REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY IN THE NONPROFIT SECTOR IN UKRAINE

by

Ievgeniia Rozhenko

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ABSTRACT

The problem of gender stereotypes and lack of gender sensitivity has been a persistent problem in Ukraine. Educating the population and raising awareness about gender equality has been an important focus of many women's and feminist organizations in Ukraine. The thesis uses interviews, content analysis and existing literature to analyze how these organizations represent women and gender equality in Ukraine, if and to what degree foreign donors influence these representations, as well as how Ukrainian feminism can be defined. Using the lens of postcolonial feminism and representations, the research found that the organizations in their communication mostly represent young middle-class women and discuss strategic gender needs. Achieving gender equality is presented as a part of an effort toward European integration. However, in most other instances, gender equality is seen as a goal in itself rather than a step to achieve a certain goal. Organizations' communication and other work is characterized by a high degree of local ownership and understanding between them and foreign donors. This is explained by increased knowledge of the region among foreign donors, but also by the fact that the organizations adopted many ideas from Western feminism and can be characterized as (neo)liberal feminist organizations.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ATO	Antiterrorist operation
CSO	Civil society organization
GAD	Gender and development
GII	Gender inequality index
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INGO	International non-governmental organization
LGBTQI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex
NGO	Non-governmental organization
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WID	Women in development

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines how women`s issues and issues of gender relations are represented by NGOs in Ukraine, what strategies they use and what kind of feminist theories or other ideas determine these representations. It aims to analyze whether and how representations by NGOs are working to reduce sexism in Ukraine, to dispel stereotypes about gender roles both in the household and in the public sphere, as well as working to decrease domestic violence. It also aims to gain insights from audience perceptions of NGOs` representations through their interaction on the social media.

Ukraine, an Eastern European country of 43 million people, has a Gender Inequality Index (GII) of 0.284 (UNDP, 2018). This means that gender relations in Ukraine are more equal than most countries in the world, with the average world GII being 0.439. However, Ukraine is still far behind many developed countries. To compare, the GII in Canada is 0.083 (UNDP, 2018). Some of the major problems accounting for a higher GII in Ukraine are: male/female payment gap, gender-based violence, uneven representation in government, uneven employment in higher management positions, and uneven share in reproductive labour. For example, as of 2018, only 12.3% of seats in Parliament belonged to women and 26% of women experienced sexual violence from their intimate partner (UNDP, 2018).

While both men and women in Ukraine enjoy the same level of education, with both taking around 11.3 years of schooling, a considerably large number of women cannot or choose not to pursue their careers, instead dedicating more of their time to reproductive labour. This means that they either don`t work at all or work at jobs/positions that pay less, but allow a greater degree of flexibility. Thus women constitute 74.3% of the number of men in the labour force (World Bank, 2018). The estimated gross national income per capita (GNI PPP) for women is approximately 60% of that enjoyed by men (UNDP, 2018). The gender pay gap as of 2017 has been reported as 21.2% (UNECE, 2017). This has to do with horizontal segregation (the so-called “male and female jobs”) and vertical segregation (dominance of men in higher positions and women in middle and lower positions). At the same time, women on average spend twice as much time as men for household activities and taking care of children (UNFPA Ukraine, 2018), even in situations when both work and even have the same or near the same earnings.

While acknowledging that some women make an informed decision not to work or not to have work as their priority and instead invest their time in reproductive labour, in other cases reproductive labour is expected of women as wives and mothers, as many stereotypes and societal expectations are still at play. According to a UNFPA survey, 69% of men think that "a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family" and 67% think that "a man should have the final word about decisions in his home" (UNFPA, 2018). At the same time, 41% of men believe that gender equality has been achieved, and only 36% disagree with that. It should also be noticed that gender stereotypes are not only supported by men, but are often upheld by women as well. The National Survey on Equality between Men and Women in Ukraine (2018) shows that 57 % of women (and 56 % of men) believe that cooking is a woman`s task, while 4% think it is a man`s task and 37% – that both men and women should participate equally.

These stereotypes are often replicated and spread by different media, foremost in advertisements. Women and men in advertisements are often shown through a prism of traditional understanding of feminine and masculine. Women are shown as passive, incompetent, and overly emotional. Their concern for their appearance is underlined. As for men, they are represented as competent, rational, authoritative and dominant. Women are mostly shown as mothers, housewives, or sexualized bodies, rarely in their professional surroundings. Men are usually the consumers of food made by women and rarely appear in the private sphere (Martseniuk, 2009; Kitsa and Mudra, 2019). In most of the advertisements, questions are posed by women, while men are shown as experts and the voiceover is mostly a man`s voice (Kravchenko, 1993; Harris 2003). Stereotypes are also frequently heard from public persons and politicians – sometimes consciously in other cases – because of a lack of gender sensitivity.

In addition to the issues mentioned above, the issue of LGBT rights remains pressing. Acceptance of the LGBT community in Ukraine is very low with 69% of survey respondents saying homosexuality should not be accepted in society, while only 14% say it should (Pew Research Center, 2019).

Looking back to the times of the USSR can help to understand better the current gender situation in Ukraine. Many achievements of the USSR in granting women equal rights with men cannot be denied. It was one of the first countries to give women the right to vote in 1918. Women were given equal access to education, to new professions, equal payment with men, and women as mothers also received social support from the

government. However, Soviet ideological campaigns promoted motherhood as a political duty of Soviet women, along with taking care of the household and the husband (Khasbulatova, 2018). Therefore, it was also a Soviet woman`s duty to find ways to combine their work, public activities and household chores – a situation often referred to as the "triple burden". Despite this unequal share of reproductive work, equality between men and women was off the political agenda – it was not to be criticized or discussed in the public sphere or academia in the search for further improvements, as it was believed that USSR had already achieved full equality.

Many changes happened after the collapse of the USSR and Ukraine becoming independent in 1991. According to Matland & Montgomery (2003), women`s political representation in post-Soviet states dropped from an average of 30% in 1990 to 7.5% in 1995 (as cited in Connolly & Stefańczak, 2015). In 1990-1994 the percentage of women in the Parliament of Ukraine was as low as 2.73 %, rising to 4.12 % in 1994-1998 (Antoniuk, 2015). Soon after the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine saw many developments in its gender relations and feminist movement: the emergence of neo-traditionalist women's movements, as well as a new generation feminist movements like FEMEN, and Western-style feminism (Rubchak, 2012). Ukrainian gender theory and feminist thought had existed mostly in academia and could be characterized by "elite marginality" (Plakhotnik, 2019). Elite because under the conditions when there existed no translations of classical feminist works, to do research on gender and feminism, one needed to know foreign languages and be able to travel abroad. On the other hand, this research was marginal, because it was not widely accepted by a broader academic community in Ukraine (Plakhotnik, 2019; Zhurzhenko, 2011).

The neo-traditionalist women's movement and ideas were common in Ukraine throughout the 1990s and argued for embracing "neotraditional gender – the idea that men and women have distinct roles: women the beautiful caring caretakers, men the strong providers" (Johnson and Robinson, 2007). Having many encounters with Western feminist thought in the early 1990s, Ukrainian women started gradually embracing it and moving from near total misunderstanding and awkwardness between them and their Western counterparts to embracing certain concepts and finding their application in the Ukrainian reality. Many from the younger generation of women in post-Soviet Ukraine aimed to challenge the existing power dynamics between genders, some of them found their own distinct way and embraced somewhat provocative measures (Rubchak, 2012). FEMEN is one such organization. It was founded in 2008

and used the tactics of topless protests – now known as sextremism – to fight against patriarchy, dictatorship, the sex industry and the Ukraine Orthodox Church.

State policies have also changed significantly throughout the years of independent Ukraine – from the "protective and family-centred approach to women" (motherhood policy) in 1992-1997 to a "policy of equal opportunities for women and men" after 2008 (Tolstokorova, 2012), thus opening new opportunities to promote gender equality and women's rights.

1.1. Central Problem: the persistence of gender stereotypes

Despite the positive changes, as statistics show, stereotypes about gender roles persist in both the public and private spheres and many men and women believe that gender equality is already achieved in Ukraine. Instead, some stereotypes about women that existed historically, including in the USSR, have been exacerbated by a more recent trend towards the commodification of femininity and female bodies, using it as a marketing tool. This trend is especially visible in the Ukrainian mainstream media, which often contains sexist messages and in this way helps to reproduce stereotypes about genders among the audience. Researchers and activists express concerns about deeply-rooted patriarchal values and discriminatory gender stereotypes preserved in the political discourse and mass media (Viter, 2020). Female politicians are widely represented from the viewpoint of their appearance rather than their professional contributions in the government, while women in commercial advertisements are represented as either sexualized or exemplary caretakers and beautiful loving wives. Men are, on the contrary, are represented as ridiculously helpless with the housework and childcare.

Many understand that changing attitudes and creating a greater gender sensitivity among the wider Ukrainian population (especially journalists and public persons) is a crucial task. International and Ukrainian NGOs have been using social marketing tools to address this task – and many educational and information materials have been created, which target both adults and children. Through social media, organizations have a more flexible tool to not only communicate their ideas to the public, but also involve the public in a conversation. Therefore, it is also very important to make sure that these tools are used in the most effective ways possible and to research the messages conveyed by NGOs.

1.2. Purpose of the Study & Research Question

The purpose of this study is to analyze the communication strategies of international and local NGOs in Ukraine on social media and websites in order to identify how they represent gender and gender relations in Ukraine, the strategies they use, and their target audiences. I will focus special emphasis on whether social marketing campaigns challenge existing stereotypes about women and gender relations.

The main research questions of this study are: **1) How do NGOs represent women and gender in their social marketing campaigns? 2) What are the factors that shape gender representations in Ukraine's non-governmental sector?**

1.3. Importance of the Study

According to Hall (1997), the meanings of things exist subjectively in our thinking. Representation models take an active part in creating these meanings and are a part of power relations, as they influence the allocation of roles in a society. Meanings, constructed through representation (and representations themselves) are not static – they are always changing. As a conclusion from the arguments above, in terms of gender, it is very important to create representations which would construct relations between genders based on equality and understanding as opposed to those built on stereotypes and misogynist views. In the view of the importance of representations of gender in NGOs' social marketing campaigns, it is equally important to conduct research that would be able to estimate the effectiveness and justness of the messages conveyed. This kind of research has the potential to provide valuable insight on the aspects of the gender-related social marketing that is positive and should be expanded and those aspects which might contain hidden harms or are not effective enough and which, therefore, should be changed.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature on representations of women and gender, thus helping to situate the study within existing scholarship. As of 2021, there has been no research that I am aware of that analyzes public communications by women's and feminist NGOs in Ukraine and the way they represent gender. The literature I review here mostly covers such topics as the history of the women's and gender equality movement in Ukraine, postcolonial feminist approaches to representations of women and gender equality in the postsocialist countries, and representations of women in developing countries.

2.1. The History of Feminism in Ukraine

This section aims to provide the historical context for this research and briefly explains the history of feminism in Ukraine, indicating foreign influences and locally originated movements. The historical background is important in understanding representations, according to Hall and Foucault (Hall, 2013, 46). Similarly, postcolonial feminists argue for understanding the historical, cultural and other contexts in which non-Western women are situated (Mohanty, 1988; McEwan, 2001; Spivak, 1985).

2.1.1. Feminism in Ukraine Before Independence

It is important to understand contemporary feminism in Ukraine in an historical perspective, starting from the second half of the 19th century. Oksana Kis (2019) points out that thinking about feminism in Ukraine as a foreign ideology is incorrect. The first wave of feminism was shared by Ukrainian women equally with their counterparts in the Western world. The first literary works about inequality of women and men appeared in Ukraine as early as in the middle of the 19th century (Kis, 2019). These first Ukrainian feminists were mostly women from the families of local intellectuals, many of whom spoke several European languages. They thus not only had the opportunity to be up-to-date about the latest academic works on feminism in Europe, they also actively participated in international women`s congresses (Kis, 2019).

Of course, it is important to note that Ukraine was not yet an independent unified state at that time. Conditions for women in different parts of Ukraine were different.

They were more favourable in what was then the region of Galicia[1] – first under the Austrian Empire and later under Poland - while the rest of the Ukrainian territories under the Russian Empire were less progressive in terms of the rights that women were granted by the state. The Ukrainian women`s movement at this period was characterized by its proximity with the Ukrainian nationalist movement – partly serving the interests of the latter. Women needed education, civil and political rights in order to effectively stand for the Ukrainian national interests (Kis, 2019; Onyshko, 2016; Mitsuyoshi, 2006). Therefore, this early women`s movement in Ukraine is referred to by Bohachevsky-Chomiak as 'involuntary feminism' (1988, as cited in Kis, 2019). But it is important to note that although most women fighting for emancipation in Ukraine did not refer to themselves as 'feminists', there were several women, such as Natalia Kobrynska and Milena Rudnytska, who argued that women`s issues should be viewed independently, not just secondary to the nationalist movement, and who can rightly be called the first Ukrainian feminists. Connections with nationalism, until now, remain one of the defining features of the gender equality and feminist movements in Ukraine (Martseniuk, personal communication, Dec 4, 2020; Zhurzhenko, 2011; Phillips, 2014).

Some men also actively supported the women`s movement. For example, the famous Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko provided strong support for the women`s magazine created by one of the first Ukrainian feminists Natalia Kobrynska at the end of the 19th century (Onyshko, 2016). The main goals of Ukrainian feminists at that time were education for women, the right to work, property rights, and the right to vote and participate in the public life of the country.

The October revolution in 1917 brought immense changes. The newly created Union of Soviet Socialist Republics rejected feminism as a bourgeois movement. Women were given education, and the right to vote and work equally with men. Thus, the Soviets declared the so-called 'woman question' solved (Kis, 2019). While gender constructions and ideologies differed in different republics, as well as throughout the years, with greater gender equality in the first years after the revolution, Johnson and Robinson (2006) argue that there are distinct features that characterize gender within communism in general. Most importantly, "the communist party-state held an almost complete monopoly over the politics of gender construction" (Johnson & Robinson,

[1] Historical region of Ukraine and South-Eastern Poland. In Ukraine the region of Galicia was situated on the territory of contemporary Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions.

2006). Women and men had very "limited personal agency … to negotiate gender" (Johnson & Robinson, 2006). Women in the USSR thus became confined within the state approach, which ignored sex differences in labour, but reinforced them in the domestic sphere. In other words, women worked equally with men and, especially during the first decades after the revolution, in jobs that were traditionally considered to be men`s.[2] But, gender expectations at home remained unchanged. Women were expected to take care of the housework, children and creating home comfort for their husbands (Martseniuk, 2018; Bohachevsky-Chomiak, 1995). The communist ideology saw women as natural caregivers, believing that they were inherently different from men based on their biological sex differences (Johnson & Robinson, 2006; Khasbulatova, 2018).

As mothers, women received social support from the government. There were accessible daycares for children, which allowed women to have more time to pursue their careers. But the rest of the reproductive work, and especially that connected with the motherhood and taking care of the husband was considered to be solely women`s duty. Motherhood tended to be more recognized by the state (thus the notion of 'heroic mother'), the rest of her non-paid work was largely unrecognized and taken for granted (Martseniuk, 2018). This resulted in a triple burden for women: they had to balance a full-time job, housework and be active citizens all at the same time. Men also had their ideological roles: they were considered the major productive force, country protectors, and the main actors in political administration (Khasbulatova, 2018; Johnson & Robinson, 2006). Women played a secondary role in government, although with 16.5% of female representatives in the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union in 1937 (Khasbulatova, 2018), USSR had one of the highest proportions of women in a supreme legislative body in the world. After a quota for women`s representation in the Supreme Soviet was introduced in 1938 in both the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR), women accounted for 34% of seats in the parliament of the Ukrainian SSR on average throughout 1938-1990 (Tyshko, 2019).[3] Political

[2] In 1935 to 1941 women accounted for up to 42% of labour force in the USSR (Khasbulatova, 2018; Mespoulet, 2006). At the same time, in the US in 1930 the respective number was 22%, in 1940 – 24.5% (US Department of Commerce, 1940), in the UK in 1930 – 34.2%, Canada – 19.7%, Germany in 1933 – 43.7% (Our World in Data, 2017).

[3] To compare, percentage of women serving in the 75th US Congress (1937-1938) was about 2% (Manning & Brudnick, 2020). In France percentage of seats held by women in the Parliament from 1940s to 1960s was between 1.4% and 6.8% (Praud & Dauphine, 2011). In India percentage of women represented in Lok Sabha (lower house of India's Parliament) in 1950s to 1970s was between 3.4% and 6.7% (Rai, 2017).

representation of women in Ukrainian SSR was also greater than the percentage of women in the parliament in modern Ukraine. At the same time, researchers argue that the number of women in the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union did not translate into quality of women's political participation (Hrycak, 2001, Tyshko, 2019). Speeches by women during the sessions accounted for 10.5% of all session speeches in 1955-1973 and women never held speeches on strategic government planning, international relations or finance. Female deputies were often young and rarely got re-elected for a second or third term (Tyshko, 2019).

2.1.2. Feminism in Ukraine After Independence

After the collapse of the USSR in 1989, Ukraine saw many changes in gender relations. First of all, following the Stagnation Period (a period of social and economic stagnation in the USSR from the 1960s to the beginning of the 1980s) and Perestroika (a reform movement in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the 1980s), there was growing dissent against Soviet values. According to some versions, there was an "orientation toward the private sphere … [as] a consequence of the suppression of public subjectivity. The family assumed a special function as the refuge of moral values" (Havelkova, 1993 as cited in Pishchikova, 2006). This 'neotraditionalism' (Jowitt, 1992 as cited in Pishchikova, 2006) was the result of the "social adaptation to systematic exclusion in the public sphere that was experienced by both men and women under the socialism" (Pishchikova, 2006). In the newly independent Ukraine women increasingly distanced themselves from political life and increasingly positioned themselves within the domestic sphere, while men took over the politics of the newly independent Ukraine. In 1990, after gender quotas were cancelled, the number of women in parliament decreased from one third to 3% – a number which increased slowly but steadily in the next years, reaching 12% in 2014 (Antoniuk, 2015) and 20.8% in 2020 (Opora, 2020).

According to Zhurzhenko (2001, 35), neoliberal transformations in the country played an important role: "the essence of the problem of women's social and economic marginalization in transitional society is that free market ideology perfectly corresponds with the patriarchal gender ideology construction of women as marginal and the conviction that this socio-economic marginality is due to a 'natural' division of labour between the sexes". Such an understanding helps to explain why, despite the common orientation toward the private sphere among both men and women during the

Soviet times, it was men who dominated politics and the economic sphere during the earliest years of Ukrainian independence.

The orientation toward the private space during the USSR explains why newly independent Ukraine lacked a civil society in the traditional understanding – as Pishchikova (2006) points out, during the USSR years it migrated to the underground realm of family and friends. Furthermore, going back to traditional values was a form of protest against the Soviet values. The initial opposition against gender quotas in the Ukrainian parties and in the Parliament was partly for the same reasons – for many people it was a strong aversion to the quotas during Soviet time (Antoniuk, 2015).

The neotraditionalism in the women`s movement in Ukraine in the early 1990s was characterized by several distinctive features. It did not try to challenge the power relations between men and women. Furthermore, it often did not even target women, but rather dealt with the social issues that they found important as mothers – what Hrycak calls 'maternalism', or traditional women`s activism (Hrycak, 2006). Komitety Soldatskykh Materiv (Soldiers' Mothers Committees) are examples of such organizations, one of the main goals of which was to stop abuses in the army (Kis, 2019; Pishchikova, 2006). Other issues that women's networks in Ukraine were involved in during the early years of Ukrainian independence were the environment (mostly connected with the Chornobyl disaster), "freedom of conscience, religious tolerance and national rights" (Hrycak, 2001, 136).

Many post-USSR women`s organizations in Ukraine in the early 1990s drew ideas from pre-Soviet women`s movements and pursued both nationalistic ideas as well as the goal of uniting women and helping them fulfil their predominantly maternal interests. The neotraditionalist women`s movement embraced the "notions of maternal self-sacrifice and nation-building" (Hrycak, 2006). Neotraditionalist women`s movements promoted the idea of premedieval matriarchy impersonated in the image of Berehynya – deity of the hearth and the home[4]. This image of a collective Ukrainian woman existed for long within the public sphere with politicians perpetuating it in their International Women`s Day greetings and other occasions. Some scholars explain the traditionalist tendency in early Ukrainian women`s movement as "a result of the failed

[4] In contemporary Ukrainian discourse (starting from 1990s) Berehynya is an artificially constructed women's identity, which is based on the image of an old Slavic deity (Berehynya), transformed into a new nationalist symbol of femininity and motherhood.

Soviet policies to liberate women, which guaranteed women`s participation in the labour force, but did not alleviate women`s domestic burden" (Phillips, 2005).

It is important to note though, that while a young, contemporary Ukrainian feminist might find the traditionalist approach to be backward, especially in comparison with Western feminism at that time, this movement was important and had positive meanings for a Ukrainian society. It was the sign of reviving an independent civil society in Ukraine which did not rely on foreign donors.

There was also another type of women's organizations in Ukraine in the 1990s – feminist organizations that supported equal rights between men and women and were established in response to foreign assistance. These organizations were dependent on the grants and often "pursued causes that are [were] of little public resonance" (Hrycak, 2001, 156).

There have been numerous scholarly critiques of foreign assistance consistently ignoring the local women's movement in the early 1990s while providing numerous grants to support the establishment of new women`s organizations in Ukraine. It is argued that foreign funding caused the disappearance of some of the local civil society organizations that had adopted more traditional causes and created a reliance of the Ukrainian non-governmental sphere and civil society on funding from abroad (Hrycak, 2006; Hrycak, 2007; Pishchikova, 2006). Foreign funding, to some extent, had a negative influence on the emergence of civil society in Ukraine by withdrawing human resources from self-reliant Ukrainian grassroot civil society organizations (CSOs). It was followed by "an increasing professionalization of women`s-rights work in the hands of a small, closed elite" (Hrycak, 2001). Furthermore, the so-called *grantoyidstvo* (literally 'grant-eating') was another major problem. In order to get funding, Ukrainian organizations had to follow existing trends among Western donor organizations, thus working in the spheres that were popular among donors, rather than spheres that Ukrainian CSOs found to be most topical in the country – a common problem in donor-recipient relationships.

This situation had negative effect on both local grassroots women's organizations standing for more traditional causes and gender equality organizations created in response to foreign funding. It resulted in a situation when the former "have had public legitimacy but have been woefully underfunded" (Hrycak, 2001, 156), while the latter had a lot of funding, but did not have the necessary public support. According to Hrycak,

the inability to build effective coalitions between the two types of organizations resulted in many failures of the women's rights lobby in Ukraine in the 1990s.

On the other hand, while acknowledging these shortcomings, other Ukrainian scholars argue that foreign funding had positive outcomes for feminism in Ukraine. They also argue it is an exaggeration to say that a particular feminist vision promoted by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and foreign governments was imposed on Ukrainian women as a foreign feminist ideology. Before the USSR, women in Ukraine were actively participating in the European women`s movement. Decades of life under the iron curtain limited opportunities for Ukrainian women to be up-to-date about, let alone participate in, European feminism. By the time that Ukrainian women were free to do so, the second wave of feminism with its many changes in feminist thinking and demands had long happened in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, the ideas of Western feminism were interesting to women in Ukraine. Apart from the neotraditionalist women`s movement in Ukraine and Ukrainian women's involvement in European feminism, the early 1990s were also characterized by academic activism: many female researchers were interested in the feminist ideas existing in the West. Their analysis of Western academic works resulted in numerous translations and publications into Ukrainian (Gender in Detail, 2020). Furthermore, the Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing in 1995 was a milestone in the development of feminism in Ukraine – many participants from Ukraine drew inspiration from this conference (Tolstokorova, 2012; Kis, 2019; Hankivsky and Salnykova, 2010; Hrycak and Rewakowicz, 2009). According to Hrycak and Rewakowicz (2009, 320), "it not only introduced them to such new issues as violence against women but also led them to realize that Ukraine was obligated to address these and other violations of women's rights by the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and other international treaties to which it was a party."

Many Ukrainian women (although they were still mostly from comparatively privileged parts of the Ukrainian society) acquired a good understanding of Western feminism by the late 1990s and could operate the Western feminist vocabulary, including to criticize some of the foreign-funded initiatives in Ukraine. Even though the foreign-funded initiatives at the beginning of the 1990s in Ukraine at first seemed to be more progressive than the local movements in terms of women`s issues, there are many problems with them too, largely because of the still dominant women in

development (WID) [5] approach. For example, Pishchikova (2006) in her book "Promoting Democracy in Postcommunist Ukraine" criticizes USAID`s 'women as a target group' approach, which defined women as 'victims' and 'oppressed'. Taking the trafficking of women as an example, this discourse added to the stigmatization of women travelling abroad for seasonal work due to the argument that any woman can become a victim of human trafficking, which indeed came to be a problem in Ukraine at that time. Another example of victimizing women is the claim that the reason for women's inability to change their economic situation lies in their lack of self-confidence. On the contrary, "many women's NGOs argue that women face the same problems as men and, therefore, it is not women who have to be empowered personally but structural problems that have to be resolved" (Pishchikova, 2006, 179). For example, according to the survey conducted by Kharkiv Institute of Community Development, many female entrepreneurs reported that the major problems they faced were the same as those faced by men – "first, imperfections of public institutions, such as legislative frameworks, bureaucracy, and corruption; second, lack of personal training of entrepreneurs in such areas as marketing, strategic business planning, etc." (Pishchikova, 2006, 179). Finally, the term 'gender' was mobilized by women in Kyiv to oppose seeing women`s issues "as a result of the existence of females" and instead see them as "arising from socially constructed inequality between men and women" (Pishchikova, 2006).

Major changes in Ukrainian feminism started in 2008-2010. On the one hand, by this time foreign grant funding decreased significantly (Plakhotnyk & Mayerchyk, 2019). Some sources explain it as partial disillusionment among foreign funders about creating a self-sustainable feminist and, more generally, civic movement in Ukraine. This is when women`s street activism gained strength in the country. The end of 2000s saw the first feminist marches for the International Women`s Day on the 8th of March. The marches have been conducted annually since and, depending on the situation in each given year, raised such gender equality and women's rights issues as women's

[5] The term WID came into use in 1970s. It was characterized by the effort to integrate women into development processes, as it was believed that simply bringing women in would help them to benefit from the development strategies. However, the approach did not question the actual underlying reasons and nature of women's subordination. It ignored the historical aspects of such subordination, as well as the influence of race and class. WID is often criticized for focusing on women's productive labour and instrumentalist approach to women as a tool for economic development. It also overlooked the women's reproductive labour (Rathgeber, 1990).

reproductive rights, gender and religion, reproductive labour, war and militarization, pay gap, domestic violence, etc. One of the recurring slogans during the marches has been "flowers – for flowerbeds, rights – for women", referring to the critique of the traditional way to celebrate International Women's Day in Ukraine. Despite the holiday`s potential to raise women's voices about inequality, for decades it has been the day when the gender status quo was reaffirmed and when women's femininity, traditional roles and decorative function ("women as an adornment of the country/society/workplace") have been underlined. Also, women received flowers, but, as march participants argue, women don`t need flowers – they need rights. The women's marches became more proactive after 2015 – they demand equality between men and women instead of defending existing women's rights and opportunities (Hrycenko, 2018).

Oksana Kis argues that by 2010 Ukraine had a mature feminist movement. There were organizations from across the spectrum – "from most conservative (traditionalist) to most radical (queer and anarchist feminist), including a big segment of the organizations of liberal type" (Kis, 2019). By 2010 the feminist movement sees a clear specialization in women's organizations: political, social, human rights, educational, academic, professional, cultural, etc. There is also a range of organizations working with the LGBT community, for example, Insight and Sphere (Kis, 2019).

The large number of liberal feminist organizations in Ukraine reflects a global trend, where liberal feminism is the most influential and recognizable among other feminisms. Liberal feminism "emphasizes women's capacity for rational thought and action and seeks equality with men in the public sphere" (Wilson, 2015, 805; Kabeer, 1994). It often emphasizes the individualist approach to treating women's and gender issues (Davies, 2007). Liberal feminism is often criticized by supporters of other forms of feminism (for example, radical feminism) for "reliance on seeking equity and reform in existing political and social institutions rather than critiquing and striving for liberation from such institutions utterly seeped in heteronormative and patriarchal systems of thought" (Bailey, 2016, 671).

A wave of important changes in the feminist movement and the Ukrainian civil society happened after the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity (also known as Euromaidan) in 2013-2014. The Revolution of Dignity was sparked by the decision of the Ukrainian

government under the presidency of President Yanukovych[6] to suspend the signing of the Ukraine–European Union Association Agreement and ended in his ousting. The revolution was closely followed by the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation and military action in the Eastern Ukraine. The Revolution of Dignity had a huge impact on the Ukrainian society. As for feminism in Ukraine, there were two major outcomes. On the one hand, with active participation of right-wing groups in Euromaidan, traditional gender roles were reconfirmed as men were the heroes on the forefront of the revolution and on the barricades. Women, on the contrary, were to be "protected" and encouraged to remain in the safety of support roles – making sandwiches for the men fighting on the barricades (Khromeychuk, 2018; Channell-Justice, 2017; Onuch & Martsenyuk, 2014, Phillips, 2014). In other words, "gender roles become solidified by national ideals, which, in this case, privilege men and wartime masculinity and limit women to supportive roles" (Channell-Justice, 2017, 720).

On the other hand, 2014 marked an impressive revival of civic movements in Ukraine, including the feminist movement. After 2014 women became increasingly visible and active in the public sphere. Women who were tired of the behind-the-scene roles during Euromaidan and believed that they were "not just sandwiches", referring to their role in the revolution field kitchens (Channell-Justice, 2017, 717), started their own sotnia[7] (voluntary defence brigade) – Zhinocha Sotnia – which received strong support from Ukrainian women. After the beginning of the anti-terrorist operation (ATO) in the Eastern Ukraine, women claimed their right to equal participation with men in the Ukrainian military sphere. Through organizations like the Invisible Battalion,[8] women managed to drive changes in the legislation which had previously not allowed them to occupy a range of official military positions in the Ukrainian army.

Since 2014, the feminist movement in Ukraine has gained greater visibility and popularity. The movement has also grown significantly as more and more women started identifying as feminists. According to Plakhotnik and Mayerchyk (2019), the reason for this is "the recasting of meanings with respect to feminism", particularly its "complicity with the nation-building process and patriotic mobilization of the population for the war" (62). In other words, Ukrainian feminists' involvement in the

[6] The presidency of Yanukovych lasted from 2010 to 2014.
[7] The name "sotnia" is a reference to military Cossacks' formations during the 15-18th centuries. It is traditionally associated with the idealized image of Ukrainian historical masculinity.
[8] Organization founded in 2015 with the goal to protect the rights and interests of women in the Armed Forces in Ukraine and especially those women who are participating in ATO in the Eastern Ukraine.

nation-building process after 2014 has to a certain extent legitimized the movement in the eyes of the people of Ukraine.

The indicator that clearly shows the increase of feminist supporters in Ukraine is the increasing number of participants during women's marches on International Women's Day in Ukraine (Zlobina, 2016; Hrycenko, 2018). According to Tamara Zlobina, Ukrainian feminist and chief editor of the online feminist informational website Gender in Detail, following the Revolution of Dignity, there has been a trend of "hendernyi rozpad" ("gender breakdown"). The traditional women's gender role models of "Berehynya" and "Barbie", which had previously been prevalent in the Ukrainian society, have been disintegrating. Instead, new roles emerged – those of military women, female leaders, civil society activists, etc.

The struggle of women for equal rights in the army leads us back to the discussion of the interactions between nationalism and feminism in Ukraine. Given that for most of its history Ukraine has been under the rule of other countries, nationalism and the fight for sovereignty have been interwoven into Ukrainian cultural life for centuries. It could be seen in the interconnectedness of nationalism and feminism in the 19th and early 20th centuries. According to Zhurzhenko (2011), "the struggle for national liberation and participation in nation-building became for them [Ukrainian women] a school of social and political activity, and participating in women's organizations provided them with the experience necessary for political struggle" (139). She argues that nation-building in the Western countries had finished much earlier and without wide women's participation; therefore, feminism in these countries is often more critical to the nation-state. But in Eastern Europe liberating women and gender equality have for a long time been part of the national liberation movement.

During and after 2014, when many people felt that the Ukrainian nation and sovereignty were again under threat, the question of feminism and nationalism in Ukraine came to the forefront of Ukrainian feminist discussions. As in the example of Zhinocha Sotnia and Invisible Battalion, many women tend to combine the two identities – those of a nationalist and of a feminist. Here and further in the text I use the word "nationalist" or "Ukrainian nationalist" to mean a person who is a proud Ukrainian, believes in the importance of Ukrainian sovereignty and defending Ukraine from Russian aggression. Recognizing the possible negative connotations of the word, I would like to point out that I do not refer to right-wing nationalists when I use the term "nationalist" in this thesis. While there are women in Ukraine who consider

themselves feminists and nationalists (they feel strongly about their national identity and about Ukraine's sovereignty), women who associate themselves with right-wing nationalism in Ukraine are usually in staunch opposition to feminism and most of the values it stands for.[9]

The position of the women who combine the two identities of a feminist and a "proud Ukrainian" represents what Zhurzhenko (2008) calls "national feminism". This position can be illustrated by the following comment on the Facebook page of Feminism UA, quoted by Mayerchyk & Plakhotnik (2021): "We are a postcolonial state, a postcolonial nation, so we can't escape nationalism. …It is not nationalism but Bolshevik imperialism that has led Ukrainian feminism to a dead end and has strangled both feminism and nationalism. That is why we should not reject nationalism but claim it back. We must take it back from the right-wing radical and re-appropriate it. I propose a slogan for the next rally: 'Feminism is the Ukrainian national idea'."

As mentioned earlier, the differences in opinions about nationalism and the possibility of feminists to be nationalists are often due to different cultural and historical backgrounds of different countries – for example, Western countries and Eastern European countries. However, Ukrainian researchers also have disagreements on this issue.

Following Hesford (2008), Plakhotnyk & Mayerchyk (2019) identify two types of feminisms in Ukraine – those that belong to the "time of nation", and those that belong to "feminist time". The former fights for women getting equal rights with the ruling group – men. They thus aim to be represented in the governing (and intrinsically patriarchal) institutions rather than criticize them. The latter, on the other hand, is about fighting and rejecting these patriarchal institutions, or learning how to live outside them. They argue that it is these patriarchal institutions that promote the 'progress' and 'modernization' which lead to environmental destruction, attacking other countries (and hold armies in general), wiping out cultures, etc. (Plakhotnyk & Mayerchyk, 2019). Plakhotnik and Mayerchyk criticize the spread of Ukrainian "national feminism" as sliding back from previously more progressive feminist narrative, even though previously the movement was less visible and smaller in numbers.

[9] It should, however, be noted that during the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 the lines between right-wing nationalism and other types of nationalisms have sometimes been blurred and right wing nationalist narratives and symbols have been widely used. They were also used by some women who were fighting for their visible roles in the Revolution outside of its kitchens.

The Ukrainian feminist organizations that, according to Plakhotnik and Mayerchyk, belong to the abovementioned "feminist time", are mostly grassroot, non-institutionalized organizations that do not cooperate with the government and do not use foreign grant money to organize their activities. These organizations include Feminist Ofenzyva (now closed), FRAU, ReSew – Sewing Cooperative, ZBOKU Art, Queer Anarcho-Feminism group and Rytmy Sprotyvu (Kis, 2019; Plakhotnik & Mayerchyk, 2019). Many of these organizations criticize the Western grant economy and professionalization (NGOization) of feminist movements in Ukraine, because "the structure of Western aid forces NGOs to prioritize the neoliberal project […], often at the price of more subversive and critical ideas" (Plakhotnik & Mayerchyk, 2020). These NGOs "encourage social movements to model themselves after capitalist structures rather than to challenge them" (Mayerchyk, 2020).

In 2018, professional feminist NGOs were criticized by non-institutionalized organizations for dictating their agenda for the 2018 International Women's Day (the 8th of March) feminist march. This event sparked discussions in the Ukrainian feminist community that year. According to Queer Anarcho-Feminist group, the 2018 march in Kyiv "sought to support "white" Women's March in the United States in 2017[10], criticized by non-white women and transgender people for lack of inclusiveness" (Queer Anarcho-Feminism, 2018; Popova, 2019, 85). According to several non-institutionalized grassroot organizations, the idea to support the US Women's March had been brought up earlier in 2017 and was turned down, as it was deemed colonial by many non-institutionalized grassroot organizations. According to them, Ukrainian women often support First World women's initiatives, while women from the First World never showed similar solidarity with Ukrainian women or women from other developing countries (Popova, 2019). Activists from these organizations also argued that because of their disagreement with professional feminist NGOs in 2017, the latter excluded non-institutionalized grassroot organizations from organizing the women's march in Kyiv in 2018.[11] Another reason for criticism of the 2018 International Women's Day march in Kyiv was the change of the official name of the march from "feminist" to "women's" – a strategic measure supposed to make the march more large-

[10] The protest after the inauguration of President Donald Trump due to his statements offending women. The protest was held mostly in the US, but also in other places all over the world. There were similar protests held annually after 2017.

[11] Previously any organization could join the organizing comittee of the International Women's Day march in Kyiv.

scale by attracting more participants, but also seen to be a step back. Furthermore, the march was criticized for lack of inclusivity and discrimination of certain groups of women based on their race, social class, ethnicity and gender identity (Popova, 2019; Plakhotnik & Mayerchyk, 2020; Queer Anarcho-Feminism, 2018, Rytmy Sprotyvu, 2018).

Professional nonprofit neoliberal feminist organizations are the biggest group among modern feminist organizations in Ukraine. While working with different issues, they are all united in their cooperation with international organizations and governments – both foreign and Ukrainian. Hrycak calls these organizations "hybrid", as they are "neither strictly state-run nor based in civil society, neither free market nor state enterprise, neither elite nor grassroot" (Hrycak, 2006). These organizations are criticized for various reasons, mentioned earlier in the thesis: making compromises with the state, with nationalist rhetoric and neoliberalism. On the other hand, they managed to mobilize a large number of Ukrainian people, made the issues of gender inequality more visible in public discussions, as well as normalized the discussion of domestic violence and sexual harassment – an issue previously considered taboo in public discussions.

2.1.3. WID and GAD Approaches in Ukraine from the 1990s to the present

Foreign funding to women`s organizations started in Ukraine when the gender and development (GAD)[12] approach was gaining strength in the 1990s but the women in development (WID) approach was still present. Quoting Rathgeber, "the WID perspective was closely linked with the modernization paradigm that dominated mainstream thinking on international development from the 1950s to 1970s" (Rathgeber, 1990). Modernization was, in its turn, equated with industrialization (Rathgeber, 1990). But the case of post-Soviet countries was quite different: many areas of the former USSR were well developed and "had a potential comparable to if not exceeding that of the US, especially in the area of military, nuclear and space technologies" (Pishchikova, 2006). Furthermore, there was also a developed subsidized welfare system and very high education rates (Pishchikova, 2006). The economic

[12] The GAD approach appeared in 1980s as a response to criticism of WID approach. GAD incorporates some ideas of socialist feminism, it also takes into consideration all aspects of women's lives, including both productive and reproductive labour. This approach questions the underlying reasons for women's inferior position in the society – it understands these problems in terms of social construction of gender and includes men in the narrative (Rathgeber, 1990).

situation worsened and was very volatile with the collapse of the USSR, which influenced men and especially women. But there was a potential to stabilize it. Therefore, the main goal was not to "develop" Ukraine and its women, but rather to influence the direction of change towards the democratic and largely neoliberal path. The way to do that was by creating a civil society in Ukraine. In other words, if the traditional WID approach uses women in developing countries as a tool for economic development, foreign donors in Ukraine saw women as a tool for (liberal) democratization and neoliberal economic reform.

The discourse of certain foreign-funded campaigns and organizations, for example, USAID's Anti-Trafficking Initiative in the late 1990s and early 2000s, added to the idea of women as a target group. This approach acknowledged that women were comparatively disadvantaged during the Ukraine`s transition period from a centralized to a market economy after gaining independence. But instead of helping to change the external conditions that caused their disadvantage, women were targeted to change. According to this approach, women "are treated unfairly because they do not believe in their own powers and have internalized the status of being oppressed" (Pishchikova, 2006, 139).

Currently, most of the foreign-funded initiatives have very clear features of the GAD approach both in their language and the programming. The term "gender" is widely used, though, despite the active interaction and cooperation of the nonprofit sphere with the government, the latter is still reluctant to accept the term. Many organizations emphasize the need to change the stereotypes about genders and the social roles of men and women in Ukraine. Thus, there has been a shift in the discourse about domestic violence from speaking solely about shelters for women and about working with women who suffered from violence to targeting toxic masculinity and changing men`s behaviours.

Some intersectional aspects associated with the GAD approach are still not highly visible: race, age and sexuality (the latter has been increasingly visible in recent years, although still largely contested by the larger public). The critique by some radical grassroot organizations, such as Rytmy Sprotyvu, in opposition to the professional funded NGOs, plays an important role in creating new discussions and introducing new subjects in the Ukrainian feminist movements` discourse.

There are some recurring themes that keep shaping Ukrainian feminism throughout the decades and even centuries, up to the present. At the outset, feminism

in Ukraine developed in hand with the nationalist movement. This trend faded away during some years but keeps coming back during the periods of crisis in the country. It is especially visible now. Secondly, traditionalist women`s movements have been present most of the time with an increased visibility during the beginning of the 90s. In the years of the Ukrainian independence, a strong influence on the Ukrainian feminist movement belonged to donors that came with WID and GAD approach.

2.2. The Second World and Ukraine from the Perspective of Postcolonial Feminism

In this section I will discuss developing countries of the former USSR and other developing countries, formerly referred to as the "Second World" (Russia and the former Soviet republics) and "Third World". Although these terms are now widely considered to be obsolete and inappropriate and their use is discouraged, I will use them to underline the postcolonial status of these countries.

Postcolonial feminist approaches have so far not been widely used in research by and about Second World women and their feminisms. According to Grabowska (2012), who argues in favour of using postcolonial feminism in the Second World and establishing solidarity with Third World women, post-Soviet feminists found it difficult to identify with the struggles of women outside the former Soviet block, as the former didn`t face the same problems, for example, access to education and illiteracy. This inability to relate to and find solidarity with Third World women "hindered the ability to conceptualize the experience of the second world in terms of postcoloniality" (Grabowska, 2012, p. 403).

Another factor that should be mentioned before going deeper into the postcolonial feminist critique of Western feminists` interventions in the Second World, is the postcolonial status of the Second World and of Ukraine specifically. First of all, the formal colonial status of Ukraine and the Second World is disputed, as they were missing an overseas aspect of a colony (Grabowska, 2012). Ukraine was rather seen as an internal part (a status very much challenged by Ukrainians throughout the centuries) of different empires during different times in history: the Russian empire, the USSR, and the Austro-Hungarian empire. It should be noted that despite this vagueness in terms, the Second World does share some of the features of former colonies.

Secondly, and most importantly for this research, the imperialism that Ukraine suffered throughout history mostly did not come from the West, but from the East,

represented by different Russian imperial projects. Therefore, after Ukraine finally achieved its independence, among the geopolitical projects – the USSR and the EU ("the West") (Gerasimov and Mogilner, 2015) – most Ukrainians have chosen to follow the latter. Since the collapse of the USSR, there has been a strong opposition between "the West" and "sovok[13]", the Soviet legacy. While the latter is seen as something that should be overcome, "the West" is widely idealized and seen as an example to follow. Quoting Pishchikova (2006, 191), "the concept of sovok serves as a kind of a contrast space: since its rejection is widely perceived as necessary, the new alternative embodied in the concept of the "West" is legitimized. In other words, it helps naturalize the idea of learning from the "West" (Pishchikova, 2006, 191). Unfortunately, a third way that is uniquely Ukrainian is rarely brought up or seen as an alternative. I believe that using postcolonial feminist theory in the context of Ukraine can help to provide space for discussing what Ukraine and Ukrainian feminisms need instead of relying on the goals and concepts brought from outside.

As Grabowska (2012) argues, despite differences, Second and Third World women have many commonalities, such as "the complex trajectories of feminisms within anti-imperialist movements, uneasy relations with nationalisms and religious fundamentalisms, the experience of racism, the continuing struggles to negotiate a feminist relationship with local narratives of motherland, and a transnational positionality vis-a`-vis the West" (406). At the same time, it is important to understand that Second World and Ukraine have their own specific historical, political and cultural context, to which postcolonial feminist narratives should be adapted in order to be meaningful for Ukrainian women.

Feminist scholarship on Ukraine and other post-Soviet countries includes several major themes in its critique of Western feminist approaches in the Second World. First of all, some authors criticize the use of the concept of waves to speak about feminist history (Solovey, 2018; Grabowska, 2012; Dean and Aune, 2015; Graff, 2003). They argue that the concept of the waves neglects many feminisms which developed along a different timeline. This concept creates an image of Second World feminisms "catching up" with Western feminism (Grabowska, 2012), because the Second World missed on the latest feminist developments while being behind the iron curtain. This implies that

[13] Sovok – a slang word, which means the Soviet legacy. It is used widely in Ukraine, as well as some other post-Soviet countries and literally means "dustpan".

the Second World in its development, feminist movement and gender relations should follow the same trajectory as the West and Western feminism. Pishchikova (2006) in her book about the early USAID feminist development aid in Ukraine argues that USAID conveyed the narrative of "catching up" in its projects on multiple levels. For example, one of the early projects was called "East Joins West for Change". This name implies intrinsically different roles of West and East: West as progressive and an example for the younger sister – East – to follow.

In this regard, Grabowska (2012) rightly points out that Western feminists largely neglected the fact that many "socialist states were more "advanced" in terms of women`s employment rates and social security" (Grabowska, 2012, p. 391). This leads to another critique, especially pronounced in the articles by Ghodsee, about Western feminism turning a blind eye on achievements in providing rights and services to women (despite all its important limitations) during the Soviet times (Ghodsee, 2003; Grabowska, 2012; Gregor and Grzebalska, 2016). For example, Ghodsee argues that while the social goods (for example, electricity, health care, etc.) were seen as "needs" in the First and Third World, in the Second World they were seen as rights, because the government used to be responsible for providing them, legitimizing their rule. For this reason, self-help projects (microcredit, entrepreneurship programs), and WID/GAD approaches in general, did not work well in the Second World. Furthermore, Ghodsee (2003) argues WID and GAD in practice "promote women`s integration into the capitalist system, and actively discourage the creation of a more socialistic, welfare state closer to the Scandinavian model" (31).

Similarly, Gregor and Grzebalska argue that "… post-1989 feminist movements in East-Central Europe were largely founded on the negation of the previous socio-economic system, and treated the period of state socialism as an aberration" (2016, 13). The academic debate between Nanette Funk and Kristen Ghodsee is very representative of this ongoing discussion. While Ghodsee argues for acknowledgment of the contributions of state socialism in women`s improved position in the society, Nanette Funk`s critiques state-socialist women`s organizations and policies, as they "both were and were not agents on behalf of women, and also prevented women's agency" (Funk, 2014, 344). Furthermore, she emphasizes that approaches to women`s questions in the USSR differed significantly throughout its history, and, even when they were most favourable to women, women`s agency was reactive, rather than proactive due to the decisive role of the communist government in all questions relating women (Funk,

2014). Nevertheless, Funk also admits some achievements of state socialism for women, like daycare, employment, education, and maternity benefits, although these achievements are also deemed as just a step for the greater goal of socialism, not social justice and equity for women per se. Funk believes that the reason for idealizing socialism among some scholars lies partly in economic, employment crises, corruption, feeling of powerlessness and disappointment, which followed newly introduced neoliberal policies in the early 90s in post-Soviet countries, combined with generation change (Funk, 2014).

There is a common critique that the main goal of the Western aid (including feminist aid) in Ukraine and other post-Soviet countries was to prevent the region from falling back into the socialist path (Pishchikova, 2006; Ghodsee, 2003). Thus, feminist aid from Western countries, especially from the US via USAID and numerous subcontractors, was part of the greater effort to establish liberal democracy and a market economy in the newly emerged space within the borders of the former USSR. While the aid was often part of a greater neoliberal agenda, some authors point out that it hurt the less advantaged, leading to low income women being a "part of the anti-neoliberalism struggle by their sheer effort to make the ends meet for themselves, their partners and families" (Kobová, 2016, 58). The transition to democracy and a free market led some women to become involved in activism on poverty and family issues (Slavova, 2006, 246).

The fact that a predominant majority of women in post-state socialist countries have been involved in paid employment for the most of the 20th century changed the way they saw Western feminism. The best example to illustrate this is Slavova`s critique of applying Betty Friedan`s ideas, expressed in "The Feminine Mystique", to the context of Eastern Europe. Friedan`s ideas were based on the realities of American middle-class women`s lives in mid 20th century, whose identities were shaped by their roles as housewives and who were fighting for the right to work. For women in Ukraine in the early 1990s, on the contrary, being a housewife was a privilege – for several reasons (Slavova, 2006). First of all, it was difficult to provide for a family with only one spouse working. Secondly, throughout the USSR times, being unemployed was looked at unfavourably (Einhorn, 1993). Women were a resource and, as many authors argue, the first reason for providing equal rights to women in the USSR was not as much to emancipate women, but rather to secure a greater working force (Funk, 2014; Slavova, 2006). This argument is similar to the argument critiquing gender equality in

development, as well as gender mainstreaming for treating women and gender equality as a tool for economic development rather than a goal in itself (Plakhotnik, 2019; Parpart, 2014; Cornwall, 2014).

This quote from Slavova`s (2006) article is very illustrative: "… under communism, the majority of East European women were overworked and simultaneously performing the triple role of "mother", "working class hero", and "socialist citizen." We should also keep in mind that what Friedan calls an "occupational housewife" was a phenomenon that did not exist under communism and is only now emerging during Eastern Europe's transition to capitalism. Thus, we as East European women have had a different sense of women's identity, as relatively financially independent of the husband figure but closely related to the communist state." (248-249). Thus, she argues that the common oppressor in the USSR was not the male population, but the state – for both men and women. Therefore, although women in the USSR had "relative financial independence from marital structures", Slavova argues against calling it "emancipation" (Slavova, 2006, 254).

Logically following this idea is another special feature of gender relations in the post-USSR world. Similar to women in many Third World countries, women in post-state socialist countries did not see men as their enemies. "Both see men more as "comrades in struggle" than Western feminists" (Slavova, 2006, 255). This has to do with the histories of respective countries, during which women alongside men fought against their common enemies: imperialism, authoritarian regimes, etc. (Slavova, 2006. Pishchikova, 2006). A similar idea has also been expressed by some Black feminists: "While there are White women activists who may experience family primarily as an oppressive institution, many Black women find the family the least oppressive institution. Despite sexism, in the context of the family, we may experience dignity, self-worth, and a humanization that is not experienced in the outside world wherein we confront all forms of oppression" (hooks, 1984, 37).

Similarly, many scholars argue that the Western feminist slogan "the personal is political" has been foreign to Eastern European women. The sphere of personal and private has been long valued by women precisely because it was private and free from government intrusion. Any activism outside of the Communist party was disapproved and even criminalized (Pishchikova, 2006). The private sphere, therefore, provided space for autonomy and "the locus of anti-politics", where "study courses, poetry readings or clandestine political gatherings" happened (Einhorn, 1993, 6; Snitow, 1993).

It is also important to point out disillusionment in politics among Second World women, which has lasted since the collapse of the USSR to now. Due to the communist system and corruption and bureaucracy since the dissolution of the USSR, organizing and activism have not been seen by many Eastern European women as a viable solution to their problems. Cerwonka argues that this "apathy towards politics" and lack of women`s activism in Western feminist`s understanding (who in the post-USSR decade labelled Eastern European women`s activism as "nonexistent") were in fact a rejection of "illegitimate political systems in Eastern Europe" (Cerwonka, 2008, 812). Similar ideas were expressed by other authors, such as Siklova (1993) and Snitow (1993).

According to Snitow, due to Eastern European women "clinging to informal but reliable networks, a resistance to the discredited word "organize", many of the calls to action of U.S. feminism ring hollow in the East, they sound naïve, childish, idealistic, rhetorical — not resonant or possible" (Snitow, 1993, 195). Furthermore, some authors argue that in the countries with already painful national, ethnic identity struggles, identity politics might not be the most effective way for women to fight for their rights (Snitow, 1993; Funk, 2006).

All these differences and specificities in the realities of post-USSR women led to their being misunderstood by the incoming Western feminist aid professionals: the local women`s agency (whether in countering the state within the private sphere or in acting within the communist state policies and using state-designated resources to improve women`s lives – "reactive agency" using Funk`s (2014) wording) was largely invisible in the narratives of Western scholarship and feminist aid" (Grabowska, 2012; Watson 1993a, 1993c; Einhorn and Sever 2003). Eastern European societies were seen by Western feminists as conservative and underdeveloped, making some Eastern European scholars argue about the imperialist nature of Western feminist aid, questioning Eastern European agency instead of questioning the applicability of its theories in the region (Cerwonka, 2008; Havelkova, 1996).

Pishchikova points out that according to some accounts in the 1990s of Ukrainian women organizations` workers, "some Ukrainians felt that the line between sharing knowledge and being arrogant and disrespectful had been crossed by some of their American colleagues. They were very sensitive to being intentionally kept in a position of less qualified little sisters" (Pishchikova, 2006, p. 120). She provides this quote from the interview with one of the women: "If we did not know something, this did not mean that we would never learn. It also did not mean that we were incapable of understanding

that, even though our colleagues declared that they were listening to us, in practice they were not. I personally felt as if I had been exchanging one yoke for another. And this was not what I expected from new initiatives." (quoted in Pishchikova, 2006, 120).

Language and Western feminist terminology is also a rather contentious issue in the scholarship about Western feminism in Ukraine and the Second World. Many Western feminist concepts did not exist in the Ukrainian language prior to the arrival of international aid programs. Initially, they caused difficulties in mutual understanding between women from the West and their local female counterparts. They also posed the issue of proper translation. Some words were left in their original English version, for example, "gender" and "advocacy", while others were translated by terms which remained vague and unclear: "empowerment" – "upovnovazhennia", or "sustainable development" – "stalyi rozvytok". According to Pishchikova, some Ukrainian women activists and women`s NGO workers found it important to have terms for concepts used in the feminist assistance, even if there were no ready-to-use equivalents in the local language, "because sharing a term creates an entry point for models and procedures" (Pishchikova, 2006). The response of one of Pishchikova`s (2006) interviewees` illustrates this well: "we don't know the term advocacy but we are doing it [...]; the term is important because if people give a name to what they do, they start doing it differently, they use different tools" (118). Moreover, knowledge of Western terminology was viewed by other women as an important prerequisite, without which professionalism was impossible.

Some of the problems with the terminology is that while most Ukrainian women working with issues of gender equality mastered the terminology very well, its usage is still very much limited to a rather narrow circle of women`s NGO workers and feminist activists. In this way it widens the divide between women in Ukraine, reiterating the ideas expressed by postcolonial feminists: the power divide can exist not only between Western and non-Western women and feminists, but also between women in one country, depending on their race, social class, financial situation, etc. (Mohanty, 1988; Cerwonka, 2008). Specifically, Cerwonka (2008) argues that women from the intellectual elite of a certain postsocialist country can be closer to women of France than to women of a neighbouring postsocialist country or even to women of a lower class in their own country.

Furthermore, Slavova argues that some concepts, like "equality" and "emancipation", were "seen as empty and corrupted slogans" (Slavova, 2006, 258),

creating an ironic situation, in which during communist times feminism was seen as a bourgeois ideology, while currently it is frowned upon due to its association with leftist ideology.

There is also research which focuses on internalized colonialism. For example, based on interviews with women activists, Solovey (2018) shows that in many Eastern European women`s understanding there is a clear dichotomy between the West and the East. The West represents everything that is good and progressive, or "the norm", while the East is characterized as "deviation from the norm" (2018). The discourse of "lagging behind" – a tool of cultural hegemony – sees feminism as a part of the Western value system, a system that should be followed by the East. A very interesting critique the author provides based on one of the interviews is about the need to refer to the major works in feminist theory (often Western). Here we come back to the idea expressed by Slavova (2006) about American housewives, on whose experience some classical feminist works are based, and who are absolutely unrelatable for women in the Eastern Europe. Instead, the interviewee cited by Solovey argues for the need to focus on the problems that women are "facing here and now" (cited in Solovey, 2018).

In this section I have outlined major postcolonial critiques of Western feminist theory as it is applied in the Second World. Of course, it can be argued that many authors referred to here wrote about the situation right after the collapse of the USSR. Indeed, while some issues like terminology persist, much has changed since the 1990s and early 2000s. Most importantly, there is now a new generation of adult women who grew up in independent Ukraine and do not have experience of life under the Soviet regime, or during the hard times of the 1990s.

Furthermore, both international feminist aid and internal Ukrainian realities have changed. According to Pishchikova, already in the 2000s the number and quality of proposals by Ukrainian women`s organizations for donor grants have decreased, showing withdrawal from assistance aid and anticipated greater sustainability of the Ukrainian women`s and gender equality movement. She argues that this "might push the donors to compete for good local partners and therefore, to come up with grant programs that are more relevant and better tailored to local needs and practices" (Pishchikova, 2006, p. 70).

2.3. Representation of Women in Developing Countries

2.3.1. Representation of women in Developing Countries by NGOs

The representation of women from developing countries by Western and global NGOs has drawn the attention of researchers for many years. Many of them use a postcolonial gender studies approach to criticize power imbalances and post-colonial imperialism that govern how women are represented (Dogra, 2011; Wilson, 2011; Cronin-Furman et al., 2017; Abraham, 2015).

The messages of Western and global NGOs are most often targeted at people from the global North as potential donors. Being tasked to not only inform, but also evoke emotions that will motivate people to make donations, these representations have been widely criticized for essentialism and leaving the voices of women from the Third World muted. NGO representations are also criticized for oversimplifying and homogenizing women from the global South and representing them as victimized and powerless (Dogra, 2011). In response to these criticisms, representations of women in the global South have pivoted to show women as happy empowered economic actors (Dogra, 2011). However, this approach, despite representing women as empowered, also raised concerns about neglecting the root causes of gender inequality. It has been criticized for overlooking gendered power relations within a society, therefore rendering their efforts short-term and/or ineffective. Furthermore, even seemingly empowered women within this kind of representation are still being exoticized and often invoke colonial reminiscences (Dogra, 2011; Wilson, 2011; Cronin-Furman et al., 2017).

There has been a widespread trend towards instrumental approaches to women's empowerment, which represent women in the developing countries as the solution to their community's/country's economic development, instead of arguing for gender equality and women empowerment as a goal in itself. (Dogra, 2011; Wilson, 2011). Therefore, NGOs reiterate the rhetoric of investing in a woman/girl, "and she will do the rest" (Nike Foundation as cited in Wilson, 2011, 326). Another important critique is that of the "gendered white savior / brown victim narratives" (Cronin-Furman et al., 2017, 9). This narrative deprives local women of their agency and stresses the immediate relief as opposed to projects that can help to generate long-term benefits for women. As a result, women's issues are depoliticized, "instead of "power", women are given livelihoods. Instead of conscientization about the structures of oppression, skills

training. And instead of agency, the choice between raising chickens or cows." (Cronin-Furman et al., 2017, 11)

It is not rare for NGOs to underline traditionalism and religiousness of women from developing countries "to imply that she is not progressive" (Dogra, 2011, 338). Furthermore, "INGOs' messages contradictorily valorise individual MW[14] women as 'heroines' while keeping their portrayals strictly within what is expected of MW women as a group" (Dogra, 2011). Quantitative analyses of INGO gender representations by different researchers show that men are rarely represented, in some cases accounting for as little as 9% of all people represented in the messages (Dogra, 2011; Wilson, 2011; Cronin-Furman et al., 2017). Women are often shown as ones who "need to be rescued from 'their' men and/or from 'backward' societies" (Wilson, 2011, 317).

2.3.2. Representation of Women in Ukraine

Research on representation of women in Ukraine so far has largely focused on representation of women in mass media, including in news, TV and printed advertisements and contemporary literature.

How women are represented in the Ukrainian media is connected with the types of women's identities common in the Ukrainian society. During the first decade of Ukrainian independence, the dominant female identities included a housewife (Berehynya and Barbie) and entrepreneur (Zhurzhenko, 2001; Kis, 2005). As mentioned earlier, the identity of housewife was "an entirely understandable reaction to the limitations of traditional femininity under the conditions of state socialism, a protest against the imposed official ideology of 'Soviet identity' and the costs of Soviet egalitarianism" (Zhurzhenko, 2001, 40). While this new identity was common for all post-Soviet states, in Ukraine it was different in the way it "reflects the revival of traditional values […] and their mythologization in the interests of the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood" (Zhurzhenko, 2001, 40). The myth of Ukrainian matriarchy appears at this time, which argues that in the past women "traditionally played socially recognized and valued economic and social roles and enjoyed 'equality in difference' " (Rubchak, 1996: 315–16; Zhurzhenko, 2001, 40). This part of the housewife identity is

[14] Majority World (MW) – a term that refers to developing countries, alternative to the term "Third World countries". It inderlines the fact that developing countries comprise the majority of the world, while developed countries – the minority.

often referred to as “Berehynya”. Along with Berehynya, under the influence of western lifestyles and mass consumption, there appeared an identity of a “Barbie” – “beautiful and sexy, provided with a proper entourage and attributes, […] designed to be a pleasant man’s toy” (Kis, 2005, 119).

Accordingly, women often appeared in mainstream media and press as a decoration, dependent on men’s status (Marushevska & Sharova, 2001). In television news “90% of those shown in home milieux are women, while 98% of those shown in the political sphere are men” (Kis, 2005, 121). In visual advertisement women’s bodies often become “object of the aesthetic evaluation” (Kis, 2005, 122). Men in the Ukrainian advertisements have often been characterized by “competency, rationality, activeness, authoritativeness”, while women – by being overly emotional, passive, taking special care of their appearance, having social and communication skills (Martseniuk & Rozhdestvenska, 2009, 87). Men in advertisements tend to reject the so-called “feminine traits”. There has also been a clear divide of gender roles in the advertisements. Women are usually shown as mothers and housewives, their professional roles outside the private sphere are downplayed. Men, on the other hand, are mostly shown in professional sphere, but not in private (Martseniuk & Rozhdestvenska, 2009).

The female entrepreneur identity did not free women from traditional female role expectations. While it “fulfils the function of legitimization of the new market order” (Zhurzhenko, 2001, 42), female entrepreneurs were expected to have a special “moral” function, as the objective of their entrepreneurship is benevolence. This, according to Zhurzhenko, has “thrust female entrepreneurs into marginal, low-income niches” (Zhurzhenko, 2001, 42).

More recent articles have documented new emerging female identities such as the woman-professional, strong woman (feminist), and woman intellectual (Kolpak, 2015). Philonenko suggests the following contemporary identities: Berehynya, Barbie, superwoman, cosmo-woman, feminist, military woman (Philonenko, 2015). Martseniuk points out that the media sphere in Ukraine lacks the positive female role models, for example, those of a businesswoman, activist or feminist. Those positive images that are present in the media sphere still often link women to their decorative or motherly function, or otherwise connect women to the private sphere. As Martseniuk points out, the identities of a mother or a beautiful woman are not necessarily bad, but they should not be the only available options for women (Martseniuk, 2015).

2.4. Gaps in Literature

Research on representations of women and gender in Ukraine has mostly focused on the mass media. There has been some research on women's and gender campaigns in Ukraine such as #IAmNotAfraidToSay (Martseniuk & Phillips, 2020). There are also studies about Ukrainian and foreign NGOs in Ukraine which work with women's and gender equality issues. Some of these studies provide fragmentary information about how these organizations represent women and gender. Earlier in this thesis I discussed some examples: analysis of project names like "East Joins West for Change" (Pishchikova, 2006), critique of the concept of waves of feminism (Grabowska, 2012; Plakhotnik & Mayerchyk, 2019), usage of foreign terminology (Pishchikova, 2006), and patriotic narratives in Ukrainian feminism (Zhurzhenko, 2011). However, there has been no comprehensive research focused on representations specifically. This thesis aims to contribute to filling in this gap by analyzing representations by 5 feminist NGOs in Ukraine which have some of the biggest audiences on social media among other similar NGOs.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will define and explain the theoretical framework, which informs the direction of this research analysis. The major theoretical approaches that I am using in the research are representation theory and postcolonial feminism. I explain why the way people, objects and events are represented is important and how these representations are enmeshed in power relationships. I also address the question of power relations among women from the perspective of postcolonial feminism.

3.1. Representation Theory

According to Stuart Hall, "representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (2013). Representation is often seen as grounded in the theoretical framework of social constructionism, which argues that things exist subjectively in our thinking. Thus representation is shaped by human thinking, but at the same time, human thinking is also influenced by various representations which inevitably surround us and suggest certain meanings and values for our consumption and adoption.

Representation takes place within a certain discourse, which influences how things are being represented. Discourse in this study is used in the meaning in which it is used by Foucault – as a system of representation (Hall, 2013), or as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall, 1992 as cited in Hall, 2013). Representation creates meanings, it is a part of power relations and as such, it influences the allocation of roles in a society (Hall, 2013; Nederveen Pieterse, 1992). Many scholars argue that representations in the media, especially on television, affect the attitudes and behaviour of viewers (Bandura, 1977 in Elasmar et al., 1999) and results in a certain vision of social difference and hierarchy between gender, class, race, etc. (Haraway, 1991; Rose, 2016; Berger, 1972). For example, writing about the genre of female nude painting, Berger argues that "… *men act* and *women appear*. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between women and men but also the relation of women to themselves" (Berger, 1972, 47; Rose, 2016). Although, as Rose (2016) points out, it is also important to remember that audiences do not necessarily respond to representations in the ways that the creators of those representations (or critics of them) imagine. As each member

of an audience has their own mental model, they will construct meaning based on these models – "mental models serve as the framework into which people fit new information" (Shome & Marx, 2009, 3). When interpreting a message, "people often refer to known related phenomena and associations from their past" or "seek out or absorb only the information that matches their mental model, confirming what they already believe about an issue" (Shome & Marx, 2009, 3). Furthermore, language stores "all sorts of older meanings which pre-date us" and which make it impossible to "cleanse language completely" (Hall, 1997, 33). This causes imprecision in language. Consequently, the meaning constructed by audiences "is never exactly the meaning which has been given by the speaker or writer or by other viewers" (Hall, 1997, 33). This means that audiences of representations are as important as their producers in the process of constructing meaning.

Hall`s encoding/decoding model explains how media messages are produced, interpreted and circulated. Media message (or message-form) is a "sign-vehicle […] of a specific kind organized […] through the operation of codes, within the syntagmatic chains of discourse" (Hall, 1973). When media producers create a message, they encode a certain meaning, informed by their knowledge, "technical skills, professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions, assumptions about the audience" and put it into a verbal or visual message-form (Hall, 1973). The audience receives the message and decodes it based on their own knowledge, ideologies and definitions. If the message is interpreted in the intended way, communication is considered successful from the perspective of the message creator. But the knowledge frameworks of the audience are not always identical to those of the media producers. Therefore, the meanings that the audience generates after interpreting the message-form are not always identical to the meanings that the producers intended to deliver, resulting in 'distortion' or 'misunderstanding'.

In this perspective, the emergence and popularity of social media have been a breakthrough. Social media have brought message producers closer to their audience. The former can target and cater to a very specific audience. Furthermore, they can receive direct feedback from the audience, in this way having an instrument to minimize misunderstandings with the audience. Although it should be noted that the capacity to use social media in such nuanced and interactive way is rare. Many organizations still use social media as a one-way projection of information and do not have the time, knowledge, or resources to tailor different messages to different audiences.

It is important to recognize that the producers of knowledge do not create their messages in a vacuum of their own knowledge, but instead draw ideas from wider systems, including from the feedback they receive from the audience. Audiences, in turn, are both the receivers and co-creators of media messages (Hall, 1973). In this study I will use this framework to understand the relations between NGOs' messages about gender and their audiences. I assume that the system of knowledge that shapes the message-forms of the NGOs` communication in social media is different from the system of knowledge of the people whose stereotypes about gender relations these NGOs are trying to dismantle. Especially considering that most feminists and people who have progressive views on gender equality (and who are normally the authors of the NGOs` messages) mostly belong to better educated, relatively wealthy groups of people in Ukraine, which creates an even greater gap in the knowledge between message producers and a big part of the intended audience.

Hall uses the following methods to derive knowledge about the values base of media producers regarding 'others': analyzing the connection between images (or objects) and text which accompanies them, analyzing the positioning of people or objects on the image in regard to each other and to the viewer, interpreting absence as well as presence in the image or text, examining the roles ascribed to people in the image, examining facial expressions and emotions and the appearance of the people, analyzing words and stylistics used to refer to certain people, objects or events (Hall et al., 2013).

Among other things, representation creates meanings of gender and influences gender roles. In feminist theory, gender is usually seen as a construct within a history, culture and material practices (Butler, 1999; Haraway, 1988). Media is now an important part of modern culture and contains many images of and messages about gender. An array of scholarly works based on US and Western European media analyze the perpetuation of power and social inequalities between men and women in media representations, especially sexist images that contribute to the commodification of women, in both the past and present (Gauntlett, 2004; Gill, 2007; Brooks & Hébert, 2007).

Researchers have exposed problems such as a disparity in the number of men and women appearing in the media (especially in the past) and gender disparities between different types of media (Gauntlett, 2004). Researchers also argue that women tend to be depicted in passive roles as opposed to men who are shown as active and assertive.

In this way, women are often subordinated and shown in traditionally feminine roles. Furthermore, women in the media are often sexualized and commodified (Gauntlett, 2004; Collins, 2011). Although the studies show that the situation improves as increasing numbers of women are being represented in media and more and more of them are shown to be working and outside of the domestic sphere (Gauntlett, 2004; Elasmar et al., 1999), the problem still persists (Collins, 2011).

In this research, following Hall's representation framework, I will analyze who is represented by women's and feminist NGOs in Ukraine, how they are represented and what kind of terminology is being used to represent them. For example, I will analyze the roles in which people appear in the images, especially in connection to their gender. In the analysis, I will also pay attention to the angle of the view – whether the viewer looks upward, downward or is at the same level with the subject of the image, as this can tell about the positions of domination between the viewer and the subject (Hall, 1997, 100). I will also take into consideration historical and cultural backgrounds when analyzing certain representations – where it is applicable.

3.2. Postcolonial Feminism

Postcolonial feminism emerged in the 1980s as a response to the widely accepted notion that the Western feminist movement was universal and that the Western feminist project and its standards of what it means to be an empowered woman could be applied around the globe (McEwan, 2011). When combined with international development projects, this notion resulted in the Women and Development (WID) approach, inspired by Esther Boserup`s seminal book "Women's Role in Economic Development" (Corner, 2008; Blin, 2008). Grounded in traditional modernization theory, the approach was criticized for accepting existing social structures, ignoring local context-specific needs and root causes of Third World women`s problems and introducing income-generating activities for women as a 'silver bullet' solution for all their problems (Rathgeber, 1990).

There are a few major ideas central to postcolonial feminism. First of all, it argues that Western feminists tend to objectify Third World women by seeing them as passive and voiceless victims of men, culture, religion and other factors and by denying them their own agency. Secondly, it argues that Western feminism is often reluctant to take into consideration important cultural and socio-economic aspects of women`s lives in developing countries and homogenizes them irrespective of differences in their location,

race, religion, class or sexual orientation (Mohanty, 1988; McEwan, 2011). While we see feminism as "an alternative rationality to the polarizing, abstract and destructive rationality of the patriarchal world" (Benton and Craib, 2010), Western feminism is sometimes polarizing and abstracting women in the developing South. This leads to a situation where Western feminists "discursively colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world" (Mohanty, 1988, 62; Lorde, 1984). Thirdly, postcolonial feminists emphasize the issue of power between Western women and Third World women and argue for the need to be self-conscious of own position of power (Spivak, 1990; Mohanty, 1988). This can be applied when speaking about the power divide between both Western and Third World women, and between women belonging to different class or race categories within one country or region (Mohanty, 1988).

Importantly, postcolonial feminists also argue for more visibility and space for non-Western feminisms. Some specific questions in which they disagree with Western feminists are showing men as "the primary source of oppression" (McEwan, 2011, 98), critique of the separation between the public and private spheres as a way for men to impose the private sphere on women (whereas some non-Western feminists argue that private sphere should not be looked down at, as it has important social impacts and can be chosen by women voluntarily). Furthermore, postcolonial feminists believe that women in Third World countries have more pressing issues, such as economic exploitation, political oppression and meeting basic needs. For this reason, problems of sexual politics and gender oppression in the form in which they are voiced by Western feminists are not relevant for them (McEwan, 2011, 98). These problems are manifested in different ways for women from developing countries and should be understood in the context of other forms of oppression and marginalization, as well as in the specific historical and cultural contexts.

Postcolonial feminism criticizes the saviour narrative of Western feminism with its goal of "saving backwards nations and their women" (Tlostanova et al., 2019, 84; Cronin-Furman et al., 2017). It seeks to understand the legacies and ongoing effects that colonialism has on women. Postcolonial feminists pay attention to "building of knowledge, not outside human experience and not by presenting the problem outside the context, but through a never-ending process of learning, unlearning and relearning, humbly listening to others and entering their worlds with a loving rather than agonistic perception" (Lugones, 2003, 96; Tlostanova et al., 2019, 85). In other words, they aim

to understand the lived experiences of women through non-Eurocentric experience and make "a shift from the subject-object division to a subject-subject type of learning and understanding" (Tlostanova et al., 2019, 85), which the Western feminist saviour narrative suggests.

3.3. Representations, postcolonial feminism and power relations

In the previous sections I provided a short introduction to representation and postcolonial feminist theory. In this section I will explain how these two theoretical frameworks can be combined.

The most significant aspect that representation theory and postcolonial feminism share in common is the question of the role of power in knowledge construction. Foucault argues that knowledge is a form of power. According to him, there is no true knowledge, but knowledge can be made true, resulting in what Foucault calls a "regime of truth". "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true" (Foucault, 1980, 131). Discourse, in its turn, determines the ways in which we talk about the topic (Hall, 2013, 98), or, most important for us in this study – the way the topic is represented.

Postcolonial feminists argue for self-consciousness in terms of power privileges within feminist scholarship and practice. Following Foucault`s understanding, power does not have a single source and direction, instead, it circulates, making all of us enmeshed in power relations, being oppressors and oppressed at the same time (Hall, 2013). Thus, Western feminists are oppressed by the patriarchal system which privileges men at the same time as they can be acting in a paternalistic and authoritative manner in respect to women in the developing countries. The best example to illustrate this is scholarship about representations of Third World women by Western NGOs, briefly summarized in the previous chapter of this thesis. This scholarship shows how the colonial and Western feminist saviour narrative is reflected in the representations of women and men from developing countries by Western NGOs. In this research, I will pay attention to how the knowledge about Ukrainian women and gender is constructed by Ukrainian women's and feminist NGOs and will aim to analyze the extent to which this knowledge construction is Western-centered or based on lived experiences of Ukrainian women.

Many feminist scholars increasingly use postcolonial feminism to speak about existing realities in the countries of the former USSR (Grabowska, 2012; Cavanagh,

2004; Grzechnik, 2019; Gržinić, Tjaša Kancler and Piro Rexhepi, 2020; Plakhotnyk and Mayerchyk, 2019; Slavova, 2006). However, the dialogue between postcolonial and postsocialist feminisms is not always unproblematic and is in itself a subject of research. Some of the issues include "East European nations' 'unspoken insistence on their whiteness' (Imre, 2005, 82), their hesitation to identify with other colonized subjects (Kelertas, 2006), together with their desire to 'return to Europe' through processes of democratization and Europeanisation (Suchland, 2011)" (Tlostanova et al., 2019, 83). Furthermore, while postcolonial discourses were to a large extent informed by socialist and anti-capitalist thinking, postsocialist discourses "were marked by an almost emotional rejection of everything socialist and a fascination with Western knowledge" (Tlostanova et al., 2019, 83). It is only later that postsocialist scholars and activists started embracing the socialist legacy and postcolonial discourses. Interestingly, this is how Tolstanova et al. (2019) describe their impression after a 2015 conference on postcolonial and postsocialist dialogues:[15] "Through the energy of the conference, we quickly realised that postcolonial scholars, who were mostly from the former colonies of the British Empire, found it difficult to engage with the particularities of postsocialist contexts. Postsocialist scholars, mostly of Eastern European origin, on the contrary, seemed more at ease applying concepts from postcolonial feminism to criticise their subalternisation" (Tlostanova et al., 81).

A lot of academic literature within postcolonial feminism is written by and focuses on women from the Third World. Relationships between the First World and the Third World feminisms are often seen as the core of postcolonial feminist theory. The Second World is still largely absent from postcolonial feminist discussions (Grabowska, 2012). In general, according to Suchland (2015), it is displaced as a "non-region" from the global feminist agenda (Suchland, 2015; Tlostanova et al., 2019). It is argued that postsocialist feminist knowledge is often disregarded within transnational feminism, as "in a situation where the emergence of transnational feminisms is 'deeply indebted to postcolonial studies' (Briggs, 2016, 993), postsocialist feminism does not register as relevant cultural and political knowledge" (Tlostanova et al., 2019, 83).

Currently, there are some Ukrainian scholars and activists who use a postcolonial lens to frame their research or their activities. But because of historical complexities

[15] "Postcolonial and Postsocialist Dialogues: Intersections, Opacities, Challenges in Feminist Theorizing and Practice", organized in 2015 by Tlostanova et al. and funded by Swedish Research Council.

and the double colonial experiences of Ukraine – those connected with Russian imperialism on one hand, and Western on the other – their positions towards certain questions vary. Attitudes towards nationalism and feminism are especially telling. For example, Ukrainian feminist Maria Dmytrieva (who is the creator of the Facebook group Feminism UA, mentioned and cited in the previous chapter) emphasizes that Ukraine is a postcolonial country, understood mostly in terms of its postcolonial position with regards to Russia. Therefore, she and other feminists who take a similar position find the combination of both feminism and Ukrainian nationalism to be quite natural for Ukrainian feminists. On the other hand, there are small grassroot feminist organizations which emphasize Western imperialism and its influence on the Ukrainian feminist movement, especially as it can be seen in the discourse of professional NGOs in Ukraine. They are much more critical about any form of nationalism in Ukraine and especially about efforts to improve the rights of women in the Ukrainian army, seen to be normalizing militarization and patriarchal structures in Ukraine and endorsing them through the increasing participation of women.

I hope this research will contribute to making Second World (and specifically Ukrainian) feminisms more visible, as well as to establishing greater solidarity with other developing countries outside of post-Soviet geographic location. Using a postcolonial feminist lens can help to highlight the importance of local Ukrainian feminisms and reveal the influences of Western feminism on NGO discourses in Ukraine. Combining postcolonial feminist and representation theory approaches can help elicit hidden power structures and shed the light on the 'invisible' issues and groups of women whose rights need to be brought to the forefront.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This study aims to provide a better understanding of current trends in women`s and gender equality organizations in Ukraine through analyzing representations of women and gender on relevant organizations' social media, websites and publications. The study focuses primarily on organizations that receive funding from foreign governments and international NGOs. Foreign funding still plays a very prominent role in Ukraine`s women`s and gender equality movements, and analyzing the communications of these organizations will help to understand how global ideas are transferred to Ukraine and how well they are adjusted to the local context. Equally important, it will help to uncover who and what issues are missing or underrepresented.

In my study I use qualitative methods. I do not use quantitative methods, but the qualitative data gathered through content analysis is "tabulated quantitatively as frequencies of codes" (Bhattacherjee, 2012, 103). This helps to get a deeper understanding of the issues, as the quantitative aspect makes it possible "to gain a picture of broad patterns and phenomena" (Overton & Diermen, 2003, 37), while qualitative methods are used to explain those broad patterns and phenomena and "explore the meanings of people's worlds" (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003, 57). I use content analysis in my research to identify patterns in representations of women and gender by women's and gender equality organizations. I also use discourse analysis to discuss some specific examples of representations and illustrate and explain the patterns identified through content analysis. Furthermore, as part of this research I conduct semi-structured interviews with representatives of women's and gender equality NGOs, as well as experts working for specific campaigns. Information obtained during the interviews helps to learn about considerations behind certain representations. It is also a good way to gain insiders' opinions on the work of the organizations and understand aspects of work within the Ukrainian women's and gender equality movement, which are not visible from representations per se.

4.1. Content and Discourse Analysis

"Content analysis is the systematic analysis of the content of a text (e.g., who says what, to whom, why, and to what extent and with what effect) in a quantitative or qualitative manner" (Bhattacherjee, 2012, 115). For content analysis in this study I have selected five organizations. One of them is a branch of an international NGO in Ukraine,

which implements programs for women and promotes gender equality in Ukraine. Two organizations are Ukrainian NGOs, which receive funding from one or more foreign donors – one implements and supports programs for women in Ukraine and the other focuses on women's rights research and advocacy. The other two organizations have the main goal of educating the public and raising awareness about gender equality through their social media and website, as well as organizing events.

I have used purposeful sampling (Overton & Diermen, 2003, 43) to choose the organizations and platforms to analyze. All the organizations included in the sample work with the issues of women and gender equality. Another important criterion for inclusion in the sample was the number of followers the organizations have on social media. All the five organizations have a big online following (10,000-44,000 followers on Facebook). They are also active on social media (on average they publish 0.5-3 posts on Facebook per day). The reason for using this criterion was to ensure that the organizations included in the sample had a big outreach and a substantial influence on shaping understandings of women's and gender issues by the Ukrainian society.

This approach has certain limitations as it means that smaller grassroot Ukrainian organizations and their visions of gender equality are absent from the analysis. On the other hand, they are much less present in the media sphere (in terms of frequency of posting information online and in terms of people reading and following them); therefore including them in the sample would not be likely to significantly change the results of the analysis. Nevertheless, in order not to leave these organizations totally invisible and in the view of their importance for the Ukrainian women's and gender equality movement, I have included information about these organizations in the literature review section and try to take into account their critique of more mainstream organizations in the analysis of research findings of the thesis.

According to Neuendorf (2011, 280), "in addition to reviewing research literature on the topic of interest, the content analyst should also take a practical approach and seek additional clues from a thorough examination of the pool of messages constituting the defined population." Prior to starting my content analysis, I followed daily updates by target organizations` on social media to identify trends in their communications messages to help choose categories for content analysis.

As part of my content analysis, I first analyze data from social media posts. Secondly, for those social media posts that are linked to articles on the organization's website, I also separately analyze the text from the articles. Furthermore, I analyze text

of the publications by the three organizations (the other two organizations analyzed do not have publications) – up to 5 latest publications. Lastly, I conduct discourse analysis of the website pages, specifically the home page and 'about us' section. The latter can be very telling as it provides information on how the organization understands different concepts, such as gender and gender equality.

In my analysis of social media posts I include both images and text. Depending on the category, I either analyze images and texts separately (for example, gender and identity of the person on the image, or what the person on the image is doing), or, for some categories I look at the images and text combined, analyzing social media posts as a whole (for example, whether the post talks about practical or strategic women`s needs). I use both images and captions to define identity, class and nationality of the people represented in the organizations' social media. As Marsh & White (2003, 27) point out, "Pictures … are used to convey one or more meanings, often in combination with text (Marsh & White, 2003) and, as such, can be subjected to content analysis either by themselves or by looking at the relationships between images and text…". When analyzing emotions of the people in the images, I use Plutchik's wheel of emotions and my own judgement to determine which of the emotions from the Plutchik's wheel is represented in each separate image.

Because of the vast amount of information (several of the organizations publish 3-4 posts a day on their social media, some linked to articles on their websites), I chose two months for analysis: May and September 2020. I intentionally selected months from different seasons, as some organizations focus on different themes at different times of the year. I also chose to omit summer months, as this is when many people take holidays and tend to be in a more relaxed mood, which often leads organizations to intentionally choose more light-hearted topics. In total, I gathered 387 social media posts, with a minimum of 27 posts and maximum of 108 posts per organization and an average of 77.4 posts per organization. Following the social media posts analysis, conducted manually, I used NVivo to analyze the texts of the social media posts, website articles and publications for word frequency. The analysis included 74 articles and 10 publications. When doing word frequency analysis, I excluded the words which do not carry significant meaning in general and specifically for this research. For example, the words I did not include were prepositions, pronouns, common verbs like to be, to have and some other.

Following the content analysis, I conducted a discourse analysis of selected social media posts, website articles, publications and website about us and home pages. "Discourse analysis is … interested in how meaning is formed and interpreted in a particular situation", furthermore, it is a "theory-driven activity" (Gheyle, Jacobs, 2017, 5-6). I use discourse analysis to discuss women's and gender representation patterns found through content analysis in more depth and through specific examples in order to uncover the meanings ascribed to the concepts of women, gender, and women's empowerment. For example, I analyzed the material by asking questions like: Who are the women? What are women's needs? What are Ukrainian women's needs? What roles do men play in women's and gender equality movement in Ukraine?

The categories I chose for my analysis are informed by several distinct groups of academic research. First, I rely on studies about representations by Stuart Hall (2013) and Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1992), as well as on postcolonial feminist studies by Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1984), Nandita Dogra (2007) and Olga Plakhotnik (2019), which highlight power relations within representations. I use the approaches from these studies to define foreign and specifically Ukrainian features of the women's and gender equality movement in Ukraine. Furthermore, I use studies by Eyben et al. (2009), Batliwala (2007) and Cornwall (2014) to identify and explain the global development approaches to dealing with gender and women's issues, which are present in the Ukrainian discourse. These include empowerment and gender mainstreaming.

4.2. Interviews

I conducted 5 interviews with representatives of 3 different organizations in Ukraine. The interviews in this research serve a complementary role rather than being a fully independent part of the research. The information obtained from the interviews provides insights on certain questions, which cannot be answered through analyzing social media, websites and publications content only. For example, interviewees shared their experience of working with foreign donors in Ukraine, and provided their insights on specifics of the Ukrainian feminist movement in view of its relations with the global movement. They also provided information about considerations behind their communications work. As there is currently very little academic literature on these topics, the insights by practitioners from their own experience were very valuable for answering research questions.

I conducted all the interviews using video conferencing software such as Skype and Microsoft Teams. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted for 40-60 minutes. The order, the nature and the formulation of the questions I asked varied slightly in each interview depending on the circumstances of each organization and the background of each interviewee. Also, I adjusted questions to the flow of the interview – if interviewees had interesting insights on a certain question, I tried to follow up with other questions on this topic. Furthermore, the interviewees were able to talk about the things that they themselves found important in their work.

4.3. Research Limitations

The major limitations of this study include a limited sample size as well as a lack of prior studies about gender and women representations in the non-government sector in Ukraine. Furthermore, in order to confront limitations of any single research method, I use both qualitative and quantitative approaches in this study.

The sample size is limited in terms of the organizations I analyze. The chosen five organizations are some of the most followed organizations; however, there are other organizations which take important and distinct positions from the organizations analyzed and have their own way of representing women and gender, even though they have smaller audiences. I could not include them in the sample for this research, but they could be the subject for future studies.

Secondly, there is a limitation in terms of the number of posts, articles and publications that I analyze. Having to choose social media posts for the duration of two months was informed by the time limitation, as analyzing images and texts manually is time-consuming. However, the smaller sample means that it might be less representative of the whole content that the organizations publish. For example, themes of the posts and articles can vary throughout the year, depending on the events happening in the public sphere in Ukraine, current holidays and campaigns. For example, end of November – beginning of December is the time when the campaign "16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence" is held, therefore all the organizations focus on the issues of gender-based violence, even if these issues are not central to their work. Therefore, there is a potential to further develop and improve this research by analyzing a bigger sample and using data analysis tools like big data. In the next research NVivo software could also be used more extensively.

There is a potential to conduct more interviews and receive more insights from communications professionals working with women's and gender equality issues in Ukraine, as the number of interviews in this research is small. The research would benefit from a field trip and personal meetings with the organizations, as well as participating in the offline events conducted by them.

Lack of prior research on the topic with the focus on Ukraine or other postsocialist countries is another problem faced during this research. First of all, I could find no research that analyzed representations of women and gender by NGOs in Ukraine. Furthermore, there is limited research that uses postcolonial approaches to analyze Ukrainian women's and feminist movements. There are a few studies which focus on the postcolonial status of Ukraine and mention some aspects of representations of gender and women's issues by NGOs. However, they do not focus on representations per se and the discussions about representations are quite fragmentary.

Finally, this study mostly uses qualitative research, which is based on interpretative approach thus introducing the possibility of bias. I have taken measures to avoid it as best as possible by choosing the sample by establishing specific criteria for selecting the organizations and posts, articles and publications to analyze. However, there is a greater possibility of bias during the stage of coding – selecting the categories to analyze, as well as during interpreting the data.

For the reasons that I have just mentioned, the main goal of this research is not to provide definitive answers or verdicts about representations of women and gender by Ukrainian NGOs. It rather has value in starting an important conversation and raising important questions about how effective, fair and ethical these representations are and if any changes should be made.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I analyze the interviews, content analysis of organizations' social media posts, website articles, publications and websites. I will begin by outlining the quantitative findings of the research, followed by discussion about the implications of these findings and what they tell about the organizations I am researching and about women's and gender equality movement in Ukraine in general.

5.1. Foreign Donors and the Women's Movement in Ukraine

Almost 30 years after Ukraine became independent in 1991, international aid donors still play a very important role in the Ukrainian women's and gender equality movement. However, according to the interviews with representatives of several organizations in Ukraine, relations between donors and funding recipients in Ukraine have changed considerably since the early years of Ukrainian independence.

While the research literature on Ukrainian and other post-Soviet women's movements in the 1990s provides accounts of misunderstandings between women in Ukraine and foreign experts and donor representatives, none of the interviewees I talked to reported negative experiences in their work with donors today. On the contrary, the participants who work in the academic sphere and who have been involved in activism for many years reported that the donors they work with mostly have a good understanding of the local context and, most importantly, they are willing to listen to their Ukrainian partners. According to Participant #1:

> "In my opinion, the situation has changed, there is more understanding and less of some sort of I would say… imposing ideas, […] especially those donors who have been here since long ago, those who came in the 1990s – they already clearly understand certain specifics, including post-Soviet specifics, that individual communication is important. […] now it looks like a certain number of donors have a big trust, they understand some nuances, […]. In general, although donors often have their own expectations, I see that they are ready to react to the requests of specific groups of people [as a project unfolds]. So it seems that the situation has got better – donors understand better what kind of local expectations there are here." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

The participant illustrated this idea with an example of a project for rural female entrepreneurs – women making money by selling produce grown on their household plot at a local market. While the donors initially expected that the women might need knowledge about conducting business, accounting and the like, what they actually needed was a place where they could have their hair and nails done, as people and especially women are often judged by their appearance in Ukraine. Even though helping create a hair or a nail salon in the village instead of teaching women business and accounting skills might sound like a bad idea for someone coming from outside Ukraine, it is very important that donors listen to the needs of the local women. On one hand, it seems that such a project is built upon an essentialized notion of a woman and that teaching women accounting would provide greater long-term good and will also serve to better satisfy women's strategic needs. On the other hand, situations like this involve women with lower incomes who do not have a financial cushion and who fully rely on the income that their business brings. They want to have their practical needs satisfied before talking about strategic needs.[16] According to Luttrell et al. (2009, 10), "fulfilling immediate needs may be a necessary first step to enable other forms of empowerment".

Furthermore, according to the research participant, creating a hair or nail salon also means

> "additional employment and earnings for women. But it is stereotypical [women's] employment, in other words, related to the beauty industry, and if before it was surprising, now we see that internally displaced[17] women – they are given the opportunity to work in various fields. And considering that the sphere of manicure is really in demand in our country – this is where you can earn, then generally speaking, even if it is a stereotypical area for women, it seems to me that now there is no problem to teach women skills of doing manicure or other beauty services so that they make money." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

[16] Practical gender needs represent "immediate perceived necessity which is identified by women within a specific context" (Moser, 1989, 1803). Practical needs "do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality . . . nor do they challenge the prevailing forms of subordination even though they arise directly out of them" (Molyneux, 1985, 233). On the other hand, strategic gender needs (also sometimes identified as feminist), challenge women's subordination and call for an alternative, more equal relationships between genders in the society (Moser, 1989).

[17] Internally displaced people (IDPs) are people who are forced to leave their homes. However, unlike refugees, they do not leave their country, but are displaced internally within its borders.

Another important issue emphasized by Participant #1 is that a number of donors are willing to cooperate with unregistered Ukrainian women's organizations.[18] As she points out, this is different from the 1990s when donors encouraged the creation of numerous civil society organizations (an effort which is now largely seen as unsuccessful), because donors "expected that [their local partner] should be an official CSO" (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author). Even though the grants provided currently by donors to unregistered local organizations are comparatively small, they are important because creating an official CSO involves a lot of bureaucracy. On the other hand, cooperating with unofficial organizations is more sustainable, because "they can do more than a wage-based official organization" (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author). Although the participant did not specify exactly why unofficial organizations can do more, I can assume that they are more flexible, due to the absence of bureaucracy and formalities, and are closer to the communities, as they are themselves are often representatives of these communities.

Some participants also mentioned several difficulties of working with donors. These difficulties are not connected specifically to the Ukrainian context, but rather to globally recognized drawbacks of working with donors. A major drawback is the expectation of numerically observable results of the projects in a short period of time, even though some projects might take many years to show outcomes. Furthermore, working with big donors and big international organizations means a lot of bureaucracy, which often means huge delays for organizations in Ukraine, where the situation may change drastically in just a few months or sometimes even days.

Regarding donors' influence on organizations' communication work and their publicity, some interview participants could not give a very specific answer regarding if or in which way donors influence the organization's public communications. This is partly because the participants do not communicate directly with the donor. On the other hand, they point out that if there were any problems, they would know about them. For example, here is what Participant #3 had to say:

> "I didn't really feel any pressure and have never received any negative comments or any messages from the donors that something was wrong, […] and to be honest, I'm not a negotiator with the donor. I am simply

[18] Unregistered/unofficial women's/feminist organizations do not exist on paper. Their work is often based on the initiative of individul people, who do not receive wages for their work.

> given tasks and that's it – I do not contact them directly. […] they are satisfied and praise our work – in fact, there have never been any serious negative remarks from them. We have never done any terrible mistakes that would be irreparable, […]. There was no such thing, from this I can conclude that the donors are understanding, in fact, they do not interfere in our work. We do everything as correctly as possible, that is, as we see it, as our experience shows us, and in principle here I see that we are completely in agreement [with the donors]. That is, they like our approach. We are satisfied with how they perceive it, and there are no such demands that we write about […] something else there – in no case was there such a thing, and I did not see any pressure." (Interview, 15/12/2020, translation by the author)

Another interview participant was also not very certain about the kind of influence that the donor had, but was confident that the content created by the organization was decided by Ukrainian experts. This is what the participant said:

> "I don't think [the donor] has any influence. There is an annual budget there, and then it is distributed evenly between different programs – a social democracy program, maybe green democracy, gender democracy, and, I don't know exactly how the distribution takes place, but [organization] has a fixed budget per year, there are probably some reports [submitted to the donor], but what is published is decided by Ukrainian experts. In principle, this was the idea – a resource in the Ukrainian language. We are translating some articles into Russian in order to distribute them to other post-Soviet countries. There are also some articles about women and challenges of feminist activism during the pandemic – it was also translated into English in May, and this text was later published in English on the donor's website […], that is, there is some focus on the international community. But the resource was created with the idea of filling this gap in the information space – about gender in Ukraine in the Ukrainian language, and it is Ukrainian experts that we rely on, all our authors are also Ukrainian researchers." (Interview, 7/12/2020, translation by the author)

According to another interviewee who cooperated with the donor in question (although in another capacity, not in communications), the donor is very flexible, gives

a lot of freedom and trusts organizations during projects implementation. Furthermore, it has exclusively Ukrainian management staff in its office in Ukraine; therefore I assume that it also gives a lot of leverage to the organization's Ukrainian staff in choosing the themes and approaches to communications.

Participant #4 from a women's INGO representative office in Ukraine mentioned that the organization might self-regulate and limit the topics which are politically sensitive, even though the Ukrainian staff might find them relevant and useful. At the same time, the participant could not remember any cases when disagreement was based on different cultural outlooks. Many organizations use disclaimers where they mention that opinions expressed on the website or social media do not necessarily reflect the official position of the donor. This provides a certain freedom to organizations in choosing the directions in communication with their audience.

According to the interviews, communications and publicity are seen as important by both Ukrainian organizations and donors. This includes publicizing the results of sociological research on gender and women, as well as engaging with the public through social media. Interestingly, Participant #1 indicated that their organization, which focuses on sociological research on women's issues in the Ukrainian military, has more communication staff than research staff.

Based on the interviews and analysis of feminist and gender equality-related media, it is possible to distinguish several important factors that define the Ukrainian context of the women's and gender equality movement. First, the historical background and especially the Soviet past and more distant eras of Russian and European imperialism were repeatedly emphasized as important in shaping the current women's movement and gender relations in Ukraine. The struggle for independence in Ukraine which went hand in hand with the women's movement in the early years of the late 19th century, today manifests itself in the identity of feminists and gender equality movement actors in Ukraine, which often includes a nationalistic and patriotic dimension. However, nationalism among feminists in Ukraine is a contentious issue and there is an ongoing discussion about whether these two identities – feminist and nationalist – can be combined and which one should come first. A large role here is played by the ultra-right nationalist movement in Ukraine, which fights for Ukrainian "traditional family values" (an expression which is pejorative in the Ukrainian feminist discourse) as the only acceptable model of necessarily heteronormative man-woman relations, where the man is a bread-winner and the woman is a caretaker. Nevertheless,

many women emphasize that just as feminism is diverse, so is nationalism, and believe that one can be a feminist and a proud Ukrainian at the same time. Thus, nationalist sentiments remain an important part of the identity of many Ukrainian feminists. In the researched organizations' communications, the nationalistic side of feminist discourse is mostly manifested through women's participation in military actions in Eastern Ukraine and their claiming of equal rights in the army.[19] While this means increased employment and career opportunities for women in institutions previously dominated by men, it seems that largely liberal feminist-leaning donors are generally supportive of such initiatives.

Another contemporary feature of Ukrainian feminism, based on the interviews, is emphasis on appearance among women, including among feminists. The root for this trend arguably originates from the Soviet times, as after the collapse of the USSR, the identity of a "Soviet Super-Woman" (Kis, 2005) was substituted by those of "Berehynya" and "Barbie". Both were prohibited during the times of the USSR, which caused a backlash after Ukraine became independent. According to Participant #1:

> "Some people are frustrated that post-Soviet… well, I think it's not just Ukrainian – post-Soviet feminists can [pay much attention to] looking attractive. […] This may seem strange from the point of view of a certain mainstream Western feminism. […] Therefore, another such nuance is related to beauty, appearance, although, again, this is a debatable topic. But this is what distinguishes second-world feminists from first-world feminists. And […] Western feminists do not always understand this." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

According to the case with rural female entrepreneurs discussed earlier, donors seem to accept this element of the local context. On the other hand, in the discourse of some of the organizations I researched, attention to appearance is sometimes criticized as lookism. I will look at some specific examples in the last section of this chapter about the messages communicated by the organizations.

[19] Up until 2018 women in the Ukrainian army could only occupy "female" positions such as accountant, cook, medical positions etc. The law used to prohibit them from a list of military positions, including driver, sniper, section commander, grenadier, tank commander, gunner etc. The segregation was both horizontal and vertical – for example, "woman [could] be a common baker, but not a senior baker" (Martsenyuk, Hrytsenko & Kvit, 2016). This led to situations in which female combatants in the antiterrorist operation (ATO) in the Eastern Ukraine were cooks and clerks on paper. Due to activists and researchers' efforts, the law was changed in 2018.

Overall, it seems that there is a generally good understanding between donors and local organizations. Several factors can explain this. Most importantly, in almost 30 years since Ukraine became independent and since development organizations and donors first came to Ukraine, a new generation of women came of age who did not experience life under the Soviet Union and the economic hardships of the early 1990s. These women are more familiar with the rest of the world and with Western values. On the other hand, in the last 30 years the donors have also had a chance to learn more about Ukraine. It is also important to mention the global discussion on aid effectiveness and postcolonial critique. Aid effectiveness discourse emphasized such principles as country ownership over programs, engaging civil society, as well as alignment between donor funding and country priorities (Ogbuoji, Yamey, 2019; Wickremasinghe et al., 2018). The discussion gained momentum in the early 2000s with such initiatives as the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005), the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) and several others. While there is nevertheless no definitive conclusion about the impact on aid effectiveness this discussion has had from the recipient countries' perspective (Ogbuoji, Yamey, 2019), there are some articles which point to its positive impact. For example, Wickremasinghe et al. (2018) in their study focused on India, Nigeria and Ethiopia found that adopting aid effectiveness principles helped scale up health innovations in these countries. One of the interview participants for this study also mentioned the global postcolonial discussion as an important factor that made donors change their approaches to aid – both globally and in Ukraine specifically:

> "This colonial aspect, which I would say was more prevalent in the 90s – now the situation… well, it's all over the world – it was such a big critique of international humanitarian aid – you know, these classic examples of women in Africa themselves destroying the water standpipe at night, which was built for them. These lessons of criticism have already been reconsidered and taken into account." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

5.2. Website Analysis of Organizations

It is important to outline information about each organization and analyze the content of their websites. Organization A is an informational platform "on the borderline between scientific research and public dialogue" (Organization A, About Us page), aimed at providing information and "deepening understanding of gender issues

in the Ukrainian society" (Organization A, About Us page). Unlike some other organizations analyzed here, Organization A does not have its own programming and its only goal is to provide information on gender issues in Ukraine. It publishes posts and articles by authors who take different, sometimes even opposing approaches to gender and women's issues, which helps to provide different perspectives to their audience. The platform was created in the late 2010s as an initiative of a Ukrainian staff member of a foreign donor in Ukraine and is funded by the donor. As an information platform, it has a small staff of 5-10 people.

The organization positions itself as a place for education, self-awareness, communication and exchange. The About Us page on the organization's website begins by emphasizing gender as part of everybody's identity and goes on to stress that "understanding gender means understanding yourself and the world in which you live". This explanation matches with the discourse of self-empowerment that can be seen in the organization's communications, and also seems to underline an individual approach to empowerment.[20] It aligns with the dimension of power that Rowlands (1997) calls "power from within: increased individual consciousness" and desire for change (Rowlands, 1997 in Luttrell, 2009, 2). It also reflects human and social dimension of empowerment, which sees empowerment as "a multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. This is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities and their society, by being able to act on issues that they define as important" (Page and Czuba, 1999 in Luttrell, 2009, 1).

The About Us page of the organization's website further mentions that the organization chooses the topics which are most topical for Ukraine and analyzes the Ukrainian context, a detail quite important considering the "local versus Western feminisms" problem brought up by postcolonial feminists. The organization provides the platform for Ukrainian authors who take different, sometimes, opposing, positions.

[20] Most of the organizations I analyze do not use the word "empowerment" itself in their texts. However, the concept of empowerment along with its different types (economic, human and social, political and cultural) and the power relations that it implies (power over, power to, power with, power from within) can be applied to organizations' messages.
According to UN, empowerment is "the process of enabling people to increase control over their lives , to gain control over the factors and decisions that shape their lives, to increase resources and qualities and to build capacities to gain access, partners, networks, a voice in order to gain control" (UN, 2012). However, the definitions of empowerment differ among different organizations.

Therefore, it is difficult to categorize it in terms of its belonging to a certain specific type of feminism.

Organization B is a big INGO with a branch in Ukraine, which has projects in Ukraine and cooperates extensively with foreign Embassies in Ukraine. The organization has been present in Ukraine since the late 1990s and is very well funded, although there is no information about how much budget is allocated for the Ukrainian branch.

Some of the keywords that the organization uses in its About Us page include: gender mainstreaming, engagement of women, compound discrimination, women's participation. These words suggest that the organization's work is largely informed by the ideas of liberal feminism. Quite importantly, the organization mentions its focus on community-level consultations.

Organization C is an international charitable organization, which provides "financial, information and consultation support" (Organization C About Us page) to women's CSOs in Ukraine and several other neighbouring countries. This organization often serves as a channel between big international donors and local CSOs of different sizes. It was created in the early 2000s and is one of the oldest women's organizations in Ukraine. The organization is very transparent in terms of its annual budget. In 2018 it was over two million US dollars – a significant increase compared with previous years. The organization's biggest donor is USAID, which provides over half of the income. The other two big donors are UN Women and the European Union. In terms of expenditures, in 2017 the organization spent around 40% of its budget for grants to women's organizations, 30% for conferences, meetings and trainings, and under 30% for salaries and services of consultants as well as special services.

Organization C emphasizes that the women's movement is part of the civil society in Ukraine and positions its work as strengthening Ukrainian civil society through supporting the women's movement. Similar to Organizations B, Organization C has the word "women" in its name. It frames the women's movement as the movement promoting human rights and freedoms, empowering women in different sectors of life and ensuring gender equality.

Organization D is an information platform (similar to Organization A, it focuses only on disseminating information and raising awareness through its website, social media and educational events, but does not work with women directly through programs) with the main goal to fight sexism in media with special emphasis on women

in politics. In the About Us page it argues that prejudiced representation of female politicians and political candidates by mass media seriously undermines their opportunities in politics. More broadly, it argues that such representation perpetuates gender inequality between men and women in terms of fulfilling one's potential. Furthermore, the organization mentions that eradicating sexism will "bring us closer to the European future", thus reiterating the fact that promoting gender equality in Ukraine is as much about social justice as it is about becoming more "European", which has long become associated in Ukraine with being more "civilized". Nevertheless, it should be noted that the narrative of equating greater gender equality with greater "Europeanness" is not visible elsewhere in the organization's communications.

Organization E positions itself as a human rights organization with the goal to ensure the rights of Ukrainian females fighting in the Eastern Ukraine against Russian aggression. The organization has a comparatively small staff (10-20 people) and was created shortly after the anti-terrorist operation in the Eastern Ukraine started in 2014. Its focus as a women's organization is quite narrow. Nevertheless, because of the importance of the events in the Eastern Ukraine and the amount of attention it received from the public, the organization became recognized, including among people who are not otherwise following or know anything about the Ukrainian women's or gender equality movement. Therefore, its role in normalizing discussion of gender-based violence and other gender equality and women's issues among general public is very important.

The organizations can be classified as liberal feminist, as they aim to increase women's participation in existing institutions, including by supporting legislative changes in the country. All the organizations receive funding from international donors. At the same time, four of five organizations have exclusively Ukrainian staff and at least two were initiated by Ukrainian women.

It is important to highlight that two of the organizations (Organization A and D) mostly work with awareness-raising about gender equality and women's issues in Ukraine. Another two organizations (Organization B and C) work on the ground by implementing projects for women and lobbying for gender equality and women's rights, pushing for legislative and policy changes. They also conduct (or support) research and awareness-raising work through their websites and social media, but awareness-raising activities are secondary. A larger amount of the content on their media platforms is dedicated to sharing information about their own projects.

5.3. Who is in the Picture: Representations of Women and Gender on Social Media and in Publications

In this section I will analyze the images which are used by the organizations on their social media and in the publications. Images have a social effect by being meaningful and affective (Rose, 2016). Therefore, analyzing the images means "to examine in detail how certain institutions mobilise specific forms of visuality to see, and to order, the world" (Rose, 2016, 14; Mirzoeff, 2011). It is important who or what they make or don`t make visible, as well as in which way.

5.3.1. Social Media

Social media is an "enhanced communication environment", which has an important political and awareness-raising potential, as well as the potential to "empower women's publics" (Seibicke, 2017, 123). The use of social media by women's and gender equality movements has not been extensively researched in Ukraine, or in Europe more generally. Some research does focus on online campaigns such as #IAmNotAfraidToSay (Martsenyuk & Phillips, 2020), but there is little research with a focus on Ukraine that analyzes how specific women's and feminist organizations use social media for their work, what messages they promote, and how they represent gender and women.

In this section and the section that follows, I will often refer to the people in the images in binary terms – as men and women. I fully recognize and support the Ukrainian LGBTQI community and their struggle for rights. However, due to the fact that most of the images on the websites appear to represent cis-gender people and also that this research is mostly focused on issues related to women's rights and relationships between women and men, I will use binary terms.

Table 1. Image Analysis: Gender

Gender, % / Organization	Woman alone	Women	Man alone	Men	Women, men together	Transgender, non-binary	Woman with children	Man with children
Organization A	41% (19)	17% (8)	15% (7)	0%	20% (9)	7% (3)	0%	0%
Organization B	46% (22)	25% (12)	4% (2)	0%	19% (9)	4% (2)	0%	2% (1)
Organization C	30% (12)	53% (21)	5% (2)	0%	10% (4)	0%	0%	2% (1)
Organization D	54% (25)	6% (3)	9% (4)	6% (3)	21% (10)	0%	2% (1)	2% (1)
Organization E	50% (9)	33% (6)	0%	0%	11% (2)	0%	6% (1)	0%
All organizations	43% (87)	25% (50)	7% (15)	2% (3)	17% (34)	3% (5)	1% (2)	2% (3)

I have analyzed the organizations' social media according to the gender of the people represented in the images. As shown in the table above, images depicting women account for two-thirds of all the pictures which contain images of people. In almost half of the images (43%), women are represented alone. This might mean a more individualistic approach to women's empowerment, where a woman's individual agency is highlighted over the agency of women as a group.

There is one organization – organization D – which represents women as a group to a greater extent than other organizations. 53% of the organization's social media images that show people represent women in a group of other women. Often they are a group of community activists from small Ukrainian towns having a meeting or undergoing training. The women are usually recipients of grants from organization C. This kind of representation goes in line with the organization's statements discussed earlier: it makes a special focus on women's CSOs, women-led community projects in smaller cities and rural areas and developing civil society. It works on encouraging collective action and solidarity between women, helping them develop "power with"[21]. For example, one of the images shows a group of 7 active local women who participated in the female leadership trainings posing for a group photo in a small local office. The caption underlines that while individual leadership is important, readiness for change and participation of the community is equally important, and the changes achieved together are especially valuable. Another post about the same training talks about a female activist and a village council deputy. Again it emphasizes that thanks to the female leadership training, she could start an initiative to create opportunities for women from the community to fulfill themselves and feel happy. The image shows her with a group of women in a community sports centre.

[21] Power with focuses on collective action and solidarity.

To compare, Organization A has a post about a female head of the village council. The woman is shown alone in the photo. The photo has an abstract background, which is the scenery of the village from the sky. The caption and the article linked to the post discuss the woman's success story, her hard work that led her to her current position, as well as her contributions to the village (not specifically to local women as in the post discussed before): new roads, improved waste management and attention to the needs of each person living in the village.

Men are also represented by the organizations, but much less than women, appearing in 10% of the images. Additionally, 18% of the pictures show men and women together. The roles in which men appear in the pictures can be divided into three groups: a woman's partner and supporter, a gender-insensitive man, a victim of gender inequality. The first group is most common and includes male pro-feminists, male experts sharing their experience, responsible fathers, etc. The second role – the gender-insensitive man – often includes politicians and other Ukrainian public figures who became the centre of public attention for sexist or misogynist behaviour or speech. Western donors have often been criticized for demonizing men from developing countries (Dogra, 2011; Wilson, 2011; Cronin-Furman et al., 2017). The social media posts that I analyzed often show negative perceptions and behaviours about gender relations as a result of the value system and stereotypes existing in the society, including among women. Some posts about gender-based violence receive critical comments from men and sometimes women arguing that not all men are misogynistic perpetrators. Many comments of this type prompted Organization A to publish a post "not all men…", in which they clarified that in their posts about gender-based violence they do not blame each individual man, but rather the legal system and Ukrainian traditions, which allow gender-based violence. They also argue that according to statistics, women are the absolute majority of those who suffer from gender-based violence. In general, it seems that there are women who still prefer to see men as partners and are hesitant to accept a movement based on women's identity, which puts interests based on gender before other interests. Among them, there are women who believe in more traditional gender relations, those who did not experience inequality first hand and those who believe that there are other major lines of oppression, which affect both women and men and therefore prefer to view men as their partners in struggle. Lastly, men are also sometimes shown as suffering from gender inequality. A catchy example, reiterated in several posts by different organizations is the stereotype that men don't cry. There are

also rare examples of posts about men being harassed. Interestingly, men are depicted in the role of a parent more often than women – perhaps reflecting an effort to normalize fathers' equal involvement in the caretaking and upbringing of children.

Transgender and non-binary people are represented by two organizations, appearing in 3% of all the images analyzed. Three of the five organizations only represent cis-gender people. On the one hand, some organizations might avoid discussing LGBTQI issues. While the subject of women's rights is becoming increasingly accepted in the Ukrainian society, there is still a very strong opposition to discussing LGBTQI people's rights. On the other hand, organizations C and E mostly focus on women's issues. Organization C does include ensuring gender equality as its goal. However, gender equality is understood as equality between men and women.

Table 2. Image Analysis: Age

Age, % / Organization	Kids (0-15)	Youth and adults-millennials (16-39)	Adults (40-64)	Seniors (65~)
Organization A	14% (7)	78% (38)	6% (3)	2% (1)
Organization B	4% (2)	71% (36)	20% (10)	6% (3)
Organization C	4% (2)	45% (25)	40% (22)	11% (6)
Organization D	4% (2)	71% (35)	14% (7)	10% (5)
Organization E	5% (1)	95% (19)	0%	0%
All organizations	6% (14)	68% (153)	19% (42)	7% (15)

In the analysis of the age of the people depicted in social media posts I have chosen 4 categories: children, youth and millennials, older adults and seniors. I have intentionally divided the category of adults into two – youth and millennials, and older adults and seniors. Youth and millennials are those whose life or at least youth and early adult years were spent in independent Ukraine and who have either very short or no experience of living in the USSR. Furthermore, this younger age group is comparatively advantaged, for example, in terms of employment, as due to considerable agism in Ukraine, it is often more difficult for people over 40 to find jobs. Overall, in my view, there are numerous differences between these two age groups which made me split them in the way I did instead of using more conventional age groups, for example, used by Statistics Canada.[22] The analysis has shown that an absolute majority of men and women represented by the organizations are young adults – almost three-quarters of all people represented. Women and men of this age category account for 95% of people

[22] Age categories according to Statistics Canada: kids (0-14), youth (15-24), adults (25-64), seniors (65 and over).

represented in the social media posts of Organization E, which is explained by the emphasis of their work on the military sphere and women in the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Older adults are represented much less – 17% of all the images, followed by seniors – 5%. Of the senior age group, over half are famous women such as Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Golda Meir.

According to the interviews, the audience of the organizations' social media (especially organizations A, B, D and E) are predominantly women from big cities in their 20-30s. The design and graphics used by organizations A and D also seem to cater specifically to a younger audience. They use modern design and cooperate with the artists popular among millennials. On one hand, the organizations might be just targeting their audience and creating content to which they could relate. On the other hand, in cases when organizations invite authors to write on certain subjects or share their stories, because it is women in their 20-30s who are most interested in the subjects of gender equality and feminism, it is quite natural that organizations choose the women in this age category as the main characters to be featured on their social media. Furthermore, as I will be explaining in the next part, most organizations in their social media communications focus on strategic women's needs. Youth and millennials are the current and future politicians, journalists and experts who are going to push forward greater equality in the Ukrainian society. As they are the group that embraces the ideas of gender equality the most, they are also most likely allies that organizations might be trying to engage. However, it also important to point out that based on this analysis of representations, older adults and senior people are very much excluded and invisible, even though there are many vulnerable women among these age groups in Ukraine. This might lead to overlooking their specific needs and interests and creating a growing gap between different generations.

Older adult women are sometimes depicted in the post captions and in the articles as either women of opposing views or women who had gone through and suffered a lot. For example, one post by organization A shows a cat with numerous knives targeted at it from different directions with the sign "me at a family gathering sharing my views on life and stereotypes". The article provides some ways of talking about feminism with relatives – older and mostly female. This half-serious, half-humorous article underlines and perpetuates the division between young women and their older female relatives – mothers, grandmothers, aunts. At the same time, what this kind of discourse is lacking

is a deeper understanding of the reasons why older women are reluctant to embrace feminism.

Another way of depicting older adult women can be illustrated by the placard used during the 2018 feminist march on March 8th. It reads "мама терпіли, а я не буду" – "mother endured and I will not", which on one hand conveys the rebellious spirit of the feminist, but also solidarity with women from previous generations and recognition of the difficulties they were going through. One post by organization D combines both approaches to older women – as women with different views than that of young women and women who experienced a lot of suffering. The author shares her conversations with her grandmothers about feminism and starts with acknowledging lack of mutual understandings on certain issues, like feminism, but later elaborates on and embraces the different experiences of her and her grandmother when she was a young woman. While the author has opportunities to travel, has free time for self-development and learning, the life of her grandmother as a young woman was full of uncertainties and hardships. As a result, they both learn something from each other – while the author embraces different experiences of her grandmothers, her grandmothers accept and support her feminist position, encouraging her not to endure what they endured and live for yourself – something she affectionately calls "бабин фемінізм" ("grandma's feminism").

Table 3. Image Analysis: Emotions

Emotion, % / **Organization**	**Positive**	**Negative**	**Neutral**
Organization A	56% (22)	18% (7)	26% (10)
Organization B	68% (28)	10% (4)	22% (9)
Organization C	56% (20)	11% (4)	33% (12)
Organization D	44% (16)	28% (10)	28% (10)
Organization E	47% (7)	13% (2)	40% (6)
All organizations	56% (93)	16% (27)	28% (47)

In the analysis of people's emotions, I used Plutchik's wheel of emotions. I defined emotions in the images based on my own subjective standard of different emotions and how they look like.

Analysis of people`s emotions on the images shows that over half of the people on the pictures have positive emotions, a bit more than a quarter – neutral, and the remaining 19% – negative. Negative emotions mostly include sadness/grief and anger. The positive emotions most commonly featured are joy and serenity. A large number

of the analyzed images were studio portraits in which the people in them have neutral expressions. Even those images categorized as positive or negative were leaning closer to the neutral spectrum of emotions. For example, there was a bigger number of images with positive emotions, the emotion on which could be categorized as "serenity" rather than fully-fledged "joy".

This tendency might be connected with the strategy of using logical appeal instead of emotional appeal. Organizations are trying to build their message based on reason, for example, this is how Participant #1 explains this:

> "It is also very important to speak professionally – not just to throw some emotions that we are discriminated against, we are violated – [it is important] to give numbers. […] that is, in communications it is also important to reinforce emotions (as emotions are somewhat important) with professional information, professional figures, to be convincing and move away from just some emotions, to also be rational – this is what helped us." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

Nevertheless, organizations do use some emotional appeal in their social media posts. Organizations A and D use humour and satire, create memes, comics and funny illustrations. One of the often used techniques is creating comics that "mirror" common situations of sexist behaviour with reversed genders. For example, one comics shows two women inside a plane. They find out that the pilot is a man and jokingly express their hesitation about whether he will be able to land the plane safely or they should be worried for their lives. By reversing the gender, the organization tries to show that judging about somebody's skills based on their gender is illogical.

It is more rare to see posts which use emotional appeal based on feelings of sadness and grief among the messages by analyzed NGOs. This widely criticized approach to representations has been commonly used by international and Western NGOs when showing women from developing countries in order to invoke pity and increase donations from donors in the West (Dogra, 2011). As an example, reports by INGOs about Ukraine, especially about Eastern Ukraine, use images of Ukrainian elderly women in rural areas – one of the most vulnerable of all groups of women to show the destitute situation of people in this area and ensure more funding from donors.

However, the NGOs I analyze mostly have a Ukrainian audience and they are not looking for donors among the Ukrainian audience. Additionally, organizations A, D and E are all financed by a single donor and are not likely to be looking for additional donors,

therefore their communications are not shaped by the need to attract more donors. Organization B's representations are oriented towards both Ukrainian and foreign audiences, as their social media posts are bilingual – in English and in Ukrainian. It is likely to use its communications to attract funding or demonstrate the results of the projects to its donors. Organization C's communications are oriented towards its local partners – Ukrainian women's CSOs and the general Ukrainian public. Organizations B and C might have more incentives to show women as empowered, which might explain a high number of women with joyful expressions on these organizations' social media. However, in case of organization B, only 3 out of almost 80 pictures posted during May and September in 2020 can be characterized as showing happy women empowered by the organization's programming. In case of organization C, it often shows its female grantees or participants of its events and trainings as happy and empowered, particularly due to receiving a grant or taking part in a training.

Table 4. Image Analysis: Place

Place, % / Organization	**Public**	**Private**	**Images with neutral background**
Organization A	35% (17)	12% (6)	53% (26)
Organization B	41% (20)	8% (4)	51% (25)
Organization C	56% (22)	13% (5)	31% (12)
Organization D	55% (42)	9% (7)	36% (28)
Organization E	55% (11)	0%	45% (9)
All organizations	48% (112)	9% (22)	43% (100)

Most of the people on the images are depicted either in a public place (conference room, court, office etc.) or their images have neutral background (studio portraits, images photoshopped onto graphic backgrounds or illustrations of people with neutral backgrounds). Only 9% of the images feature women and men in the private sphere of their homes or household plots.

The literature on representations also often emphasizes the angle of view from which the photo was taken as a factor that suggests certain emotional appeal or tells about the power relations in the representation (Hall, 1997; Pieterse, 1992). Most of the images analyzed here show men and women on the same level as the viewer. This suggests that neither the viewer nor the people depicted are in the position of power, or domination – they are equal. People in the image are easy to relate to, they face similar challenges, experiences and hopes.

However, some images position the person in the image a bit higher than the viewer, which creates an effect of looking from below up to that person. These images mostly feature women, which suggests empowerment. This technique is also often used with the images showing participants in marches and street protests.

Table 5. Image Analysis: Defining Identity

Defining identity, % / Organization	Professional	Abstract women/men	Famous women	Activists	Parent	Victims & vulnerable women	Other
Organization A	28% (13)	9% (4)	15% (7)	17% (8)	11% (5)	4% (2)	15% (7)
Organization B	33% (16)	21% (10)	14% (7)	14% (7)	14% (7)	2% (1)	2% (1)
Organization C	42% (17)	10% (4)	0%	28% (11)	5% (2)	10% (4)	% (2)
Organization D	31% (15)	6% (9)	8% (4)	2% (1)	2% (1)	6% (9)	31% (15)
Organization E	90% (17)	0%	0%	5% (1)	5% (1)	0%	0%
All organizations	37% (78)	13% (27)	9% (18)	13% (28)	8% (16)	8% (16)	12% (25)

It is difficult to define identities of people based on images only. Most of the images I analyze here are published along with captions, which allows to understand the identities of a people in the images. Therefore, I mostly relied on the captions in defining identities of people represented by the organizations on their social media.

A considerable number (36%) of men and women represented by the organizations are professionals: entrepreneurs, local leaders, politicians, experts, employees. There are also images of abstract men and women. The images also show activists (including employees and members of CSOs, march participants, etc.), parents and victims and vulnerable women, although the latter only comprises a small part of the people represented.

Analysis indicates that vulnerable women are underrepresented in the organizations' narratives in the social media. For example, women IDPs (internally-displaced persons) are rarely seen or mentioned in the text. They appear more often in social media messages by organizations B and C, but not the other organizations. Furthermore, Roma women are not represented on social media at all[23]. This is despite the fact that they are disadvantaged in multiple ways through lack of access to resources (partly because of a lack of personal documentation), discrimination in employment, and hate acts against their communities. Unfortunately, I did not include the question about the representation of Roma in my interview questionnaire. Interestingly, some of

[23] According to the report by Minority Rights Group Europe in 2018, the number of Romani people in Ukraine is estimated to be between 200,000 and 400,000.

the organizations I researched had publications which included the analysis of Roma people's situation in Ukraine. But on social media they remain invisible.

It is difficult to distinguish social class through images, but by approximate estimation of both images and captions, in which enough information was provided to be able to determine the social class, it appears that over 75% of women and men represented belong to the middle class. It should be noted that Ukraine has a very small middle class. According to academic sources, the middle class represents between 10 to 15% of the Ukrainian population[24] (Salo, 2016; Aleksandrova et al., 2020). Furthermore, around 35% of the Ukrainian citizens are categorized as potential middle class, as they conform only with some criteria of inclusion in middle class (Aleksandrova et al., 2020). For example, a major component of a middle class citizen that many Ukrainians lack is free time – "time when one can go beyond everyday social roles and engage in what is called private and public life" (Grabovskyi, 2007). Some people juggle several jobs in order to obtain a middle-class-level income and to have a financial cushion, but are not considered to be middle class from a social perspective.

Based on the images and the captions, the majority of the people in the pictures appear to be Ukrainian. Foreign people represented in the pictures are famous women (historical and contemporary) as well as, mostly in the case of Organization B (INGO), foreign staff of the organization in Ukraine and abroad. Donors' representatives very rarely appear in the pictures. Of all the images I analyzed, only two included donors. In one case, Organization C posted a screenshot from the Zoom meeting between representatives of smaller Ukrainian feminist and women's organizations with the Ambassador of the donor country. In another case, the Ambassador of another donor country appeared among the list of foreign and Ukrainian speakers at a roundtable discussion. Therefore, even though the names of donors are being mentioned by organizations B, C, D and E under many social media posts, they do not often appear as main actors on the images.

Overall, based on the analysis of images, supported with the information from the captions, I conclude that there are several major types of people represented by the organizations. The first main type is – using the term introduced by Sophia Philonenko (2015) – a "cosmo-woman" and a "feminist". The woman portrayed is a middle class

[24] To compare, the middle class in Canada is 47.8% of the population (Davies, Lluberas, Shorrocks, 2015).

Ukrainian woman in her 20-30s living in a big city. Her priorities are her personal and professional development, she is also an active part of civil society. She is a staunch critic of sexism and gender stereotypes. This woman is often a journalist, businesswoman, an expert, a researcher or a person working in art. She travels and has time for herself. Also, she is in many ways different from her older female relatives who are not as likely to support feminism and to be outspoken about issues of social and gender inequality, who often put their husband/children/relatives' interests before their own and believe in importance of family life for a woman.

Speaking about cosmo-woman, Philonenko (2015) points out that "Ukraine is unfamiliar with this image. Since urban culture in our country is not yet fully developed, so the image of the cosmo-woman in the depictions is modified, borrowed from the novels of the chick lit genre and their adaptations". I would say it is indeed still rare in Ukraine, but increasingly young women can identify with this image. Also, it seems that this is an image that at least several of the analyzed organizations are trying to promote among women.

Another common type (mostly for organizations B and C) is a community leader or local entrepreneur in a smaller city or rural area in Ukraine. She is usually older than a cosmo-woman feminist – she is in her 30-50s, and a little bit more disadvantaged. This woman is less involved in fighting for equality between genders and more engaged in increasing the well-being of women in the community and her own well-being.

The third type is a military woman (organization E and to a lesser extent – other organizations) in her 20-30s, a patriot, she can come from either urban or rural areas. She is most concerned about both well-being and the interests of women in the army and rehabilitation after returning home. She is also fighting for equal rights with men in the army, against gender discrimination and sexual harassment. Despite gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the majority of the cases targets women, while the perpetrators are men, the main women's problem is shown to be discriminatory legislation and lack of legal repercussions for perpetrators. In cases of sexual harassment men in the military are usually not portrayed as the reason for women's discrimination in the army and are in general more likely to be seen as brothers in arms – unless they are public persons who have been publicly accused of sexual harassment or have otherwise been known for the actions and behaviour which discriminates or harasses women.

A major male type is a pro-gender equality man in his 20-40s, who shares housework responsibilities, and supports women publicly at the events. Lastly, the "sexist" category includes both women and men who publicly express or in other ways show gender-based prejudice towards certain groups of people or individuals.

Two research participants in the interview associated themselves with intersectional feminism. However, the analysis shows that many women's identities which might cause additional levels of discrimination besides from just being a woman (age, social class or race/ethnicity) are not taken into consideration in organizations' communications and thus leave part of the women invisible.

5.3.2. Publications

All the publications used here have been accessed and downloaded by me through the organizations' websites. Analysis of the images in the publications by organizations B and C shows that unlike in social media, the publications tend to focus more on less advantaged men and women: IDPs, people affected by the conflict in the Eastern Ukraine, people whose businesses and households have been affected by COVID-19, and Roma people. Distribution of images along different age categories of the people represented also differs strikingly. While on social media the percentage of youth and millennials represented was 56% for Organization C and 71% for organization B, in the publications their number is much lower at 23%. At the same time, adults from 40 to 65 years old in the publications account for 60% of all people represented.

This might be because social media mostly targets young people in Ukraine. On the other hand, publications are usually bilingual and include information that can be of interest to other people in the development sphere – international donors, partners. This can explain why publications represent more vulnerable people and older adults, as they show the neediness of aid.

Table 6. Publications Image Analysis: Age

Age, % / Organization	Kids (0-16)	Youth and millennials (16-39)	Other adults (40-65)	Seniors (65~)
Organization B, C	15% (8)	23% (12)	60% (31)	2% (1)

Around 60% of the people represented in the photos are women, 20% – men, and another 20% – children. Unlike on social media, people are often represented along with their surroundings, which in most cases demonstrate their occupation/business or status as an IDP, etc.: workshops, farms, offices, united territorial community building

(for IDP meetings). Some people look in the camera, many people also look away as they are busy with their work, and all of them have either positive or neutral expressions. While these images evoke the photos of happy and empowered Third World women described by Dogra (2011) and Wilson (2011), there are also differences. After reading the text of the publications, for example, the one which tells success stories of projects to help women and men affected by the conflict in the Eastern Ukraine, I can conclude that most of the projects described were built on already existing businesses. The projects aimed to support recipients in buying additional equipment, providing financial resources so that the businesses could expand and hire IDPs and people with disabilities, provide advice and training to help businesses adjust to the conditions under COVID, etc. This is important in the view of the criticism of donors for their reluctance to use local capabilities and creating one-size-fits-all economic empowerment projects from scratch. These projects might not reflect communities' and individual people's needs and interests and impose "sewing machines on anyone unlucky enough to be female and in need" (Cronin-Furman et al., 2017, 1). The projects represented in the publications are built upon local capabilities and already existing businesses and reflect methods of asset-based community development.

5.4. What is the Message: Analysis of Social Media, Articles and Publications

5.4.1. Issues Raised and Types of Strategic Needs

It is important to understand not only who is represented in organizations' communications and how, but also what kind of message they are sending. I started my analysis of the communications messages by categorizing social media posts according to the issues that they raise. This helped me understand what the organizations care about most and whether there are any specific trends that could be interesting in terms of the research questions of this thesis. It should be noted that the process of constructing the categories, as well as categorizing the posts includes certain degree of subjectivity. This means that the numbers might not be precise, but they should fulfil their role of providing a general picture of the organizations' priorities.

I have grouped the social media content of the five organizations into eight categories: gender discrimination in the public sphere, gender-based violence, women's careers and leadership, women and war, COVID-19, the feminist movement, gender roles at home, women's achievements and other. Gender discrimination in the public

sphere is a broad category, which includes such issues as sexism, the pay gap, gender stereotypes, unequal treatment in the workplace, lack of representation in the public sphere, unequal wealth distribution between men and women, discrimination based on the clothes one wears, etc. The major issue included in the gender-based violence category is domestic violence – around 1/3 of all posts in this category – followed by sexual harassment, stalking, catcalling, sexual consent, etc. A big part of the posts in this category also includes discussion of the Instanbul convention,[25] its ratification being a hot topic in activists circles and on social media in Ukraine recently. Women's careers and leadership category includes several types of posts. First, there are posts about achievements and the difficulties women face working in specific spheres: art, sports, science, etc. The second type includes posts about workshops teaching specific skills to female entrepreneurs and providing training for local female leaders.

There is also content about female leadership, how is it different and what are some effective strategies for women. For example, the author of one post – a female in a leadership position, shared some feedback she had received about her leadership. It said that she was either too humane instead of being oriented towards results. Overall, she was criticized for not being mean enough. The author argues that the image of leadership should be changed from stereotypically masculine, according to which a leader should be harsh and mean, to a different kind of leadership, which prioritizes motivation, resiliency, righteousness and ability to cooperate.

The COVID-19 category mostly includes posts that unpack the influence of the pandemic and the quarantine on women. The posts specifically mention female medical workers, vulnerable women and female entrepreneurs who had to restart their businesses online. There are a considerable number of posts which raise the issue of equal housework, especially during the pandemic. Due to the number of these posts, I have included them in a separate category called "gender roles at home". They include posts not related to COVID-19 as well, as the "double burden"[26] has been seen as one of the main shortcomings of Soviet policy, inherited by Ukraine after becoming

[25] Istanbul Convention (Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence) is a human rights treaty adopted by the Council of Europe on April 2011. It is the first legally-binding document that provides legal standards to ensure protection for those who experience violence. It requires the countries to criminalize the offences such as physical, psychological and sexual violence, stalking, forced marriage, FGM, forced abortion and sterilization. As of 2019, 45 countries and the EU signed the convention and 34 ratified it. Ukraine signed the convention in 2011, but has not ratified it yet.

[26] "Double burden" refers to situations when women need to combine professional employment and unpaid domestic labour such as cleaning and taking care of the children.

independent. Some of the organizations also posted considerable content about the feminist movement – the history of feminism, its global prospects, opinions on various issues within feminism, etc. Lastly, the women's achievements category includes posts which tell about famous women both from Ukraine and abroad who made contributions or succeeded in certain spheres, such as politics, science, art and other.

Table 7. Type of Issues Raised in the Posts

Issue, % / Organization	Gender discr.	Gender-based violence	Women's career & leadership	Women and war	COVID-19	Feminist movement	Gender roles at home	Women's achievem.	Other
Organization A	10%	10%	10%	2%	0%	13%	7%	12%	36%
Organization B	25%	14%	4%	3%	19%	1%	16%	4%	14%
Organization C	3%	7%	30%	2%	15%	17%	0%	0%	26%
Organization D	26%	23%	8%	3%	3%	1%	3%	5%	28%
Organization E	6%	22%	6%	47%	0%	0%	0%	0%	19%
All organizations	20%	16%	9%	9%	8%	8%	7%	7%	16%

Overall, the issues represented in the organizations' social media posts are quite diverse. The categories mentioned above were most frequently discussed by the five organizations taken together. On the other hand, there were also many smaller issues, which were categorized in the table as "other" for the purpose of being concise and which constitute a considerable percentage of all posts for some organizations like organization A, C and D. The remaining 36%, 26% and 29% of posts by these organizations are comprised of issues like LGBTQI rights, empowerment, parenthood, gender stereotypes issues experienced by vulnerable women, and women in politics.

It should be noted that organization A brings up the widest variety of issues among the five organizations with the number of posts equally distributed among different topics. On the contrary, other organizations tend to make emphasis on one or several specific topics. For example, for organization B the emphasis is on gender discrimination, for organization C – on women's career and leadership, as well as (comparing with other organizations) – on issues of vulnerable women. The emphasis of organization D is on gender discrimination, gender-based violence and women in

politics. Lastly, organization E focuses largely on women and war, as well as gender-based violence.

Table 8. Type of Gender Needs

Organization / Type of need	Strategic	Practical	Both	Other (non-applicable)
Organization A	69%	13%	2%	16%
Organization B	57%	29%	9%	5%
Organization C	67%	24%	4%	5%
Organization D	84%	6%	3%	7%
Organization E	60%	0%	4%	36%
All organizations	70%	15%	4%	11%

I also analyzed the social media posts according to gender needs. Not all posts were easily identifiable in terms of the type of the gender needs they represent. Some posts presented situations on the borderline between practical and strategic needs. One example is a post about a woman entrepreneur in the rural area in the Eastern Ukraine who received a grant to develop her business and adjust it to the COVID conditions. On one hand, entrepreneurship means control over assets and resources, which is usually associated with strategic needs. On the other hand, small businesses owned by women are not rare in Ukraine (unlike big business which is usually dominated by men), so in this case I have classified this post as the one representing practical needs, because it helps the woman to generate the income necessary for her well-being. To a much lesser extent, it challenges the existing gender inequalities in control over resources. In some other cases, both strategic and practical needs were represented, in which case I classified the posts as representing both needs.

The five organizations I analyze have a very clear emphasis on strategic gender needs in their communications. They include most of the strategic needs mentioned by Molyneux (1985, 233): "the abolition of the sexual division of labour; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare … the establishment of political equality: freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women". As Moser (1989, 1803) points out, "strategic gender needs such as these are often identified as "feminist," as is the level of consciousness required to struggle effectively for them." Although not all organizations I researched directly position themselves as feminist on their About Us pages, most of them associate their work with the feminist movement. They share a considerable amount of content about feminism, including posts about the history of feminism in the

world, biographies of famous feminists, views on feminist issues (for example, on sex workers, wearing hijab, etc.). Based on a word frequency analysis of social media posts of the five organizations, the word "feminism" is one of the most frequently used words, just after "gender" and "response", and before "children" and "COVID".

While focusing on strategic gender interests has great potential benefit for gender equality and for women's empowerment, it can also be more contentious, therefore there are some details to consider. Moser (1989, 1811) mentions that "many Third World activists felt that to take "feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense"…" (Bunch, 1980, as quoted in Moser, 1989, 1811). The literature review part of this thesis highlighted similar concerns during the early years of Ukraine's independence, when there was considerable misunderstanding between Ukrainian women and foreign women and gender experts, partly because, quoting one woman, "we could not buy food at the time, our whole political, social, and economic life went completely upside down. And so we were listening to those [foreign expert] ladies as if they flew in from Mars" (Pishchikova, 2011, 136). The situation has changed considerably since then. First of all, as mentioned above, there is a considerable generational change. Furthermore, many people (mostly those who we call the "middle class") have managed to gain a degree of economic stability, moved beyond the challenges of satisfying basic needs and with it have gained the precious resource of the middle class – free time, including time to participate in feminist debate. However, the growth of the small middle class may also mean a greater divide among women – between those who have time to engage in feminist debate about gender strategic needs and those who have to grapple primarily with their own practical needs.

Among all the issues in the communications of the five organizations, gender-based violence is the most common. In the posts about gender-based violence, the discussion is less about shelters for women and services for psychological support (practical needs), but rather about the need to change stereotypes that allow the society to close its eyes on gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is also often talked about in terms of legislation, effective enforcement of laws and international conventions. In this case, pursuing satisfaction of strategic gender needs has a direct impact on gender practical needs. As one of the interview participants pointed out, for example, ratification of the Istanbul convention "in the context of decentralization [in Ukraine], when an increasing amount of power belongs to communities, will entail the

creation of … sufficient number of shelters for the victims, as well as control over social services".

5.4.2. Personal Stories

The vast majority of posts refer to Ukrainian gender equality and women's issues in a local context. They provide Ukrainian-specific examples, statistics, stories and insights by Ukrainian women. It is important to point out here that the analyzed organizations, as well as the gender equality and women's movement in Ukraine in general, show a great degree of local ownership. Organizations' staff and gender equality and other female experts who write for the organizations' website and social media are all Ukrainian. The only exception is Organization B – an INGO, which has a considerable number of foreign staff along with Ukrainians. The social media posts sometimes refer to global norms to support and reinforce their message, but these posts are the minority. One of the very important positive trends is women (and to a lesser extent men) sharing their personal stories. The posts featuring personal stories account for around 15% of all posts. As mentioned by Solovey (2018), this can be a good practice of providing context-relevant information that provides real existing situations on the ground and can easily be related to by people from the same country, as opposed to providing theory, which might be inapplicable in certain contexts.

The personal stories featured by the organizations are a great tool for women's self-empowerment by raising their sensitivity to injustices, which remain invisible to some women. Many of the personal stories have a common theme of self-awareness and self-care. For a number of years women have been expected to combine employment, reproductive work and emotional care for their families. Women's needs, development and psychological well-being were at the end of the priorities list – something that was taken for granted and something that some of these posts try to change.

The importance of personal stories has been emphasized by research participants during the interviews. For example, one of the participants said that "this is a constant strategy of attracting the attention and involvement of the people, the victims, the heroines themselves, so that they write their stories, also include some international experience - such a very diverse comprehensive approach to the issue." She continues:

> "…the drivers of the process are always those who are directly affected - that is, the victims who are affected by this injustice. […] Our

> [organizations'] heroines – those who are now public […] – they are real people, not some mythical figures, but real people who have been discriminated against and are ready to speak publicly, ready to go to courts to assert their rights." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

According to the interview participants, the strategies show results. First of all, the interest in the issues of gender equality grows, they are increasingly discussed in the public sphere:

> "For me, this is a very good sign that people, even without being activists, without taking any active part, without going to the [women's] march on March 8, but somehow they increasingly accept that such a situation exists – gender inequality exists." (Interview, 17/12/2020, translation by the author)

Secondly, many people get used to discussing previously taboo issues:

> "Today it is exactly 5 years since we presented the study […] about women in the anti-terrorist operation, and it was also very… as I recall there was great media interest, the military came. At first, there was such a rejection of the subject, and now everything has changed, and even such a complex topic as sexual harassment is easier to present, thanks to this constant communication." (Interview, 4/12/2020, translation by the author)

Diversifying the audience is viewed as a challenge by the organizations. Organization B sets a priority to diversify its audience geographically, as getting messages to more distant places outside of big cities was one of the challenges that the research participant from this organization highlighted. According to her, 50% of their audience was from the capital, Kyiv. The rest was mostly from other big cities in Ukraine. Therefore, they have a plan to organize offline meetings with students at the universities in different cities around Ukraine.

The same interviewee, when talking about the challenges, including communication challenges, mentioned the disagreement between different Ukrainian feminists. This is another recurring issue happening on the sidelines of the feminist discussion in Ukraine and raised in several posts by the organizations I research here. Strong criticism of any different views on women's and gender issues by some feminists causes Ukrainian women to avoid calling themselves feminists. For example, one interviewee when answering a question about the challenges that the organization faces in its work, especially in terms of communications, mentioned the following:

> "On the one hand, we are fighting against those who stand for, quote, unquote, family values and who believe that we are doing something bad. On the other hand, we have to fight with [other] feminists, well… not to fight, but somehow to get negativity from them. Reacting to this negativity is emotionally strenuous. So, unfortunately, we found ourselves in such a strange situation, when we are somewhere in the middle." (Interview, 17/12/2020, translation by the author)

One of the organizations analyzed here had a post featuring an illustration of two women facing and shouting at each other through loudspeakers, claiming to be the "real feminist". The post argues that the reality is not black-and-white, therefore there are no feminists who are right or wrong, disagreeing with each other is normal, as soon as you listen to and respect the other person. Finally and most importantly, the author emphasizes that the feminism that treats other women in a toxic manner contradicts itself. The post was liked over 1000 times and received over 700 comments. On average the social media posts of this organization have around 25 comments per post. Furthermore, as a result of the discussion in the comments to this post, one user was banned from the page, 5 users received warnings from the organization's Facebook page moderator for using transphobic expressions and being rude. This can illustrate how big the issue is and how important it is to start a broader discussion to find common grounds, emphasize the importance of tolerance and rediscover the women's solidarity.

5.4.3. Word Frequency and Terminology

To conduct frequency analysis I used NVivo data analysis software. I excluded from the analysis the words which do not carry important meanings, such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, as well as the geographic locations and some other words like verbs to be, to have, etc. The numbers in Tables 8, 9 and 10 indicate the percentage that the word accounts for among all other words in the text.

The word frequency analysis points towards much of the previous analysis of social media posts about the representations of different genders by the five organizations. We can see that the word "women" is the most frequently used. The word "men" follows closely behind. So is the word "violence" – a major issue discussed by the organizations, along with "equality/equity", "rights", "gender" and "feminism".

Table 9. Word Frequency – Social Media

#	Word	All organizations, %	Org. A	Org. B	Org. C	Org. D	Org. E
1	Women	1.68	1.57	1.97	2.71	1.36	0.97
2	Violence	0.47	0.49	0.64	0.11	0.38	0.68
3	Men	0.57	0.65	0.42	0.05	0.63	0.45
4	Equality / equity	0.35	0.1	0.93	0.4	0.36	0
5	Rights	0.34	0.34	0.41	0.24	0.33	0.11
6	Gender	0.39	0.47	0.67	0.36	0.24	0.15
7	Military	0.33	0.13	0	0.02	0.02	3.38
8	Opportunity	0.18	0.07	0.38	0.38	0.14	0.19
9	Support, help	0.31	0.24	0.33	0.98	0.19	0.38
10	Sex, sexual	0.24	0.28	0.14	0	0.16	0.71
11	World	0.19	0.24	0.23	0.04	0.08	0.11
12	Participation	0.28	0.12	0.13	0.45	0.11	0.18
13	Work, labour	0.31	0.74	0.33	0.22	0.31	0.28
14	Response	0.12	0	0	0.42	0.07	0.21
15	Feminism	0.17	0.43	0	0.25	0	0
16	Children	0.14	0.16	0.08	0.08	0.17	0
17	COVID	0.13	0	0.28	0.3	0	0
18	Changes	0.17	0.23	0.1	0.2	0.07	0.43
19	Stories	0.16	0.25	0.06	0.17	0.12	0.25
20	LGBT	0.12	0.25	0.04	0	0.05	0
21	Experience	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.29
22	Movement	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.03	0.14
23	Stereotype	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.04	0.18	0

Table 10. Word Frequency – Articles

#	Word	All organizations, %
1	Women	1.24
2	Men	0.58
3	LGBT	0.42
4	Children	0.39
5	Work	0.25
6	Rights	0.22
7	Sex	0.2
8	Violence	0.19
9	Feminism	0.19
10	Gender	0.18
11	Organization	0.18
12	Equality/equity	0.16
13	Movement	0.16
14	Research	0.13
15	Experience	0.11
16	Participation	0.06

Table 11. Word Frequency – Publications

#	Word	All organizations, %
1	Roma	2.2
2	Women	1.56
3	Gender	0.83
4	Strategies	0.74
5	Rights	0.72
6	Organizations	0.63
7	Events	0.62
8	Equality/equity	0.62
9	Evaluation	0.54
10	Society	0.45
11	Implementation	0.44
12	Minority	0.31
13	Potential	0.29
14	Development	0.28
15	Integration	0.27
16	Opportunity	0.27

The word "gender" was introduced in Ukraine in the 1990s and at that time was a totally new notion. The word is used as a transliteration of the English word – гендер. The term has since been widely used in the Ukrainian public discourse. The word "gender" is mostly used by the organizations in such expressions as "gender (in)equality", "gender-based violence", "gender stereotypes". It is also used (but less often) in the expressions "gender assessment", "gender budgeting", "gender gap", "gender policy" – especially by Organization B (INGO). All these expressions primarily refer to gender, understanding men and women, therefore speaking about equality between men and women, stereotypes about men and women, violence against women, etc. The usage of gender as referring to gender identity (in non-binary terms) is more rare. In the posts that I analyzed, the only expression used that refers to gender identity not in terms of the man and woman binary is "gender diversity" – used twice by Organization D.

A state gender policy began in Ukraine in 2006 when the government passed a law "About Providing Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" (Plakhotnik, 2011). Plakhotnik argues that the Ukraine government, following the EU gender policies, has embraced gender mainstreaming – "a part and parcel of the European neoliberal policy of … modernization". In other words, it means that gender equality is not pursued as an aim in itself, but rather as a way for achieving greater efficiency in economic development (Plakhotnik, 2011; Parpart, 2014); therefore putting the economic benefits of gender equality first. Furthermore, Plakhotnik argues

that the Ukrainian government went further and filled the terms with their own meaning, calling it "gender movement". To describe this situation, she uses the expression coined by Pershai – "colonization inside-out," meaning a process when "a Western term with strong critical potential is "colonized" by the post-Soviet context and as a result becomes a conventionally neutral indicator for justifying and legitimizing the current social status quo" (Plakhotnik, 2011).

The organizations analyzed here do not use the term "gender movement". Also, based on analysis of their social media posts, articles and publications, they do not emphasize the economic benefits of gender equality as justification for their work. There are, nevertheless, several instances when gender equality is represented as a factor that can bring certain "benefits". These benefits include: more funding for social protection (as female politicians tend to prioritize social issues more than their male counterparts), smaller life expectancy gap between men and women (due to decreased level of risk-based behaviour among men), higher level of social innovations (due to elimination of barriers for acceptance of women's ideas).

Another term that is important to discuss here is the term "empowerment". A buzzword in international development and gender planning discourse, it is largely absent from the Ukrainian gender equality and feminist discourse, although what it means might be very well applied to many of the representations by the organizations I analyze. First of all, the word "empowerment" has no established translation in Ukrainian. Different sources mention different variants of translation, among them "уповноваження" (upovnovazhennia), "підсилення" (pidsylennia) and "розширення прав та можливостей жінок" (rozshyrennya prav ta mozhlyvostei zhinok). The first one – upovnovazhennia – is the most direct translation of the term, can also mean "authorization". It is very rarely used and none of the organizations analyzed use this term. The second one – pidsylennia – means "strengthening". This word is being used several times by Organization C in the following phrases: "grants for women's organizations, which support and strengthen women", "strengthened, female leaders will be able to win". Considering the criticism of the English word "empowerment" for the idea it brings that women need to be empowered by someone from outside – usually a Western donor, the translation "strengthening" is slightly better, as it implies that women are their own agents, they just need support to succeed. The third term - rozshyrennya prav ta mozhlyvostei zhinok – means "expanding women's rights and opportunities". This translation is much more specific than the term empowerment,

which decreases its fuzziness (Eyben, Rosalind, & Napier-Moore, 2009). It is the term which is used most often in the Ukrainian narrative, and was also used as the translation of empowerment into Ukrainian in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. This term is used by Organization B and C. It seems that these organizations have a greater tendency to align with global trends in international development and gender equality movements than the others, including the use of terminology. None of the other three use the terms "empower" or "empowerment" and organizations B and C only use the term a few times. In general, this word is not used extensively in the Ukrainian context, although the actual work of organizations might foster women's empowerment.

Despite the absence of the word "empowerment" in the Ukrainian gender equality discourse, there are many other foreign terms which were accepted and are widely used by the organizations and more widely by the Ukrainian feminist community. Susan Bassnett and Esperança Bielsa argue that there are two types of translations: domesticated and foreignized, with the former conforming to the local culture and rules of the target language and the latter preserving the source culture (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2008, 9; Sánchez-Martín, 2017). Analysis of the organizations' texts shows that most of the translations of the feminist and gender equality movement terminology are foreignized. Many borrowed words and transliterations from English are used. Here are some of the words that are being used in a form of transliteration from English to Ukrainian: abuser (аб'юзер), stalking (сталкінг), sexting (секстинг), lookism (лукізм), victim-blaming (віктимблеймінг). Some of these words have Ukrainian equivalents, for example, the word abuser can be translated into Ukrainian as "кривдник", but the English transliteration - аб'юзер - is still used in the social media posts I analyzed. Other words are new notions which do not have equivalents in the Ukrainian language.

Some Ukrainian researchers make an effort to translate the foreign terms into Ukrainian. For example, Tamara Martseniuk (2018) uses predominantly Ukrainian translations of the terms in her book "Чому не варто боятися фемінізму" ("Why There is No Need to Be Afraid of Feminism"). This makes it easier for a wider audience to be able to read and relate to the content. Foreign terms relate well to younger audiences, but might not work well with someone who is not very familiar with the terms or does not speak English.

5.4.4. To Be a Feminist in Order to Be Modern

The narrative of modernizing developing countries with the help of donors is not new and feminism is often viewed as a part of the "Western modernity" that is brought to developing countries by the donors (Solovey, 2019). The lack of gender equality in a developing country and the feeling of frustration and inferiority to Western countries connected with it might lead to a situation called "internalized coloniality" (Solovey, 2019). It is still not uncommon to hear expressions such as "civilized countries" (as opposed to uncivilized Ukraine) in the Ukrainian public space. While some authors from post-Soviet countries admit that this kind of narrative exists within their feminist communities (Solovey, 2019), analysis of the five organizations' communications in Ukraine has not shown many similar situations. But there were a few, and one particular post catches attention.

The post criticizes a negative situation when Ukrainian politicians repeatedly during their foreign visits advertise "beautiful Ukrainian women" as a tourist brand, highlighting issues of lookism. It is more interesting to see *how* this issue is brought up in the post. It features a personal story of a young woman and her acquaintance – a woman from the US who in her own words was "banished" to Ukraine to work for an international organization. The woman called Jane complained about being invisible in Ukraine, because " 'In the US, I went to a disco in a T-shirt for three bucks and old jeans,' she complained. And here women put on elaborate make-up even in the morning before work. This is 'lookism' – discrimination on the basis of appearance." The story in the post is one of the examples when foreign experts come to a country and judge its norms according to the standards of their own culture. One of the comments under this post makes a good point by mentioning the reasons for increased emphasis on appearance among Ukrainian women: "The desire to do bright make-up will soon pass. And because of this, Ukrainian women should not be treated superficially and contemptuously. The fact is that in their genetic memory they have the grayness of Soviet life – when one was not supposed to stand out … Women from the US do not understand this – they have always had the opportunity to buy beautiful things and make-up." Nevertheless, the author tells herself to "think like Jane" when she hears new remarks from Ukrainian politicians about Ukrainian women.

It is also important to point out here that some researchers connect modern Ukrainian women's identities with neoliberal transformations and free market ideology.

For example, Zhurzhenko (2016, 30) writes that "it is far from simple to determine today to what degree the creation of new women's identities is a result of the increased freedom of self-expression and possibilities of political participation, and to what degree it is the result of identification with models produced by mass media and new ideologies of the free market and democratization". She adds that "mass culture offered an already existing set of western identification models, ranging from the thriving businesswoman to the ideal housewife" (Zhurzhenko, 2016, 30). Therefore, Ukrainian women's underlined attention to their appearance, which is criticized by the woman in the post, ironically, can be partly the result of Western neoliberal ideas, which have been encouraged in Ukraine since its independence.

Seeing Western countries as a norm is still not uncommon in Ukraine. Furthermore, it should also be mentioned that there is still a trend of equating being modern and progressive with following gender equality and the feminist movement in Ukraine. Some of the interviewees mention that they use modernity as an important argument in the discussions about gender equality and feminist movement in Ukraine with those who disagree with it, pointing out that if one wants to be modern, they should also accept and follow the issue of gender equality:

> "I often use this trick with students when I tell them that… well… so to speak – this is the topic of a progressive world, a progressive person. If you consider yourself progressive, you can't avoid talking about – ignoring the topic of gender equality or inequality. You can explore it yourself, you don't have to listen to me or anyone else. Make your own research, make your own conclusions about it, but you can't ignore or just deny that such a topic exists… well, you are progressive. […] what helps me in this, of course, is that we are joined by very progressive people, opinion leaders, the most progressive politicians in the world – such as Obama or Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Sweden, President of Iceland, President of Finland – these are the countries whose standards of living you cannot deny. It helps to convince people in some way." (Interview, 17/12/2020, translation by the author)

It is common in the Ukrainian media discourse to emphasize that gender equality is a compulsory prerequisite to being a civilized society. This is an appealing argument for many people. Especially considering that, indeed, countries that have greater gender equality are usually the countries that have high living standards. Therefore, it is

tempting to conclude that if Ukraine follows exactly the development path of those countries, it will manage to become similar to these "civilized countries". However, it is important to avoid simplifications and to remember the stories from history which show that replication does not work, because there are numerous local contexts, which should be taken into account.

The tendency to represent being modern or being "European" as a major motivation to engage with feminist ideas and issues of gender equality, as opposed to seeing the gender equality as a goal in itself can be found in the communications by the organizations I analyzed. But unlike in mainstream media, this kind of representation is still rare and the need to achieve gender equality is mostly explained in terms of human rights, justice and being humane and respectful to other people (irrespectful of their gender or any other part of their identity). Interestingly, organization D on its website mentions that equal rights and opportunities for men and women will make us closer to the European future. However, the posts and articles that I analyzed did not contain any further references to the connection between gender equality and Ukraine's Europeanness.

On the other hand, there are people in Ukraine who support strict patriarchal family and social values. They oppose the feminist movement by using the argument that feminism and gender equality movement has been brought to Ukraine from the outside and contradicts Ukrainian traditional values. This group of people includes, among others, supporters of Ukrainian far-right movements. However, they do not necessarily oppose the Ukrainian movement towards European integration and Ukraine's embracing general European values. Channel-Justice in her article about left-wing feminist movements in Ukraine during the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 makes an interesting observation: many slogans used by people on the Independence Square[27] referenced Europe, for example: "Україна це Європа" ("Ukraine is Europe"). Therefore, "using the framework of European advancement, feminists … regularly reminded protesters that there are active EU initiatives to decrease the gender-based pay gap and to encourage equal earning among men and women in Europe, and there are laws against discrimination based on gender and sexuality (European Union 2015).5 Thus, if Ukrainians think they are Europeans, they will have to support LGBT rights

[27] Also called Maidan – the central square in Kyiv, where most of the events of the Revolution of Dignity took place.

and legislation for gender equality… " (Channel-Justice, 2017, 719). However, when the feminists appeared with the slogans such as "Європа – це толерантність" ("Europe is tolerance") and "Гендеру боятись – в Європу не ходить" ("If you are afraid of gender, you cannot be part of Europe"), they were met with hostility.

The 5 organizations I have analyzed often refer to the personalities of famous Ukrainian women in history who supported and worked for women's rights, such as Milena Rudnytska, Nataliya Kobrynska, Olha Kobylianska. There are also many representations of Lesya Ukrainka, a very famous Ukrainian writer who redefined the roles of women in her literature. These representations are in part meant to celebrate the lives and achievements of these women who made significant contributions to the Ukrainian women's movement in the 19th – early 20th century. I believe that representing these women also serves as a justification of the modern Ukrainian feminist movement. It challenges the claims that feminism is foreign to Ukrainian traditions and culture and was brought from the West. Images and articles about these women demonstrate the continuing tradition of standing for rights of the women in Ukraine. Moreover, some of the women are also important national figures and some posts directly say so. For example, one post is linked to an article about an important female figure in Ukrainian culture, the article was called "Olena Pchilka – a Great Mother of Ukrainian nationalism".

The organizations in their representations often redefine the image of these women to make them more modern and interesting for young people. This corresponds with a wider trend among young people to use images of famous important Ukrainian personalities from the past as the basis for their artworks and illustrations, experimentations with style and allusion. For example, there are illustrations of famous female Ukrainian poets and writers from the 19th century wearing modern clothes, or wearing Ukrainian traditional necklace in rainbow colours.

Overall, from this chapter it can be seen that the organizations' representations are considerably grounded in the local context – they often refer to the Ukrainian history and provide analysis of its influence on women and gender relations in Ukraine today. Most of them in one way or another admit importance of patriotic identity among Ukrainian feminists, for example, by publishing content about military women who are serving as military in the Eastern Ukraine, or by publishing articles that analyze the connection between nationalism and feminism in the Ukrainian history. I will provide more analysis of the findings in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of Research Findings

When I speak to my acquaintances in Ukraine about this research, there are some people who are very surprised, first about the fact that there is gender inequality in Ukraine, and second that there are local NGOs which work on this issue. These reactions show that the movement for gender equality in Ukraine is still, to some extent, a narrow sphere. Nevertheless, more and more people in Ukraine are interested in gender equality. These issues are increasingly discussed in the Ukrainian mass media, specifically the television news. Compared with the 1990s, when there was very little public attention to gender equality and feminism, there is now an increasing number of books and articles that are being translated from English and other languages and also written domestically in Ukraine.

The main goal of this research was to find out how women's and feminist NGOs in Ukraine represent women and gender in their social marketing campaigns, as well as to analyze the factors that shape these representations. Based on data analysis of social media, articles and publications of 5 women's and feminist NGOs, as well as interviews with NGOs representatives, the research found that there is strong local ownership within donor-funded development projects in Ukraine which deal with issues of gender and women. The staff of most gender equality organizations are predominantly Ukrainian women, who report a considerable level of freedom in both their programming and communications work in relation to international donors. Representations of women and gender are grounded in the local context, as they provide local examples, focus on local problems and refer to the history of Ukraine. A more global approach is common for Organization B – an international NGO – as oftentimes its programming and communication campaigns are aligned with its international headquarters and branches in other countries. However, when a social media post is about the situation in foreign countries or discusses Western feminist theory, the author usually includes analysis of the Ukrainian context. Donors do not appear in most representations.

At least two organizations tend to see achieving gender equality as a part of the broader context of the Ukrainian movement toward European integration and toward being more modern/civilized. This is a reflection of a general trend in Ukrainian society.

However, while this approach is visible in the 'About Us' pages of some organizations and in some of the interviews, it is less represented in the posts and articles I analyzed.

At least four of the organizations can be characterized as (neo)liberal feminist as they pay attention to women's participation in existing patriarchal structures and at least three of them often use "individualised lifestyle discourse" (Dabrowski, 2021, 90) to talk about women's empowerment. However, organizations A, D and, to a lesser extent, organization B tend to promote the idea of reforming the patriarchal structures through changing masculine leadership norms, fighting stereotypes about women at the workplace, in politics, in media and at home. Therefore, unlike strictly (neo)liberal feminist organizations, they demonstrate a more critical approach towards patriarchal structures.

Women's achievements are portrayed by organizations A, B, D and E through women's hard work, their belief in themselves, along with rebelliousness and steadiness in countering social expectations of them as women. Young women, mostly from the middle or prospective middle and upper class are the focus of online representations, comprising almost 70% of all the people represented online. Ethnic minorities, including Roma people, are underrepresented online. The majority of the posts reflect a focus on women's strategic needs such as eliminating gender-based violence, countering the gendered division of labour, encouraging men to share domestic labour and promoting women's political participation. However, there is an important distinction here between the organizations, as organizations B and C focus more attention on women's practical gender needs and women's collective empowerment (power with). They also represent vulnerable women more than others, for example, women living in the conflict zone, IDPs, and older women.

The organizations include at least some posts about women in the military, generally from a positive perspective. The issue of national sentiment among feminists is not discussed by all the organizations, but amongst those that do, it is a contentious issue. Those that do, mostly discuss it from the historical perspective, tracing its origins and explaining its importance. However, some smaller non-professional feminist NGOs in Ukraine actively criticize the support of nationalism as alignment with far-right groups and support for military actions. National sentiments among feminists are also perceived by some as watering down the transformational force of feminist thought in the interest of the nation.

Despite the widely discussed problem of an instrumental approach to women within gender mainstreaming and contemporary empowerment discourse in international development, none of the representations I analyzed reflected an instrumental approach to women. Usually, gender equality and women's wellbeing are seen as goals in themselves, rather than a means to broader social goals.

Men are represented by the organizations around 7 times less frequently than women. In general, while organizations often use the word gender, it typically refers to women and women's issues. Men are most often portrayed as women's supporters in the feminist movement, and more rarely as perpetrators or as beneficiaries of the gender equality movement. The tendency of the organizations to include men as those who also suffer from gender inequality as well as those who support the women's movement is criticized by some feminists in Ukraine. One of the interviewees explained this critique in the following way:

> here the question is whether everyone wants to see men in this struggle, […] secondly, what interests a person, or a direction of the feminist movement – the process of struggle itself or the result. It seems to me that we […] find the result to be most important, and if for this result it is necessary to involve men or call them feminists […], I will be including them, I will persuade them to join our side. If they have more leverage at the moment – unfortunately this is the case […] let them change something with these levers of power, so that in 5-10 years women, for example, feminists, have these levers of power.

The analysis also found an extensive use of foreign terminology, including not only the terms which introduce new concepts into the Ukrainian language that do not have direct translations (empowerment, gender, gender mainstreaming), but also words that can easily be translated into Ukrainian (abuser). On the other hand, the word, "empowerment", which is considered to be a buzzword in international development when discussing women's issues, is rarely mentioned in the organizations' communications.

6.2. Limitations of the research

This research aimed to cover the gap in the literature about representations of women and gender in the non-governmental sphere in Ukraine, as well as to address the gap in the academic literature on feminist organizations in Ukraine from the

perspective of postcolonial feminism. While this gap speaks to the theoretical significance of this research, it is also one of its limitations, as there is still not enough literature on the topic. This thesis poses important questions that could be developed and deepened in further research: how are Ukrainian women's and feminist organizations positioned in the Ukrainian feminism, what is Ukrainian feminism, how organizations represent women and gender, what are the practical implications of these representations.

The thesis would also benefit greatly from fieldwork in Ukraine, which was unfortunately not possible due to the COVID-19 pandemic during the months when I was working on my data collection. Fieldwork would have helped to provide further insights from the feminist community in Ukraine, as well as greater possibilities of communication with feminist and women's organizations' representatives.

Lastly, the content analysis in this research uses a limited number of publications and social media posts, therefore there is a possibility that the results may not be fully representative. Further research on the topic could use a bigger sample and apply additional language analysis tools in the analysis for more accurate results.

6.3. Theoretical and practical significance

Theoretically, this thesis contributes to the research of feminist movements and organizations in Ukraine from a postcolonial feminism perspective. There is a potential for further research in this direction, as postcolonial approaches are not widely used within feminist research in Ukraine. The thesis also helps to position Ukrainian feminisms in relation to its neighbours in the Second World, as well as to Western feminisms. It combines and organizes information about the specificities of Ukrainian feminisms as present in previous academic literature as well as analysis of the feminist and women's organizations' representations of gender and women in Ukraine.

With regards to representations, this thesis poses important questions about how organizations represent women and gender equality – a question that has not been systematically researched in the context of Ukraine and other postsocialist countries. For example, one of the important findings of this research is that the way organizations in Ukraine represent women is different from representations

described by the research focused on developing countries outside the postsocialist world (Dogra, 2011; Wilson, 2011). There are some important differences in who creates representations and who are the audiences that can explain the differences in representations. The representations by the organizations I researched are mostly created by Ukrainian women for Ukrainian women. Therefore, women are rarely shown as unhappy, poor and victimized, but more often as strong, independent and empowered. This is underlined by the angle of view and emotions dominating in the pictures.

Practically, this thesis points to the considerations that could be taken into account when representing women and gender in the non-governmental sphere in Ukraine. Inclusion of all groups of women is one of the most important considerations. Currently, the organizations tend to represent predominantly young middle or prospective middle class women. They are usually the ones who are most interested in feminism in Ukraine. This might mean that organizations are targeting a social group that does not need to change their minds on gender roles and stereotypes – they already support gender equality and feminism. It is a much more difficult, but urgent, task to involve new groups that might be less supportive.

Another important consideration is the visibility of vulnerable women and older adults in the representations. They have distinctive situations and needs from other groups of women and, therefore, it is important that they are represented. The organizations I researched differ substantially in their representations of older and vulnerable women. In the representations by organization A, older women account for less than 10% of all the women represented, while other vulnerable women (IDPs, Roma women, women who experience homelessness, economically disadvantaged women) – for less than 4%. Organization C has the greatest numbers among the organizations researched: over 50% and 10%, respectively.

Analyzing representations critically helps to keep power imbalances in check, uncover existing problems and ways for moving forward in communicating issues of gender equality. It also provides an opportunity to take a conscious approach in defining Ukrainian feminism and locating it in the global feminist movement.

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APPENDIX A: INFORMATION ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Time of creation	Size	Focus	Sources of funding
Org. A	late 2010s	small	Ukrainian awareness-raising informational platform. Its main goal is to promote understanding of gender issues among the Ukrainian public and to create a space for discussions. The organizations uses its website and social media to share feminist and gender equality-themed academic research, practical advice, statistics, personal stories of women, book reviews and reflections.	Foreign donor organization
Org. B	late 1990s	big	Ukrainian branch of INGO. Its goal is to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. It focuses on women's leadership and political participation, eradicating gender-based violence. The organization cooperates with the government to include gender equality principles in development planning in Ukraine.	Foreign governments
Org. C	early 2000s	middle	International charitable organization that provides financial, information and consultation support to women's CSOs in Ukraine and several neighbouring countries. It often serves as an intermediary between foreign donors and Ukrainian women's and feminist CSOs.	Various foreign donor organizations and foreign governments
Org. D	early 2010s	small	Ukrainian educational human rights informational platform and media campaign. Its goal is to analyze and publicize cases of sexism, gender stereotypes and biased representations of women, especially in the spheres of mass media and politics in Ukraine. It aims to raise awareness about gender equality and fight against gender stereotypes.	Foreign government and foreign donor organizations
Org. E	late 2010s	middle	Human rights organization. Its goal is to ensure the rights of Ukrainian military women working in the Ukrainian Armed	Foreign donor organization

			Forces and especially those women who have been fighting in the Eastern Ukraine against Russian aggression.	

*Small – under 10 employees; middle – 10-20; big – over 20.

APPENDIX B: EMAIL INVITATION TO INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS (EN)

Dear [Recipient],

I am a Masters student in International Development Studies at Dalhousie University in Canada and I'm conducting research on gender representations in the Ukrainian non-governmental sector. I would like to conduct an interview with you about your perspectives on verbal and visual representations of gender that could promote gender equality and respect for all genders in Ukrainian society.

The goal of the research is to better understand the factors that shape representations of gender in the non-governmental sector in Ukraine and to generate data and analysis that can potentially be useful to increase the effectiveness of non-governmental media platforms as tools for promoting just and non-sexist representations of gender.

The interview would take 40-50 minutes and can take place over Skype Private Conversations or another video conference application convenient for you.

I am looking to interview 2 people (separately) occupying the positions of Communications Officer, Executive Director, Director of Research and Policy / Policy Advocacy. Participation is limited to persons who have been working at the organization for over 1 year.

Should you choose to participate, your identity and that of your organization will be kept confidential throughout this research and the dissemination of the findings. You may choose not to answer any question that you'd rather not talk about, and you can withdraw your answers from the study at any time before the findings are published.

Please let me know if you would be willing to take part in an interview and do not hesitate to contact me by phone (+1 902-441-0683) or email (i.rozhenko@dal.ca) if you have any questions. You can also contact my supervisors Dr. John Cameron (+1 902-494-7011; john.cameron@dal.ca) and Dr. Theresa Ulicki (+1 902-494-1377; ulickit@dal.ca).

If you agree to an interview, I will send you a Statement of Informed Consent to review, which explains in detail the risks related to the research and the steps I will take to protect your confidentiality.

Thank you,

Ievgeniia Rozhenko | MA
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES | Department of International Development Studies
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
Mobile: 1.902.441.0683

APPENDIX C: EMAIL INVITATION TO INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS (UA)

Шановна(-ий) [Отримувачу/Отримувачко], вітаю!

Я студентка магістерської програми з міжнародного розвитку Університету Делхаузі (Dalhousie University) у Канаді. Наразі я проводжу дослідження на тему репрезентацій гендерної тематики в українському недержавному секторі і хотіла б зустрітися з Вами онлайн для інтерв'ю щодо Вашого бачення практик репрезентацій гендерної тематики, зокрема в соціальних мережах.

Мета дослідження – визначити особливості стратегій репрезентацій гендерної тематики в недержавному секторі України та проаналізувати фактори, що впливають на їхнє формування, а також дослідити взаємодію аудиторії через коментарі та онлайн обговорення в соціальних мережах.

Інтерв'ю триватиме 40-50 хвилин і проводитиметься через Skype Private Conversations або інший зручний для Вас додаток для відеоконференцій. В разі Вашої згоди на інтерв'ю, Ваше ім'я, посада та назва Вашої організації/закладу вищої освіти будуть залишатися конфіденційними протягом всього дослідження і після публікації його результатів. Ви можете не відповідати на будь-яке незручне для Вас запитання. Протягом місяця після інтерв'ю Ви можете надіслати вимогу не включати в дослідження інформацію, надану Вами під час нашої бесіди.

Прошу надіслати відповідь щодо можливості Вашої участі. Якщо у Вас є запитання щодо інтерв'ю чи дослідження загалом, Ви можете зв'язатися зі мною в будь-який час по телефону (+1 902-441-0683) або надіславши листа на мою електронну пошту (i.rozhenko@dal.ca). Ви також можете зв'язатися з моїми науковими керівниками Джоном Камероном (+1 902-494-7011; john.cameron@dal.ca) та Терезою Юлікі (+1 902-494-1377; ulickit@dal.ca).

В разі Вашої згоди на участь, я надішлю Вам Заяву про інформовану згоду, в якій детально викладено усі можливі ризики та кроки передбачені для забезпечення Вашої конфіденційності.

Дякую!

З повагою,

Євгенія Роженко

Ievgeniia Rozhenko | MA
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES | Department of International Development Studies
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
Mobile: 1.902.441.0683

APPENDIX D: STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT (EN)

Statement of Informed Consent

Project title: Representations Of Gender In Ukraine: Social Marketing Campaigns For Gender Equality

Lead researcher: Ievgeniia Rozhenko
Department of International Development Studies
Dalhousie University
Halifax, N.S.
Email: i.rozhenko@dal.ca
Tel: +1 902-441-0683

Introduction
I invite you to take part in a research study being conducted by MA student Ievgeniia Rozhenko (Dalhousie University) on gender representation in non-governmental sector in Ukraine. The information below tells you about what is involved in the research, the themes I hope to discuss with you in an interview, and the measures I will take to protect your confidentiality.

The choice to participate is entirely up to you. Please ask me as many questions as you like about the study before you decide.

Purpose and Outline of the Research Study
This research will examine representations of gender in non-governmental sector in Ukraine. It aims to analyze how gender is represented, how representations of gender in non-governmental sector are working to reduce sexism in Ukraine and dispel the stereotypes about gender roles. It also aims to gain insights and analyze the audience perceptions of NGOs` representations through their interaction on the social media pages.

The project seeks to answer the following research questions:

1) What are the strategies of gender representation used by NGOs in their social marketing campaigns?

The sub-questions are:

1) What are the factors that shape gender representations in Ukrainian non-governmental sector?
2) What is the audience perception of these representations and of the gender equality movement in Ukraine in general?

The goal of this project is to generate data that can potentially be useful for understanding and further developing the strategies of gender representations in non-governmental sector in Ukraine and for placing it in the context of the global movement

for gender equality.

What does the interview involve?
I will ask questions about your experience and views on gender-related communication, especially on social media, and gender equality movement in Ukraine. The interview will take approximately 40-50 minutes and will be conducted via Skype Private Conversation or a different video conferencing application of your choice.

With your permission, I will audio-record the interview – unless you prefer that I only take notes. You do not have to answer any question or line of questioning that you do not want to answer. You may end the interview or take a break at any time or tell me to pause recording if you want any part of our conversation to be 'off the record.' In that case the recording will be stopped and no notes will be taken of that part of the conversation.

Possible Benefits
Participating in this study will not generate any direct benefits for you, but your participation will help me to generate data and analysis which I hope will contribute to a deeper understanding of the current situation and trends in representations of gender in non-governmental sector in Ukraine, as well as of the factors that shape certain perceptions about gender among wider population.
This information might be used in future for a better-informed communications strategies and campaigns.

Possible Risks
I understand that the interview might involve some sensitive issues or information that you would not want to be shared publicly. I will take all possible measures to ensure the confidentiality of your interview and to keep the data from your interview confidential and secure (please see below). However, there is always some risk that confidentiality could be breached or that you or your organization could be identified as the source of the data.

How your information will be protected: I will do all that I can to protect your privacy and confidentiality during the interview and after it has been completed.

Privacy: The interview will be conducted via Skype Private Conversation or a video conferencing application of your choice. Skype Private Conversation feature ensures that communication is end-to-end encrypted. While Skype provider – Microsoft – might be able to record and store parts of our conversation, they cannot read or decipher it.
While you are welcome to choose a different application, please be aware that in this case I will not be able to fully ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the interview.
I advise you to additionally protect your privacy from your side by arranging in advance a location that will allow you privacy while engaging in the interview. I will not disclose to anyone else that you have participated in an interview for this research.

Confidentiality: Your interview and the data from it will be treated as confidential. With your permission, I will record your interview on a password protected and encrypted audio recording device. However, I will <u>not</u> record your name or the name of your organization in the audio recording. Instead, I will assign your interview a code number and only I will have access to the document which connects your name to the

interview files. After the interview is conducted, I will transfer the encrypted audio file to a password protected folder to which only I will have access. The audio file will then be transcribed by me. The audio recording will then be destroyed. In publications and reports based on this research, I will not use your name or any specific information that could be linked back to you; I will only refer to you in general terms (e.g. 'a senior staff member in a large Ukrainian NGO). Despite these measures, there is always some possibility that other people might link a particular turn of phrase in a quotation back to you. If this is a concern for you, I will agree not to use any direct quotations from your interview. Alternatively, you can indicate the specific parts of the interview that you would prefer not to be quoted.

Data retention and management: After the recording of your interview has been transcribed, I will store the transcription (with your name and organization removed) it in an encrypted format in a password protected folder until April 30, 2023. This will enable me to keep the original data until the results of this research project have been published so that I can verify the accuracy of the research if needed. On April 30, 2023, I will destroy the interview transcripts.

Withdrawing from the study: During the interview, you are free to not answer any questions, to stop the interview, or to ask to turn off the audio recording. At the end of the interview, I will ask you to confirm that you are still willing for us to use your interview in the research. If you are not, I will destroy the audio recording and any notes from the interview. You can also choose for certain parts of the interview or specific comments not to be used in the research. If you decide that you do not want your interview to be used in this research project after the interview is over, please contact me (i.rozhenko@dal.ca). I can remove your information from the study up until one month after the interview. After then, I will not be able to completely remove the information you provided, because I will have integrated it into the overall analysis and may have already published the results. However, I will not use quotations from your interview or refer specifically to what you tell us.

How to obtain results from this research project: I will be sharing results from this research project with participants who are interested. If you indicate that you want to receive results, I will send you updates by email.

Questions: I am happy to talk with you about any questions or concerns you may have about your participation in this research study. Please contact me at i.rozhenko@dal.ca or +1 902-441-0683 at any time with questions, comments, or concerns about the research study. I will also tell you if any new information comes up that could affect your decision to participate.

If you have any ethical concerns about your participation in this research, you may also contact Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at +1 902 494-1462, or email: ethics@dal.ca (and reference REB file # 2020-5173)."

Signature Page

Project Title: Representations Of Gender In Ukraine: Social Marketing Campaigns For Gender Equality

Researcher: Ievgeniia Rozhenko
Department of International Development Studies
Dalhousie University
Halifax, N.S.
Email: i.rozhenko@dal.ca
Tel: +1 902-441-0683

I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I have been asked to take part in an interview that will occur via video conference. I understand direct quotes of things I say may be used without identifying me. I agree to take part in this study. My participation is voluntary, and I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study until one month after the interview.

I agree that my interview may be audio-recorded ☐Yes ☐No
I agree that direct quotes from my interview may be used without identifying me ☐Yes ☐No
I would like to receive report from this project by email ☐Yes ☐No

_____	_____	_____
Name	Signature	Date

APPENDIX E: STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT (UA)

Заява про інформовану згоду

Назва проекту: Репрезентації гендерної тематики в Україні: кампанії за гендерну рівність

Проводить дослідження: Євгенія Роженко
Кафедра міжнародного розвитку
Університет Делхаузі
Галіфакс, Нова Шотландія
Email: i.rozhenko@dal.ca
Тел.: +1 902-441-0683

Вступ
Я запрошую Вас взяти участь у дослідженні, що проводиться студенткою магістратури Євгенією Роженко (Університет Делхаузі) щодо репрезентацій гендерної тематики в неурядовому секторі в Україні. Нижче наведена більш детальна інформація про дослідження, теми, які я хотіла б обговорити з Вами під час інтерв'ю, та заходи, які вживатимуться для захисту Вашої конфіденційності.

Рішення брати участь в інтерв'ю в рамках цього дослідження залежить виключно від Вас. Я буду рада відповісти на всі Ваші питання щодо дослідження та надати додаткову інформацію, необхідну Вам для прийняття рішення щодо участі в інтерв'ю.

Мета та план дослідження
У цьому дослідженні буде розглянуто репрезентації гендерної тематики в неурядовому секторі в Україні. Дослідження має на меті проаналізувати те, як представлений гендер, як неурядові організації, що борються з гендерними стереотипами та гендерною нерівністю, працюють над зменшенням сексизму в Україні та розвіюванням стереотипів щодо гендерних ролей. Дослідження також має на меті проаналізувати сприйняття кампаній за гендерну рівність аудиторією соціальних мереж неурядових організацій шляхом дослідження їхньої взаємодії на сторінках соціальних мереж.

Проект має на меті відповісти на такі питання:

1) Які стратегії репрезентації гендерної тематики використовують неурядові організації у своїх комунікаційних кампаніях?

Під-запитання:

1) Які фактори впливають на формування комунікаційних кампаній на гендерну тематику в неурядовому секторі в Україні?
2) Яке сприйняття користувачами соціальних мереж репрезентацій гендерної тематики та руху за гендерну рівність в Україні?

Метою цього проекту є отримання даних, що можуть бути потенційно корисними для розуміння тенденцій в репрезентації гендерної тематики в Україні та того, як український рух за гендерну рівність співвідноситься з глобальним рухом, та що його вирізняє.

Що передбачає інтерв'ю?
Під час інтерв'ю я ставитиму запитання щодо Вашого бачення та досвіду імплементації комунікації на гендерну тематику, щодо Вашої роботи та роботи Вашої організації в напрямку гендерної рівності в Україні та щодо Вашого бачення руху за гендерну рівність в Україні. Інтерв'ю триватиме приблизно 40–50 хвилин і проводитиметься через Microsoft Teams, Skype Private Conversations або інший зручний для Вас додаток.

З вашого дозволу інтерв'ю буде записано на диктофон. Якщо Ви не хотіли б, щоб інтерв'ю записувалося, замість запису я буду робити нотатки. Ви можете не відповідати на будь-яке незручне для Вас запитання чи серію запитань, а також можете в будь-який час зупинити інтерв'ю, зробити перерву або попросити призупинити запис, якщо хотіли б щоб певна частина нашої розмови залишилася конфіденційною. У такому випадку запис буде призупинено, і я не робитиму жодних нотаток цієї частини розмови.

Переваги дослідження
Участь у цьому дослідженні не передбачає прямої вигоди для Вас та Вашої організації/закладу вищої освіти, однак Ваша участь допоможе мені зібрати та проаналізувати дані, що, сподіваюся, сприятимуть глибшому розумінню поточної ситуації та тенденцій у репрезентації гендерних питань у неурядовому секторі в Україні, а також факторів, що формують певне уявлення про гендер серед широкого українського загалу.
Ця інформація може бути використана в майбутньому для врахування при розробці комунікаційних стратегій та кампаній.

Можливі ризики
Я розумію, що інтерв'ю може включати делікатні питання та інформацію не передбачену для публічного розповсюдження. Я вживатиму всіх можливих заходів для забезпечення конфіденційності та безпеки Ваших даних під час та після інтерв'ю (див. нижче). Однак слід визнати, що завжди існує певний ризик того, що конфіденційність може бути порушена або що Ви чи Ваша організація можуть бути ідентифіковані як джерело даних.

Захист Вашої інформації: я зроблю все залежне від мене для захисту Вашої приватності та конфіденційності під час співбесіди та після її закінчення.

Безпека інформації: інтерв'ю проводитиметься через Microsoft Teams, Skype Private Conversation (наразі надає можливість лише аудіо дзвінків – без відео) або інший зручний для Вас додаток для відеоконференцій. Функція приватної розмови Skype гарантує наскрізне шифрування під час розмови. Хоча провайдер Skype – Microsoft – може записувати та зберігати частини розмови, Microsoft не може її прочитати чи розшифрувати.
Ви можете вибрати інший додаток, однак прошу мати на увазі, що в цьому

випадку я не зможу стовідсотково гарантувати приватність під час інтерв'ю – залежно від додатку, провайдер може зберігати розмову та мати частковий або повний доступ до неї.
Також прошу зі свого боку заздалегідь продумати місце, звідки Ви братимете участь в онлайн інтерв'ю і яке забезпечить достатній рівень приватності. Я не повідомлятиму нікому про Вашу участь в інтерв'ю для цього дослідження.

Конфіденційність: Ваше інтерв'ю та вся інформація пов'язана з ним будуть конфіденційними. З Вашого дозволу, інтерв'ю буде записане на захищений паролем та зашифрований додаток для аудіозапису. Однак я не буду зазначати Ваше ім'я чи назву Вашої організації в аудіозаписі. Натомість я призначу Вашому інтерв'ю кодовий номер, і лише я матиму доступ до документа, в якому буде вказано кодовий номер, присвоєний Вашому інтерв'ю. Після інтерв'ю зашифрований аудіофайл буде збережено у папці, захищеній паролем, до якої матиму доступ лише я. Після того як я транскрибую аудіозапис, його одразу буде видалено. У публікаціях та звітах на основі цього дослідження не буде використовуватися Ваше ім'я чи будь-яка детальна інформація, за допомогою якої можна Вас ідентифікувати. Я буду посилатися на Вас лише в загальних рисах (наприклад, "старший співробітник великої української неурядової організації" або "українська/-ий науковиця/науковець"). Незважаючи на ці заходи, завжди існує певна ймовірність того, що Вас можуть ідентифікувати за певними висловлюваннями у цитаті. Зважаючи на це, за Вашої вимоги, я можу не використовувати прямих цитат з Вашого інтерв'ю. Також, Ви можете вказати конкретні частини інтерв'ю, цитати з яких Ви не хотіли б щоб я використовувала.

Зберігання даних: Після того, як інтерв'ю буде транскрибоване, документ (без Вашого імені та імені Вашої організації) зберігатиметься в захищеній паролем папці до 30 квітня 2023 року. Це дозволить мені зберігати оригінальні дані до двох років після моменту публікації результатів цього дослідження, даючи змогу перевірити точність дослідження, якщо це необхідно. 30 квітня 2023 року документ з транскрибованим інтерв'ю буде видалено.

Відмова від участі у дослідженні: Під час інтерв'ю Ви можете не відповідати на будь-які питання, зупинити інтерв'ю або попросити зупинити аудіозапис. Наприкінці інтерв'ю я попрошу Вас підтвердити, що Ви досі згодні, щоб інформація, надана Вами під час інтерв'ю, використовувалася у дослідженні. В разі якщо Ви відмовитеся надати таку згоду, я видалю аудіозапис та всі нотатки зроблені під час інтерв'ю. В іншому випадку, Ви також можете зазначити ті коментарі чи частини інтерв'ю, які Ви хотіли б виключити з дослідження. Якщо через певний час після інтерв'ю Ви вирішите, що не хотіли б, щоб інформація, надана Вами під час інтерв'ю, використовувалось у цьому дослідженні, Ви можете повідомити мене про це через електронну пошту (i.rozhenko@dal.ca). Я матиму змогу вилучити інформацію з дослідження протягом одного місяця з часу проведення інтерв'ю. Через місяць після інтерв'ю я не зможу повністю видалити надану Вами інформацію, оскільки на той момент вона може бути включена в загальний аналіз. Однак я не буду використовувати цитати чи посилатися на деталі з Вашого інтерв'ю.

Як отримати результати цього дослідження: Я надішлю результати дослідження зацікавленим учасникам. Якщо Ви вкажете, що хотіли б отримати

результати дослідження, я надішлю їх Вам електронною поштою одразу після закінчення дослідження.

Запитання: Я буду рада відповісти на будь-які Ваші запитання щодо участі у цьому дослідженні. Ви можете зв'язатися зі мною у будь-який час через електронну пошту i.rozhenko@dal.ca або за телефоном +1 902-441-0683. З мого боку, я одразу повідомлю, якщо з’явиться нова інформація, яка може вплинути на Ваше рішення щодо участі.

Якщо у Вас є будь-які сумніви щодо участі у дослідженні, пов’язані з етичними міркуваннями, Ви також можете зв’язатися з Комісією з питань етики Університету Делхаузі за номером +1 902 494-1462, або через електронну пошту ethics@dal.ca (з посиланням на файл REB № 2020-5173).

Назва проекту: Репрезентації гендерної тематики в Україні: кампанії за гендерну рівність

Проводить дослідження: Євгенія Роженко
Кафедра міжнародного розвитку
Університет Делхаузі
Галіфакс, Нова Шотландія
Email: i.rozhenko@dal.ca
Тел.: +1 902-441-0683

Я ознайомилася/ознайомився з інформацією про дослідження. Я мала/мав можливість обговорити деталі дослідження і отримала/отримав вичерпну відповідь на всі мої запитання. Я розумію, що братиму участь в інтерв'ю, яке відбудеться у формі відеоконференції. Я розумію, що прямі цитати з інтерв'ю можуть бути використані у дослідженні без ідентифікації мене як джерела інформації. Я погоджуюсь взяти участь у цьому дослідженні. Моя участь добровільна і я розумію, що я можу відмовитись від участі протягом одного місяця після інтерв'ю.

Я погоджуюсь на те, щоб моє інтерв'ю було записане

☐Так ☐Ні

Я погоджуюсь на те, щоб прямі цитати з мого інтерв'ю використовувалися без вказування мого імені

☐Так ☐Ні

Я хотіла/хотів би отримати підсумки цього дослідження електронною поштою

☐Так ☐Ні

_____ _____ _____

Прізвище та ім'я Підпис Дата