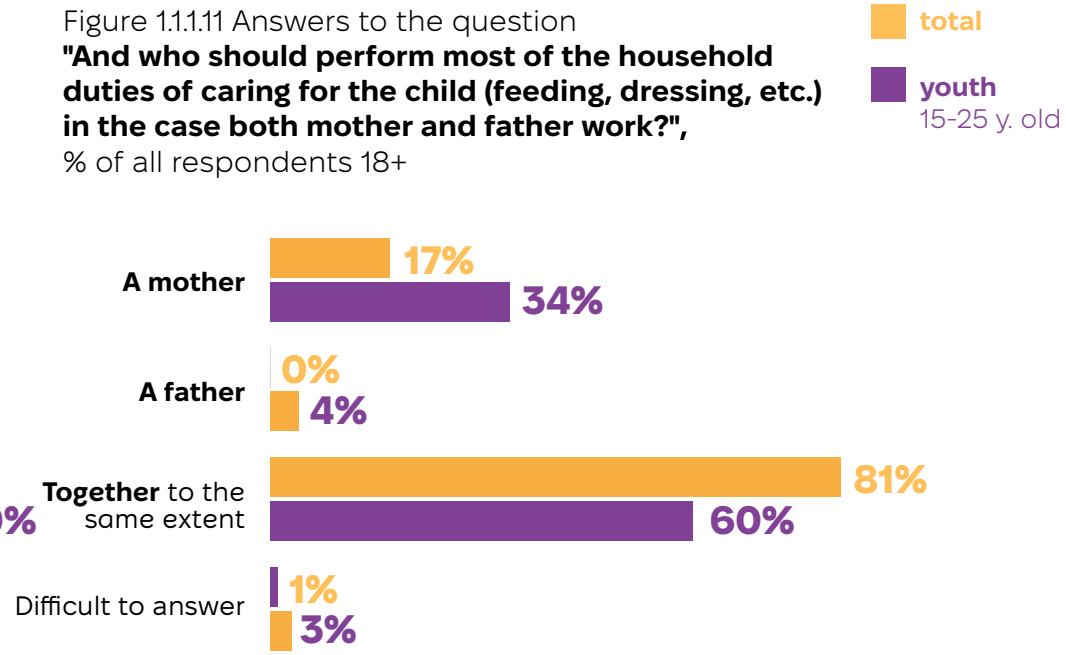


Figure 1.1.1.12 Answers to the question
"Who should take maternity leave and take care of the child after the first months of life?",
% of all respondents 15+

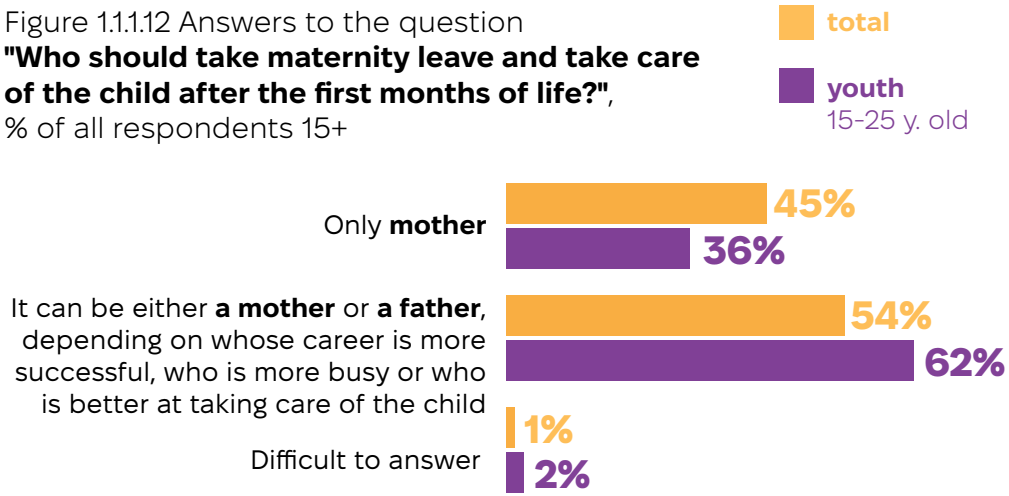
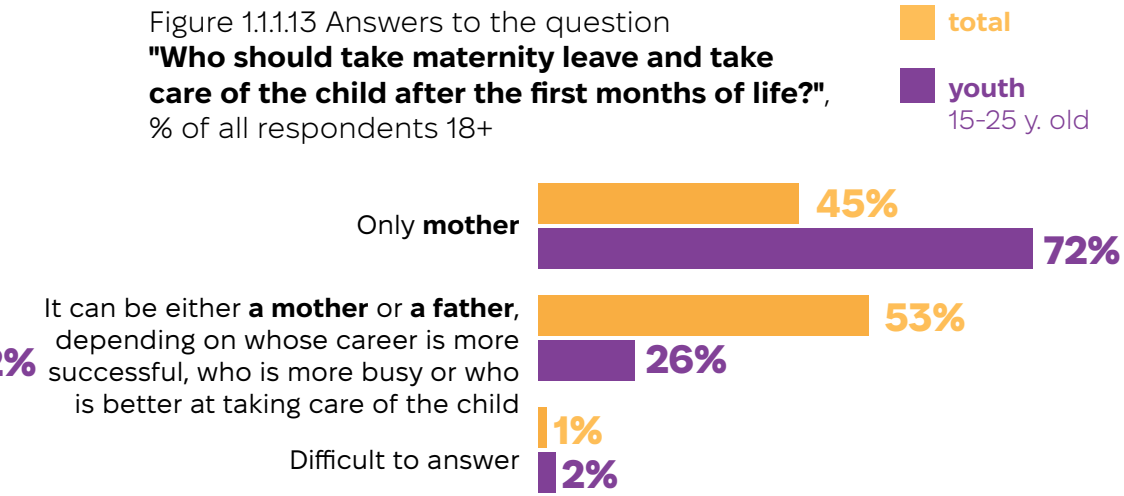


Figure 1.1.1.13 Answers to the question
"Who should take maternity leave and take care of the child after the first months of life?",
% of all respondents 18+



In general, as mentioned above, the most established are gender stereotypes concerning the attitude towards children and their upbringing. 82% of respondents believe that it is important to form "feminine character traits" in girls, and 90% — that it is important to form "masculine character traits" in boys. Among young people, these indicators are lower, however, still very high — 73% and 78%. At the same time, young men share this opinion more often than young women.

Figure 1.1.1.14 Answers to the question
"Do you think it is important to develop feminine character traits, behavior, and interests in girls?",
% of all respondents, 15+

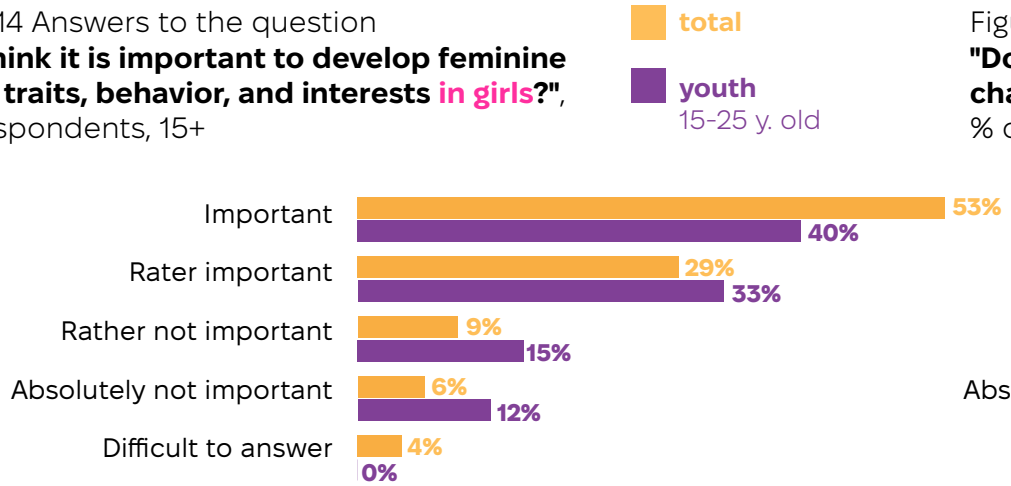
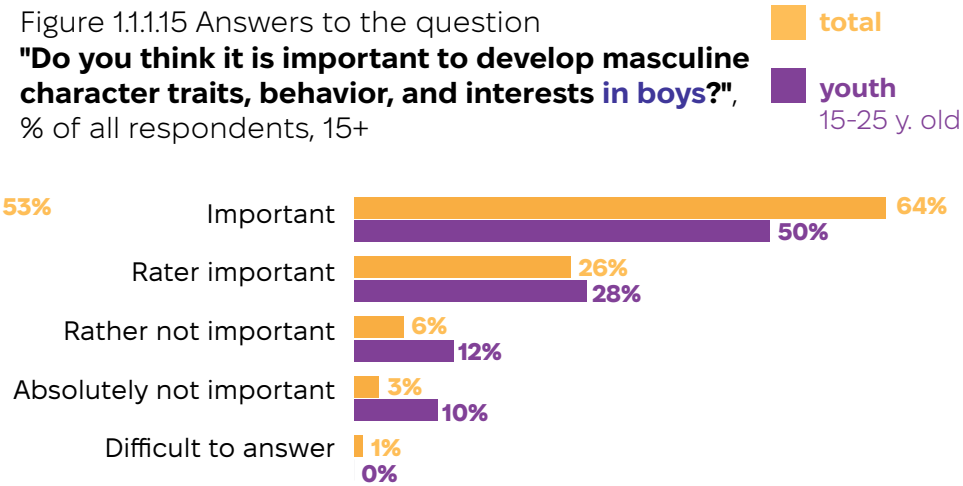


Figure 1.1.1.15 Answers to the question
"Do you think it is important to develop masculine character traits, behavior, and interests in boys?",
% of all respondents, 15+



1.1.2. Gender stereotypes in different generations

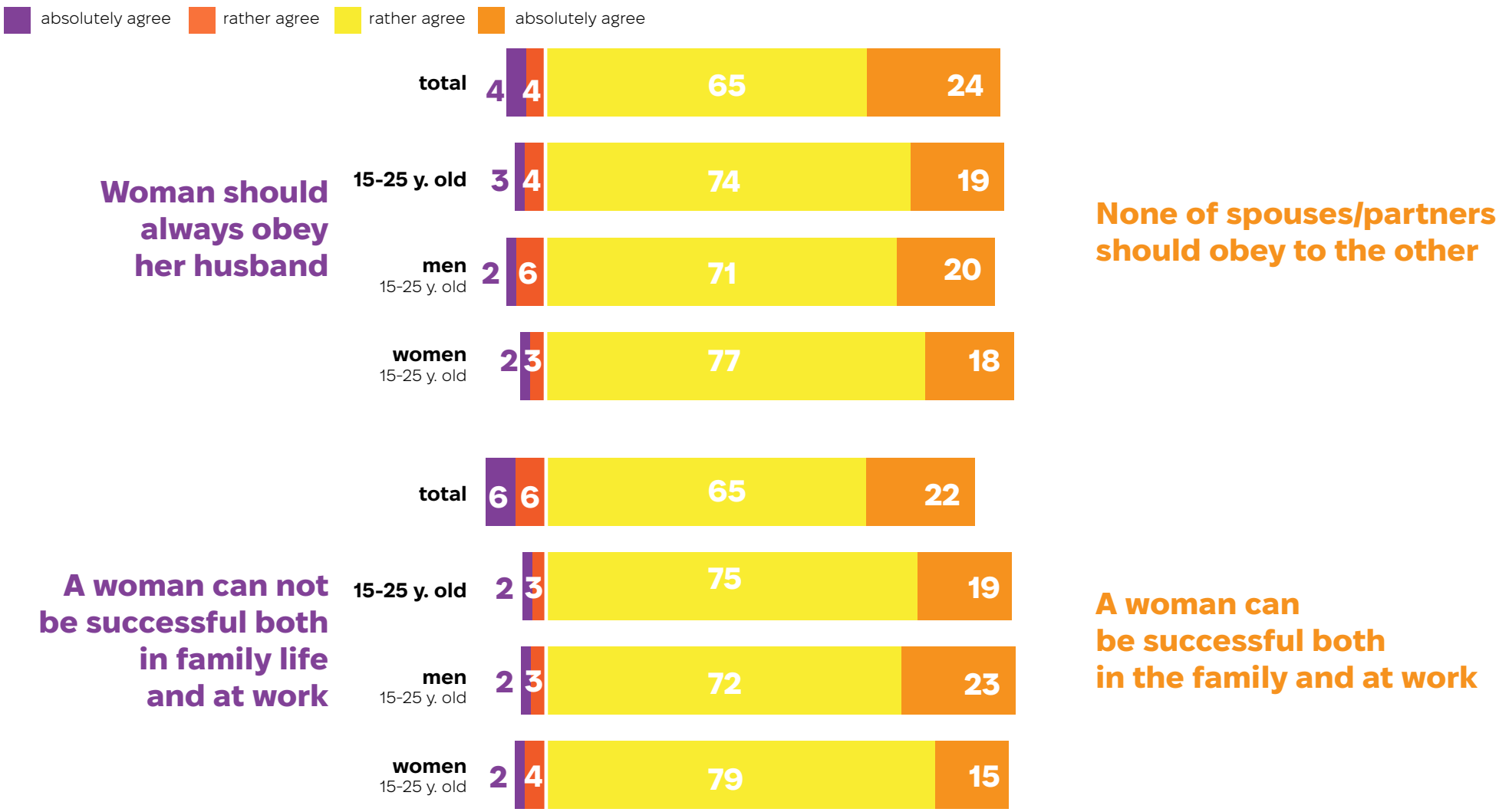
This research confirms the conclusion of previous studies that young people are less prone to gender stereotypes, at the same time they perceive them to be more widespread and rate their impact as higher than the general population.

The most widespread gender stereotype among all generations is the idea that only men should be subject to military conscription; half of the young respondents (53%) and 60% of the general population fully or rather agree with this statement. At the same time, almost twice as many young women as men (58% vs. 30%, respectively) believe that women should also be subject to conscription.

Every fifth respondent, both among the general population and among young people, believes that a man should fully provide for the family. There are 19% of those thinking this way among young women and 24% among men aged under 25 years old.

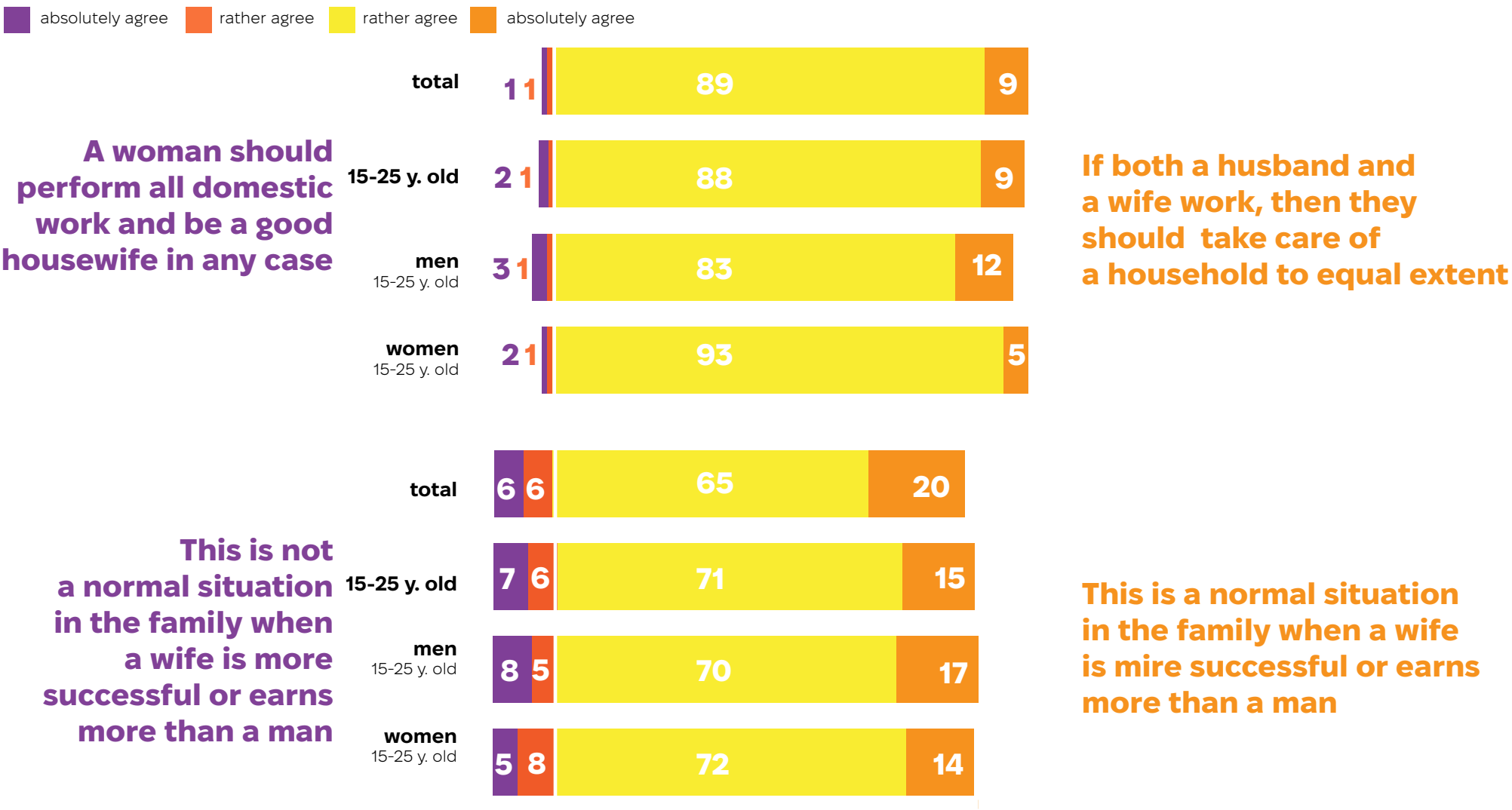
The least common is the idea that a woman should in any case do all the housework and be a good housewife: almost everyone (98%) believes that if both husband and wife work, then the responsibilities should be distributed equally.

Figure 1.1.2.1 Answers to the question **"I will now read you pairs of statements, and you will choose the one that best matches your views",** % of all respondents 15+[13]



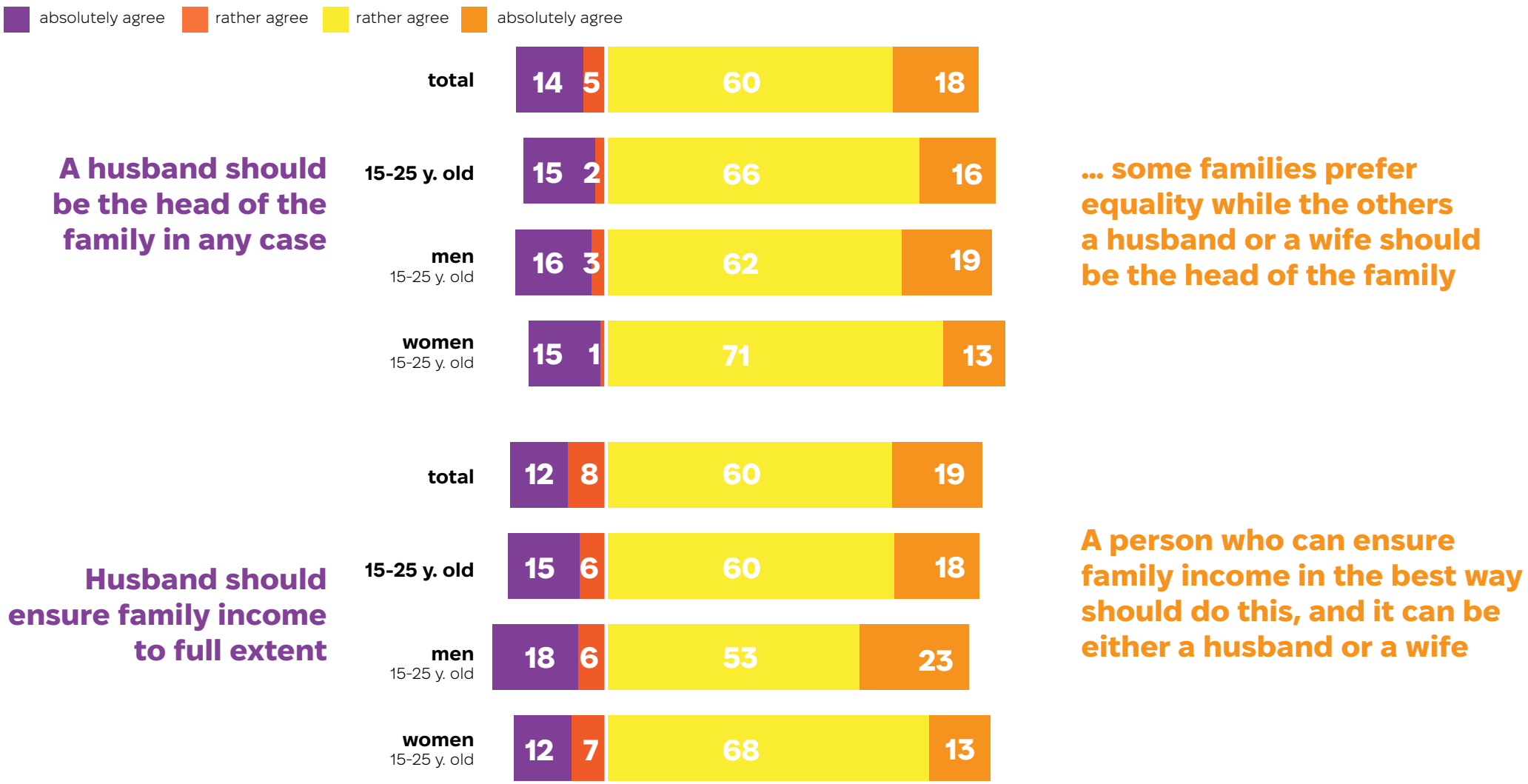
[13] Респондентам були поставлені запитання, які були сформульовані так: зараз я зачитаю вам пари тверджень, а ви виберіть те, яке найбільше відповідає вашим поглядам. Коли респондент вибирав із двох тверджень те, з яким він згоден, його запитували, чи погоджується він з цим твердженням скоріше чи повністю. Серед запитань також була опція «Важко сказати», яка призвела до того, що відсотки не складаються в 100%.

Figure 1.1.2.1 Answers to the question **"I will now read you pairs of statements, and you will choose the one that best matches your views",** % of all respondents 15+[13]



[13] The respondents were asked the questions which were formulated the following way: I will now read you pairs of statements, and you will choose the one that best matches your views. When respondent chose among two statements the one he was agree with, they were asked if they were rather or absolutely agree with this statement. The questions also included option "Hard to say" which lead to the fact that percentages do not add up to 100%.

Figure 1.1.2.1 Answers to the question **"I will now read you pairs of statements, and you will choose the one that best matches your views",** % of all respondents 15+[13]



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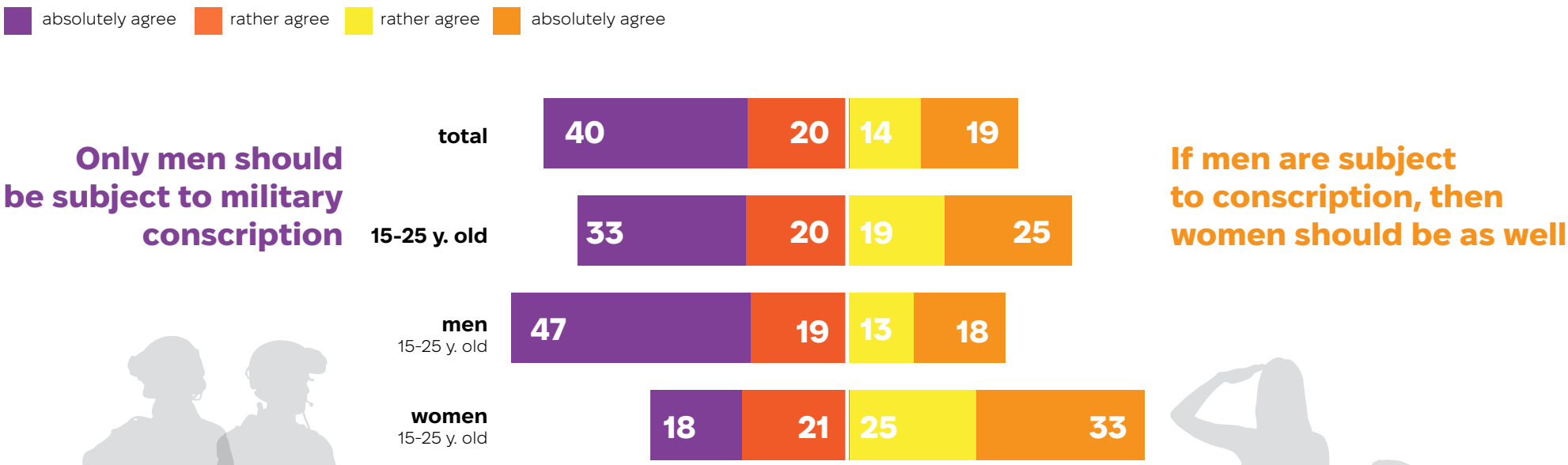

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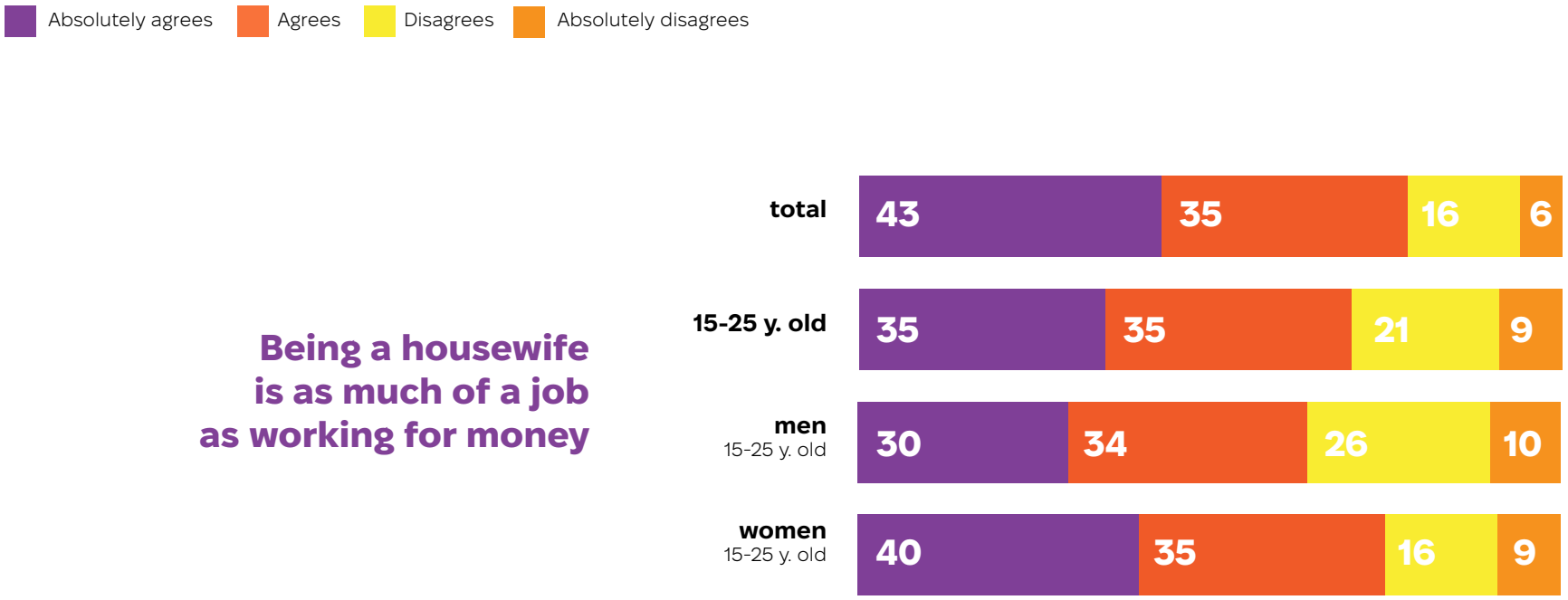
Overall, young people are more likely than the general population to agree with most statements about gender equality. An exception is the attitude towards the statement "being a housewife is the same job as working for money", with which young people agree less than the general population. This is probably due to the fact that young people have higher career ambitions than the general population and feel the lack of prestige / lack of interest / ingratitude of working as a housewife.

Figure 1.1.2.2 Answers to the question **"For each of the statements that I will read, say how much you agree or disagree with them. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?"**, % of all respondents 15+



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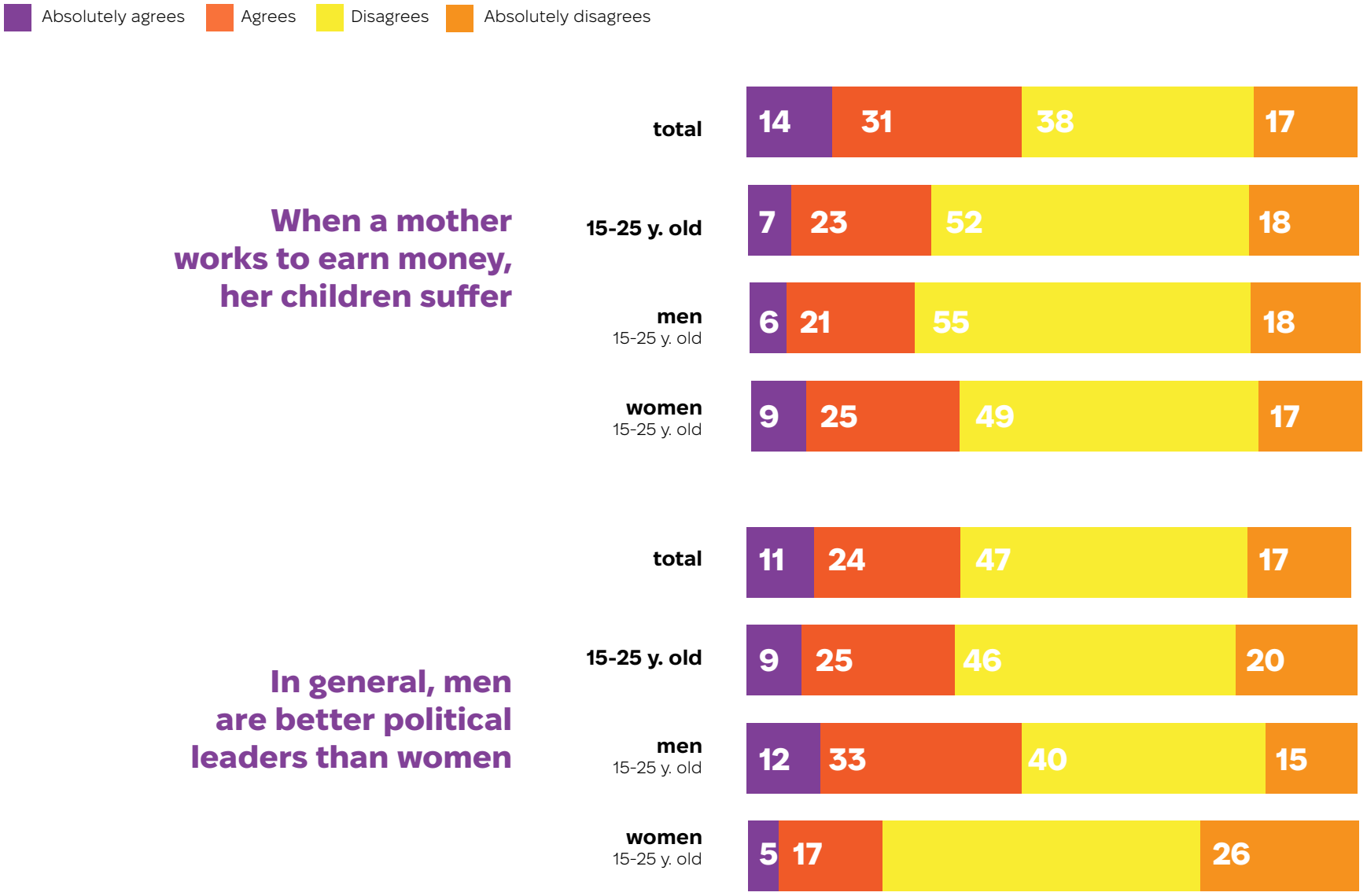

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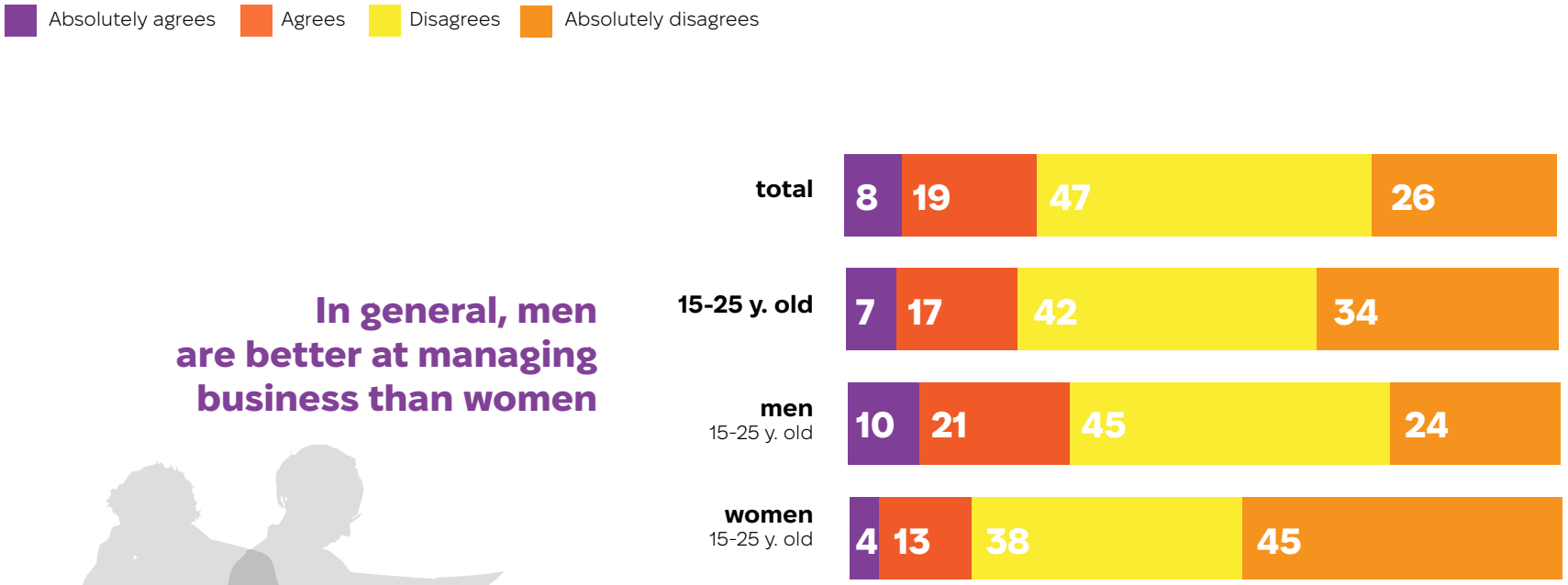


In general, men are better at managing business than women

1.2. Qualitative research

1.2.1. Models of distribution of roles in families, gender aspects of the upbringing process

Most of the research participants grew up in families with both parents and noted that the roles between the parents were distributed traditionally for the most part: the mother performed conventionally feminine duties (cooking, cleaning, taking care of children), the father performed conventionally masculine ones (mending appliances, repairs, tinkering, work in the yard of a private house and in the garden), while mostly both worked. For some of the respondents, the father (or grandfather, in the absence of the father in the family) could replace the mother and take care of the family or children if necessary, but such cases were determined by the situation, that is, when the mother was sick, absent or very tired.

In the process of growing up, children also joined in helping their parents, as a rule, girls helped their mothers more, boys helped their fathers, but most boys were also taught to cook and clean (basic skills that every person needs). Responsibility division into "male" and " female" is observed even in a situation where both parents bring comparable income to the family budget. Some interviewees noted that the father/stepfather very rarely participated in household and caregiving duties, his function was to earn money for the family and perform heavy physical labor. More often, it was the father who brought a larger share of the income, but important decisions in the family were made jointly.

There are isolated references to the fact that over time, the mother, who initially carried out most of the household duties, began to negotiate with the father and transfer part of the duties to him in order to achieve an even distribution. Usually, when children grow up and leave the parental home, men revise their views and try to get more involved in housework and, performing new roles in everyday life, the interviewees say.

> From the very beginning, the mother plays a greater role in the life of the family. And then she told dad that it was so difficult for her, and they changed, and they distributed more, so that both had a more comfortable life. I remember my mother saying to my father: "I'm already tired, I can't. I go to work too. Let's distribute responsibilities more evenly."
> (Woman, oblast center, target audience (TA) Youth)

Some of the respondents, mostly from big cities, noted that there was no clear division of roles in their families, each family member (including children when they became adults) performed different household duties whenever possible.

The upbringing process of the majority of respondents had a gender-specific nature. Parents instilled conventionally masculine/feminine skills and interests in their children: girls were taught to cook, sent to creativity clubs (painting, dancing, music, needlework); the boys were trained to repair things, sent to sports clubs (football, judo, karate, wrestling, cycling, fencing, boxing, athletics). Masculine or feminine skills and interests were not forcibly instilled, but sometimes parents conveyed the need to be able to perform exactly masculine/feminine duties or look like a "typical" man or woman.

> But mostly while I was growing up, and in general throughout my life, there were more cases where I was taught men's business, to make repairs, to repair something.
> (Man, raion center, TA Youth)

> Well, only that your mother said that you should wear skirts, because they look good on you.
> (Woman, raion center, TA Youth)

> They tried and are still trying to instill, like, cleaning, cooking — that all this stuff should be done by a girl.
> (Woman, Kyiv, TA Youth)

> And something, you know, like joking, when something needs to be hammered or nailed, then my grandfather used to joke that one should be able to solve such household problems.
> (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

> It was more or less neutral. Of course, they could tell me that: "You don't know how to sweep normally. You should do better because you're a girl," but it really was... just, well, some phrases once every 2 weeks when someone didn't like the way I did some of my cleaning.
> (Trans man)

However, some of the respondents of both TAs note that their upbringing process was gender-neutral: they were bought any toys, clothes, their versatile interests were supported — depending on their wishes and regardless of gender.

I wasn't told that cars or dinosaurs were for boys, and Barbies and soft toys were for girls, so I could choose what I liked, I could almost dress as I liked, so everything was fine in that regard. (Nonbinary transgender person)

In my case, they just bought me what I liked, what I sometimes asked for, these were also toy cars, there were also all kinds of cooking sets, for some reason, I liked everything interesting and different. So there wasn't just one thing, like, for example, a hobby of some kind, sports, I did taekwondo, I did dancing, hip-hop and football, sports, athletics. That is, there was no such thing that was specifically male.
(Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

Books — it is something neutral, there are no books for men and women. Just as there are no toys for men and women. I always had cars, dolls, and robots. I had everything. I was not limited in this kind of stuff. I always had clothes too. I have always loved pants. I rarely wore dresses. That's why I had more pants.
(Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

They took me to many different clubs, so I could try everything. My parents wanted me to be versatile, they probably wanted me to try everything.
(Trans man)

It is worth noting that even those participants who noted that their upbringing was not gender-neutral, named moral and ethical instructions among the instructions that their parents gave and continue to give them — regardless of gender, to be an honest and decent, polite, an self-reliant and independent person, to rely on oneself, to be able to take care of oneself in daily life, to respect the opinion of another person, to be purposeful and hard-working, intelligent and versatile person, to be interested in the world and versatile information.

In the process of raising individual transpeople with a male gender assigned at birth, the father tried to more aggressively instill “male” skills and interests, while the mother was more tolerant and followed a rather gender-neutral style of upbringing.

> As for gender roles, because for 22 years I’ve been told that a man should be a man... my father tried to instill such aggressiveness in me for a very long time. For a long time I pounded into my head that you are a man, you have to support your family, you have to do hard work.
> (Trans woman)

> My stepfather worked, he came home, he chopped firewood, that kind of thing, he did men's work. And he constantly told me that I was a man, and I had to go cut wood, do something else, which, of course, I didn't do. My stepfather taught me all kinds of manly things, how to use a jackhammer, all that, but I was so uninterested in it that I just, God, I ran away from him all the time. He taught me how to hold an axe. "Do not cry. Men don't cry. Keep your fist tight. If necessary, punch someone in the forehead. You are a man. Be a man."
> (Trans woman)

Individual respondents shared memories of domestic violence against women, father's alcohol abuse, this experience further influenced their understanding of the need for healthy partnerships and mutual respect of all family members for each other.

1.2.2. Gender stereotypes in different generations

Most of the research participants note that their parents have traditional, more patriarchal views about the appearance and behavior of men and women, namely:

♀ A man should be discreet, neat, short-cut, courageous and steady, confident, serious, not talk too much, be a handyman, be able to repair household items, be the head of the family and provide for his family.

♀ A woman should be well-groomed, but dress decently, be calm and balanced, be able to cook, not smoke/drink alcohol, find a stable and reliable husband, definitely marry and have children, take care of her husband and children. Although it is worth mentioning that, for some girls, parents conveyed the need to be educated and financially independent, even from their future husband.

> Even my long hair. He did not understand it at first. Like: "Why don't you get a haircut? A man should walk with short hair." My father finds it ridiculous that I shave armpits and all that. He does not understand this. But this is such a Soviet upbringing, again. I can't blame him. (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

> I have quite a conservative dad. Well, he finds it hard to understand that a man can have long hair or something, a man can be dressed wrong in his opinion somehow and all that. (Man, raion center, TSA Youth)

> But in terms of looks, I used to have long hair, and my mom really liked it, but my dad didn't like it very much. Then I cut them and the opposite happened. Then my mother got used to it, and everything became normal. In other words, it wasn't too important for my mom, but my dad really didn't like it. (Man, village, TA Youth)

> They have such patriarchal views, and it is clear that the mother thinks that the man is a provider and the woman sits in the house. She works somewhere, if she wants to, and takes care of her husband, children, she does all this. (Trans woman)

It is worth noting that, according to the interviewees, fathers of the respondents have more conservative views on the appearance and behavior of men and women, mothers are more progressive and more often broadcast the freedom of self-expression of the individual, regardless of gender.

> My father. He clearly defines how a woman should behave: she should stay at home, look after the children, cook, and everything, well, and do what she is told. As for women's social roles, my mother has a very broad worldview, that is, a woman is a person, and a person, accordingly, can be whoever they want, in the same way as a man.
> (Trans woman)

> A woman is attractive, feminine, she should "not annoy her husband", a man is strong, large, abrupt, independent, so that those around him are afraid. Before and after my coming out, I heard from my father that I must give them grandchildren.
> (Trans man)

Informants do not have certain expectations and stereotypes regarding the appearance and behavior of a man/woman, they emphasize that, first of all, each person should independently decide how to look and behave, the main thing is that it does not oppress other people.

> I believe that each person, whether he is a man or a woman, simply decides for themself what is comfortable and how to look — neat or untidy. And if this person doesn't bother me or others, then it doesn't matter what they look like.
> (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

Growing up in families with a more traditional patriarchal distribution of roles between a man and a woman, the respondents are mostly in favor of partner relationships and an equal distribution of household and other duties. They note that the most effective distribution is when all the details are discussed, duties and areas of responsibility are distributed depending on the wishes and skills of the partners.

Now I live with my girlfriend, we don't have such a thing, we have a 50-50 split. Usually, I came home from school and saw my mother cooking and then washing the dishes and cleaning things, and my father could do nothing at that time, let's say. It seemed somehow unfair to me.
(Man, raion center, TA Youth)

I work, and he works, and at the same time we share our, well, my responsibilities equally as before. That is, we clean together. He can also start a washing machine, prepare food, and he also cooks. That is, we do not have it, like, you will wash cloths, you will clean, because you are a girl and you should do that
(Trans woman)

For example, if I cook breakfast, she can say on her own: "Let me wash the dishes", that's ok. Or, on the contrary, she can cook dinner, and I will say: "Let me wash everything, clean up, because you cooked, you don't need to wash it all as well," because somehow it's uncomfortable for me. And it's the same with cleaning, since cleaning does not consist of one thing, like you only need to wash the floor, and that's all, you also need to do some washing or sweeping, dusting, and we somehow do it all equally. It works well, since, you know, it is convenient, because you see what your partner is doing, and you do more or less as much as they did, so that everything is smooth, on the same level.
(Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

If the salary is delayed, then the main financial responsibilities are assumed by the partner who currently has more money left. If one of us is very tired, the main duties of cleaning, washing dishes and all that, and going to the store goes to the one who is less tired. This is how we do it. It all depends on the situation, I think. I feel completely comfortable, and I think everyone should do it like that. This is cool.
(Non-binary transgender person).

We distribute it evenly. We also take on responsibilities equally. The only thing is when someone can do something better or like it more, than that person is doing it.
(Trans man)

Regarding raising their children, the vast majority of informants, both cisgender and transgender, support a gender-neutral parenting style. They note that they will respect the choice of their children, contribute to the comprehensive development of their personality, taking into account their interests and regardless of gender. The main indicator of successful parenting is complete trust in the parents by the child and comprehensive support of the child by the parents, this is the model of upbringing that is desirable for all participants who plan to have children.

> I will give the child a choice. More choice, more talking about something, so that the child not only considers me a mother, but also a best friend. So that they can tell me everything, share. I will try to behave in a way that my child would be able to tell me about everything. About everything that happens in their life. And I will never offend them. So that she knows or he knows that I will be a support, in any situation I will support, give some advice.
> (Trans woman)

> I will raise them in a gender-neutral way, with something like "You should know and be able to do everything, but you don't have to do it."
> (Trans man)

> If my daughter wants, if it is more interesting for her to see how I take apart a vacuum cleaner and repair it or something else, some filters or something like that, and it will be more interesting for her to do it and it will be more interesting to try it, then I will teach her that. If my son wants to go to the ballet, I will let him go to the ballet. I will even bring him there. It is normal, he is interested in it, I will not say that ballet is for girls, and so on. There will be a neutral education.
> (Man, raion center, TA Youth)

> Parental success is when a child is not afraid to tell his parents what they feel, for example, and to ask for help or to share something, that is, the child is not afraid. This is the highest score for me. Because when the child is not afraid, they trust.
> (Trans woman)

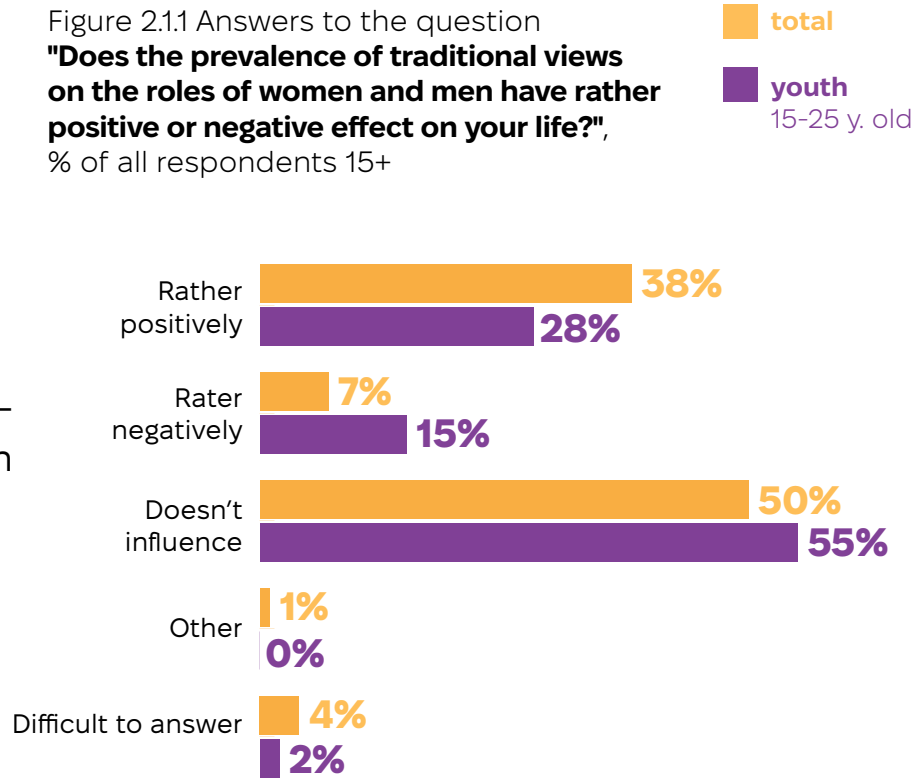
Only some participants noted that they will instill in their children certain male/female roles and behavior models at a younger age (up to 12-13 years old):
for boys: help girls, be sporty, study hard sciences, acquire leadership skills, hold management positions;
for girls: to be well-groomed, stylish, beautiful, to know how to cook, but at the same time to be able to stand up for themselves.

2.THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER STEREOTYPES AND NORMS ON LIFE AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR SELF-REALIZATION

2.1 Quantitative research

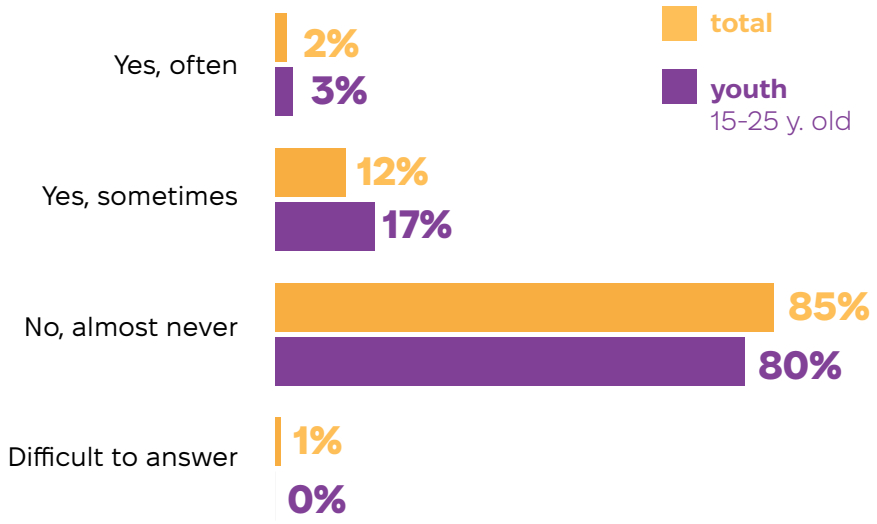
A little more than half of the surveyed Ukrainians aged 15-25 believe that gender stereotypes do not affect their lives, 28% of young people assess such an influence as positive, 15% as negative. In particular, a third of young men (32%) believe that gender stereotypes have a positive impact on their lives, and 10% noted a negative impact, while women's opinions were divided — 24% noted a positive and 20% noted a negative impact. It can be assumed that before a full-scale war, more men and fewer women would have noted the positive influence of stereotypes — and now some men consider themselves discriminated against by mandatory conscription, and some women — privileged because of its absence (but, unfortunately, this question was not asked until 2022).

Figure 2.1.1 Answers to the question **"Does the prevalence of traditional views on the roles of women and men have rather positive or negative effect on your life?"**, % of all respondents 15+



The majority (85%) of the interviewees did not experience prejudice or discrimination against themselves based on their gender. Young people under 25 are less likely than the older age group to agree that they have never experienced discrimination (80%) because of those who sometimes experience prejudice or discrimination. Also, rates are lower for women than for men (81% and 91% among the general population, and 70% and 90% among youth, respectively).

Figure 2.1.2 Answers to the question **"Have you ever experienced prejudice or discrimination towards you based on your gender? Discrimination is unfair or biased treatment of people and groups on the basis of race, gender, age, etc."**, % of all respondents 15+

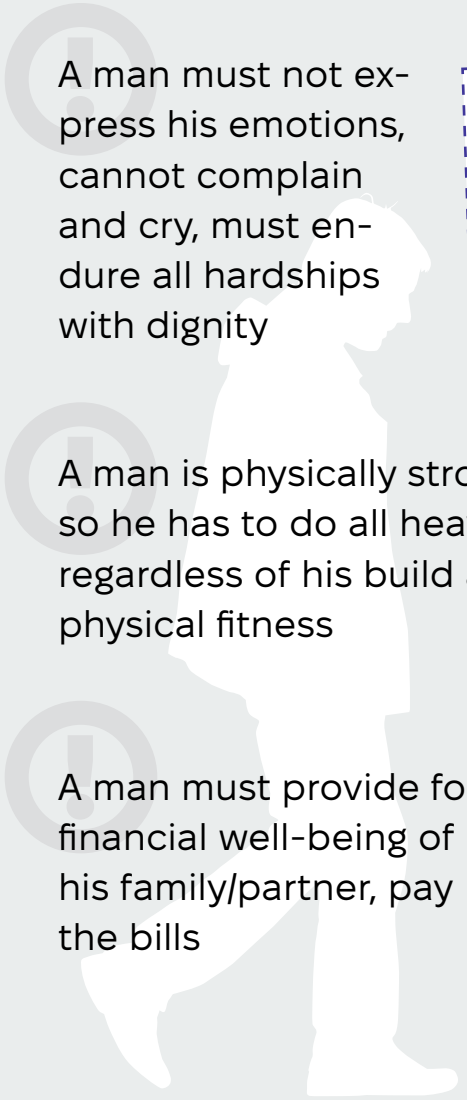


2.2 Qualitative research

Stereotypes based on gender and traditional ideas about the distribution of gender roles are widespread in modern Ukrainian society. They cause a number of obstacles and advantages for both men and women in various spheres of life. This influence is usually complex and multidirectional. For example, the "advantages" of being a woman or manifestations of so-called "friendly sexism" are simultaneously part of the system of gender inequality. Or individual positions can be interpreted simultaneously as negative and positive. For example, "the right of a man, by default, to make important decisions in the family" is at the same time a manifestation of power and responsibility for these decisions.

Individual respondents emphasized that advantages and obstacles based on gender stereotypes and norms of behavior exist in the lives of both men and women, but in a global sense they are insignificant and do not affect the course of life.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON MEN



A man must not express his emotions, cannot complain and cry, must endure all hardships with dignity

In society, men are expected not to show their emotions, feelings and so on. In that regard, I think, women have made a better life for themselves, meaning that they support each other, share everything and so on. There is no such thing among boys.
(Man, raion center, TA Youth)

For example: if you were born a boy, you should be as muscular as possible. Strong, never cry, always walk with short hair. This is the most stereotypical bullshit. "You're a boy, come on, you'll figure it out, be strong! You must conquer the world!" That's bullshit!
(Trans woman)

A man is physically stronger, so he has to do all heavy work, regardless of his build and physical fitness

That is, we stayed at school, the girls left, and we stayed there to clean and lift chairs. This is probably an advantage girls have, simply because they are girls.
(Man, village, TA Youth)

A man must provide for financial well-being of his family/partner, pay the bills

The stereotype that a man should earn more, or a man should always be ready to help a woman.
(Trans man)

I was instilled with the idea that paying the bill, roughly speaking, should come from the man's side. Even, let's say, when it's a date with a little-known girl, etc. You know that it's only in Russia and Ukraine it is accepted that the man pays for everything, the man pays. It's only here. There is no such thing anywhere else. That is why Ukrainian men are loved, because we have such a mentality, they would pay for everything in other countries, all bills are paid, etc.
(Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON MEN

A man must be successful and fulfilled

The man is always to blame — prejudice against men in the situation of accusations of sexual violence (in most cases, the man is immediately guilty, regardless of the circumstances)

> But if there are accusations, but there is no evidence, then in some cases men are attacked informationally, there is more pressure.
> (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

Men are subject to mandatory military registration

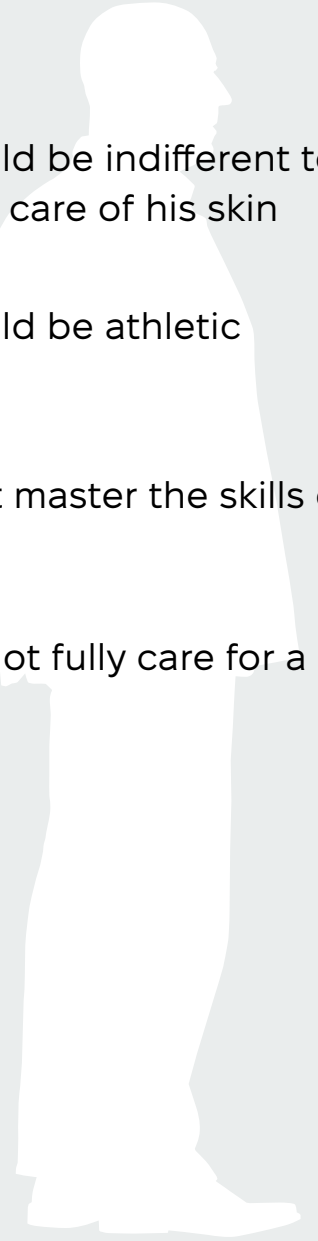
Men are subject to mandatory military registration

A man cannot be a manicurist, kindergarten teacher (difficulty of professional realization in certain areas)

> For example, we have one guy in the group. And the teachers treat him something like: you are a boy, why preschool education? And so on.
> (Woman, raion center, TA Youth)

> There was a shop in Lutsk, it sold various things — beads, embroidery, needlework kits. I came to get a job and I say... and the team is purely female, and I am a product specialist, the field of sales and trade is my direct profession, but I was refused, they said, they told me right away: a man cannot understand beads, embroidery or crocheting
> (Trans woman)

NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON MEN



A man should be indifferent to cosmetics,
not to take care of his skin

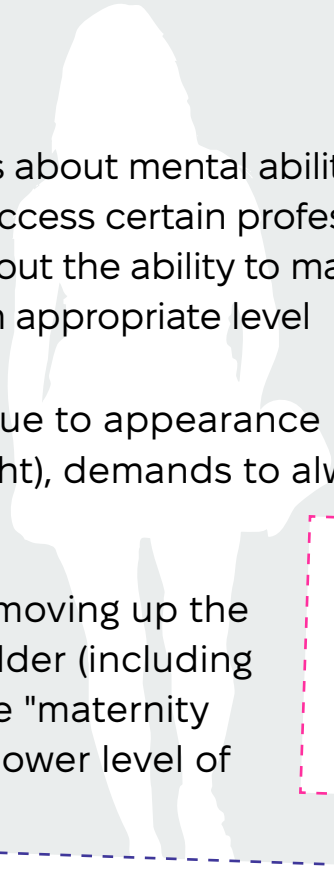
A man should be athletic

A man must master the skills of repairing all appliances and equipment

A man cannot fully care for a baby

When my first nephew was born, I have a female cousin, and when I babysit my nephew, she constantly tries to take him away from me, and when I ask why, she tells me: because you are a man, you don't understand anything
(Trans woman)

NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON WOMEN



Prejudices about mental abilities, restrictions to access certain professions, prejudices about the ability to master driving a car at an appropriate level

Bullying due to appearance (overweight), demands to always look perfect

Difficulty moving up the career ladder (including due to the "maternity leave"), a lower level of pay

I do not know. Like, something is wrong with the body shape, something is wrong. That she is stupid, all kinds of things... And the husband has never heard anything about that, that he is fat, that he is stupid. This has never been noticed. And the girls were always bullied for it.
(Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

I remember when I was a senior salesman, my colleague always told me, "You're a girl, you're stupid, let me do the math myself."
(Trans woman)

Women always have some kind of obligation to give birth, to take maternity leave, for which, by the way, sometimes they may not be paid, to give preference to men in work, rather than women, because women may take maternity leave.
(Woman, village, TA Youth)

As for working opportunities for women, to be honest, I don't really like what we do in Ukraine with jobs for women, because we have a lot of prejudice that a woman is weak, small, accordingly, she should not be paid more, especially if the boss is some kind of "manly man", such people put a lot of pressure on the staff, and very often it is women who suffer from such excesses.
(Transwoman)

When I came for an internship, we had a girl, and my surgeon colleague, also a boy. And with them both there it could be seen clearly, yes. Because everyone treats the boy much more kindly. And they want to give him the opportunity to work, somehow they try to teach him. And the girl, on the contrary, there was a prejudice against her, that surgery is not her specialty. That she will take maternity leave sooner or later and that there is no point in wasting time. That is, she was somehow removed from operations.
(Trans man)

Yes, they (men) have a higher salary, that's true. Because I have a colleague who will receive 7 times more salary than me (they occupy almost the same positions).
(Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON WOMEN

Restrictions and gender stereotyping of the development of certain interests in adolescence

> Girls cannot play football in school competitions. I remember that once I was not accepted into the class team because of this, specifically for the competition, because it is not acceptable. It's not for you. (Trans man)

Prejudice due to belief in women's emotionality and lack of stress resistance

Instilling in girls and women the habit of playing secondary roles in the family and obeying the husband

> It's that there are so many stereotypes that you have to give birth, you have to be obedient, you have to be gentle. (Trans man)

Sexual objectification, intrusive and sometimes aggressive courtships, inability to handle rejection by men, sexual harassment in the employment process and at work

> There are a lot of toxic practices on the part of men, that is, objectification, it can be physical danger, even if it is an indirect influence or something else, you can just ride in public transport, you will be harassed. (Trans man)

Greater level of danger and threats to become a victim of criminals or a victim of domestic violence due to physical weakness compared to a man

> This is a very toxic attitude for girls that if he hits you that means that he loves you, if he bullies you that means that he likes you, give in. The fact that girls should be inferior to boys in their aggression is of course wrong, it is a very bad thing for women. (Trans man)

Among the positive effects of gender stereotypes, men mainly mentioned better career opportunities — while some of them consider not having to pursue a career due to an opportunity to rely on a man as an advantage for women. These opinions are reflected in the table below, but it should be noted that only 15% of young women need this "privilege", it is men who need it much more. 58% of young women do not need the "privilege" of being exempt from the conscription (see section 1.1.2.).

POSITIVE INFLUENCES ON MEN

Assistance in professional growth, help from colleagues and management in advancing up the career ladder; higher probability of holding management positions, managing the country; greater trust in buying and selling situations, acceptance into the team

The right to make important decisions in the family by default, to reserve the last word

Absence of the need to perform conventionally women's household duties (cooking, cleaning, childcare)

Less likely to be attacked on the street (due to the perception that the man can fight back)

No jokes related to menstruation and other physiological characteristics of women, a freer feeling when naked

> There is such a public opinion that men are so good because they earn, and women do not, although in fact they do a lot of work, like housekeeping or raising children, which is not highly valued and is not paid.
> (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

> We have a Caravan shopping center here. Maybe you know or not? I do not know. And there are a few stores in which, roughly speaking, the changing rooms are not separated into men's and women's. And for me, as a man, it is much easier to stand there in my underwear than for a girl. And maybe it's easier for me than for a girl.
> (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

POSITIVE INFLUENCES ON WOMEN

Opportunity to not work, manage a household and have full financial security and support from a partner/husband

There are women who still live by the principle that I am a woman, I look after the house, and my husband brings money, brings food and all that.
(Man, raion center, TA Youth)

Well, the fact that men often take financial responsibility for their women is also an advantage for women. Therefore, it is an advantage that in our society, in Ukraine, in Russia, well, the CIS countries, men were taught that they should provide for women, and many women take advantage of this. They are ok with that.
(Trans woman)

The fact that our girls are raised with the understanding that the boy has to pay. I just heard more than once from mothers who say to their daughters: "You will find a rich boyfriend who will take care of you." This is such an upbringing, as if after your father you will have a second father who will accompany you through life. This is wrong, I think.
(Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

And in the family, when there is a husband and a wife, the wife cooks more... And the husband earns money there and does hard work. That is, he can work on a construction site, he can work as an electrician or a plumber. But a woman is more like cooking, shopping, children
(Woman, oblast center, TSA Youth)

POSITIVE INFLUENCES ON WOMEN

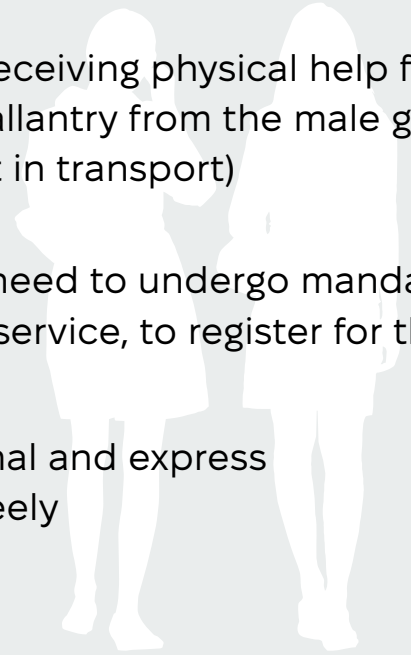
Less strict attitude on the part of teachers, lower requirements in education

While studying at the university, girls were sometimes allowed to say, sorry for the word, bullshit, and not so much attention was paid to it. Well, because it's a girl, not much has happened.
(Trans man)

And the girls there were very adored and loved, because, you know, forestry, forest management, and girls...And that's why we had such indulgences for the girls, if we missed sometimes some class, we were not given "absence record" or some bad grades, and they didn't decrease the grades because you are a girl. When, let's say, something heavy needs to be lifted, and they tell me: "Don't lift it, because it's heavy." Well, then it feels like I'm such a princess. (Woman, raion center, TA Youth)

At the university, we had some teachers... Sometimes you would just smile at them, and there you have a couple of points higher than the boys.
(Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

The opportunity of receiving physical help from stronger men. Respect and gallantry from the male gender (open the door, offer a seat in transport)

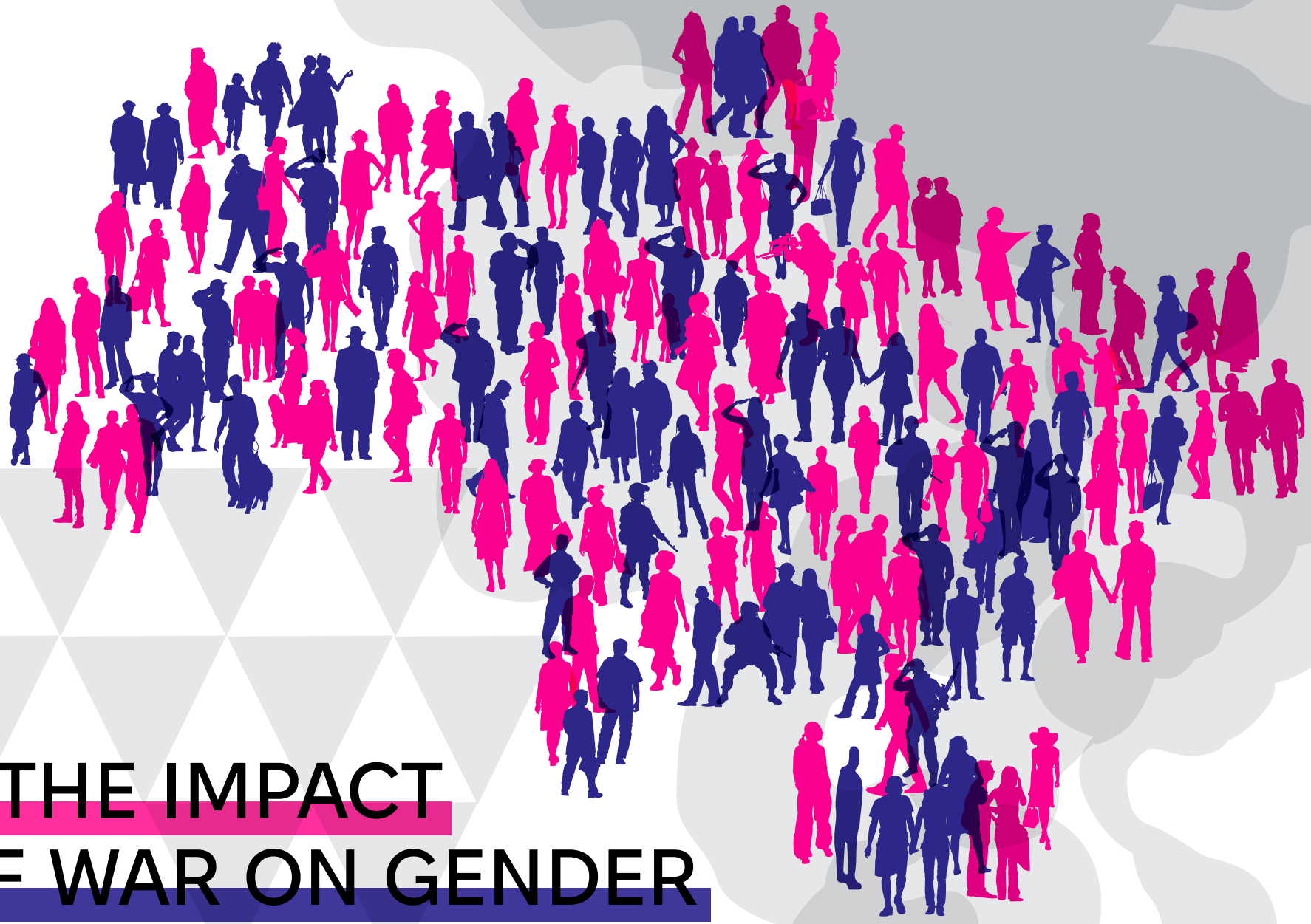


Always, well, often they make room for you, open the door for you, help you, well, several times I was helped by strangers to carry some heavy packages, well, men, that is.
(Trans woman)

The absence of the need to undergo mandatory compulsory military service, to register for the military

I never had to go to the recruitment office at the age of 17 and walk around in my underwear while I was registered as a conscript.
(Trans man)

Ability to be emotional and express emotions/feelings freely

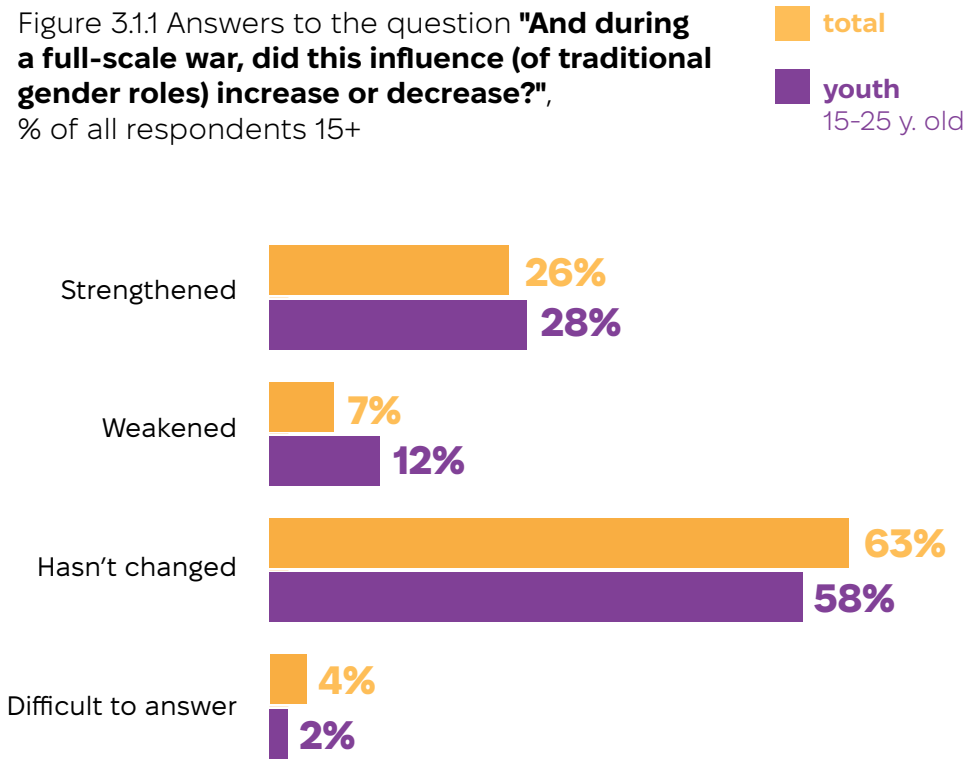


3. THE IMPACT OF WAR ON GENDER STEREOTYPES

3.1. Quantitative research

When talking about changes during the war, 58% of young people said that they do not think that any changes have taken place, 28% believe that the influence of gender stereotypes has increased, and only 12% — that they have weakened quarter of both genders representatives believed that their influence had increased, perhaps again because conscription during wartime concerns the vast majority of men. It can also be assumed that young women noted the weakening of gender stereotypes due to the increased visibility of women in the army and the fact that in the absence of a man (due to conscription or women going abroad) women began to more often fulfill a "male" role.

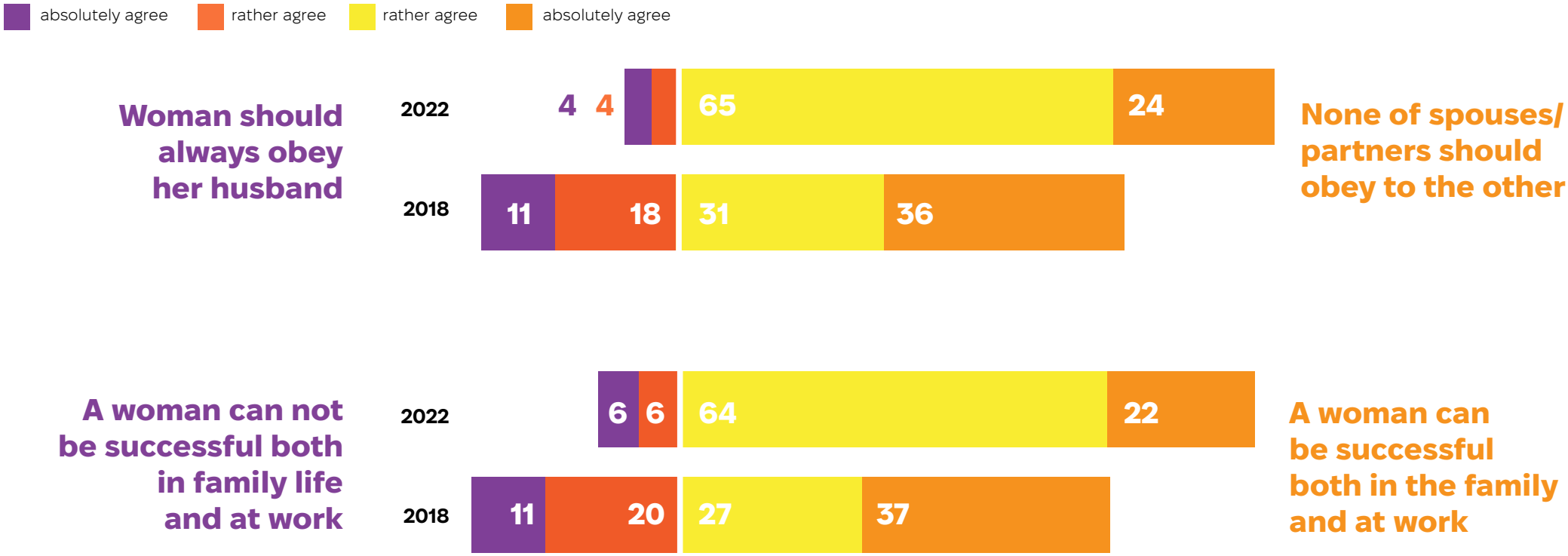
Figure 3.1.1 Answers to the question **"And during a full-scale war, did this influence (of traditional gender roles) increase or decrease?"**, % of all respondents 15+



At the same time, if we compare the data on the perception of the roles of men and women with the period before the start of a full-scale war, namely 2018, then for the population aged 18 and older, a departure from traditional gender roles is rather distinctive.

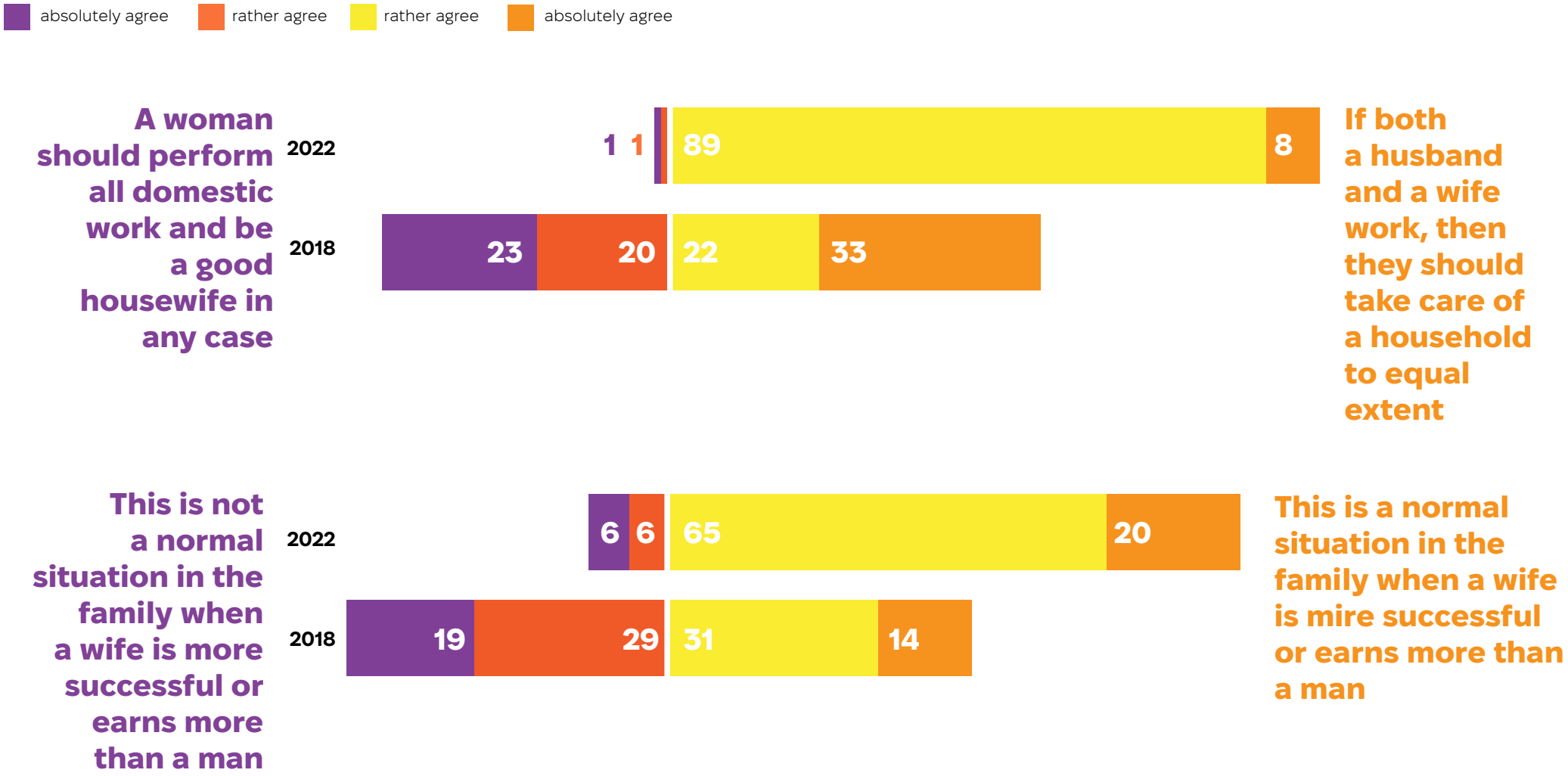
This probably indicates that the strengthening of the influence of gender stereotypes during the war is situational, and in general, Ukrainian society is making progress in rejecting gender stereotypes.

Figure 3.1.2 Answers to the question "**I will now read you a pairs of statements, and you choose the one that best reflects your views**", % of all respondents aged 18+[14]



[14] The respondents were asked the questions which were formulated the following way: I will now read you pairs of statements, and you will choose the one that best matches your views. When respondent chose among two statements the one he was agree with, they were asked if they were rather or absolutely agree with this statement. The questions also included option "Hard to say" which lead to the fact that percentages do not add up to 100%. The same is for figure 3.1.3

Figure 3.1.2 Answers to the question "**I will now read you a pairs of statements, and you choose the one that best reflects your views**", % of all respondents aged 18+[14]



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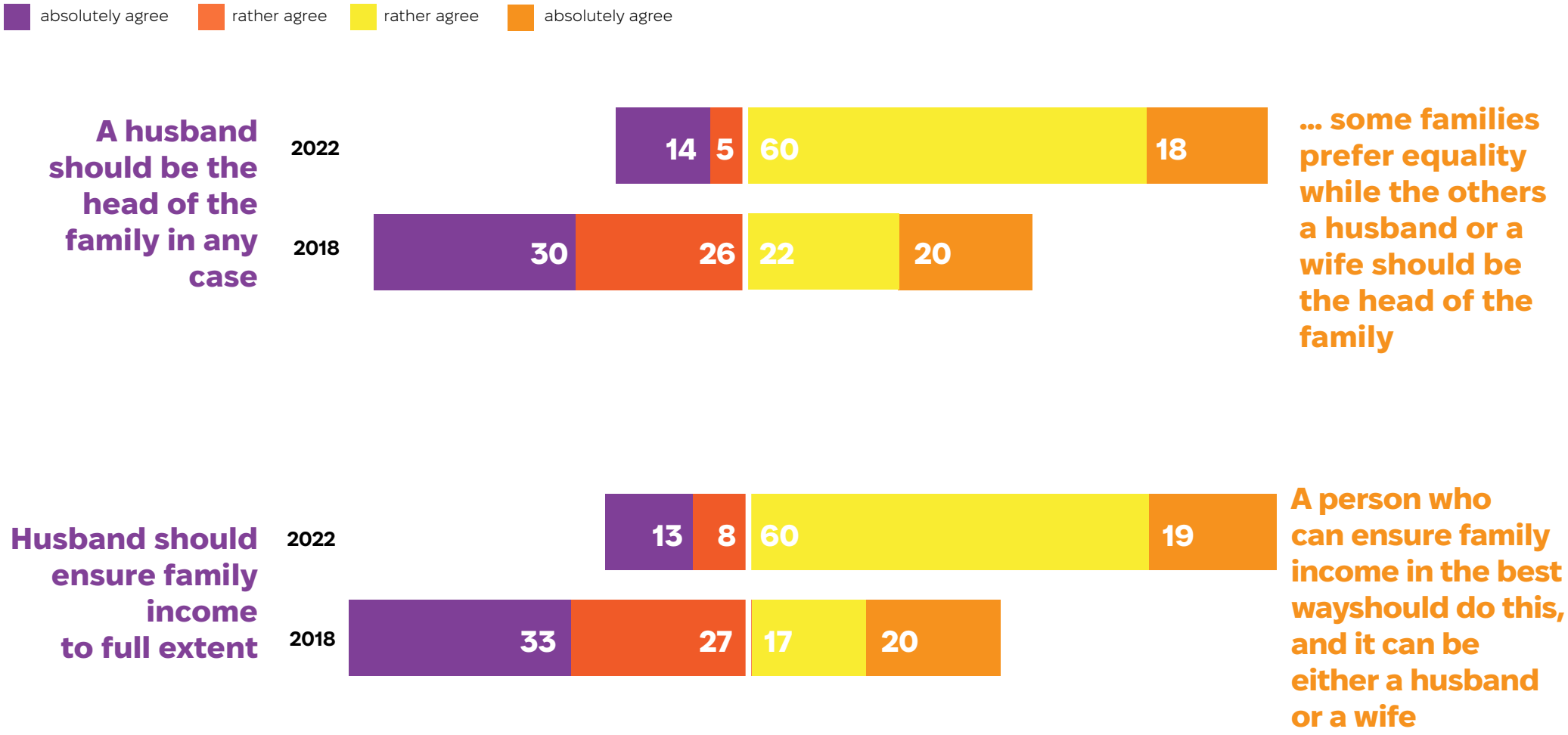

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The second group of stereotypes, the prevalence of which has noticeably decreased, are stereotypes about raising children, namely about the expediency of preserving the family even when one of the parents mistreats the children (the comparative base for these stereotypes dates back to 2009). This corresponds to the data on the increase in the number of young respondents under the age of 25 who were raised by one parent or caregiver — mostly a woman (see section 1.1.1).

The stereotype that a woman should first of all be a wife and a mother is the least affected by changes, but given that young people under the age of 25 support this opinion less than the general population (27% versus 52%), it can be assumed that the prevalence of this stereotype will also decrease.

Figure 3.1.3 Answers to the question **"I will now read you a pairs of statements and you'll choose the one that best reflects your views"**, % of all respondents aged 18+

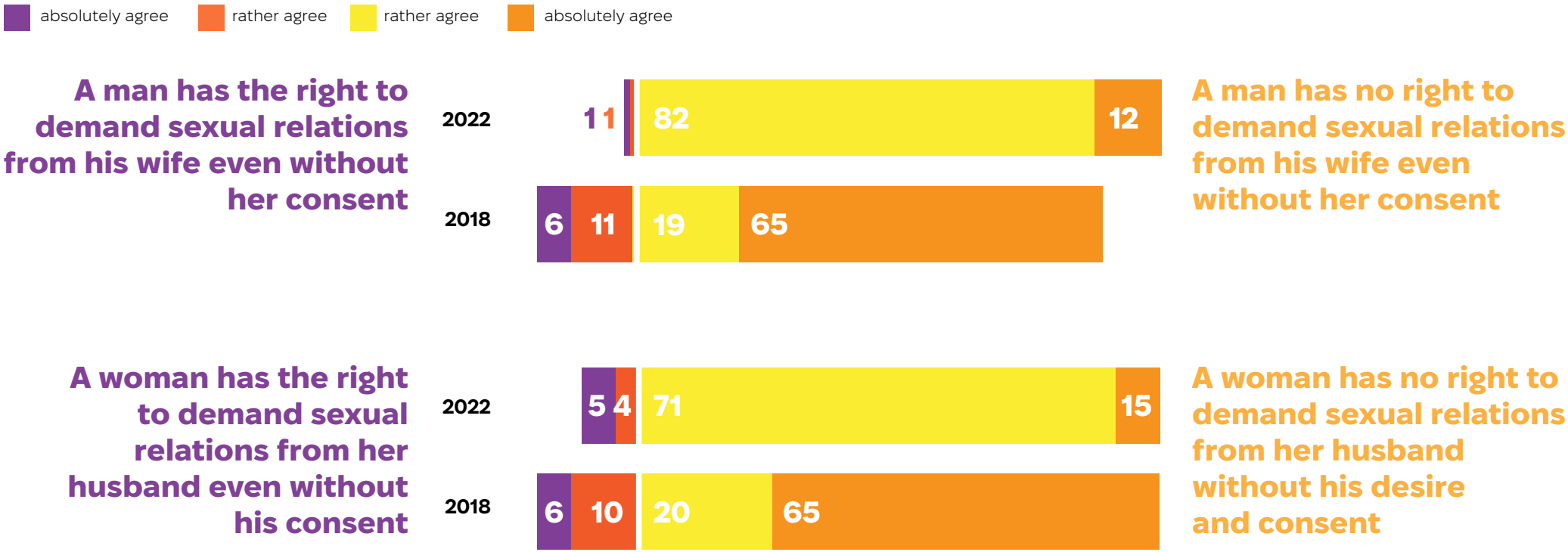
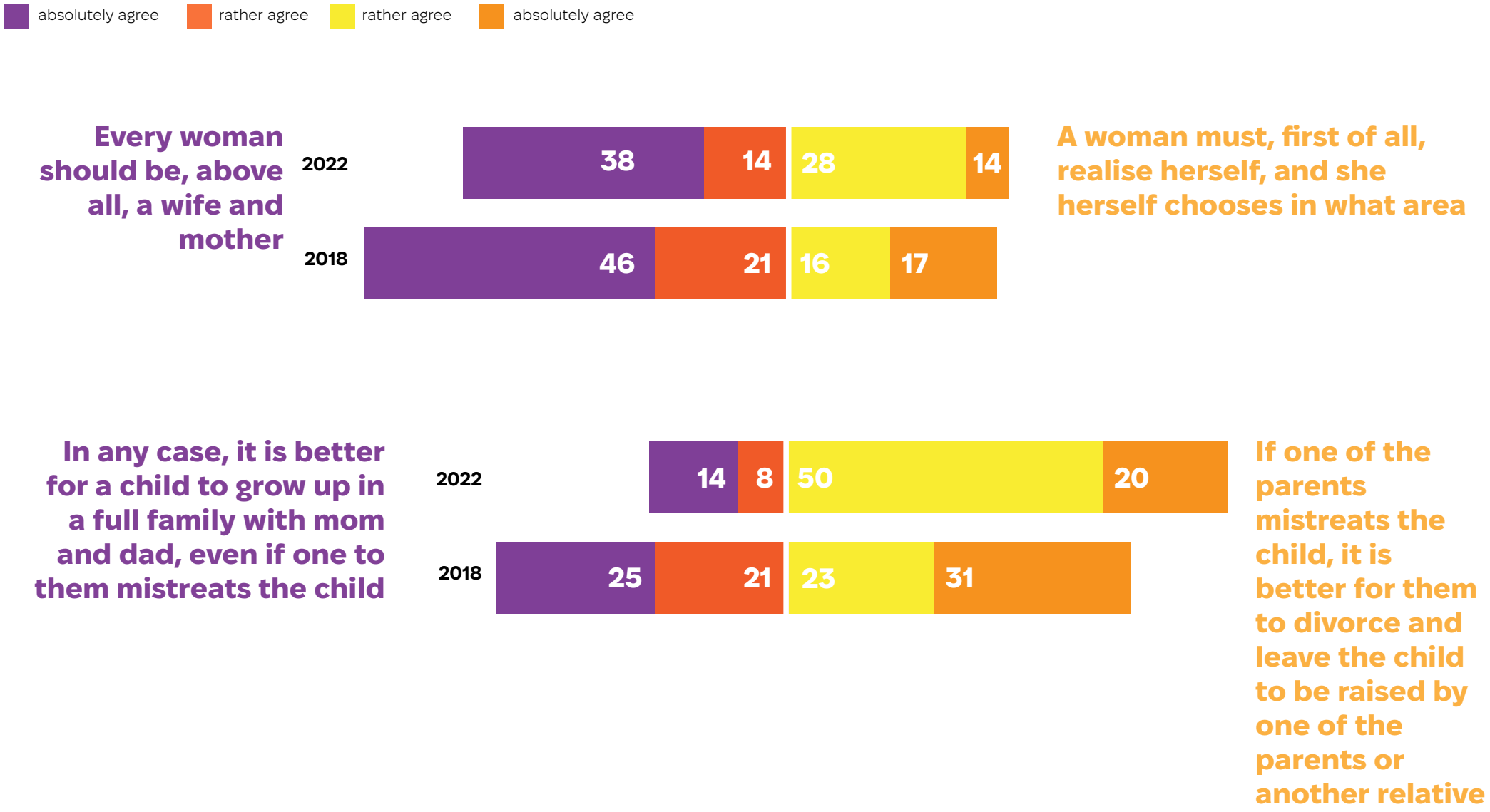


Figure 3.1.3 Answers to the question **"I will now read you a pairs of statements and you'll choose the one that best reflects your views"**, % of all respondents aged 18+



The share of those who believe that the position of women and men in society is equal increased by 17 percentage points in 2022 compared to 2009. This may be the result of both progress in moving away from gender stereotypes and the fact that the relevance of the problem of gender inequality has decreased against the background of a full-scale war.

In general, three-quarters of respondents (76%) do not think about gender inequality, but among young people aged 15-25, there are fewer of such respondents — two-thirds (65%). Young people are one and a half times more likely (regularly; occasionally; sometimes) than total population think that the opposite sex is in a more privileged position than they are (34% versus 20% of the corresponding respondents' age groups). Among men, those who think about the privilege of the opposite gender are almost twice as few as among women (respectively, 15% and 25% of respondents) — it is notable that this is happening against the background of the actualization of women's "privileges" regarding the absence of obligatory conscription and the opportunity to move abroad during a full-scale war. Young people are much more likely to think about the privilege of the opposite gender, but the gender gap is about the same: 26% versus 44%. Also, young people more often admit that it is easier for a man to make a career: 23% against 16%.

Figure 3.1.4. Answers to the question **"Do you ever think that the opposite gender has more privileged position than yours?"**,
% of all respondents 15+

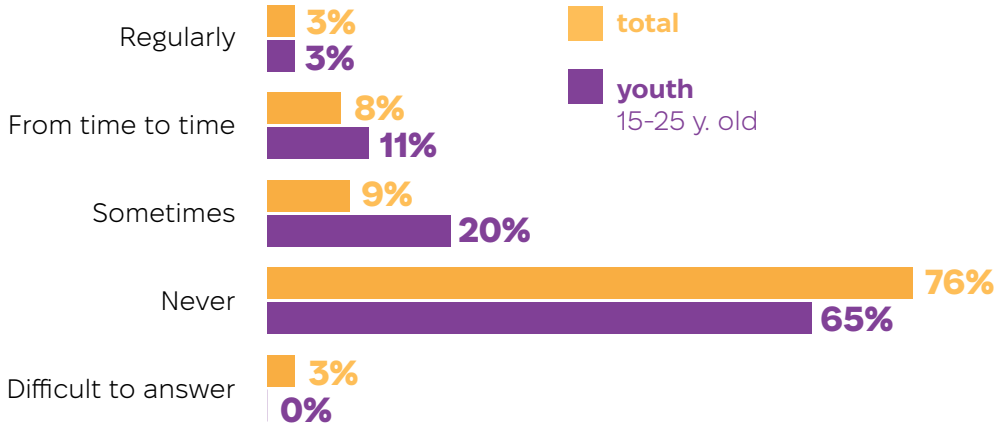


Figure 3.1.5 Answers to the question **"Do you ever think that the opposite gender has more privileged position than yours?",**
% of all respondents 18+

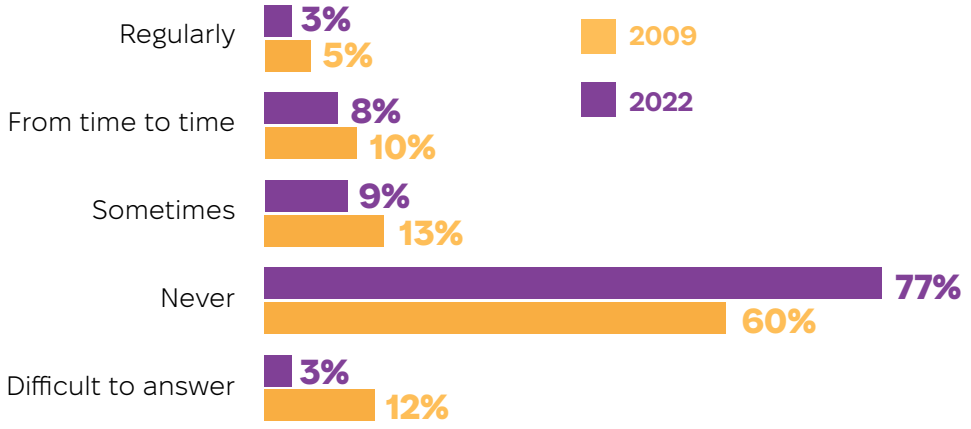
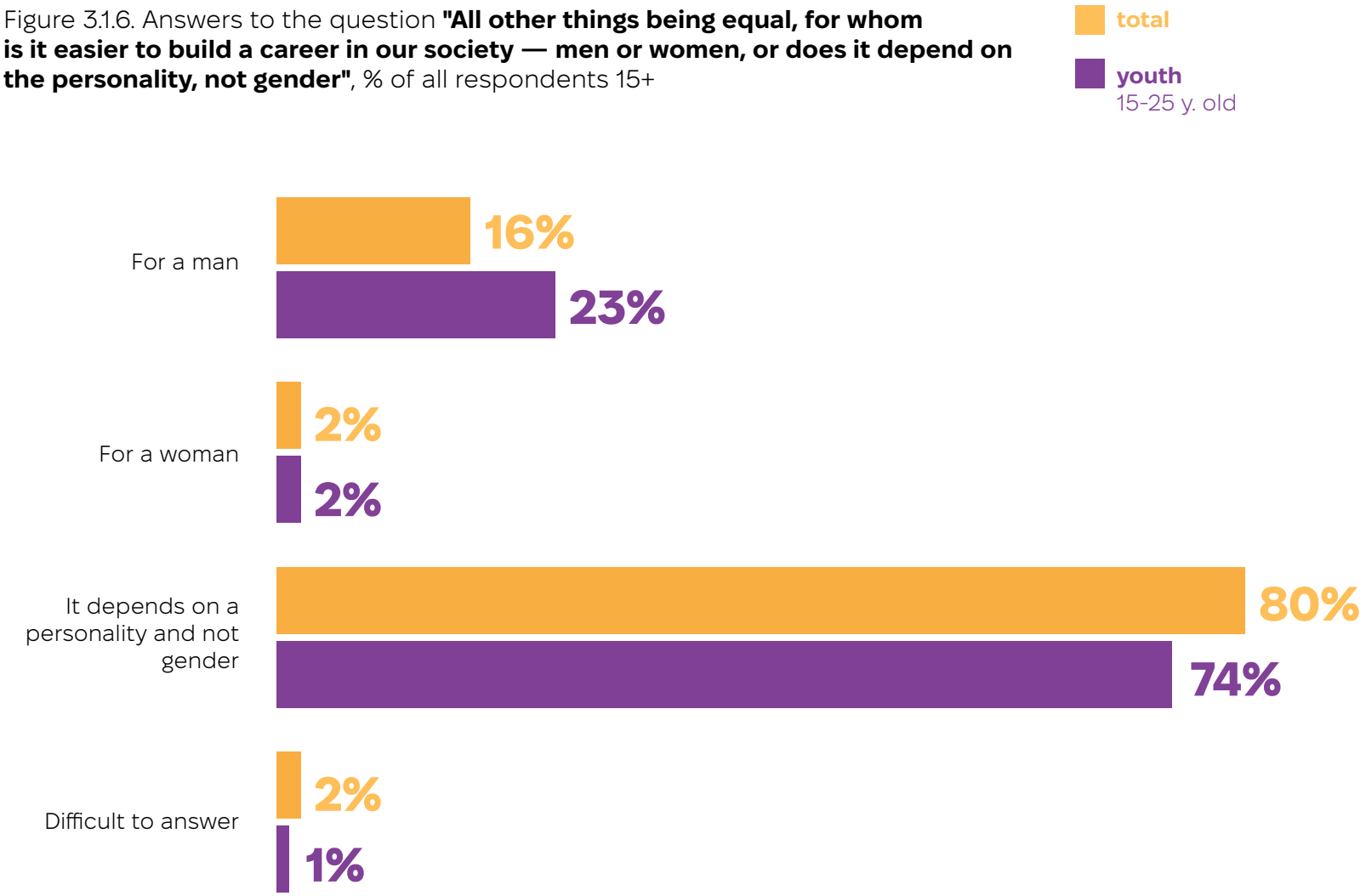


Figure 3.1.6. Answers to the question **"All other things being equal, for whom is it easier to build a career in our society — men or women, or does it depend on the personality, not gender"**, % of all respondents 15+

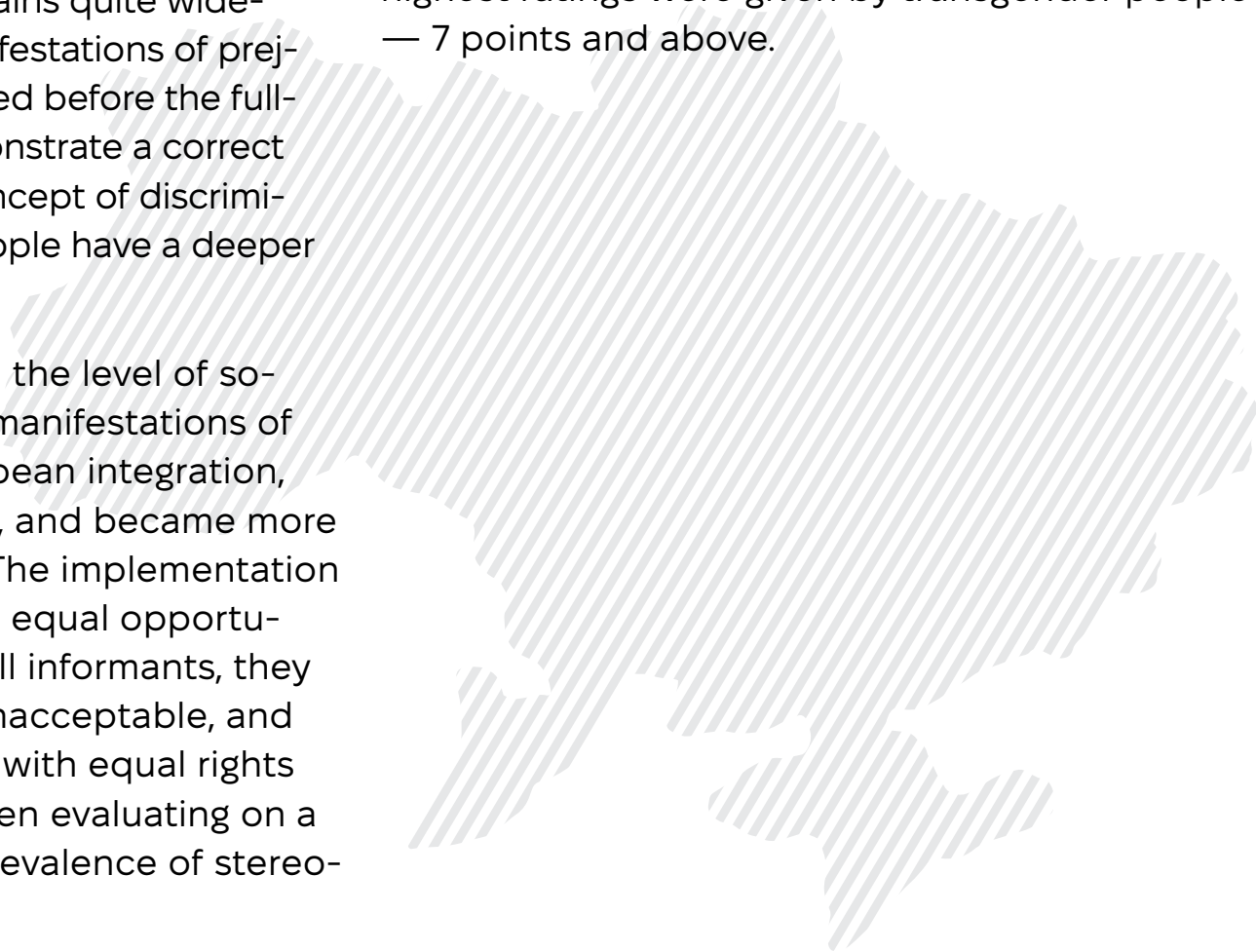


3.2 Qualitative research

3.2.1 Assessment of the prevalence of stereotypes, bias and discrimination in Ukraine before the full-scale war, including on the basis of gender

The vast majority of research participants noted that in recent years, the level of discrimination in Ukraine on any grounds has decreased, however, this phenomenon remains quite widespread, and a considerable number of manifestations of prejudice/discrimination in society were observed before the full-scale war. In general, the respondents demonstrate a correct understanding and interpretation of the concept of discrimination, but the interviewed transgender people have a deeper and more complex understanding.

The respondents associate the increase in the level of society's tolerance and the decrease in the manifestations of discrimination with the processes of European integration, which actively began in Ukraine after 2014, and became more visible and powerful in the last 4-5 years. The implementation of European values regarding equality and equal opportunities/rights of every person is shared by all informants, they consider discrimination on any grounds unacceptable, and strive to build a tolerant Ukrainian society with equal rights and opportunities for every individual. When evaluating on a conventional 10-point scale the level of prevalence of stereotypes, prejudiced attitudes and discrimination in Ukraine before the full-scale war (where 1 is not at all widespread, 10 is very widespread), the lowest ratings were given by men from the category of cisgender youth — mostly 4 points, the average ratings were given by women from the category of cisgender youth — mostly 6 points, the highest ratings were given by transgender people — 7 points and above.



Among the most common signs of discrimination in Ukraine before the full-scale invasion, the following were mentioned:

Sexual orientation (noted by all respondents) — discrimination on this grounds is widespread in various society spheres and has various manifestations, it is most acutely manifested by older people and representatives of radical groups.

I have a friend, she likes girls. And her parents condemn these people all her life. She hides it. And she has such a tense relationship with her parents. (Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

A representative of LGBT+ could easily not be hired on this basis, for example, not served somewhere, if they knew about it there.
(Trans woman)

We had a boy who was studying and already graduated. He had an "non-traditional sexual orientation." Everyone there was bullying him on the Internet, writing something about him. That's all. They simply beat him morally. (Man, village, TA Youth)

From conversations I hear, for example, at my work, people joke, their jokes are, well, homophobic.
(Trans woman)

In our country, the mass media do not work properly regarding the fact that there are channels... "Bad Dnipro" and so on. And a couple of times I saw photos there of, let's say, two guys or two girls walking hand in hand. That is, it is clear that it is a "non-traditional orientation", etc. But it was published as a mockery. Direct mockery. Something like: "Look here." And all this was made public under the inscription "you know what to do with it", with the idea of a massacre. (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

The suspicion that you are a person of "nontraditional sexual orientation", that is, you don't even have to be, you can just look like one, and you will be discriminated against for this, literally just on the street, and I don't want to even start talking about the fact that your relationships can't be regulated legally.
(Trans man)

Gender — discrimination is observed against both genders, but the most critical manifestations are domestic violence and discrimination against women in a workplace.

Skin color — in general, discrimination on this basis has significantly decreased, but remains at the level of unpleasant jokes in small settlements; in large cities, due to the significant number of foreigners, this form of discrimination is observed less often.

> We had a friend, he has dark skin. But it happened that passers-by laughed at him. There was an insult from their side. (Man, village, TA Youth)

> To this day, many people do not like people with dark skin in Ukraine. (Man, Kyiv, TA Youth)

Quite often Roma people are discriminated against in Ukraine, as well as representatives of other nationalities (Turks, people from Central Asia). Discrimination based on age is also widespread — on the one hand, society lacks confidence in young and professionally successful people, on the other hand — employers discriminate against people over 45 years old, refusing them employment. There are isolated references to fairly widespread discrimination of those living in Russian-occupied territories of Ukraine (not everyone there supports the occupiers, but everyone is condemned), as well as people who have a bright, unusual appearance.

Transgender persons, in addition to the above-mentioned common signs of prejudice and discrimination in Ukraine before the full-scale war, noted the following signs and stereotypes, according to which discrimination is very common in society:

- Gender identity;
- Social and financial situation;
- Developmental issues and mental illnesses, as well as disability.

> When I see people with dark-skin, a woman, a girl or a boy, walking by, I see some people reacting to them very badly — looking sideways at them, something else. (Trans woman)

> Such as autism and, basically, almost all mental illnesses. We still have people who are extremely prejudiced against anyone with a mental diagnosis. Let's say, if this is a common depression. In general, going to a psychiatrist is like a kind of mark on a person, they are somehow not alright. (Trans man)

Individual respondents shared their observations regarding the regional specificity of the level of manifestations of discrimination — western regions, which are characterized by greater religiosity, are less tolerant of representatives of certain groups, primarily of LGBT people.

It can also be assumed that the prevalence of manifestations of discrimination and prejudice depends on the type and size of the settlement — in large cities, people are more tolerant and less likely to discriminate than in small towns and villages. However, let's emphasize that we are talking about macro trends, while at the individual level, other factors are often decisive, in particular, the level of education.

> If you live in a big city, then basically, no matter who you are, you have a chance to live quite calmly. Yes, sometimes you may face problems, but they are quite rare. If you're unlucky and live in a small town — oh, that's a total bummer! In a small town, you can be picked on because of your strange appearance, because of your skin color, such stereotypical things. If society thinks there's something wrong with you, you won't be allowed a pass in a small town. (Trans woman)

> I just spent a significant time of my life in Western Ukraine, and there are special cultural norms that provide for so-called "decency". And accordingly, attention will be paid much more often to deviations from gender norms and norms of orientation in society there. And there was also very widespread discrimination based on ethnicity: Roma, people with dark skin, people from the Middle East, all of it. (Trans man)

Before the full-scale war, biased attitudes and discrimination based on gender were more often experienced by women. They gave the following examples: unpleasant courtships by boys (twitching, pressing); references of a sexual nature; refusal by employers when trying to get a job at a sporting goods store (preference was given to men); biased attitude when passing the external independent evaluation ("girls know the hard sciences worse"). Respondents shared examples of biased attitudes and discrimination against women observed in their environment: for not being able to cook, for being interested in the auto business, the involvement of women in low-paid monotonous work, the lack of training of girls in military affairs at school/institutions of higher education.

> And here are sports clothes, shoes and sports goods. And there was one vacant place. And they refused me because they wanted to see a guy there. Because the guy can carry heavy objects there, unload the car, and accept the delivery with boxes. And I will not do such a thing (Woman, Kyiv, TA Youth)

> Well, I know someone who was discriminated against. I have a friend who can't cook or clean. It's not for her. She would be better at cars, anything, but not this. She was criticized a lot for this, that she does not cook food, and so on (Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

Before the full-scale war, men from the Youth category mostly did not experience discrimination against them personally on the basis of gender, but noted that gender stereotypes still took place in their lives in the form of jokes; reasons: long hair, "you getting ready too long, like a girl." Before full-scale war, individual men experienced gender bias, such as financial pressure from women/girls; compulsion to physical labor, even when you are sick and do not have resources (carry something heavy, carry heavy packages).

> Such little things happened more than once — to deliver packages, to do anything of that sort — "You're a man." To open the door and let the girls to go first, and sometimes you think that this is discrimination — and why should I open the door and let them in, but it is like that, I don't know, it's been like this in our country for a long, long time (Man, raion center, TA Youth)

During their lifetime, transgender people often had to face both gender bias and discrimination on other grounds: gender (a man should be strong, a woman should give birth to children); age (mistrust on the part of older colleagues); bullying at school, tense relationships with family members due to mismatched expectations regarding male/female gender roles; appearance (most relevant for trans women in small towns/ villages); gender identity (inconsistency of documents with appearance, and as a result — refusal of employment, biased attitude by doctors during the preparation of documents for legal recognition of gender).

> They did not want to take me anywhere with my documents. And, like, a person understood how it is, there is a girl, and in the documents there is a man's name, surname and, like: "We cannot hire you, because your documents do not match what we see." Everyone answered something like that.
> (Trans woman)

3.2.2 The impact of full-scale war on perceptions of gender roles

Regarding the impact of the war on the roles of men and women, respondents noted the following somewhat contradictory trends:

- Strengthening the role of a man as a defender of the country, community and family.
- Strengthening of the active role of women in society and the country — primarily in the Armed Forces, as well as in the field of volunteering. Individual respondents noted the strengthening of the role of women in the professional area and in the family (men went to the front, their roles are performed forcibly, but effectively by women).

It had an impact for our generation, probably. All children will understand that men are the ones who have to go to defend the country, this is their duty, they are even limited to some extent because of this. (Woman, village, TA Youth)

I have repeatedly seen videos where women are on the battlefield and so on, and there are our women-prisoners, so it is clear that it is not only men's work to protect the country, it is, more like, for all citizens. (Man, raion center, TA Youth)

Now there are a lot of female snipers. And this should make men understand at least a little bit that just as women go to war, women also fight well. So they shouldn't talk anymore about women not going into the army. (Woman, oblast center, TA Youth)

Well, the role in the army, I think, has also increased, because if earlier women were more often only medics, now there are many female snipers, and among my acquaintances there are many female drone operators. There are also markswomen, that is, a much wider range of military professions for women. (Trans man)

I think it is because of volunteering that all these roles began to be smoothed out, because it is obvious that men and women make an equal contribution to the economy, logistics and so on. The image of a female warrior became widespread. (Trans man)

And most women began to show masculine character traits, such as defenders. Especially if there are children, they first of all think about them, then about themselves — where is the shelter, where and how to eat during an emergency, where to hide, what safety rules are there, stuff like that. (Woman, Kyiv, TA Youth)

Strengthening the role of a "guardian mother" who raises, protects and cares for children, takes care of the comfort of the "family nest", waits for her husband-defender.

In today's society, the role of a woman approaching the role of a "guardian", so that the defender has somewhere to come back to, because it is very important for them to have somewhere to come back, to be waited for (Trans woman)

I would say that it (war) somehow launched a rollback to a more traditional division between women and men. To the fact that the woman is at home with the children, and the man is a defender somewhere out there. That is, we have women at the front, many of them. And our society is finally, in my opinion, accepting them. But, on the other hand, in general, it somehow returned to the strict division into female and male — as it was given by God, so it shall be. (Trans man)

It is absurd, but at the same time, gender roles are both blurred and strengthened. Among civilians — because if you are a man, you have to go to serve, if you are a woman, you have to evacuate. While in the army these gender roles are completely blurred, because it doesn't matter who you are, you are first and foremost a soldier (Trans man)

The majority of respondents did not mention the significant impact of the war on the roles of men and women in such areas as education, professional development, and politics.

There are isolated references to the fact that the war had a negative impact on the role of women in politics: firstly, men are more often appointed as heads of military-civilian administrations and front-line communities, and secondly, only one female politician — I. Vereshchuk — is broadcasted on the national telethon "Yedyni Novyny" (United News).

Individual respondents noted that in the first months of the full-scale war, there was no gender division at work, everyone performed different tasks (even physically demanding ones), because there were not enough people. Currently, the situation has stabilized, women are no longer expected to perform heavy physical labor.

One of the participants shared his experience that some women have actively joined volunteer crews to clear the rubble of destroyed houses and perform hard work on a par with men, although men are still determined not to allow them to do this and try to protect them comprehensively.

> And there are a lot of student girls there. And that's how, little by little, they win back the right to do physical work — carry bags there, dig with a shovel, engage in construction work, which the owners of these very houses we help, and other guys, as it were, restrict them from doing it. But they are slowly winning it back. Against the background of these months that we have been traveling with them since the summer, well, yes, slowly progress is in favor of an even distribution of duties, more equal. But all the same, buckets are still being taken from them for now yet. (Trans man)

The following instances of prejudice and discrimination have been recorded since the start of the full-scale invasion:

TOWARDS MEN

- Prejudice against those men who do not fight.
- Inability to go abroad, in particular, for students who studied abroad before the full-scale war, and currently do not have the opportunity to go to study, as well as those who planned to study abroad. Impossibility for men to get a permit to travel abroad even in the presence of a real serious illness and certificate of disability. Biased attitude towards men on the part of border guards who do not pay attention to the circumstances of departure.
- Detention of men on the streets, forced delivery to recruitment offices, long detention without reason, prejudiced and humiliating treatment in recruitment offices.
- Biased attitude towards male IDPs - some male IDPs do not register due to fear of being mobilized and do not receive adequate assistance, although they really need it. Men are under stress, fearing censure from the community to which they have been relocated.
- Certain employers give preference to women in employment, as men can be mobilized.

I personally did not experience it, but I saw and heard on the Internet such an opinion, for example, you know, discrimination of men from men themselves, that a man must go to the front to fight, that this is the only condition under which he can be called a man. Or from women, they also said that a man is a defender, that's the only way you can be a man.
(Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

Some girl could say before the war: "Here, you're a man, go to work!". And now: "Here, you're a man, go fight!"
(Man, village, TA Youth)

An acquaintance had to go to study abroad. But they did not want to let him through there. He hired a lawyer, spent three months messing with the recruitment office, and still left. That is, they are doing wrong by not letting all men go abroad.
(Man, village, TA Youth)

He went to the recruitment office. He has a disability, the second group. He had a very complicated heart operation. That is, it is so bad that if there is an explosive wave, his heart may stop. He came to the recruitment office, they started telling him: "You want to flee the country. You are a traitor. You are not a patriot. You wanted to delay showing up at the recruitment office. Five years have passed already." That is, a very strong pressure on a person who... They should even give him the third group, but they don't. Therefore, to get a disability certificate, you have to humiliate yourself. (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

And that's why the attitude is very... especially the first four months, when I was in Chernivtsi, and not at home, I wouldn't say it was directly hostile, but a very large percentage of the population has an extremely negative attitude towards men who, for some reason, are still not fighting at the front. And here these bad people even went to the rear for some reason. That is, the attitude towards a refugee man is very, very negative, harsh. From the posters on the streets: "Refugee men, get together and go back to the front, we are not waiting for you here!". And everywhere it was like that, everywhere there was such an attitude, as if you are really-really not welcome here, and in general you somehow committed a crime by the fact that you did not go to the front, you decided to go to the rear. And it doesn't matter why you decided to do it. That means you are already a criminal.
(Trans man)

And on the Internet, in social networks, I often see "he did not fight — he is not a man." (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

TOWARDS WOMEN

- Censure by men because women are free to travel abroad.
- Hidden censure of military wives, who currently do not have the right to rejoice and live a full life.
- Discrimination against women in politics and administration — men are given preference for leadership of local communities during wartime.
- Spread of domestic violence, in particular, in the families of IDPs.

> The guys say outrageously: "Why can you girls leave, but we can't? We will not go to war — they were not in the army, they are studying — why can't we leave? It's not fair". (Woman, oblast center, TSA Youth)

> She is afraid of being judged. If she goes somewhere and gets herself a latte with cream and sits down somewhere and starts drinking it, then everyone will say: "Look at this hunched dog! Her husband dies at the frontline! And here she goes and drinks coffee!". (Woman, oblast center, TSA Youth)

Transgender people and individual men from the category of cisgender youth noted that they personally experienced manifestations of stereotypes, biased attitudes and discrimination based on gender during the war — moral and psychological pressure, lack of opportunity to move freely, the need to register with the recruitment office, the inability to go abroad, prejudiced attitude from border guards and others.

> It's depressing. From the side, it feels like a cage. Stiffness of movements. I have to inform the recruitment office where I am and what I am. I have to sit in this country without the possibility, let's say, to study in another country, etc. That is, I'm here, that's all, I'm not going anywhere. (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

> When even the border guards addressed people with a "male" mark in their documents, like, "why are you leaving, why aren't you going to serve?" (Trans man)

In general, the situation when men can be mobilized and in most cases do not have the right to go abroad, while for women service is a right and women are not restricted in terms of leaving — is perceived by respondents ambiguously: on the one hand, informants emphasize the unfair treatment of men, because not all men are morally, psychologically and physically prepared to defend the country at the front with weapons in hand, while these men could bring more benefit by working abroad and supporting the country/Army financially; on the other hand, the respondents understand such decisions of the government, consider them expedient and justified during the war time.

In general, it is mixed, because I understand why it was done that way, because if many men really left, then Ukraine would have already fallen, there would be no such country as Ukraine. But on the other hand, if a man is not at all interested in that, he does not have patriotic feelings, he is not ready to give his life, he is afraid, something else, but at the same time he could go abroad and work there, and send some money there... (Man, raion center, TA Youth)

It is probably wrong to restrict men so cruelly, in fact, everyone is prohibited from leaving, except for some groups. And this, of course, is wrong, but if men were allowed to leave, then, I'm sorry, the Russians would have been in Kyiv a long time ago, because there would be no one to fight. (Trans woman)

Neutral attitude. But I would like men to have the right to choose, but this is irrational for the country, because the army would be smaller. (Trans man)

I believe that men also have their own priorities, activities that are completely unrelated to the war. That is, they also want to live in peace, and if they just work in some of their civilian areas, they can safely donate to the Armed Forces, either while in Ukraine or while abroad. (Nonbinary transgender person)

The respondents predict that the victory in the war (everyone is determined and believes only in Victory) will lead to an increase in the equality of men and women in various areas, but they associate it not with the change of roles under the influence of the war, but with further European integration. In general, the war is about freedom, dignity and equality, victory, and in turn, will lead to the development of Ukrainian society, which will lead to the further leveling of existing outdated stereotypes, including gender ones.

As some of the respondents noted, the direct actions of women, their contribution to the victory, will also contribute to the increase of equality between men and women.

> I am an optimist and I believe in our victory, and victory always has a positive effect on some processes in society, that is, when something needs to be changed, it helps people to make some decisions more adequately, for example, to discuss the issues regarding equality, regarding the role of women in politics and other such social affairs and issues. It seems to me that after the war, the role of women will become greater, more active, on a par with men. (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

> I assume that it will lead to greater equality, because the key to our victory is the army, and in the army, on the contrary, gender roles are blurred. You can be either a male defender or a female defender, and no one is going to say anything to you. (Trans man)

> First, it seems to me that this is a military matter, because it is impossible to ignore the role of women in the war, the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Secondly, it is something social and public, like politics, at different levels, that is, both at the level of the country and at the local level, because people who, for example, were in the occupation, they see who helps, who does something useful, who volunteer, they will remember it and will make decisions based on it in the future. Also in the family, it seems to me — yes, because, as I said, in some cases women are now fully engaged in their children's education, their upbringing. That is, the number of stereotypes that existed in the past will decrease or they will disappear altogether. (Man, oblast center, TA Youth)

There have been some individual opinions that after the victory, some men will voluntarily and even gladly take on some of the women's responsibilities in caring for children — the losses and pain of the war affected the values of all people, including men, who will value their family and children more, take a more active part in family life, raising children.

Individual participants have expectations for an increase in the number of women in politics, but these expectations are rather based on the accession to the EU and further European integration of Ukraine.

A small number of informants believe that, in general, the war will not significantly affect the issue of equality between men and women.

At the same time, isolated opinions are recorded that the war will deepen the inequality between men and women — men who will come from the front will try to dominate women in various spheres, based on their direct participation in the defense of the country, but this phenomenon will not have a mass character and will rather manifest itself in isolated cases. Strengthening the role of a man-defender during war also strengthens the role of a "guardian woman", the consequence of this influence can be a deepening of inequality in society in general.

> Not everyone, of course, but I think that those who have rethought their values, among those who return, will begin to value their family more. I think there will be more time dedicated to children. This is in regards to the male role. I think that a fairly large part of the responsibilities of raising children and spending time with them, at least, will be transferred to the male role. (Trans woman)

> There were even such stories during the Anti-Terrorist Operation in Ukraine ATO, when the ATO soldiers said that everyone was to blame. If someone does something useful, then he will consider himself better than others. This has always been the case for as long as I can remember, just human nature. (Man, raion center, TA Youth)

> Even to deepen the inequality, for example, the fact that all women were sent abroad, and men remained. And there is such a stereotype that a woman should sit with children and only cook and clean the house. And a man now has to go fight and do all the hard work. (Woman, Kyiv, TA Youth)

> It will be possible, because when men return from the army, they... they are, in fact, the kings of life in Ukraine, men are the main ones. And here and there, when they return from the army with some victories, they already have such an ego, arrogance, that they are looking for some girl who will only walk under them, lie under them and be quiet (Trans woman)

Almost all transgender persons noted the positive impact of European integration processes (in particular, the ratification of the Istanbul Convention) on overcoming existing gender stereotypes[15]. According to the interviewees, the European integration movement of Ukraine and similar legislative initiatives have a greater impact on reducing discrimination based on gender and other grounds than the war. Separation from the Soviet legacy and Russia also has a positive effect on the reduction of manifestations of discrimination on any grounds, including overcoming gender stereotypes. One of the interviewees stressed that it is the war and the Victory that will lead to an increase in the equality of men and women and to a decrease in the level of discrimination on any grounds, because the war unites society.

> War definitely will equalize people. It will equalize hetero with homo, it will equalize men with women. I think we are in for the fate of Israel in this regard. Israel is a very egalitarian state in this regard, a very inclusive state, just because this state is constantly at war, that is, war unites people against some common enemy, it erases the difference between citizens within the country as much as possible. (Trans man)

> The Istanbul Convention has already been ratified, the main thing is to convey it to women that it has been ratified, it protects them, but for this time and precedents are needed, of course. (Trans woman)

> But I can point out such parallels that after the start of a full-scale war, Ukraine increasingly creates its own special reality, separates itself even more from the Soviet legacy, from Russia and goes to Europe, to European values. Now it is very noticeable. In general, with this comes greater tolerance, greater openness of people to something new. It is actually a European country and even in some areas it can be better and more innovative than some European countries. That is, this whole situation, it generally accelerated the development of our country and its personal independence, its individuality. (Nonbinary transgender person)

[15] It is worth noting the peculiarities of the recruitment of transgender persons — due to the difficult accessibility and closedness of LGBT people, recruitment and participation in interviews was carried out with the support of public organizations, it is predicted that more open and active transgender persons who have a higher level of awareness about various issues in general, as well as having more and deeper information about the implementation of individual draft laws regarding issues of human rights and gender equality.

3.2.3 The impact of full-scale war on transgender people

The full-scale war has had a negative impact on the lives of transgender people, especially trans women who have yet to change their documents. The following negative impacts were noted:

FOR TRANS WOMEN

- Misunderstanding, biased attitude and ridicule during the document check by the police and military; at the same time the participants understand the document check during the war and are not offended, but these situations create unnecessary discomfort and make them nervous.
- Prejudiced attitude and censure from community representatives, calls to go to the front and fight.
- Problems with crossing the border.

FOR TRANS MEN

- Refusals during attempts to join the ranks of the Armed Forces.

> For trans women, the picture is much more complicated, because we have many women who have not changed their documents. They are subject to mobilization, and it is difficult to actually imagine these people in the army, because there is a high level of dysphoria, closed as a T*person, some people simply cannot go outside. They could not before the war, and obviously not during the war. It's always the same — you go out, you have to be ready to show your documents. Those whose appearance does not match the documents also have very high risks. (Trans man)

> Those trans boys who would like to serve in the army, but they have, if they already have, a diagnosis, then this is considered as such a mental disorder, and because of this they could be denied the right to serve in the army at all, that is, it is literally a bunch of incomprehensible and unethical situations. Even some basic health care things, when you have to find a trans-friendly endocrinologist or any other doctor who can advise specifically on issues of transgenderism and hormone therapy, it is very difficult, because the issue of hormone therapy in general is almost not studied, that is, finding, first of all, a competent doctor even in peacetime was difficult. And now it is even more difficult. Even if this happens in the basic, so to speak, area of health care, then what can be said about more complex things like recruitment offices.
> (Nonbinary transgender person)

ON TRANSGENDER PEOPLE IN GENERAL

- Problems with access to hormone replacement therapy (HRT) (lack of drugs, lack of doctors who can issue a prescription).
- Lack of doctors of the appropriate specialization (even before the full-scale war, it was quite difficult to find a friendly doctor, currently some doctors have left the country, access to a doctor is a real problem).
- Absence of proper conditions when passing a medical commission in recruitment offices.
- The problem of taking HRT for those who want to go to the front.
- Complicated registration of new documents in the process of transition, especially due to the need to contact the recruitment offices, where effective work is not established at all, and due to the lack of doctors who can adequately and competently issue the necessary certificates.
- The need for support abroad for those transgender people who have been forced to leave (language support and access to HRT).
- Deterioration of the moral and psychological condition.

> I feel quite bad even now due to the fact that I cannot go to the army, that is, the recruitment office gave me this white ticket, with the complete exclusion from military registration. Although I insisted on leaving the partial suitability for the military. (Trans man)

> Ideally, finding more doctors who can confirm the diagnosis, because we now have the opportunity in Ukraine to change documents with the F64 diagnosis, but the diagnosis is currently, as far as I know, only given in Kyiv. This is also problematic, because there are many people in different regions, and just traveling now is dangerous and very difficult. This is also a lot of money. (Trans man)

> Many have their mental problems increased in connection to fear and in connection to the loss of work, deterioration of the financial situation, the possibility of mobilization, lack of hormonal drugs, and so on. A lot of factors. (Trans man)

We can assume that the emotional state of society during the war caused a greater polarization of two conventional camps with opposite attitudes towards LGBT people in general: the part that was already tolerant towards LGBT people, began to treat them even better, because they see the contribution of representatives of this groups in joint Victory (LGBT people fight and defend the country on an equal footing with others); on the other hand, that part of people who had a negative attitude towards LGBT people began to behave even worse, openly insulting and humiliating LGBT people, indicating that they should be taken to the trenches first. This is noted by individual transgender persons.

A particular challenge for transgender people is the unavailability/difficulty of availability of hormonal drugs and medical examinations, including due to increased prices, loss of work and income.

> Because even before the war, we had literally just several people in Ukraine (doctors) who dealt with this issue. That is, to whom you can turn to get a prescription. And now here in Kyiv, two out of two that I know have gone abroad because of the war. That's why I'm wondering now that it would be good to find an endocrinologist, who is still here, and try to work with them. That is, it is a matter of security. And documents, because most transwomen have men's documents and, at the same time, have a completely feminine appearance and everything else. And there were huge problems with leaving abroad. And, as if with roadblocks, because there were conflict situations. And recruitment offices, that is, because of this, they had to somehow negotiate with the recruitment officers to give permission to leave, because the documents are formally male, and they were not allowed to cross the border. There were even several news articles online about the disguised man. The difficulties were serious. (Trans man)

4. PRIORITY CHANGES IN ISSUES OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN UKRAINE (ACCORDING TO QUALITATIVE RESEARCH)

The vast majority of participants noted that Ukraine needs further changes regarding equal rights and opportunities for men and women. Among the priority changes and important problems, the following were noted:

Domestic violence

- Introduction of more severe punishment for domestic violence (economic, psychological, physical).
- Prevention of manifestations of domestic violence, especially among IDPs (people are under a lot of stress, against this background, conflicts in families intensify, which often leads to domestic violence).
- Expansion of the network of centers/services for assistance to women affected by domestic violence, dissemination of information about the activities of such centers, guarantees of assistance to women as needed.

Education

- Overcoming gender stereotypes starting at the kindergarten level (already in kindergarten they impose that pink is a female color).
- Popularization of the principles of equality among high school students using examples of successful cases.
- Introduction of a comprehensive and adequate sexology course in schools.
- The ability to voluntarily choose and attend at school such subjects as pre-conscript training for young men, work training, regardless of gender (boys may want to do embroidery and cooking, and girls may want to learn weapons skills).

Professional realization

- Ensuring equal pay conditions and the same requirements for advancement on the career ladder (currently, more favorable conditions are created for men, and they also have a higher level of pay); at the same time, both women and men do not have access to certain professions — it is necessary to ensure equal access to all professions for both sexes.

Army

- Rejection of compulsory conscription, transition to professional contract army.
- Development and implementation of an effective and fair mechanism for going abroad for students under 25 years of age/ business representatives (excluding a possible corruption component from it, but also to remove inefficient and lengthy bureaucratic procedures, as well as unfair biased attitudes).
- Improving the work of recruitment offices and the process of passing the medical commission, creating a single transparent register of conscripts.
- Compulsory training at the military department for women and men in order to master basic military skills.
- Removal of barriers for women to receive combatant status.

That there is a very biased attitude, if you are a man and you want to go abroad, you will not be allowed to do it. They barely managed to get a lawyer there. It took three months. That is, he did not serve, he studied abroad, but he was not let to cross the border (Man, village, TA Molod)

I believe that, first of all, it is necessary to redo the recruitment offices. Because now the recruitment office is synonymous with evil. It is synonymous with bureaucracy, it is synonymous with backwardness. (Trans woman)

I believe that we need to create a single system with a single algorithm for submitting documents. It is normal, that men are conscripted, they are conscripted for that, but it needs to be balanced, some kind of reform should be carried out in the recruitment offices, so that it does not become several circles of hell. I'm trying to get my military ID already for, let's count: August, September, October — the fourth month. Every time they tell me: "Please come after a certain time, because we cannot sign the documents for you for that reason...", the reasons are unknown. Also, the military commissariat has huge problems with lists and registers. This is also regarding bureaucratization. It's just that my uncle, who is serving already, received a summons. Well, seriously? (Trans man)

As far as I know, it is difficult for women to join the army, although the process has already been simplified, but it still happens that there are some delays. This should not happen, that is, the service should be contractual, and there should not be any gender based mobilization. (Trans man)

Information campaigns

- Conducting information campaigns on issues of equal rights and opportunities for men and women (especially relevant for children and adolescents).
- Popularization of the image of a man who takes care of children on paternity leave.

The following changes are also of primary importance in order to reduce the level of discrimination in Ukraine, in particular, against LGBT people, who are the most discriminated group:

- Implementation of more severe punishment for any manifestations of discrimination.
- Overcoming the stereotype that LGBT people are sick people who need to be treated; carrying out explanatory work.
- Legalization of same-sex marriages.

> And, perhaps, at the school level, here we have jobs, vocational education and all these classes for work specialties. And when I was still in school, they were divided by gender. That is, girls embroider and cook, boys sharpen jigsaws on a machine. I believe that it is necessary to start something in this regard as well. From this particular moment, so that they would not be divided, boys and girls, but that it is either some optional classes that a person could choose for himself, according to what they want to do, or just some kind of joint program that would be for all. Because there is no difference, who works on the machine — a boy or a girl, it can be useful to everyone, just like embroidering or sewing and cooking. (Trans man)

> I will be specific about what can be done better - it is necessary to inform people more about the fact that, for example, not all women want to have children, and this is normal that women want to do something else — build a career successfully, inform about the examples of some others women who have already done it. That is, there should be such a representation. And the same from the side of men, that is, there should be a representation of men who are not only engaged in their careers and some typical masculine occupations, but there should be a greater representation of men who are artists, who are creative, maybe some others who take care of children and earn less than women. That is, when people will see more such people, their attitude towards this will change. (Nonbinary transgender person)

> Some kind of information campaign, rather popularization, that there are successful female surgeons, there are successful female engineers, there are successful male teachers. Well, somehow more positive role models, so that people have that before their eyes, knowing that this also happens, and it's normal. (Trans man)

> Now, many organizations are promoting Law 5488 (on responsibility for discrimination and intolerance), which includes various signs of discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, as well as religion, race, gender, that is, the widest spectrum that has ever been offered in Ukraine. As far as I have heard, it should soon be under consideration in the Verkhovna Rada. I think that this is a law that is important to adopt so that there is responsibility and so that Ukraine can be powerfully changed. (Trans man)

To improve the situation of transgender people, the following is necessary first of all:

- Implementation of mechanisms to provide trans people with hormonal drugs, even at the forefront.
- Educational courses for doctors on providing quality services to trans people.
- Transgender people gratefully recalled the effective activities of the NGO "Trans Generation" and the NGO "Insight" in their comprehensive assistance to transgender people during a full-scale war.

CONCLUSIONS

The impact of full-scale war

The impact of full-scale war on gender roles and stereotypes is ambiguous: on the one hand, war causes a strengthening of the traditional roles of men as defenders and women as "guardians" (caring for children and waiting for their protective husband). Men also suffer from the strengthening of traditional gender roles: a prejudiced attitude towards those who do not fight; prohibition of travel abroad, in particular, to male students; censure of those who draw up documents for going abroad in recruitment offices; censure of IDP men.

On the other hand, there is an increase in the active role of women in society and the country — primarily in the Armed Forces, as well as in the field of volunteering. Individual respondents noted the strengthening of the role of women in the professional sphere and in the family: men went to the front, their roles are forcibly, but effectively performed by women.

The survey did not record a strengthening of gender stereotypes, at least at the declarative level: on the contrary, compared to 2018, the belief that neither spouse should obey to each other, and that the husband should not necessarily be the head of the family and fully provide for it, and that it is a normal situation when the wife is more successful or earns more than the husband significantly increased (opposite views are held by no more than 20% of the population, including young people). The respondents of the qualitative study also noted progress in the field of gender equality and conected it to European integration processes in the country and relevant information campaigns.

The majority of respondents are convinced that victory in the war will increase equality between men and women due to the strengthening of European integration processes, distancing from the Russian Federation and the Soviet legacy, strengthening the role of women during the war in the Armed Forces/volunteer forces. Some allow for a possible deepening of inequality between men and women due to the strengthening of men's role as defenders during war and men's desire to dominate after victory, but this phenomenon is more likely to be isolated.

According to the survey, the share of those who never thought about gender inequality increased by 17 percentage points in 2022, compared to 2009, from 60% to 77% of the population (65% among young people). This may be the result of both progress in moving away from gender stereotypes and the fact that the relevance of the problem of gen-

der inequality has decreased against the background of a full-scale war.

Equally ambiguous is the impact of a full-scale war on the perception of gender roles and the trans community: on the one hand, the visibility of LGBT people has increased due to LGBT people fighting in the armed forces, on the other hand, the harassment of trans women who do not fight has increased, while trans men, on the contrary, complain about rejection in admission to the Armed Forces.

Prevalence of gender stereotypes and their impact on the lives of respondents

The upbringing process of most respondents had a gender-stereotypical character, that is, parents instilled conditionally masculine/feminine skills and interests in their children, broadcasted the need to be able to perform exactly masculine/feminine duties or look like a "typical" man or woman.

Some of the research participants grew up in families with a traditional division of gender roles between parents - the mother cooks, cleans, takes care of the children, the father does hard physical work, mends, and repairs, while both work. Some of the interviewees did not have a clear division of roles between father and mother in their families, each parent performed different functions and duties depending on the situation, while the division was even and fair. A clear dependence was recorded — gender-neutral upbringing is more characteristic of families in which parents have an equal and fair distribution of responsibilities.

At a time when the parents of most research participants were guided by traditional views on the roles of women and men, gender stereotypes, the majority of respondents demonstrate contradictory views. From one point of view, they distance themselves from gender stereotypes and stand for the principles of equality, freedom of choice and the possibility of self-expression of each individual. At the same time, 72% of young people believe that it is important to form "feminine character traits" in girls, and 78% — that it is important to form "masculine character traits" in boys. Therefore, it can be assumed that in the future most young parents will instill in their children conditionally masculine/feminine skills and interests, but will not insist on this in case of child resistance.

This research confirms the findings of the 2009–2021 studies that:

- Young people aged 15-25 are less inclined to support the traditional distribution of gender roles and gen-

der stereotypes, while at the same time they consider them to be more widespread and rate their impact as higher than the general population. Due to the difference between generations, the prevalence of gender stereotypes is decreasing over time in Ukraine, and the research did not record signs that the war is slowing down this process

- Women share less gender stereotypes than men, including those perceived by some men and women as female "privileges". Thus, only 15% of young women believe that a man should fully provide for the family and 38% — that only men should be subject to conscription, while 58% agree that "if men are subject to conscription, so are women should be subject to it, as well"

The most common gender stereotypes and gender ideals/norms prevalent among young people are as follows:

- Only men should be subject to military conscription: 60% of the population and 53% of young people agree with this (61% of men and only 38% of women, as mentioned above, 58% of young women do not agree with this)
- In general, men are better political leaders than women: 35% of the population and 34% of young people (45% of men and 21% of women) agree with this
- Every woman should first of all be a wife and mother: 52% of the population and 25% of young people (35% of men and 20% of women) agree with this
- In general, men manage businesses better than women: 27% of the population and 24% of young people (31% of men and 17% of women) agree with this
- The man must fully provide for the family: 20% of the population and 21% of young people (24% of men and 19% of women) agree with this
- In any case, the man must be the head of the family: 19% of the population and 17% of young people (19% of men and 16% of women) agree with this

However, as we can see, the share of those who disagree with these stereotypes / prescriptions, with the exception of a few positions, is greater than the share of those who agree. At the same time, support for some stereotypes is stable across age groups: for example, that men are better political leaders than women, that they are better businessmen, that a man should fully provide for the family.

Transgender people have a deeper and more complex understanding of the concept of discrimination, more often experienced prejudiced attitudes/manifests of discrimination on various grounds than cisgender youth, transgender people also assessed the level of prevalence of stereotypes, prejudiced attitudes and discrimination in Ukraine before the full-scale war as higher than cisgender youth.

Transgender people more often noted that they have experienced discrimination not only because of gender stereotypes, but also on other grounds — age, gender identity, appearance.

The most widespread negative effects of gender stereotypes and norms of behavior are as follows: for men — the inability to express their emotions, the need to financially provide for the family, to be stable and strong in any situation, to perform hard physical work, restrictions related to conscription; for women - difficulties with employment and professional realization, building a career, a lower level of remuneration, sexual objectification, the need to obey a man.

Although men complain about conscription-related restrictions, only 12% of young men said they felt discriminated against based on their gender, compared to 27% of young women. According to qualitative research, this is explained by the fact that men consider conscription a necessity for the protection and preservation of the country, so this norm is currently justified for them.

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The majority of research participants agree that Ukraine needs further changes regarding equal rights and opportunities for men and women: administrative and legislative changes in the field of domestic violence and employment/professional realization, reforming educational programs with the aim of popularizing the principles of equality and overcoming gender stereotypes among children and adolescents, nationwide information campaigns to increase the tolerance of society in general, introduction of tougher punishment for manifestations of discrimination.

Also, the participants proposed the following initiatives that will help minimize the negative effects of a full-scale war on men and women and change the situation for the better: transition to a professional contract army, development of an effective and fair mechanism for lifting the ban on students and business representatives from traveling abroad, improving the work of recruitment offices (creation of transparent registers), facilitating women's access to the Armed Forces and removing barriers for women to obtain the combatant status. To improve the situation of transgender people, the following is first of all necessary:

- Implementation of mechanisms to provide trans people with hormonal drugs, even on the front lines.
- Educational courses for doctors on providing quality services to trans people.