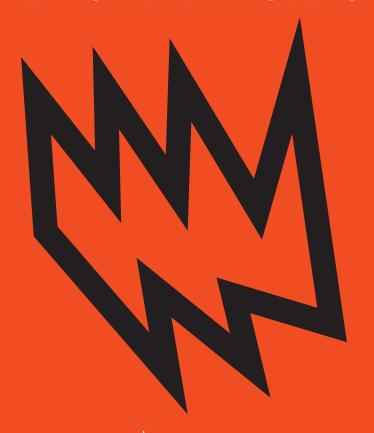


ANALYTICAL REPORT on the findings of

"BASELINE SURVEY OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

IN DONETSK, LUHANSK
AND ZAPORIZHZHIA OBLASTS"









The Baseline survey of public perception and attitudes towards gender-based violence against women in Donetsk, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia oblasts was conducted by UN Women Ukraine, within the framework of the United Nations Recovery and Peacebuilding Programme (UN RPP) implemented by four United Nations agencies: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). The Programme is supported by eleven international partners: the European Union, the European Investment Bank and the governments of Canada, Denmark, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK.

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UN Women is the UN organization dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women. A global champion for women and girls, UN Women was established to accelerate progress on meeting their needs worldwide.

UN Women supports UN Member States as they set global standards for achieving gender equality, and works with governments and civil society to design laws, policies, programmes and services needed to implement these standards. It stands behind women's equal participation in all aspects of life, focusing on five priority areas: increasing women's leadership and participation; ending violence against women; engaging women in all aspects of peace and security processes; enhancing women's economic empowerment; and making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting. UN Women also coordinates and promotes the UN system's work in advancing gender equality.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC Analytical center

BPfA Beijing Platform for Action

CEDAW Convention on Elimination of All Forms

of Discrimination against Women

CCoU Criminal Code of Ukraine

CRSV Conflict-Related Sexual Violence

CUOAO Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offenses

GDP Gross Domestic Product

DHS Demography and Health Survey of Ukraine

EPO Emergency Protection Order

FGD Focus group discussion **GBV** Gender-Based Violence

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

ICPD International Conference on Population and Development

IDP Internally displaced person

IPV Intimate partner violence

MM Mass media

MICS Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey

NAP National Action Plan

NGO Non-governmental organization

NLA Normative legal act

OHCHR United Nations Office of the High Commissioner

for Human Rights

PLWH People living with HIV

SSFCY Social Services on Family, Children and Youth

UN United Nations

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UN Women United Nations Entity for Gender Equality

and the Empowerment of Women

VAW Violence against women

VG Vulnerable groups

WHO World Health Organization

1. INTRODUCTION

Gender-based violence against women and girls is a grave violation of human rights, deeply rooted in gender inequality, discrimination and harmful cultural and social norms. Its impact ranges from immediate to long-term multiple physical, sexual and mental consequences for women and girls, including death. It negatively affects women's general well-being and prevents women from fully participating in society. Violence not only has negative consequences for women but also their families, the community and the country at large. It has tremendous costs, from greater health care and legal expenses and losses in productivity, impacting on national budgets and overall development.

The elimination of gender-based violence requires a comprehensive, coordinated and sustained effort in all spheres, including legislation, service provision, awareness-raising, and attitudinal and behavioral change. Ukraine has achieved significant progress in improving the legislative and policy frameworks to prevent and respond to gender-based violence. Among recent legislative innovations, the Law "On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence" and the respective amendments to the Criminal Code of Ukraine introduce an integrated approach to preventing and combating violence, and an extended range of tools to protect survivors.

However, gender-based violence is a complex phenomenon that needs to be understood within the wider social context and cultural norms that permeate it. Community attitudes and responses regarding violence against women reflect these norms and play an important role in shaping the social climate in which discrimination and, more particularly, violence occur. Comprehending attitudes toward gender equality and violence against women is key to better understanding its root causes and thus developing more effective intervention measures.

With the aim of further supporting the efforts of regional and local governments to address gender inequalities, UN Women started implementing projects focusing on gender-responsive governance, prevention of gender-based violence, social cohesion and implementation of WPS commitments in the crisis-affected communities of Donetsk, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia regions. A special study was launched to collect and analyse the baseline data on public perceptions of gender stereotypes and attitudes towards gender-based violence in the targeted regions.

In accordance with the research objectives, the study provides an overview of international and national frameworks that address gender-based violence, and a brief analysis of the incidence of gender-based

violence, based on administrative data and findings of previous surveys in Ukraine. To assess public perceptions of gender-based norms and stereotypes, public awareness of gender-sensitive legislation, and understanding the role of education and media in transforming public attitudes and behaviors, special research tools were developed, including qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. In addition to a sample population-based survey, multiple in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with key local informants. including representatives of law enforcement, social service providers, local executive authorities and civil society organizations. The key findings and recommendations of the study were discussed and validated with local stakeholders, in order to strengthen the interventions that address the root causes of gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence.

2. UNDERSTANDING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND ITS PREVALENCE

2.1. Understanding gender-based violence: international norms and legal framework of Ukraine

Gender-based violence (GBV) is one of the most pervasive human rights violations within all societies. It is deeply rooted in gender inequality, being directed against persons because of their gender, and includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty. It can be manifested in the form of physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned within the family, the general community or by the State and its institutions.¹

The terms of GBV and violence against women (VAW) are often used interchangeably as it has been widely acknowledged that most Gender Based Violence is inflicted on women and girls, by men. According to the Secretary-General's in-depth study on all forms of VAW (2006), "evidence gathered by researchers of the pervasive nature and multiple forms of violence against women, together with advocacy campaigns, led to the recognition that violence against women was global, systemic and rooted in power imbalances and

structural inequality between men and women. The identification of the link between violence against women and discrimination was key". ³

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), physical or sexual violence is a public health problem that affects more than one-third of all women globally.4 It is estimated that of the 87,000 women who were intentionally killed in 2017 over the world, 58% of them were killed by intimate partners or family members, meaning that 137 women across the world are killed by a member of their own family every day.⁵ That's why many international agencies argue that there is a global pandemic of VAW which knows no social or economic boundaries and affects women and girls of all socio-economic backgrounds. 6, 7 Although all women are exposed, the degree to which they are exposed to gender-based

¹ United Nations General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, Arts. 1&2, A/RES/48/104, 20 Dec 1993. Available at: https://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm

² European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Violence against women: an EU-wide survey - Results at a glance", 2014. Available at: https://eige.europa.eu/gender-based-violence/what-is-gender-based-violence

³ United Nations, "Secretary-General's in-depth study on all forms of VAW", 2006. Available at: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/v-sg-study.htm

⁴ World Health Organization, "Global and regional estimates of violence against women: Prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence", Geneva 2013. Available at: https://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/violence/9789241564625/en/

⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "Global Study on Homicide 2018", p. 10, 2018. Available at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/GSH2018/GSH18_Gender-related_killing_of_women_and_girls.pdf

⁶ The World Bank, Gender-based violence (Violence against women and girls), 2 April 2019. Available at: https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/violence-against-women-and-girls

⁷ United Nations, "Ending inequality means ending 'global pandemic' of violence against women", 19 November 2018. Available at: https://news. un.org/en/story/2018/11/1026071

violence is different and depends on the fact that "certain groups of women, in addition to suffering from discrimination directed against them as women, may also suffer from multiple forms of discrimination based on additional grounds such as race, ethnic or religious identity, disability, class, caste or other factors". 8

Women are disproportionally affected by GBV, which impacts their physical, mental and sexual wellbeing and often leads to death. GBV can occur throughout a woman's lifecycle and can include everything from early childhood marriage to sexual abuse, domestic violence, legal discrimination and exploitation. Women and girls are not only subjected to high risks of GBV, but also suffer from fewer options and fewer resources at their disposal to avoid abusive situations, to protect their rights and to seek justice. The negative consequences of GBV include forced and unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, and other reproductive health harms. Psychological stress and post-traumatic disorders could also cause long-term negative impact, affecting all dimensions of the survivor's life. The negative consequences of GBV for mental health are related to suicidal behaviour, anxiety and depression, social dysfunction and problems attributable to alcohol abuse. There are also important inter-generational consequences of GBV, including negative effects on children (e.g. higher rates of infant mortality, poor school performance, increased risks of experiencing or perpetrating violence as adults), and families (increased divorce rates, disintegration of families, misunderstanding in relations between generations). GBV also prevents women from being fully engaged and participating in society, it has high economic costs for the survivor and the state, and it impacts on the overall development of countries. One piece of dedicated research indicates that the cost of GBV could amount to around 2% of the global gross domestic product (GDP). ⁹

International norms and standards on GBV. A number of internationally agreed norms and standards relate to ending VAW.¹⁰ The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)¹¹ does not explicitly mention violence against women and girls, but General Recommendations 12 and 19 clarify that the Convention includes violence against women, and makes detailed recommendations to State Parties.

The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights¹² recognized VAW as a human rights violation and called for the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on violence against women

⁹ UN Women, "The Economic Costs of Violence Against Women", Remarks by UN Assistant Secretary General and Deputy Executive Director of UN Women, Lakshmi Puri, at the high-level discussion on the "Economic Cost of Violence against Women", 21 September 2016. Available at: http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2016/9/speech-by-lakshmi-puri-on-economic-costs-of-violence-against-women

¹⁰ UN Women, Global norms and standards: Ending violence against women. Available at: http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/global-norms-and-standards

¹¹ OHCHR, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, New York, 18 December 1979. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx

¹² OHCHR, World Conference on Human Rights, 14-25 June 1993, Vienna, Austria. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ABOUTUS/Pages/ViennaWC.aspx

in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. It contributed to the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women¹³, which became the first instrument explicitly to address VAW and provide the framework for national and international action. The Declaration included the first official definition of VAW as "any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."14

The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) drew links between VAW and reproductive health and rights. Its Programme of Action calls on Governments to take legal and policy measures to respond to and prevent violence against women and girls.

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA)¹⁵ identified specific actions for Governments to take to prevent and respond to violence against women and girls. Ending violence is one of 12 critical areas for priority actions. The BPfA includes an expansive definition of VAW stating that it "means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such

- physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
- physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;
- physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.

According to BPfA, other acts of VAW include violation of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy. Acts of VAW also include forced sterilization and forced abortion, coercive/forced use of contraceptives, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection.

In 2004, the UN General Assembly also specifically addressed domestic violence in Resolution 58/147, entitled "Elimination of domestic violence against women." In this important

acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life". Accordingly, VAW encompasses but is not limited to the following:

¹³ UN General Assembly Resolution, Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 20 December 19931994. Available at: https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/48/104

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ UN Women, The Beijing Platform for Action: inspiration then and now. Available at: http://beijing20.unwomen.org/en/about

¹⁶ UN General Assembly Resolution, "Elimination of domestic violence against women," GA Res. 58/147, UN Doc. A/RES/58/147, 19 February 2004. Available at: http://www.undemocracy.com/A-RES-58-147.pdf

resolution, the General Assembly, recognizing that domestic violence is a human rights issue with serious immediate and long-term implications, strongly condemned all forms of domestic violence against women and girls and called for an elimination of violence in the family.

In addition to these major resolutions, the subject of violence against women has also been addressed in several other resolutions, including a series of resolutions on the "Intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women" (Resolutions 64/137 (2009), 63/155 (2008), 62/133 (2007) and 61/143 (2006)), a series of resolutions on "Elimination of all forms of violence, including crimes against women" (see Resolutions 59/167 (2004), 57/181 (2002), and 55/68 (2000)). The UN Human Rights Council has also passed several resolutions on eliminating discrimination and violence against women, including Resolutions 14/12 (2010), 15/23 (2010), 12/17 (2009), 11/2 (2009), 7/24 (2008) and many others.

In 2000, the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security¹⁷ was adopted to recognise women's key role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. It was also a milestone towards the protection of women and girls from sexual and other violence in situations of armed conflict, regulated in the subsequent

resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council.¹⁸

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development 19 recognized that VAW is among the obstacles to the fulfilment of women's and girls' human rights that occurs worldwide, cutting across all generations, nationalities, communities and spheres of our societies, irrespective of age, ethnicity, disability or other background. Women's equality and empowerment is one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), but also integral to all dimensions of inclusive and sustainable development. In particular, Goal 5 "Gender Equality" articulates that women and girls must have equal rights and opportunity, and be able to live free of violence and discrimination, while setting the relevant targets:

Target 5.2. Eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls;

Target 5.3. Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation.

The Global Report on Gender Equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development²⁰ calls for actions to eliminate the many root causes of discrimination that still curtail women's rights in private and public spheres. For example, 49 coun-

¹⁸ UN Security Council Resolutions 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2467 (2019), available at: https://www.peacewom-en.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions and https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards#_WPS_resolutions.

¹⁹ UN Sustainable Development Goals, Ending Violence against Women and Girls, Spotlight Initiative. Available at: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/ending-violence-against-women-and-girls

²⁰ UN Women, Report "Turning Promises into Action: Gender Equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development", 2018. Available at: http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/sdg-report

¹⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) adopted at its 4213th meeting, 31 October 2000. Available at: http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1325

tries still lack laws protecting women from domestic violence. Based on data from 87 countries, 1 in 5 women and girls under the age of 50 will have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner within the last 12 months. Harmful practices, such as child marriage, steal the childhood of 15 million girls under the age of 18 every year.

The 2011 Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention)²¹ became the second legally binding regional instrument on violence against women and girls but, unlike other regional agreements, it can be signed and ratified by any State. For the purposes of this Convention, VAW is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of GBV that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. States which ratify the Convention must criminalize several offences, including: psychological violence (Art. 33); stalking (Art. 34); physical violence (Art. 35); sexual violence, including rape, explicitly covering all engagement in non-consensual acts of a sexual nature with a person (Art. 36); forced marriage (Art. 37); female genital mutilation (Art. 38);

forced abortion and forced sterilisation (Art. 39). The Convention states that sexual harassment must be subject to "criminal or other legal sanction" (Art. 40). The Convention also includes an article targeting crimes committed in the name of so-called "honour" (Art. 42).

The Istanbul Convention is also based on the understanding that VAW is a form of GBV that is committed against women because they are women. It is recognized in the Convention that many forms of discrimination, harmful practice and gender stereotypes are the starting points for violent behaviours. This is why the Convention seeks to promote values of gender equality, mutual respect and non-violence in interpersonal relationships, non-stereotyped gender roles, the right to personal integrity and awareness about GBV and the need to counter it (Article 14). The aim must therefore be to deconstruct the stereotypes affecting women and men that are invoked to justify such harmful traditions.

The CEDAW also calls on the State Parties to take all appropriate measures to "modify the social and cultural patterns of the conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women".²²

²¹ Council of Europe, The Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, Istanbul, 11 May 2011. Available at: https://rm.coe.int/168008482e

state to fully address GBV in all its forms and to take measures to prevent it, protect its survivors and prosecute the perpetrators.

Ukrainian legislation on GBV. Ukraine has accepted the key international commitments on gender equality, including those focused at preventing and combating GBV. The country joined the BPfA and ratified key human rights treaties, including CEDAW (1980) and its Optional Protocol. According to the Constitution of Ukraine,23 all international treaties signed by the country are considered as a part of the national legislation. Therefore, Ukraine is now legally bound to put its provisions into practice and to submit national reports on measures taken to comply with the obligations. As a State Party, Ukraine regularly reports on the implementation of the strategic objectives of the BPfA through the preparation of national reviews (the last National Review on Implementation of the BPfA was submitted by the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine in 2019²⁴). Ukraine also submitted 8 periodic reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and the Concluding Observations on the Eighth Periodic Report of Ukraine on progress in implementing CEDAW (February 13 - March

It also creates an obligation on the 3, 2017)²⁵ stressed the need to collect statistics on domestic, sexual and other forms of violence against women, disaggregated by age and relationship between the victim and the offender.

> Ukraine signed the Istanbul Convention as long ago as 2011, but has not ratified it. Although it is a necessary step to ensure comprehensive reforms to address GBV, the ratification of the Istanbul Convention still poses many challenges to Ukraine's society and decision-makers.

> In 2015, Ukraine adopted the SDGs, including Goal 5 "Gender Equality". The national development goals were localized through consultancies with local experts and stakeholders, and the problems of GBV were addressed in the context of Target 5.2 "Reduce the level of gender-based and domestic violence and ensure efficient prevention of its manifestations and timely assistance to victims" of the National Baseline SDG Report²⁶. To monitor progress, two indicators were selected, including "Share of women aged 15-49 who have experienced at least one form of physical or sexual violence, %" and "Number of complaints regarding domestic violence, in thousands". Accordingly, the 2015 baseline indicators were 22% of women aged 15-49 who faced physical or sexual violence in their

 $^{^{23}}$ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, The Constitution of Ukraine, 254k/96-BP, Article 9. Available at: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80

²⁴ The National Overview on Beijing Platform for Action, Kyiv, 2019. Available at: https://docs.google.com/viewer?embedded=true&url=http:// www.msp.gov.ua/files/gend_pol/UKR-Beijing%202019%20Ukraine.docx

²⁵ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Concluding observations on the eighth periodic report of Ukraine, 3 March 2017. Available at: https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/TBSearch.aspx?Lang=en&TreatyID=3&DocTypeID=5

 $^{^{\}rm 26}\,{\rm UN}$ in Ukraine and The Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine, "Sustainable Development Goals: Ukraine", National Baseline Report, 2017. Available at: http://www.un.org.ua/images/SDGs_ NationalReportEN_Web.pdf

lifetime and 103.1 thousand complaints regarding domestic violence. Ukraine revised its *legislation on pre*venting and combating domestic violence. The new Law of Ukraine "On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence"27 was adopted in December 2017 and came into force in January 2018. This Law was an important departure from previous legislation, as it introduced new concepts and mechanisms for protecting survivors of domestic violence. In particular, the law institutionalized the new concepts of psychological and economic violence and provided comprehensive definitions of different forms of domestic violence:

- physical violence: slaps, kicks, pushing, pinching, hitting, biting, as well as unlawful imprisonment, beating, tormenting, bodily harm of varying severity, leaving a person in danger, failing to assist a person in a life-threatening condition, causing death, or other violent offences:
- psychological violence: verbal insults, threats, harassment, intimidation, and other actions which restrict the expression of a person's will or reproductive control, in the event that these acts caused fears for a person's safety, emotional instability, inability to protect him or herself, and acts which can damage his or her mental health;
- sexual violence: acts of sexual nature committed against an adult without his or her consent or, with respect to a child, regardless of his

or her consent, or in the presence of a child, coercion to a sexual act with a third party, and other offences against a person's sexual freedom or sexual integrity, including those committed against or in the presence of a child;

- economic violence: deliberate deprivation of housing, food, clothing, other property, funds or documents or the possibility of using them, deprivation of care or neglect, obstructing the receipt of necessary treatment services or rehabilitation, a ban on working, forced labour, a ban on studying and other offences of an economic nature.

The Law also introduced a system of special measures imposed on the perpetrators, such as emergency protection orders (EPO), and envisaged a comprehensive system of services for domestic violence survivors. Importantly, it provided guidelines for the coordination of activities of all entities involved in the prevention of and response to domestic violence, in order to provide prompt assistance to those who need it. Furthermore, the Law provided for the creation of a state registry of incidents of domestic violence.

The adoption of the new Law on domestic violence coincided with amendments introduced into the **Criminal Code of Ukraine** (CCoU) and the Criminal Procedure Codes of Ukraine to strengthen criminal responsibility for domestic violence and GBV. The CCoU incorporated a new **Article 126¹"Domestic Violence"**, to be interpreted as intentional and systematic physical, psychological or

²⁷ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, Law of Ukraine on prevention and elimination of domestic violence, 2229-VIII, 7 December 2017. Available at: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2229-19

economic violence committed against a current or former partner or against another person with whom the offender has been maintaining or used to maintain family or close relations, resulting in physical or mental suffering, health issues, inability to work, emotional dependence or a deterioration in the quality of life of the survivor. The new amendments also increase the perpetrator's responsibility in cases where the violence committed is witnessed by a minor, in which case the child will qualify as a survivor.

In January 2019, amendments to the CCoU on rape and sexual violence also came into force, to extend the scope of what qualifies as sexual violence. In accordance with the newly revised edition of Article 152 of the CCU, the term of 'voluntary consent' was introduced to provide a broader interpretation of possible forms of coercion to sexual intercourse (e.g. physical, emotional, and economic ones). This is in line with European practice and sets the preconditions for ensuring criminal responsibility for marital rape.

The problems of GBV were addressed by the National Action Plan (NAP) for the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Final Observations of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to the Eighth Periodic Report of Ukraine on the Implementation of CE-DAW until 2021.²⁸ The NAP prioritizes the adoption of measures to prevent any manifestations of VAW perpetrated by public officials, to train the representatives of law enforcement bodies in terms of proper response to GBV, including conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), to ensure access for GBV survivors to justice and the development of proper investigating procedures in response to GBV, to establish post-exposure prevention protocols and standards of medical aid in cases of sexual violence, to improve the system of data collection on domestic violence and GBV, to implement protection measures, including shelters, for women and girls who faced violence, and others.

Adoption of the NAP for Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, peace and security" for the period up to 2020²⁹ was a commendable step towards implementation of the women, peace and security agenda in Ukraine. The NAP focuses on prevention of GBV in a conflict setting and the protection of women and girls affected by conflict. The NAP recognises the lack of criminal investigation and prosecution of sexual offenders and aims to improve the mechanism for reporting sexual crimes, and to train social service providers and armed forces in assisting survivors of sexual violence. The NAP envisages expanding the system of specialized services for

²⁸ he Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, Adoption of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Final Observations of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to the Eighth Periodic Report of Ukraine on the Implementation of CEDAW until 2021, 5 September 2018. Available at: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/634-2018-%D1%80

²⁹ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, Adoption of the National Action Plan for Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, peace and security" for a period up to 2020, 24 February 2016. Available at: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/113-2016-%D1%80

social, legal and rehabilitation assistance, education and awareness raising campaigns.

The State Social Programme on Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men for the period up to 2021 30 also envisages the need for an awareness raising campaign to prevent gender-based discrimination and GBV.

The Concept of the State Social Program on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence and Gender-Based Violence for the period **up to 2023**³¹ was approved in 2018, to highlight the low availability of high-quality services for survivors of domestic violence, including an imperfect system of interaction between various entities, a lack of specialist education and skills among professionals, and limited resources allocated to build a holistic set of services. The Concept also draws attention to the gaps in the present mechanism of prosecution, in cases of domestic violence, which lead to the impunity of perpetrators and lack of trust among survivors in the availability of any support. The Concept articulates the need to use the best international experience in order to establish an effective system of response services and encourage survivors to seek specialized help. It In spring 2019, the Ministry of Social Policy presented further steps in response to domestic violence and gender-based violence, in the context of the Passport of Reforms on Combating Domestic Violence and Gender-based Violence.³² The presented strategic priorities could be combined into a "4-P approach": prevention (implying the development of zero tolerance of violence in a society and increasing willingness to combat its manifestations), protection and services (e.g. all victims, regardless of their age and health, have access to and receive comprehensive services tailored to their needs), prosecution (bringing perpetrators to account and intervention to change their abusive behaviour), policy (building a new system of comprehensive response to violence).

Finally, the **Strategy for Prevention** of and Response to Conflict Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) in Ukraine³³ was developed in 2019 to provide guidance and recommendations on how governmental institutions, civil society organizations, international organizations and the UN system

survivors of GBV, including medical, stresses the paramount importance of deploying information and education campaigns aimed at promoting zero tolerance of GBV and domestic violence.

³⁰ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, Adoption of the The State Social Programme on Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men for the period up to 2021, 11 April 2018. Available at: https://zakon. rada.gov.ua/laws/show/273-2018-%D0%BF

³¹ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, Concept of the State Social Program on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence and Gender-Based Violence for the period up to 2023 https://zakon.rada.gov. ua/laws/show/728-2018-%D1%80

³² Passport of the Reform of the Ministry of Social Policy, Concept of the State Social Program on Prevention and Combating Domestic Violence and Gender-Based Violence for the period up to 2023, posted on 22 March 2019. Available at: https://www.msp.gov.ua/ news/16904.html (date accessed: 23.08.2019).

³³ UN Women, Report "Strategy for Prevention of and Response to the Conflict Related Sexual Violence in Ukraine", 2019. Available at: http://eca.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2019/04/ the-strategy-for-prevention-of-and-response-to-the-conflict-related-sexual-violence-in-ukraine

can unite their efforts to effectively prevent and respond to CRSV.

A lot of effort has gone into improving the response to GBV at the regional level. Many oblast administrations also developed their own programmes on family, youth, gender equality, as well as regional action plans on implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. For instance, Regional Councils on Gender Equality, Demo-Family, graphic Development, Prevention of Domestic Violence and Human **Trafficking** are operating in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. In Zaporizhzhia oblast, issues of gender equality are covered by the Coordination Council on Family, Women, Protection of Motherhood and Childhood created under the Head of the Oblast Administration. The Regional Action Plan on Implementation of the National Action Plan on the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace, Security" for a period up to 2020 was adopted in Luhansk oblast

in 2018³⁴, while the Regional Comprehensive Programme "Youth and Family in Donetsk region, 2016-2020" envisages Directive III "Prevention and combating gender-based violence (actions on the implementation of the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of 02/24/2016 No. 113-p "On Approval of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" for the period up to 2020".35 In Zaporizhzhia, the Plan of Organization of the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of 02/24/2016 N113-p "On Approval of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" for the period up to 2020" was also adopted.

2.2. Prevalence of gender-based violence in Ukraine: official data and expert assessments

The collection of data on GBV is challenging worldwide, because it relates to issues like domestic violence, trafficking, sexual violence, etc. A major obstacle for accountability is a lack of reliable and comparable data registered by official statistics, due to survivors' unwillingness to seek help because of social and cultural barriers, gaps in the legislation and administrative mechanisms, unavailability of specialized

services or lack of expertise and skills among public officials in dealing with GBV and domestic violence. According to the National Survey on the Incidence of Violence against Women and Girls³⁶ conducted by the UNFPA in 2014, only one-third of all women who faced physical and/or sexual violence

³⁴ The Luhansk Regional Administration portal, Regional Action Plan on Implementation of the National Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace, Security" for the period up to 2020 of Luhansk Oblast, 23 August 2018. Available at: http://loga.gov.ua/sites/ default/files/collections/regionalniy_plan_zatverdzheniy.pdf

³⁵ Department on Family, Youth and public events on national and patriotic education of Donetsk Regional Administration portal, Regional Social Programme 2016-2020. Available at: http://donmolod.gov.ua/component/content/article/1-2010-04-11-22-17-49/4611-2017-01-25-12-28-51.html

³⁶ UNFPA Ukraine, Incidence of Violence against Women and Girls, GfK Ukraine with support of UNFPA, Kyiv, 1 April 2015. Available at: http://ukraine.unfpa.org/en/publications/incidence-violence-against-girls-and-women

told anyone about their experience; most of them asked their relatives and friends for help and didn't go to any public institution.

Regarding the current data gaps, different approaches are used to collect data on GBV:

- 1) sample population-based surveys that can measure the prevalence of GBV in the general population, as well as its forms and consequences, and the ways that survivors seek help,
- 2) administrative data on the reported and documented incidents of violence collected by in-line public agencies (the police and the judicial system, healthcare facilities and social service providers, local authorities and other agencies that encounter cases of GBV),
- 3) qualitative methods of data collecting (in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, experts' assessments and case study analysis) that can be applied to the targeted populations (survivors, perpetrators, representatives of service providers, etc.).
- 1) Sample population-based surveys remain reliable sources of relevant data, as they secure the anonymity of respondents' answers due to data aggregation in statistical processing, whereas individual interviews ensure a deep understanding of the topics, and provide answers as complete as possible due to the rapport between interviewer and respondent. There is also an opportunity to make an indepth assessment of forms, causes and consequences of GBV through in-depth interviews, focus groups, case studies with involvement of

survivors and experts from public authorities, international agencies, NGOs and civil society organizations. Another advantage of surveys as a method of GBV study relates to collecting data not only about the prevalence of violence (information about the incidents), but also about the public opinions and attitudes that are at the root of gender-based violence and about the context in which it occurs (for example, public attitudes to survivors and perpetrators, survivors' willingness to seek help, protect their rights and punish the abusers, etc.).

The first national assessment of the prevalence of violence against women was conducted as part of of Ukraine's Demography and Health Survey in **2007** (UDHS-2007).³⁷ The survey program included a specific Domestic Violence Module, asking female respondents of reproductive age if they had ever experienced any form of domestic violence in their lifetime, as well as within the past 12 months. According to the survey, 17% of women aged 15-49 had faced some type of physical violence since the age of 15. Nine percent of all women had experienced at least one episode of violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. One percent of women said they had often been subjected to violent physical acts during the past year.

The data indicated that husbands were the main perpetrators of phys-

³⁷ Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms (UCSR), State Statistical Committee (SSC), Ministry of Health (MOH), and Macro International Inc. 2008. Ukraine Demographic and Health Survey 2007. Calverton, Maryland, USA: Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms and Macro International. Available at: https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR210/FR210.pdf

ical violence against women. 24% of ever-married women reported some type of emotional, physical, or sexual violence. 13% of ever-married women aged 15-49 reported having experienced physical violence by their current or most recent husband/partner. Three percent reported sexual violence, and 22% reported emotional violence. Among ever-married women who had ever suffered any type of spousal violence, women whose husbands get drunk frequently were the most likely to report violence (56%). Slightly more than one-third of women (38%) had ever sought help from any source for physical violence committed against them.

The UDHS-2007 also collected information on women's and men's attitudes toward wife-beating - a proxy for women's perception of their status. Women and men were asked whether a husband is justified in beating his wife under a series of specific circumstances: if the wife burns the food, argues with him, goes out without telling him, neglects the children, or refuses to have sexual relations. Men were more likely than women to agree with at least one of the reasons justifying a husband beating his wife (11% of men compared with 4% of women). The UDHS-2007 included questions on whether a wife is justified in refusing to have sexual intercourse with her husband under three specific circumstances: she knows that her husband has a sexually transmitted disease; she knows her husband has sexual intercourse with other women; and she is tired or not in the mood. Overall, 83% of women agreed that a woman is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband for all three of the specified reasons; only two percent of women didn't agree with any of the reasons. Men were less likely than women to agree with all three of the specified reasons for a wife to refuse to have sex with her husband (68%).

To obtain comparative data, the National Survey on the Incidence of Violence against Women and Girls was conducted by the UNFPA in 2014; it was based on the same Domestic Violence Module.³⁸ The overall proportion of women who experienced physical and/or sexual violence increased from 18% in 2007 to 22% in 2014; this increase occurred mostly due to a larger number of survivors of non-family violence. Only 32% of physical and/or sexual violence survivors sought help in 2014, versus 38% in 2007. This decline in the number of requests for help was driven mainly by a lower frequency of requests to relatives. The authors argued that the reason for a decline in the readiness of survivors to seek help was the increased frequency of non-family violence and decreased confidence in the police. If a woman has experienced violence committed by a family member, other relatives can affect the perpetrator, but in cases of non-family violence the relatives usually can't do anything. In cases of non-family violence, the barriers in the way of approaching the police should be lower than in cases of family violence, but the number of requests to the police grew insignificantly in 2014.

Like in 2007, the main sources of help for survivors of violence were relatives and the police; less than 5% of all survivors approached other persons or organizations. Even so, about one-third of the survivors of physical and/or sexual violence (19 out of 50 women) who sought help from the police reported that they had not received proper assistance. These results demonstrate the need to increase the effectiveness of the police response to violence and raising public awareness of the activities of social services or non-governmental organizations.

Intimate partner violence remained the most common type of violence against women: 15% of ever-married women aged 15-49 experienced physical violence and 3%, sexual violence, committed by a husband/ partner. There were no statistically significant variations as compared with the 2007 data. There was a positive tendency of a decrease in the number of women who experienced an emotional form of spousal violence, from 22% in 2007 to 18% in 2014. But, the authors noted that this trend might be of a temporary character and explained by stressful events related to the political destabilization, armed conflict and internal displacement of 2014 (that is, the external threats led to a lower frequency of family conflicts which might cause emotional violence,

and/or less importance of family abuse as seen by women). Another positive tendency of women's lower readiness to accept spousal violence was revealed by the 2014 survey: while 90% of the survivors of emotional violence reported it in the previous year, 2007, this indicator was 78% in 2014; the respective proportions related to the survivors of physical or sexual violence were 85% and 69%. Therefore, a percentage of the survivors who managed to stop violence (and, consequently, did not experience it in the past 12 months) has increased in 7 years. The authors linked this positive trend to the outcomes of campaigns against violence and gender inequality.

As in 2007, alcohol abuse was among the major drivers of spousal violence: 76% of women whose husbands abused alcohol experienced at least one of three types of violence committed by a husband, while the number of those who experienced partner violence among women whose husbands do not drink alcohol, or drink it without getting drunk, was 9%. The portrait of those women who face the risk of violence was also the same as in 2007: women aged 40-49 reported experiencing violence most often, as well as rural women, women with complete or incomplete secondary education, women in the lowest income quintile, women whose fathers had beaten their mothers, and women who believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife under particular circumstances.

Within the 2012 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey in Ukraine (MICS4), some aspects of public attitudes towards domestic violence were examined³⁹. In particular, the survey assessed whether women and men aged 15-49 years exonerate husbands/partners for beating their wives/partners. The survey asked some questions to examine cultural beliefs that tend to be associated with the prevalence of violence against women perpetrated by their husbands. The underlying assumption was that those women who agree with statements indicating that husbands are justified in beating their wives, under the situations described, tend to be abused by their own husbands. And similarly, men who agree with the statements tend to exercise violence towards their wives.

Overall, 2.9% of women in Ukraine believed that a husband has the right to hit or beat his wife for at least one of the suggested reasons. Women who thought a husband's violence was justifiable mostly agreed with and exonerated violence in situations when a woman neglects her children (2.6%). Less than 1% of women believed that a husband is justified in beating his wife if she refuses to have sex with him, or she argues with him. Tolerance of violence for any of the mentioned reasons was more prevalent among currently married women, those with secondary education and those living in the poorest households. Tolerance of violence for any of the mentioned reasons was 5.6% among rural women and 2% among urban women. In addition, 5.3% of women in rural areas and 1.7% of women in urban areas exonerated a husband's violence in situations when a woman neglects her children.

Men were more likely than women to agree with one of the reasons to justify beating a wife/partner (9.4% of men compared to 2.9% of women). 7.5% of men agreed that a husband has a right to beat his wife if she neglects her children; 2.6% if she argues with him, and 2.3% if she refuses to have sex with him. Men living in the poorest households were much more likely to agree with one of the reasons for beating a wife (17.2%) than men living in the richest households (7%).

2) Administrative data on GBV in Ukraine Another source of information on GBV is provided by administrative data routinely collected by responsible institutions. In Ukraine, such information is collected by the National Police (the number of complaints regarding domestic violence criminal offences of a sexual nature) and by social service providers (the number of requests for social services due to domestic violence). It is widely acknowledged that the most accurate administrative data on GBV are usually collected by the law enforcement bodies, including the number of reported incidents and investigations.40 Still, rates of underreporting

³⁹ State Statistics Service and Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms, 2013. Ukraine Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2012, Final Report. Kyiv, Ukraine: State Statistics Committee and the Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms. Available at: https://dse. org.ua/arhcive/25/25_10en.html

⁴⁰ EIGE, Administrative Data Collection on Rape, Femicide and Intimate Partner Violence in EU Member States, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union: 12, 2016. Available at: https://eige.europa. eu/publications/administrative-data-collection-rape-femicide-and-intimate-partner-violence-eu-member-states

of GBV remain high in all countries. In particular, according to the 2014 survey on incidence of VAW in Ukraine,⁴¹ only 15% of women who faced physical and/or sexual violence sought any help from the police. In addition, this type of data doesn't allow for the efficiency of prevention-and-response and the quality of services utilized to be evaluated.

To address the challenges with data collection, the new Law of Ukraine "On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence" envisages the establishment of a state registry of incidents of domestic violence and gender-based violence.⁴² This registry is intended to collect data on survivors and perpetrators with subsequent disaggregation by sex, broad age group, disability, form of violence and type of relations between the survivors and the perpetrators. In addition, the entire range of services provided in response to violence should be recorded in the registry.

In the meantime, official data of the National Police of Ukraine demonstrate that more than 188 thousand women were classified as survivors in criminal offences in 2018 (34% of the total number of survivors).⁴³ Over the past years, the proportion of women

among survivors in criminal offences has dropped (from 42% in 2013). The most widespread criminal offences which women survive were rapes, including intimate partner rapes (86%), crimes related to domestic violence (78%), trafficking in persons (55%), robbery (41%), hijacking (39%), fraud (38%) and theft (35%).44 The problem of sexual violence has also been very significant. In 2018, the General Prosecutor's Office recorded 202 rapes, of which 178 led to official charges against individuals. There were also 84 incidents of coerced sexual intercourse with persons who had not reached sexual maturity and 271 incidents of sexual abuse of minors. Unfortunately, the official statistics of the National Police don't enable these data to be disaggregated by sex of survivors, but it can be assumed that most of them were women.

44 Ibid.

⁴¹ UNFPA Ukraine, Incidence of Violence against Women and Girls, conducted by GfK Ukraine with support of UNFPA, Kyiv, 2014. Available at: http://ukraine.unfpa.org/en/publications/incidence-violence-against-girls-and-women

⁴² Article 16 of the Law of Ukraine "On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence". Available at: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/ show/2229-19

⁴³ The General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine portal, Unified Report on Criminal Offenses in January-December 2018 / Form 1 (monthly), approved by the Order of General Prosecutor's Office from 23.11.12 100 agreed with the State Statistics Service of Ukraine. Available at: https://www.gp.gov.ua/ua/stst2011.html?dir_id=113653&libid=100820&c=edit&_c=fo

Table 2.1

Criminal offences against sexual freedom and sexual inviolability, recorded in 2018 45

Criminal offences related to sexual violence (based on articles of the Criminal Code)	Recorded criminal offences	Offences proceeded with official charges
Rapes, Art. 152	202	178
Coerced unnatural satisfaction of sexual desires, Art. 153	253	211
Coerced sexual intercourse, Art. 154	7	1
Sexual intercourse with a person who hasn't reached sexual maturity, Art. 155	84	50
Abuse of minors, Art. 156	271	155

Source: Unified Report on Criminal Offences in January-December 2018 / Form N 1 (monthly), approved by the Order of General Prosecutor's Office of 23.11.12

According to the Outcomes Report of the National Police of Ukraine on preventing and combating domestic violence, in the 12 months of 2018 (Form #1-DN), there were 115,473 appeals to the police on domestic violence, of them 89,498 appeals (77.5%) were provided by women, 1,418 appeals (1.2%) by children. The largest numbers of appeals were recorded in Dnipropetrovsk oblast (9.7 thousand), Odesa oblast (8.7 thousand), Vinnytsia oblast (8.3 thousand), Zhytomyr oblast (7.8 thousand) and Kyiv city (8.5 thousand). Based on these appeals, there were 99,531 administrative protocols issued in accordance with Art. 173-2 of the CoUAO. Subsequently, there were 73.2 thousand offenders recorded in administrative offences (22.4% repeated offences), of whom 7.5 thousand were women. In 2018, there were 1,029 criminal offences attributable to domestic violence, and 783 offenders (of whom 693 were men). Over this period, there were 69,290 persons recorded in the preventive register on domestic violence (perpetrators), including 60,238 men, 5,894 women and 92 children.

To address the problems related to domestic violence, a special pilot project of the police network against domestic violence ('Polina') was launched in 2017. The first groups started work in three pilot locations (Darnytsia district of Kyiv city, Malynovskyi district of Odesa city and Severodonetsk city), then the network was extended to the cities of Mariupol and Sloviansk. Since the start of the project, 4,253 calls to the police on domestic violence have been addressed, resulting in 2,015 preventive conversations, 1,608 administrative protocols, and 62 criminal proceedings. Following the positive outcomes of the pilot project, mobile groups are planned in each administrative center of the oblast level. According to the National Police, the plan is to launch about 45 mobile groups in 2019, all of which will respond exclusively to incidents of domestic violence.46

3) Qualitative research into GBV. A lot of attention has been devoted to the issues of GBV and domestic violence within thematic surveys and

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ The National Police of Ukraine portal, posted on 25 January 2019. Available at: https://www.npu.gov.ua/news/preventivna-ro-bota/u-2019-roczi-v-ukrajini-zapraczyuyut-45-mobilnix-grup-policzi-ji-dlya-reaguvannya-na-domashnje-nasilstvo/ (date accessed: 23.08.2019).

assessments based on quantitative and qualitative methods of sociology. The specific survey 'Situation of Older Women in Ukraine' (2013) examined issues related to domestic violence against older people. ⁴⁷ A positive finding of this survey was related to the low prevalence of physical violence (being exposed to physical abuse by a family member, e.g. beating): it was mentioned only by 1.3% of older women and by 0.7% of older men. The incidence of violation of older persons' rights such as forbidding them to visit a doctor, leave the house, or communicate with another person, were rare, as were threats to hurt someone very close to the respondent (a close person or pet). Some forms of psychological and emotional violence were more prevalent, but not typical: humiliation in the presence of other people (reported by 3.9% of women and the same percentage of men), threats (reported by 3.7% of women and 3.6% of men). Economic violence was also reported: disposal of property without permission (4.4% and 4.2%, respectively), control of spending (5.9% and 10.8%) and prohibition on working (3.3% and 3.9%). At the same time, one in five respondents was exposed to emotional violence in his/her family: abused verbally (19.5% and 19.6%), shouted or screamed at (19.0% and 23.9%).

The problems of sexual harassment at the workplace were studied through the Survey 'Women's Labour Force Participation in Ukraine' (2012)⁴⁸. According to its findings, only 3% of female respondents admitted having encountered harassment in person; the same proportion of respondents were not absolutely clear, but believed that they rather encountered this problem. Another 3% of women knew about such cases not from their own experience but from stories of their friends (when developing the survey questionnaire, it was suggested that some women may feel more comfortable, when talking about their experience of violence, to use a depersonalized form, e.g. through talking about 'friends'). Almost one in ten women thus reported sexual harassment at the workplace in some way or another. However, the authors argued in the report that these figures are most probably underestimated due to women's low awareness of the forms of sexual harassment and unwillingness to recount their personal sensitive experience.

The Outcomes Report on monitoring of special institutions for women affected by domestic violence (2012) ⁴⁹ and the survey 'Accessibility of social services for women affected by violence' (2014)⁵⁰ were aimed at analysing the effectiveness of services provided in response to

⁴⁸ UNFPA Ukraine and UCSR and ILO, Analytical Research of Women's Labour Force Participation in Ukraine, Kyiv, 2012. Available at: http://www.un.org.ua/images/documents/4493/Analytical%20research%20 on%20women%27s%20participation%20in%20the%20labour%20 force%20in%20Ukraine%20(EN).pdf

⁴⁹ NGO 'La Strada - Ukraine' and the Ministry of Social Policy, Where and how could survivors of domestic violence get help: Report on the findings of monitoring of special institutions, Kyiv, 2012. Available at: http://www.la-strada.org.ua/ucp_file

⁵⁰ UNFPA Ukraine and the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine Analytical report on the results of sociological survey 'Accessibility of social services for women affected by violence', Demchenko I., Kyiv, 2014. Available at: http://ukraine.unfpa.org/publications

⁴⁷ UCSR and UNFPA Ukraine, Situation of Older Women in Ukraine, Kyiv, 2014. Available at: https://www.idss.org.ua/arhiv/2014_OLDER_WOMEN.pdf

GBV. Both studies highlighted that the available network of social institutions is insufficient to ensure comprehensive social support for survivors of domestic violence. Multiple institutional problems have also been outlined, including lack of funding, limited access for some vulnerable groups of women, etc. The authors also argued that there is a low level of interaction between the different institutions and organizations tasked with providing assistance related to response and prevention of violence. Importantly, the 2014 survey provided some important data on the social-demographic portrait of survivors of violence and their perpetrators, as well as an evaluation of the outcomes of women's experience of the institutions.

The new challenges related to gender-based violence have escalated due to the conflict in eastern Ukraine. The large-scale flows of internally displaced persons (IDPs) resulted in new humanitarian challenges related to the need to provide social support to numerous contingents of people forced to leave their homes, to adapt to new conditions of life and to integrate into their host communities. With regard to multiple reports of incidents of human rights violations, including evidence for gender-based violence, UNFPA launched its new Research on Gender-Based Violence in the Conflict-Affected Regions (2015).51 The survey was conducted in five regions of eastern Ukraine (Kharkiv, Zaporizhzhia, Dnipropetrovsk oblasts and government-controlled regions of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts). The survey program was targeted at two groups of respondents: displaced women who had moved to the new communities, and local women who had never changed their place of residence. The study confirmed the increased vulnerability of displaced women to various forms of violence in a conflict setting - the share of IDP women who reported at least one situation of violence outside the family before their displacement was three times higher than that of local women during the entire conflict (15.2% against 5.3% of respondents). Among the most prevalent forms of abuse, both groups of respondents reported humiliation, insults, intimidation, blackmail, verbal threats, physical violence (being hit or slapped), confiscation of money or property, confiscation of official documents, forced labour without pay or for a pittance, and being subjected to improper sexual comments. In spite of the widespread taboo attitude towards sexual violence. some episodes were also documented during the survey.

The survey re-confirmed that it is not common practice to seek help from specialized institutions in cases of violence. An overwhelming number of survivors did not seek psychological or legal support or medical assistance. According to the respondents, the main reasons for not seeking help were lack of awareness of the services, absence of proper institutions within the communities, and lack of trust in

⁵¹ UNFPA in Ukraine and USCR, The study report "Gender-Based Violence in the Conflict-Affected Regions", 2015. Available at: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/gbv_study_2015_final_eng.pdf

the personnel in the services. One in ten survivors of violence among displaced women didn't apply to law enforcement bodies because they were afraid of a repeat of the violence.

One of the components of the survey focused on intimate partner violence, both in terms of personal experience of the respondents and also in the context of public attitudes to this problem. Focus group discussions revealed that there is a clear distinction between those forms of violence which may occur in the family and sexual violence perpetrated by outsiders. While non-family violence is mostly considered blameworthy, public tolerance of domestic violence is quite high. Most often, incidents of violence perpetrated within the family are considered to be private family matters that shouldn't be discussed with outsiders.

The report of the OHCHR on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ukraine covered the period from 14 March 2014 to 31 January 2017.⁵² This report presents just a sample of 31 emblematic cases that illustrate broad patterns and trends of conflict-related sexual violence documented by OHCHR. The authors assumed that this number of cases may not reflect the real scale of violations or abuses but is rather indicative of access to survivors and witnesses on each side of the contact line. It was also observed in the report that allegations

of sexual violence perpetrated by all parties involved in hostilities are entrenched in the narratives of people living along the contact line. While often unverified, such allegations were widely disseminated by media on both sides of the contact line, contributing to deepening the mistrust, divide and animosity among local communities.

The problems of gender-based and domestic violence among internally displaced women were addressed by the situational analysis conducted as part of the EU-funded project 'Mobilization of Internally Displaced Women against Domestic and Gender-based Violence' (2016).⁵³ The research outcomes confirmed that the risks of GBV increased in the context of the armed conflict and affect all categories of women. The most prevalent forms of GBV were related to emotional violence (50% of IDP women) and controlling behaviour (24% of IDP women). About 17% of women reported economic violence, while 4% of them encountered physical and sexual violence. The incidents of violation of the rights of internally displaced women by their employers or landlords were quite prevalent, as well as aggression and/or misuse of powers by officials.

The survey of internally displaced women confirmed the widespread underreporting of gender-based and

⁵² OHCHR, Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ukraine, 14 March 2014 to 31 January 2017. Available at: http://www.ohchr.org/Session34/Documents/A_HRC_34_CRP.4_E.dox

⁵³ Socioconsulting and Convictus-Ukraine, Analytical Report on the Findings of Situational Analysis in the framework of the Project 'Mobilization of internally displaced women against domestic and gender-based violence', Kyiv, 2016.

domestic violence in Ukrainian society. At the same time, the persistent failure to seek help from specialists was caused by low public awareness of the legal framework, lack of trust in the opportunity of any help from public authorities and lack of information about the means available to prevent and combat gender-based and domestic violence. According to expert assessments, fewer than 10% of all survivors apply to law enforcement bodies, medical institutions, social service centres, or local authorities.

The Report on the Economic Costs of Violence against Women (2017) 54 presented a comprehensive assessment of the economic costs borne by society due to gender-based violence in Ukraine. Estimates were produced for the following categories of potential costs: 1) lost economic output due to irreversible population losses (women's premature deaths), temporary and permanent disability due to injuries, and reduced work productivity of survivors; 2) costs of services provided in response to violence and assistance for survivors (healthcare sector, law enforcement and the judicial system, penitentiary institutions for abusers, social and specialized services for women affected by violence); 3) personal material losses and cash expenses of survivors due to violence. As part of this study, a survey of GBV survivors was conducted to examine their personal experience of coping with violence. In general, over 700 female respondents were recruited with the assistance of social service centres, mobile teams of social-psychological work and the national information hotline.

According to the estimates, the aggregate economic costs attributable to GBV totalled \$208 million in 2015. or 0.23% of Ukraine's GDP. An important conclusion of the study argued that, as a result of the systematic lack of shelters and specialized services for survivors of violence in Ukraine, the lion's share of the costs of violence is borne by survivors themselves. Although the amount of women's 'out-of-pocket' expenses was linked to the severity of injuries, women spent about \$200 on average to cope with the effects of violence. These costs were noticeably higher than the average woman's wage at the time of the study. and included payments for medical services and examinations, purchase of medication, transport costs, rent payments for safe apartments and arranging a 'new life' after separation from abusers, costs of legal advice, administrative fees, or consultations with psychologists for adults and children who witnessed violence. Also, based on an extrapolation of previous GBV survey data on to the entire population of Ukraine, the indicative number of women aged 15-49 years who were affected by violence was 1.1 million annually.

Men's attitude to gender-based violence was the key focus of the study

⁵⁴ UNFPA, Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms, Economic Costs of Violence against Women, 2017. Available at: https://ukraine.unfpa. org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Economic%20Costs%20of%20Violence_2017_3.pdf

'Masculinity Today: Men's Attitude to Violence against Women and Gender Stereotypes' (2018).⁵⁵ The survey covered more than 1,500 adult men in different regions of Ukraine, to provide a representative sample of the population. The survey findings confirmed that men remain quite tolerant of domestic violence (18% of respondents exonerated physical violence if a wife cheats on her husband) and have a biased attitude to the survivors of sexual violence, who were blamed for provoking criminal offences by their behaviour or lifestyle. Thus, about half of the respondents questioned whether offences should be defined as rapes if women were affected by alcohol or had a bad reputation. Almost one-third of men recognized that they had perpetrated emotional violence in their partnerships over the course of their life, one in seven men had used economic violence, while 13% of men had committed physical violence against their partners. A small percentage of the respondents reported that they forced their partners or other women to have sex with them despite unwillingness on the part of these women.

Another group of respondents was represented by men who had committed domestic violence and had been sent to mandatory intervention programs. In more than half of these situations, the aggressive

Ukraine's studies thus re-confirm that GBV has different forms, including intimate partner violence, sexual assault and sexual harassment in the workplace. GBV is costly, as multiple economic losses are caused in terms of economic output and costs of services, and the consequences of violence become aggravated in a conflict setting. The above-mentioned surveys and the broad literature mentioned in this Chapter demonstrate a direct relation between gender inequalities, gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence. Patriarchal norms, gender

behaviour of men who perpetrated domestic violence was targeted at their wives or partners, while over 80% of all reported incidents were repeated conflicts. The perpetrators associated the causes of these violent conflicts equally with social and economic factors (financial hardship or negative social behaviour in the family, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, or gambling) and problems in interpersonal relations (partner's excessive control or nagging, interference of relatives in marital relations, etc.). More than half of the perpetrators confirmed the provocative effect of alcoholor other stimulants on the incidence of conflicts in their families. Unfortunately, public attitudes still do not encourage people to seek help in cases of domestic violence, as more than half of the men who had perpetrated violence believed that family conflicts are a private problem that should be resolved within the family.

UNFPA and UCSR, "Masculinity Today. Men's Attitude to Violence against Women and Gender Stereotypes", Kyiv, 2018. Available at: https://ukraine.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Masculinity%20Today%20Men%27s_Report.pdf

stereotypes and difference in power relations are at the core of the inequalities and lead to violence. In order to prevent GBV and eliminate violence against women, these norms and stereotypes need to be identified, challenged and eradicated so that Ukrainian society can be free from GBV. Therefore, this study aims at exploring these norms and stereotypes in 3 regions of eastern Ukraine: Donetsk, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia oblasts.

3. METHODOLOGY OF A BASELINE SURVEY ON PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN THREE EASTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE

Survey objective and tasks

The objective of this study is to collect and analyse data on gender stereotypes and public perceptions of gender roles and attitudes towards gender-based violence, required for baseline studies of current and dominant attitudes, perceptions, opinions and beliefs about gender equality and gender-based violence in target communities in Donetsk, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia oblasts.

The survey tasks are:

- 1) to study community perceptions of gender-roles and power-relations between men and women, girls and boys;
- 2) to study understanding of the terms 'gender-based discrimination' and 'gender-based violence', their causes and consequences, and public opinion regarding methods of prevention of and responses to violence;
 3) to evaluate the level of awareness of the legal norms that protect survivors and prosecute perpetrators of violence.

The survey methodology

In the framework of this survey, qualitative and quantitative sociological methods were combined to supplement each other. The main method of data collection was through structured <u>face-to-face</u> <u>interviews</u>, using CAPI⁵⁶ and conducted with persons between the ages of 14-70.

The main modules of the questionnaire addressed public perceptions of gender roles, prevalence of gender stereotypes, understanding the meaning of gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence, the causes and consequences of violence, awareness of the relevant legal norms, experience of participating in information campaigns and other efforts targeted at transforming gender roles, norms and stereotypes.

The population sample for the structured interviews was stratified based on the quota selection of respondents at the last stage. The total size of the sample was 3,000 respondents (1,000 respondents per oblast).

During the process of data collection, quality control of the interviewers' work was based on telephone checks (telephone interviews with the respondents who participated in

 $^{^{\}rm 56}$ Computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) is an interviewing technique in which the respondent or interviewer uses an electronic device to answer the questions.

the survey regarding the details of the interviewer's work). The respondents for the control interviews were randomly selected for a sample of each interviewer. The total sample realized for the telephone checks was 25% of the total sample, which enabled a quality check for each interviewer.

According to the control outcomes, there were no (false interviews) revealed. Whenever any violations were recorded in the process of interviewing (e.g. incorrectly recorded age of the respondent, or interviewing two persons from the same household), the completed questionnaires were removed from the general data set, and additional interviews were conducted.

At the next stage of the survey, indepth interviews were conducted with experts and focus groups with representatives of various target groups, to validate and supplement the quantitative data collected through the survey.

<u>In-depth interviews</u> were conducted with the following categories of respondents:

- public officials of the local executive powers whose professional duties are related to prevention-and-response to violence (such as departments of social protection, departments for family and youth, etc. depending on the organizational structure of authorities in the regions covered);
- representatives of the Departments for internal affairs;

- heads of social institutions for the victims of violence (crisis centers, shelters, etc.);
- representatives of NGOs which work to provide assistance in the field of gender equality and combating violence in the regions covered by the survey.

In total, 21 in-depth interviews were conducted, including seven interviews in each of the covered regions.

The participants of the <u>focus groups</u> included:

- teachers and school psychologists (2 FGD);
- women who have survived violence (1 FGD);
- women from marginalized groups: persons with disabilities, people living with HIV, IDPs, elderly people, Roma population (3 FGD);
- men from marginalized groups: persons with disabilities, people living with HIV, IDPs, elderly people, Roma population (3 FGD).

In total, nine focus groups were conducted.

Ethical considerations

The empirical data from the survey were collected, stored and analysed in line with ethical standards and the protection of respondents' rights to consent, anonymity and confidentiality. In particular, the questionnaire did not contain any questions on personal data which could allow the respondent to be identified, while documentation with the respondents' contact information

(needed for quality control of the interviewers) was kept separate from the questionnaires and deleted immediately after the completion of the check. For the same reason, all project team members, including the interviewers, signed a confidentiality undertaking which obliged them not to disclose or transfer any information about the respondents to third parties.

Before the start of the interview, all potential respondents were informed about the survey objective and tasks, the specifics of the process of interviewing, and the guarantees of respondent anonymity and confidentiality, their rights to informed consent to participate in the survey and their option to terminate it at any moment. Only then did each respondent give their informed consent to take part in the survey.

4. PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER NORMS IN SOCIETY

4.1. Equality of rights and opportunities of women and men in public life

In general, the respondents are quite optimistic about the state of gender equality in Ukraine: 80% of the interviewed men and 72% of the women consider that, as a whole, men and women have equal rights and opportunities in Ukraine. However, on deeper examination of this issue, it appears that the respondents have a quite superficial understanding of the concept of gender equality. The assessment is that they identify gender equality with the fact that equality of rights of women and men is declared in the Constitution and laws, and not with the actual practice of realizing these rights. In particular, 21% of the respondents did not agree that equality of rights and opportunities of women and men also includes the equal distribution of household work among them (12% of women and 30% of men DID NOT agree with this statement). Less than half of women (48%) and slightly more than one-third of men (37%) agreed with the statement that, in order to ensure gender equality, men should give up part of their rights to women (Table 4.1).

The results of the survey show that gender stereotypes about women's and men's abilities, roles and responsibilities are prevalent among respondents. For example, 44% of men and 31% of women said that boys have more ability in science than girls;

47% of men and 44% of women said that girls have more ability in the humanities than boys; 44% of men and 27% of women think that men are usually better at doing business than women; 36% of men and 55% of women, that men are unable to do several things at the same time, etc. Thus, the respondents of each sex often showed the stereotypes that positively characterize their own gender and negatively characterize the other.

However, both men and women recognize that women can be as effective as men as leaders of local communities, political leaders and senior managers. In other words, gender stereotypes can be challenged, where respondents are aware of positive examples of effective activities by women.

A separate block of statements was related to gender equality in the labor market. Three quarters of the respondents (the differences between men and women are not statistically significant) believe that gender equality in the field of work and as a whole in Ukraine has been achieved, in particular that women and men with the same qualification can get the same jobs and wages. However, gender stereotypes in the field of work and employment persist. In particular, 54% of the women interviewed and 62% of the men interviewed believe that there should be certain 'male' and 'female' occupations.

Table 4.1

% of respondents who generally agreed with statements on the distribution of roles between women and men in Ukrainian society, by gender

EQUALITY IN RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN Women and men have equal rights and opportunities in Ukraine When women get rights, they are taking rights away from men Equality between women and men suggests also equal distribution of household duties (cooking, caring for children and other family members) EQUALITY IN OPPORTUNITIES OF MEN AND WOMEN Boys have more ability in science than girls Girls have more ability in the humanities than boys Men cannot do several things at the same time Men are better at doing business than women Women can be as successful as men as leaders of local communities Women can be as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women can work as successful as men as political leaders Women to a work as successful as men as political leaders Women to earn less than day of the same in senior managerial positions RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF MEN AND WOMEN ATT THE LABOUR MARKET It is unnatural for women to work There should be male and female' occupations Women and men with the same qualification can get the same jobs and wages It is right for women to earn less than men, because women's work is easier than that of men If jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	Ukrainian society, by gender									
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men should have 36 21 more right to a job	women to earn less than men, because women's work is easier than that of men	30	15							
	men should have more right to a job	36	21							

^{*} Differences between men and women are significant if they exceed 3%.

In addition, 30% of male respondents believe that women's work is easier than men's work ⁵⁷ and thus it is right for women to be paid less. Last but not least, 36% of the male respondents also believe that if jobs are scarce, they have more right to get the jobs than their female counterparts. A very small percentage of all respondents (15% of men and 11% of women) maintain the stereotype that it is unnatural for a woman to work.

There were no significant differences between the respondents depending on age, education, type of settlement and income level (the differences in responses do not exceed 3-5%, taking error into account).

An analysis of the results of FGD with teachers and the representatives of vulnerable population groups also gives grounds to conclude that gender stereotypes are widespread and often subconscious.

In particular, when answering direct questions of whether women and men (girls and boys) differ in their abilities, psychological characteristics, capacity to work effectively in top leadership positions and to be successful political leaders, etc., practically all FGD participants (including both women and men) noted that the abilities and career potential of an individual person in no way depend on his/her gender.

⁵⁷ ILO, "Promoting equity: Gender-neutral job evaluation for equal pay: A step-by-step guide" Geneva, 2008. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@declaration/documents/publication/wcms_122372.pdf

"Of course women can work in business and occupy senior positions. How they could be worse than us? Take Margaret Thatcher, for instance. After all, she strengthened the economy of the country in a couple of years! And what do you think about Churchill's wife? She made him the politician of the highest level! The same with Gorbachev's wife! He himself said that the decisions he made were his wife's decisions and he was their voice"

(a participant of the FGD, a representative of the VG).

"We are all the same people. A woman can be strong or weak, and a man can be strong or weak. Some people are enhanced, some not"

(an FGD participant, a representative of VG).

However, when responding to other questions, the FGD participants (including both male and female representatives of the VG and teachers) often demonstrated gender stereotypes, in particular regarding the characteristics of men and women: a woman is more diplomatic and cunning, as well as more emotional and sensitive, and a man is more straightforward and more restrained in demonstrating his emotions; a woman is more practical in everyday matters than a man, a woman is more talkative, and so on.

"A woman is more secretive, more cunning"

(a participant of the FGD, a representative of the VG).

"A woman is more inventive, smarter. She knows where to hide something. She is more rational she knows when to shoot, when to speak, when to remain silent" (a FGD participant, a representative

of the VG).

"Women let more things pass through themselves, they more to others, and a man is a consumer" (a FGD female participant, a representative of the VG).

"A woman is more practical: I can run and make money quickly, and he will lie around and think where to get money. Men are very lazy" (a female participant of the FGD, a representative of the VG).

When applying the methodology of free associations ("What first words/ associations go through your mind when you hear the word "a man"/ "a woman"? Answer quickly, do not think!"), it turned out that practically all FGD participants of either sex (including the representatives of VG, teachers / psychologists, and even women affected by violence) are characterized by stereotypical perceptions of men as strong, reliable, responsible, restrained, able to become a defender and support for women and children, and women as beautiful, emotional, gentle, patient, chic, sacrificial, diplomatic, etc.

"A man should be able to take responsibility in all situations, should be able, prudent, should be a supporter and protector"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"This is the standard of women's protection, the standard of reason and a broad back behind which a woman can be kept. In my opinion, this is a man who must be smarter and more rational than a woman. I believe that in organizations of higher level, only men should be the leaders"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"A man is smart, courageous, generous, with a sense of humor" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"A man is a "shoulder to cry on", decency, honor, strength, defender, master in the house ..."

(a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"As for the word "woman", I have the following associations: emotionality, masochism and sacrifice, and, of course, beauty"

(a male FGD participant, a psychologist).

"A woman is attentive and nice. She must be protected and respected" (a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"The woman is smarter. It's not for nothing that they say that the man is the head and the woman is the neck" (a female participant of FGD, a representative of the VG).

"Women always discuss everyone a lot, there is a lot of gossip from them. This is their small minus. They usually talk a lot, men are getting faster ... I live with three women

— a wife, a daughter, and a grand-daughter. They interrupt each other all the time. The granddaughter once said to me that she has a lot of things in her head, and it is difficult for her to stop" (a male participant of FGD, a representative of the VG).

Also, the word "woman" was quite often associated with traditional women's roles, such as "guardian of the hearth", "mother", "wife".

"A housekeeper, a keeper of the family hearth, the one who gives life" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"A woman is a person that can bear much on her shoulders. Everything rests on her"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"Women are very different. It depends on what kind of woman we are talking about - a mother, a daughter, a beloved, a wife, a granddaughter..." (a male participant of FGD, a representative of VG).

"A grandma, a mother... A gentle, sweet person... A support, so that you can rely on her. She is a devoted and close person"

(a male FGD participant, a VG representative).

The representatives of the VG (both men and women) noted that they repeatedly encountered some forms of stigma and discrimination in the course of their lives. In some cases, discrimination occurred because of age, disability, health status, nationality, etc.

"I went to the factory at the age of 55 - and I was asked "not to start work". And then I wasn't able to find a job because of my age. If you just whisper that you are aged over 50 - that's it" (a male FGD participant, a representative of VG).

"At school, he is told: if you are Roma, then you are lying. They would rather believe a Russian-looking child" (a female FGD participant, a representative of VG).

"We (people living with HIV) are not being hired to work. I also have tuberculosis, but maybe at least you can take me as a janitor? But I've been turned down everywhere ... There are doctors who are afraid of you, call you "HIV-infected", they do not want to touch things that you have touched" (a female FGD participant, a representative of VG).

"I was asked to show a certificate of my status. If they find out that you have this disease (HIV), they simply won't give you a job"

(a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

In different cases, we detected examples of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination.

"We have no rights because we are Roma. My child bruised her arm, and no one even helped her, not the teacher or the doctor. She waited until lunch time, when I arrived. And the director then called an enquiry and argued that she had not broken her hand at school, but at home, and that my child was lying. They were even shouting at me!"

(a female FGD participant, a representative of VG).

"I would like to find a job, of course. At least somewhere I can wash the dishes. No, they do not take you, simply because you are Roma. And I want my children to learn and work - both daughters and sons" (a female FGD participant, a representative of VG).

Thus, gender stereotypes, in particular that women and men have different abilities, such as that boys are better at exact sciences, and girls at the humanities, that men are usually better at doing business than women. that men are not able to do several things at the same time, remain rather widespread among the respondents. This was demonstrated by the results of both quantitative and qualitative research components. On the other hand, the respondents admit that women can be as effective as men as leaders of local communities, political leaders and top-level managers. That is, some positive examples of successful women's roles can challenge their gender stereotypes.

There is therefore a need to carry out public information and awareness raising work, based on the principles of gender equality, overcoming gender stereotypes, using positive examples of successful women's roles in various spheres of life, especially those traditionally considered as "male" ones (science, politics, business, etc.).

4.2. Distribution of gender roles in the marital relationship

Attitudes to the distribution of duties and powers between husband and wife play an important role in the partnership; they determine the specifics of decision-making in the household and, to a large extent, the level of satisfaction with the marriage. As a rule, expectations of the "proper" behavior in marriage are acquired by women and men at an early age, as they are directly affected by the patterns of relationships that children observe in their parents' families. Subsequently, these visions are influenced by the views of their peers and youth "opinion leaders", the attitudes imposed bypopular culture and reproduced in the information environment. Education also plays an important role in reinforcing stereotypes, as school textbooks, manuals and teaching materials might reproduce persistent gender norms that are common for society. That is why an expert antidiscrimination evaluation of school textbooks is envisaged by the Law of Ukraine "On the Grounds of Preventing and Combating Discrimination in Ukraine" (2012)58, to examine the content in terms of any kind of discrimination (age, sex, ethnicity, disability and other variables) in the form of stereotypes, sexism, ageism, etc. The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine conducts mandatory evaluation of all school textbooks and, within the Ministry,

a Working Group on Gender Equality and Combating Discrimination in Education was established. 59

Specific perceptions of gender roles change in the course of time and depend on the influence of socio-cultural factors. In most cultures, traditional stereotypes place men at the head of the family as "breadwinners", thus determining their power in the making of decisions important for the household, and, consequently, the subordination of women and children⁶⁰. On the other hand, the same stereotypes stipulate the priority role of a wife as caring for family members and family comfort, making decisions on current tasks related to the organization of household life⁶¹. Due to traditional reproductive roles and unequal distribution of family duties, women perform the majority of unpaid care work across the world (76.2% of the total amount provided)⁶². As a result, women dedicate, on average, 3.2 times more hours than men to unpaid care work⁶³. It is well known that household chores have economic value but this work is not counted in traditional measures of GDP. It is estimated that

⁵⁹ The Ministry of Education of Ukraine portal, Antidiscrimination evaluation of education materials and the gender component integration strategy, posted on 23 March 2017. Available at: https://mon.gov.ua/ua/news/usi-novivni-novini-2017-03-23-mon-provodit-antidiskriminaczijnu-ekspertizu-navchalnix-materialiv (date accessed: 23.08.2019)

 $^{^{\}rm 60}$ Connell, R.W. (1987). Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics. Cambridge: Polity Press.

⁶¹ Crompton R. Lyonette C. (2008). Who Does the Housework? The Division of Labor within the Home. In: Park A, Curtice J, Thomson K, Phillips M, Johnson M, Clery E, editors. British Social Attitudes (24th report) London: Sage, 2008. Available at: http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/69039/

⁶² ILO, Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work / International Labour Office, Geneva, June 2018. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_633135/lang--en/index.htm

⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁸ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, terminology, Law of Ukraine "On the Grounds of Preventing and Combating Discrimination in Ukraine". Available at: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/term/33654

unpaid work being undertaken by women today "amounts to as much as \$10 trillion of output per year, roughly equivalent to 13 percent of global GDP". ⁶⁴

In modern conditions, traditional gender roles are undergoing gradual changes, such as expansion of women's employment opportunities accompanied by increased financial independence and autonomy in decision-making. The information campaigns that have been successfully implemented in many countries create a framework for egalitarian partnerships, including equality of women and men in all aspects of marital life. Unfortunately, the results of recent national studies highlight that progress is too slow^{65,66}. Particular attention has therefore been paid in this study to the issue of the distribution of gender roles in marital relations. In accordance with the standards of specific international population surveys, the features of public opinion regarding the distribution of power in a marriage are assessed by various aspects that reflect the characteristics of decision-making in the household, including family planning, family financial support, household work, the raising of children and the organization of leisure activities.

Distribution of power within marriage. The survey results showed that the overwhelming majority of the population (77%) still believes that the most important role for women is to be a "guardian" of hearth and home, that is to take care of their own home, children, husband, and prepare food for the family. Two thirds of the respondents (67%) are convinced that a man should earn more than his wife, almost half of the respondents believe that a man should have the final say in family decision-making (49%). It is noteworthy that men show greater commitment to the traditional distribution of roles than women (Fig. 4.1). The largest gender differences in support for the proposed statements regarding the division of powers were related to the recognition of women's subordination in the family decision-making (66% of men versus 36% of women).

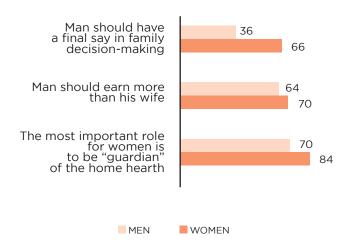


Fig. 4.1. Proportion of respondents who agreed with the relevant statements about the distribution of gender roles, by gender, % of all respondents

⁶⁴ McKinsey Global Institute "The Power of Parity: How advancing women's equality can add \$12 Trillion to global growth", 2015. Available at: https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/2030-agenda-for-sustainable-development/people/gender-equality/women-s-economic-empowerment/unpaid-care.html

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Osnovy Publishing House, Gender for everybody. Challenging stereotypes. T. Martsenyuk, 2017. Available at: https://ua.boell.org/uk/2017/04/20/gender-dlya-vsih-viklik-stereotipam

Readiness to support the traditional distribution of gender roles (like the "breadwinner" and "guardian" of the family) increases with the age of the respondents (Figure 4.2). As compared with older people, a significantly smaller proportion of young people support stereotyped statements that a man should earn more than a wife, and a woman should devote herself to caring for her family. Thus, a gradual development among young people of criteria for equal partnership can be expected, although the rate of support of traditional gender roles still remains high (more than two-thirds of the respondents interviewed at the age of 35 supported the proposed statements). It is interesting that young people have higher support for a dominant role of the man in making decisions, while the accumulation of experience in family life by older people leads to increased awareness of the need for joint decision-making within the family.

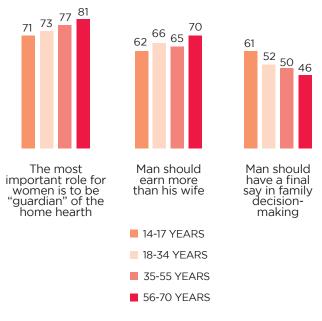


Fig. 4.2. Proportion of respondents who agreed with the relevant statements, by age, % of all respondents

Parenthood and child-rearing. Traditional features of gender role distribution in the family include public opinion that women's priority is family life, compared with their possibilities for self-realization outside the family. In particular, 61% of all respondents in this study agreed that, if there are children in the family, women should choose to care for the family rather than work. These expectations were much more prevalent among men than among women (Fig. 4.2.3), while no differences were observed depending on the respondent's age. However, when it comes to the future of their own children, only 8% of the respondents agreed that it is better to spend money on educating boys, not girls, if the family's money is scarce. In other words, education is accepted as an important prerequisite for future success in life equally for both girls and boys.

However, many people still perceive child-rearing as the exclusive prerogative of women. More than half of all respondents of both sexes agreed with the statement that men have a lower "natural" capacity to care for babies, while a quarter of respondents (26%) considered that caring for small children is a female matter, while husbands can play just a supporting role. Every second respondent supported the view that the father's role is simply to provide children with everything they need; a larger number of the representatives from older age groups (57% of the respondents over 55 years versus 47% of the respondents aged 14-17), as well as the rural population (respectively 57% vs. 52% in urban areas), agreed with this statement. Gender differences in the perception of the distribution of parental responsibilities remain significant (Figure 4.3), so men should be considered as a target group during information campaigns aimed at developing responsible parenthood and encouraging an equal distribution of planning of family responsibilities.

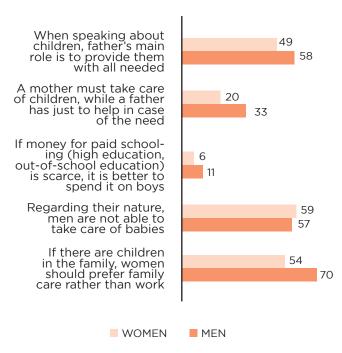


Fig. 4.3. Proportion of respondents who agreed with the corresponding statements about parenthood, by gender, % of all respondents.

Sharing work in the household. The influence of social stereotypes that determine the disproportional distribution of housework between women and men is also significantly maintained. Housework includes cooking and washing dishes, laundering, house cleaning and, in rural areas, working in the yard, collecting firewood or water for the household's needs. Studies show that even in developed countries, women

spend at least 2.14 times more than men on this unpaid housework⁶⁸. As a result, they have less time and opportunity to participate in paid work or they are forced to work for longer during the day to combine these two activities.

The well-being of the family relies by and large on unpaid care work done by women; but economies and states also rely on the unpaid work of women, because it largely replaces their role in providing institutionalized care services for their citizens. According to international estimates, women's unpaid care work contributes between 10%-39% of gross domestic product in different countries and provides a larger contribution to the economy than industry, trade and transport 69. Nevertheless, in public opinion, housework is not always perceived as "work" of real value, requiring time, physical and emotional resources. In particular, 28% of male respondents and 14% of female respondents said that housework does not take much time and effort. Although women more accurately assessed the level of household workload than men (Figure 4.4), only about two thirds (69%) of women argued that men should be more involved in doing household chores equally with women. Men were even less inclined to get involved in housework:

⁶⁸ ILO, Women at Work, Trends, March 2016. Available at: https://www.ilo.org/gender/Informationresources/Publications/WCMS_457317/lang--en/index.htm

⁶⁹ UN, "Women's economic empowerment in the changing world of work", Report of the Secretary-General, E/CN.6/2017/3, December 2016. Available at: https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/wom2114.doc.htm

only half of them agreed that men should fulfill these responsibilities together with women.

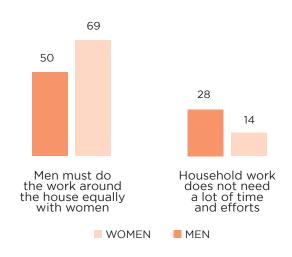


Fig. 4.4. Proportion of respondents who agreed with the relevant statements, by gender, % of all respondents.

Family planning and prevention of unwanted pregnancy. The perception that people of different genders have different roles in family planning is significantly less prevalent in Ukrainian society. The vast majority of the respondents (94%) agreed that spouses or partners should decide together whether they want to have children. In this respect, there were no significant differences between respondents, depending on gender, age or locality of residence. The respondents were quite tolerant of women's use of contraception: only 9% of the respondents supported the stereotypical statement that women who use contraception may become promiscuous.

At the same time, one in five respondents (22%) still assigns the responsibility for preventing unwanted pregnancy only to women. Such expectations are more widespread among men (27%) than women (18%), indicating that they lack a responsible attitude to prevent-

ing unwanted pregnancy. Rural residents and older people were also more supportive in terms of stereotyped ideas about women's responsibility for family planning, although these differences are not very significant.

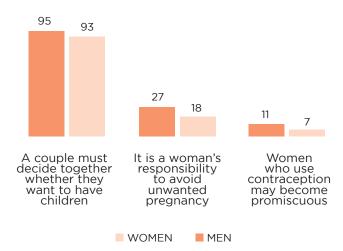


Fig. 4.5. Proportion of respondents who agreed with the relevant statements, by gender, % of all respondents.

As for sex education, the respondents were in complete consensus, as 90% of the respondents agreed that both girls and boys should receive equal attention in this regard. There were no differences between the respondents by their socio-demographic background, including sex, age, education or locality of residence.

Leisure activities. The attitude to the leisure activities of women and men is an important characteristic of the gender norms that are acceptable for society. Depending on the impact of cultural and social factors, different requirements for communicating with friends and relatives, "acceptable" entertainment, scheduling of leisure time and general recreational needs may be imposed on women and men. In particular, 43% of the surveyed men and 12% of the surveyed women believed

that men need more time for leisure with their friends, as they work harder than women.

On the other hand, modern concepts of masculinity closely link men's guiding principles to preserve a dominant role in relationships with their desire to control various aspects of the lives of their wives, including the people they communicate with, visits to relatives and friends, entertainment and even the style of their clothing⁷⁰. It is also argued that spousal control determines women's devalued position in the family, the subordination of their personal needs to the interests of their partner or the whole family, limited mobility and independence even in making the decisions concerning their personal life.71

Indeed, more than half of the respondents (52%) believed that a woman should ask for her husband's/partner's advice, when choosing which friends with whom to spend her free time. Men were more categorical in this regard than women: two thirds of male respondents agreed that women should listen to their husband's opinion against 41% of women interviewed (Figure 4.6). Only two thirds of all respondents of this study agreed that a woman has the right to leave her children with her husband to spend some time with her female friends.

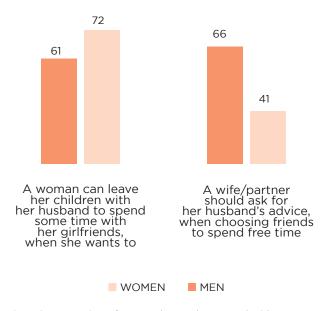


Fig. 4.6. Proportion of respondents who agreed with the relevant statements, by gender, % of all respondents.

The findings of the qualitative component of the study. The FGD with representatives of vulnerable population groups and teachers also confirmed a wide prevalence of stereotypes about the "proper" distribution of family roles. At the same time, the answers to direct questions about the distribution of certain responsibilities between the spouses (for example, making money, keeping house or to bringing up children) were quite "democratic": the money should be earned by the person who is better at doing so; either parent may take parental leave for the sake of the family; important decisions should be taken only together; household chores should be carried out by the person who has more time or likes it more, etc.

"There are no male or female occupations any more. There are many women in IT companies, and they earn much more than men. And this is not bad, it is absolutely normal" (a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

⁷⁰ Connell, R.W. (1995). Masculinities. Cambridge, Polity Press: 360.⁷¹ Ibid.

"I don't have a clear distinction between male and female work: I can easily wash the dishes, for example, I always help at home. I do not think this is only women's work"

(a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"Within the family, everybody must do everything, and not make unnecessary distinctions or raise oneself to the rank of a deity, just because you have done something. Doing everything together - that is all right. And the children afterwards also can organize their nest"

(a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"I do not consider it necessary to divide into women's and men's affairs. I do the washing all the time: you just throw in the linen, turn on the machine, turn it off later and pull it out ... If a woman comes tired from her work or she doesn't have time in the morning, then I can prepare meals for her" (a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

The participants of the FGD also noted that it is extremely important, if children are to be properly educated in terms of building harmonious relationships in the family, for both parents, not just the mother, to give enough attention to the child.

"I think that both parents should look after a child. Either of them who has free time should be involved. Both parents do not always stay together at home" (a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG). However, it turned out later that the majority of the FGD participants share the stereotypes about traditional distribution of the family roles. According to them, women still own the role of a mother and a housewife, and their husbands own the role of a breadwinner.

"Education (for women) is compulsory. But if you achieve the (career) top, then the family is more important" (a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"If a woman has to choose between her family and her career, then of course, you choose the family, otherwise the children would be deprived of attention"

(a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"We should be making decisions together. But a man has to have the last say, because he is responsible for everything" (a female FGD participant, a representative of thee VG).

"The man must be a breadwinner. And he should not sit on the shoulders of a woman. Or rather, at least he should invest a little more. To earn, to bring, to make sure, to feel like a man" (a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"Childcare is women's work. But if you have a boy, then you need some male influence, when he is growing up, you need the father to walk with him in the streets, to go fishing" (a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"A good wife should look after her husband. That means she should understand me, look at me, feel me, etc."

(a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

a representative of the VG).

Some FGD participants even re-confirmed the personal behavioral patterns, in response to the gender stereotypes being discussed.

"When I was young, there was no time for children. We had to make money. So my wife was involved with childcare more than me" (a male FGD participant,

"I came to my husband's family, and my mother-in-law taught me: all women's work is yours. Dishes, children, taking out the garbage it's all mine. And for me this is the standard, it is not hard for me. I do not focus on this. I think that everything should be like this" (a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

Experts point out that gender stereotypes and gender inequality are closely intersected with other problems, including poverty, unemployment and informal employment, etc., and mutually reinforce each other. In other words, the division of responsibilities between spouses in caring for children is often caused not only by their personal desires and beliefs about who should do it. Objective circumstances that determine the spouse's ability to work or, leave, he doesn't take endless sick

conversely, take parental leave, also play an important role. For example, a husband who wants to take childcare leave may find it difficult to gain his employer's approval or cannot claim it officially because he works informally. Similarly, a wife may be forced to care for children, even if she wants to work and her husband understands this desire, because it is easier for her husband to find a iob than for a woman. He can also claim higher wages and, accordingly, provide better for his family.

"This situation is influenced by other circumstances, and not just stereotypes: the low standard of living of ordinary people, illegal work. Today, 60% of workers are "in the shadow economy", they are not registered for work. As a result, employers can discriminate against the rights of both men and women. With all these impediments, a man won't take parental leave. That's because he understands that he can be out of a job, without any income and then he will not be able to support his family" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"The development of relations of equality (between men and women) should take place not only through conversations, convictions. Opportunities should be provided as well. We are talking again about economic issues. Given overall unemployment, preference will be given to a man in many occupations, because he does not go on maternity leave because of a baby, etc. For these economic reasons, a woman often cannot get out of the house, despite all her struggle for gender equality"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Thus, the study of respondents' attitudes to the characteristics of marital relationships has shown that commitment to the traditional distribution of gender roles remains widespread in society. The main responsibility of men is predominantly considered to be financial provision for the family, while it is believed that the prerogative of women is the care of family comfort and child-rearing. Compared with women, men are more inclined to support stereotyped ideas about the distribution of power and responsibilities within a marriage; such expectations are especially supported by the representatives of older age groups and rural residents. Housework is often devalued, as it is perceived as not requiring significant workload, and is usually identified with the "female" sphere of responsibility. Sometimes, this disproportional burden of unpaid care work leaves no opportunities for women to get involved in productive paid work and become financially independent. As a result, women might be fully dependent on their husbands, which makes them vulnerable in terms of controlling behavior and abuse.

5. ATTITUDES TO THE PROBLEM OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

5.1. Tolerance of intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence (IPV) remains an important social problem. The profound causes of IPV are associated with the impact of gender norms and stereotypes that determine the opportunities of socialization of women and men in their private and public lives. The numerous forms and manifestations of IPV can be influenced by the prevalent expectations of the "proper" female and male roles that reflect a certain hierarchy of power relations in the family and society as a whole.

R. Connell, a well-known scholar of the modern culture of masculinity, argues that men as "members of a privileged group use violence to maintain their own domination. Intimidation of women takes place in a wide range - from whistling in the streets to office sexual harassment, from rape and domestic violence to the recognition of the right to kill a woman by her "patriarchal owner," for example, a former husband. Physical attacks against women are usually accompanied by verbal abuse... Although most men do not hurt or persecute women, those who do this are unlikely to consider themselves as deviant. On the contrary, they generally perceive their actions as fully justified and [are] convinced that they have the right to do so. They are empowered by

the ideology of their own supremacy over women".72

The stereotypical vision of the traditional rules of "male" behavior often relates them to attributes such as demonstration of power or authority, domination and the signs of aggression⁷³. In most countries with their different rules and practices, the concept of masculinity is identified with men who exhibit characteristics such as independence, physical strength, aggressiveness, courage, desperation, the desire to compete, the tendency not to manifest emotions⁷⁴. On the other hand, studies of gender norms confirm that womenare considered physically weaker, softer, calmer, more emotional, but more dependent and passive in their own behavior than men⁷⁵.

Indeed, half of the respondents of this study agreed that it is more difficult for men to control their aggression than for women (Fig. 5.1.). More than half of the respondents believed that women are weaker and more vulnerable by their nature,

⁷² Connell, R. W. (1995). Masculinities, Sydney, Allen & Unwin: 83.

⁷³ Bosson, J.K.; Vandello, J.A. (2011). Precarious manhood and its links to action and aggression. Current Directions in Psychological Science. Sage. 20 (2): 82–86.

⁷⁴ Norman L. (2007). Masculinity, Encyclopaedia of Sex and Gender, Edit. Fedwa Malti-Douglas, The Gale Group: 965-972.

⁷⁵ Hofstede, G. (1998). Masculinity and Femininity as a Dimension of Culture. In: Masculinity and Femininity: The Taboo Dimension of National Cultures, Edited by Gert Hofstede and et. all. Sage Publications.

and therefore, it is difficult for them to deal with difficult situations. The latter statement was more strongly supported by men (63% of men versus 44% of women) and older people (59% of the respondents over the age of 60 compared with 45% of the respondents aged 14-17).

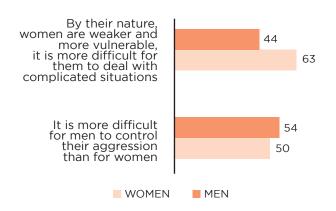


Fig. 5.1. Perceptions of predisposition to aggression and vulnerability of women and men, % of all respondents

Controlling behavior within marriage. Feelings of power and control are recognized as the most important factors that shape the preconditions for domestic violence and can be observed in the relationships of partners long before its physical manifestations. Thus, public perceptions of the distribution of gender roles in the family often recognize the dominant role of men in decision-making affecting the entire household. Indeed, 43% of all respondents in this survey agreed that a good wife never questions her husband's opinions and decisions even if she disagrees. Men were significantly more categorical in support of this statement than women (respectively 55% vs. 34%), as well as older respondents (53% of those interviewed over the age of 60 against 36% of the respondents aged 14-17). It is noteworthy

that the expectations of the obedient wife are more marked among rural population (51%) than among urban residents (39% respectively), among those with lower educational levels (53% of the respondents with secondary special education, against 31% of the respondents with higher education), as well as among the population groups with lower incomes (60% of the respondents who, while evaluating their property status, indicated that they lacked even the most necessary things, against 37% of the respondents who have higher living standards and can save money). Nevertheless, more that 30% of respondents (men and women) who live in urban and better off areas still believe that a good wife should never question her husband's opinions and decisions.

Four out of ten respondents (42%) believe that men have the right to influence how their wives look and dress. In the context of the socio-demographic background of the respondents, this statement was significantly more supported by men (54%) and rural residents (49%). Although citizens with higher education were less inclined to support controlling behavior, one in three also agreed that men had the right to influence the appearance of their wives.

In general, 16% of all respondents agreed that both wives and husbands have the right to check their partners' personal calls, emails and pages in social networks. In regard

to control by the wife, the views of women and men are very similar (Figure 5.2). But the right of men to control their wives' personal communications was supported by 2.5 times more men than women. Interestingly, the right to check a partner's contacts was the only aspect of relationships that was supported more by young than by older people. So, one in five respondents under the age of 30 agreed that spouses/partners have the right to control one another's calls, e-mails, and social media pages, while only 15% of people over the age of 60 support this statement.

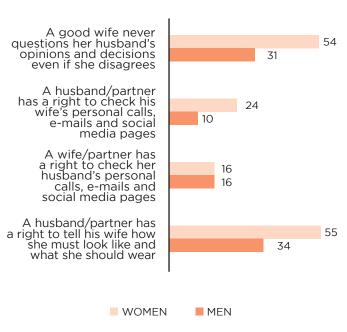


Fig. 5.2. Support for controlling behavior in a marriage/partnership, % of all respondents

Control over economic resources.

Financial dependence and control over economic resources by the spouse can also contribute to domestic violence. According to international studies, women are more likely to suffer from economic violence in the family than men⁷⁶, and this refers not only to the distribution of money, but to controlling behaviors and humiliation used to reduce women's independence and security. Women's unpaid care work in the household makes them providers for their families in non-monetary terms but, at the same time, highly vulnerable, since the unpaid care work is devalued and unrecognized by the family, society and the economy as a whole.

Economic violence in the family can lead to women and children being deprived and also socially isolated, as long as they are living with the perpetrator. If a woman is financially dependent on her partner and does not have her own home, it is rather difficult for her to break the relationship in cases of violence, especially when it comes to the future of her children. It is important to mention that economic violence can continue after separation from the perpetrators, if they try to continue controlling their former partners through custody of the children, payment of alimony or visitating rights. Therefore, any form of domestic violence contributes to the financial instability that women face because of their lower personal incomes.

It is important, in this context, that the respondents interviewed in this study are not inclined to radically support the messaging on the control of resources among the partners in a marriage. Only one in ten of them expressed the conviction that women should give

⁷⁶ Hughes, C., Bolis, M., Fries, R., Finigan, S. (2015). Women's economic inequality and domestic violence: exploring the links and empowering women. In: Gender & Development, 23: 279-297.

their money to their husbands if they work, 38% of all interviewees believed that the female partner should tell her husband/partner about all their expenses. Almost the same percentage of the respondents (39%) agreed that men had similar obligations with regard to their wives or partners.

However, more detailed analysis of the responses shows that men are more inclined to control their wives' expenditure (Figure 5.3). One in two men agreed that the wife should tell the partner about all her expenses (conversely, only 27% of women). Compared with women, twice as many men believed that working women should give their wages to the husbands (6% and 15%, respectively). Support for the need to discuss their own expenses with spouses increases with the age of the respondents: about one-third of all respondents in the age group under 30 agreed with the corresponding statements, while the same proportion among the population aged 60-70 was about 50%. The representatives of low-income groups were more likely to agree with the need to discuss expenses between spouses or partners, as compared with the respondents with the highest incomes (respectively 44% vs. 36%).

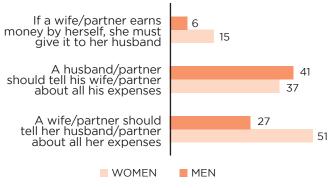


Fig. 5.3. Attitudes to control over economic resources within marriage, % of all respondents.

Attitude towards domestic violence.

The study of citizens' attitudes towards domestic violence is important, since the specific perceptions of this problem in society determine the criteria for seeking help, the effectiveness of the response by law enforcement and the overall development of a system of services for survivors. In international practice, specific tools have been developed to assess the attitude of the population towards various aspects of domestic violence. In particular, a set of questions about the reasons to justify a husband's violence against his wife is included in the standard program of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey conducted by UNICEF77; attitudes towards the possibility of disclosure of violence and those survivors who seek help are included in the program of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey held by PROMUNDO78; and the need to tolerate violence in order to keep the family together features in case studies conducted by the World Health Organization⁷⁹, etc. All these tools were used to formulate the questions in this study in order to objectively assess respondents' perceptions of sensitive topics and avoid any bias and re-victimization of survivors. It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of all respondents do not justify physical violence

⁷⁸ International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Available at: https://promundoglobal.org/programs/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images

⁷⁹ WHO, Violence against women, key facts, posted on 29 November 2017. Available at: https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/ violence-against-women (date accessed: 23.08.2019)

by men against their wives (Table 5.1). According to some respondents, the only reason that can justify beating a woman is related to marital infidelity. So, a tenth of respondents agreed that a man has the right to hit his wife if he knows that she has cheated on him; this statement was supported by almost 3 times as many men as women (17% vs. 6% respectively).

Interestingly, public opinion is more tolerant to the possibility of women's violence against their husbands. Thus, a significant part of the respondents believe that a woman is justified in beating her husband if he hurts/hits a child (27% of all respondents), and if she knows that he has cheated on her (20% of all respondents). A tenth of them are convinced that a woman is justified in beating her husband if he abuses alcohol (12%), while a few respondents (both women and men) justify the possibility of beating her husband if his income is too small or if he spends too much time with his friends (Table 5.1).

The tendency to justify physical violence within marriage increases among low-income groups and among citizens with lower educational levels. In particular, among representatives of the least prosperous group, 21% of the respondents believe that a husband is justified in beating his wife if he knows that she has cheated on him, and 25% of those interviewed that a wife has the right to hit her husband if the latter abuses alcohol or she knows that he has cheated on her.

Table 5.1

Proportion of respondents who agreed that the following causes could justify physical violence in spouses, % of all respondents

	ALL RESPON- DENTS	MEN	WOMEN
A MAN IS JUS	TIFIED IN BEATIN	NG HIS WIF	EIF
he is dissatisfied with her house- hold duties	1	1	1
she disobeyed	1	1	0
she refused to have sex with him	1	1	0
he thinks that she has cheated on him	3	5	1
he knows that she has cheated on him	11	17	6
A WOMAN IS JUSTIFIED IN BEATING HER HUSBAND IF			
he abuses alcohol	12	10	14
he spends too much time with his friends	4	3	5
he has no in- come /has too small an income	4	3	4
he hurts/hits a child	27	20	32
she thinks that he has cheated on her	6	5	8
she knows that he has cheated on her	20	19	20

Interviewees are much more tolerant of the possibility of psychological violence within a marriage. More than half (52%) of male respondents and about one-third (31%) of female respondents agree that a man is justified in shouting at his wife, intimidating her, including swearing, if he knows that she has cheated on him. At the same time, almost half of all respondents (47% of men and 45% of women) agree that a woman is justified in shouting at her husband in cases where she knows about his cheating. One in five respondents believes that

even a suspicion of betrayal is a sufficient reason for shouting at a partner, including swearing (Table 5.2). A tenth of respondents considered that psychological pressure and insulting a woman are justified if she did not obey or he was dissatisfied with her household duties. Men showed a significantly higher inclination to justify psychological violence against wives for all the reasons suggested by the survey program (Table 5.2).

As in the case of physical violence, it is much easier for public opinion to perceive support for tolerating psychological violence by women. One in two respondents agrees that a wife is justified in shouting at her husband if he hurts a child (54%), if she knows that he has cheated on her (46%) or he is abusing alcohol (42%). One in four recognizes a wife's right to react emotionally if her husband spends too much time with friends (23%), one in seven if he has too small an income (15%). The women interviewed more often supported all the reasons that could justify psychological violence against a husband within marriage.

The analysis of attitudes towards tolerance of psychological violence, depending on the socio-demographic background of the respondents, shows that people with higher education are less inclined to justify insults and quarrels within marriage for any reason, It is also interesting that young people more often recognize the legitimacy of a verbal "punishment" of a partner in the case of marital infidelity, in so far as it applies to both women and men.

Table 5.2

Proportion of respondents who agreed that the following causes could justify psychological violence within marriage, % of all respondents

ALL RESPON- DENTS	MEN	WOMEN	
9	14	4	
9	15	4	
5	8	3	
20	29	13	
41	52	31	
A WOMAN HAS THE RIGHT TO SHOUT AT HER HUSBAND, INTIMIDATE HIM, INCLUDINGSWEARING, IF:			
42	37	46	
23	17	28	
15	12	18	
54	46	61	
26	25	27	
46	47	45	
	RESPONDENTS E RIGHT TO SHOUMER, INCLUDINGS 9 9 5 20 41 E RIGHT TO SHOUMER, INCLUDINGS 42 23 15 54 26	RESPONDENTS MEN E RIGHT TO SHOUT AT HIS HER, INCLUDINGSWEARING 9 9 14 9 15 5 8 20 29 41 52 ERIGHT TO SHOUT AT HER HIM, INCLUDINGSWEARING 42 37 23 17 15 12 54 46 26 25	

Social attitudes to violence in the family largely determine whether people will intervene in situations of conflict or help survivors of violence, whether the survivors themselves will seek specialized care services, or whether the law enforcement officers will take seriously reports of violent incidents. Unfortunately, domestic violence is still largely regarded as a private problem of an individual family. One in four respondents of this survey agreed that a woman who suffered from violence should

ask her family for help, not the police. One in five is convinced that outsiders should not interfere if they witness spousal abuse against a wife. One in ten respondents don't take seriously the possibility of sexual abuse in a marriage, because they believe that it is the spousal duty of a woman to have an intimate relationship with her husband when he wants to. A small proportion of the respondents (less than 10%) also agree that a wife should tolerate her husband's violence to keep the

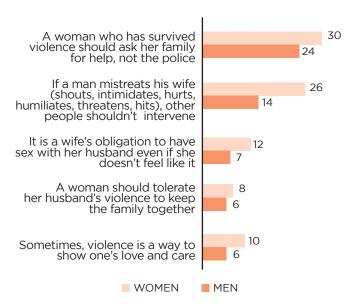


Fig. 5.4. Proportion of respondents who supported stereotypical statements about domestic violence, % of all respondents

family together, and even with the provocative statement that violence is sometimes a way to show one's love and care. It is noteworthy that men showed significantly more support for all the statements than women (Fig. 5.4). As in the case of tolerance of violence, factors of higher education and material well-being of the respondents determine a lower support to the stereotyped statements about domestic violence.

Thus, public attitudes form the social climate where domestic violence takes place and its medical and demographic consequences are in force. Obviously, the tolerance of violence in a partner relationship and the search for the reasons that justify it reduce the effectiveness of any preventive programs and restrictive measures against the perpetrators. Accordingly, the role of advocacy efforts aimed at changing stereotypical attitudes is increasing, because only in these conditions can any policy to combat violence be successfully implemented.

5.2. Understanding the causes of domestic violence, willingness to seek help and accessibility of relevant services

Understanding the causes of domestic violence. Adequate understanding of the causes of domestic violence serves as a guarantee of successful prevention of its manifestations and implementation of measures that will break the "circle of violence" in the family and

provide sustainable security for the survivors. The profound causes of domestic violence are closely linked to the relationship of power, control and inequality in society, which determine the dependent and subordinate position of vulnerable family members, usually women, children or the elderly. At the same time, there is a lack of understanding among the general public of genuine, historically predetermined causes of domestic violence; instead, in public opinion, various "myths" about this problem are widespread. It is quite commonly believed that manifestations of domestic violence are caused by the abuse of alcohol or drugs, the presence of mental disorders and abnormalities of the perpetrators, or affecting extremely poor or uneducated groups of the population. In reality, psychological stress or alcohol abuse are only the triggers of aggression towards a close person, while the acceptability of such behavior is determined by the cultural norms and behavioral models embedded in society⁸⁰.

The results of this survey confirmed a rather superficial understanding of the causes of domestic violence by the respondents. The vast majority of them (71%) attribute violence to the presence of bad habits or addictions among family members, such as alcohol, drugs or gambling (Table 5.3). Every second respondent (55%) saw the causes of violence in personal misunderstandings among family members, such as lack of common interests, painful jealousy, excessive control by the spouse, etc. Almost 40% of the respondents were convinced that the economic hardships (low income, unemployment, lack of personal housing) are the causes of domestic violence.

Only one-third of all respondents linked the causes of domestic violence to specifics of education or culture (36%), and only 24% of the respondents recognized the link between violent behavior and the distribution of power relations between the partners. Fewer respondents (9% of women and 6% of men) supported the reasons that explain domestic violence as historically established men's power in society and the family, or the discrimination and subordination of women.

There were practically no gender differences in the distribution of responses concerning the causes of domestic violence (Table 5.3). As for other socio-demographic groups, rural residents more often than urban residents attributed the causes of violence to alcohol abuse and other harmful habits, while divorced respondents were more inclined to attribute violence to economic hardships than those who had never been in a marriage (43% vs. 32% respectively).

⁸⁰ WHO, Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women: Initial Results on Prevalence, Health Outcomes and Women's Responses / García-Moreno C., December 2006. Available at: https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/43309

Proportion of respondents who agreed the following causes of domestic violence, % of respondents

CAUSES	ALL RESPON- DENTS	MEN	WOMEN
Negative habits or addictions among family members (al- coholism, drug addiction, gam- bling)	71	71	72
Misunderstanding in personal relations between spouses or family members (jealousy, excessive control, no mutual interests)	55	57	53
Economic hard- ships (unem- ployment, low incomes, no private housing)	39	40	39
Features of education, level of culture	36	36	36
One of the partners (either man or woman) thinks that he/ she has more power over the other one	24	21	28
Men are per- ceived as more powerful and su- perior members of a family and society	11	8	13
Women are discriminated (perceived as subordinated per- sons) in a family and society	8	6	9
Don't know	2	2	2

^{*} The number of responses exceeds 100%, as the respondents could choose several answers.

The results of the FGDs and interviews with experts also confirmed the validity of all the above-mentioned causes of domestic violence, ranging from economic problems to alcohol abuse, a partner's psychological immaturity, and the fact that after the first manifestation of violence, the perpetrator was not rejected by his wife/partner or prosecuted by the in-line government agencies.

"In our community, the economic factor is the most relevant, because women of our city mostly do not work, because there are no jobs, or they do not want to work... The second reason is alcohol abuse both by men and women. Recently, female alcoholism even prevails over male alcoholism. We have many families where the men do not drink, but the women drink, a woman may go to her friends and stay out all night. Then, conflicts begin and the couple gets into an argument"

(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

"I know about cases of violence in both poor and rich families. All this starts in childhood, following the family's example. In a poor family, it happens because of domestic disorder, poverty. Or the man is discriminated against at his work, mocked - then he wants to show that he is the boss in his home. That's the thing about violence. In rich families, there is just a permissive environment, and the man knows that he will be forgiven and understood"

(a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

Both the participants of the FG and the experts pointed to a specific "cycle of violence", when children who grew up in a situation of domestic violence perceive it as standard. Then, they will most probably reproduce similar behaviors in their own family. "I believe that 70% of domestic violence is related to the family where a person was raised: whether people saw violence in the family, whether they consider such behavior as acceptable. When people understand that violence becomes only their problem, and only a few people can effectively help them, this leads to the fact that such situations are silenced, children are brought up in a climate of domestic violence, they perceive it as a standard of behavior"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Children are not born at school ...
If they see it (violence) in their family, then they create a stereotype that this behavior is permitted. A boy child believes that he has the right to hit somebody; a girl child thinks that she can be hit at any moment"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"There is a family model of behavior. In some families the grandfather hits the grandmother, and the father hits the mother. Thus, the child is affected from early childhood. He believes that this is normal male behavior"

(a male FGD participant, a representative of VG).

In addition, participants of the FG and experts quite often said that gender stereotypes contribute to the deep roots of GBV. This concerns not only the stereotype that a man should have more power in the family than a woman, but also stereotypes that have an indirect effect on the distribution of roles within

a marriage and the psychological well-being of partners. In particular, stereotypes drive a person (a boy or a girl, a man or a woman) into a circumscribed framework, limit his/her ability to act in certain spheres of life in his/her own way, and, respectively, to succeed in these areas. For example, a boy is encouraged to choose a "male" occupation, even if he has a clear propensity to get involved in activities regarded as women's (beauty industry or design services). A person who does not have the opportunity of self-realization in the professional sphere is more likely to become aggressive in the family. A girl/woman feels constant pressure from her social environment, which prompts her to marry. As a result, she might marry the first man who comes along, and then it is difficult for her to reach an understanding with him in a common life.

"Power and dictatorship in the family - yes, they are reasons. If someone goes too far, then there will always be conflicts. Not immediately, but later. Without the consent (of both partners) there will never be anything good" (female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"For example, it is presumed that boys do not cry, that a man should be strong, etc. But boys cry, where are you coming or going from this fact? If in the process of growing up they are not allowed to cry, then it breaks out as neuroses. Society puts a constant pressure on the girl:

"You must get married." And they marry the first available men, just to do it. Then we get dysfunctional families, domestic violence, etc"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Our society is developing, now there are new opportunities. If the same gender stereotypes remain, society will dictate some conditions to women, for instance that they have to raise children and stay at home, and this may ultimately lead to increased violence. Women's dissatisfaction will grow due to the lack of self-realization. Men who believe that these stereotypes are valid will use domestic violence. The second caveat: if a married woman has only stayed at home and hasn't worked for the whole time, but at some point of her life she had a break in relations with a man (for example, facing divorce), then, without any skills, she would have a hard time adapting to society. This can lead even to suicide"

(a male expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Women have fewer opportunities to build their careers, to take positions in the political sphere and to lead/manage at different levels. And the issue is not with the legislation, but with the gender stereotypes that have been developed in our society. An employer will be more willing to hire a man, since he will not go on maternity leave and will not take sick leave if a child gets ill. And as a result, men have more opportunities to develop their career"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Both the experts and the FGD participants emphasized the harmfulness of the stereotype that the ultimate purpose of a woman is to marry successfully and to become a mother, because her husband will make the money. This position prevents a woman from obtaining education and occupation, becoming self-sufficient, and makes her absolutely unprotected against possible manifestations of domestic violence, since she cannot escape from the perpetrator because she is unable to safeguard herself and her children.

"For example, it is a fact that some girls are counting only on a successful marriage. So, they are prepared for this, and they themselves believe in this. They do not strive to specialise, to be able to do something, to work, to mean something, to achieve something, to stand firmly on their feet, to rely on themselves ... And then life becomes disappointing"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"I know such families, where the husband is a breadwinner, he provides for the family. And the woman only cares for the home and has no self-development. Violence often arises in such families: when the husband says something, she is compelled to do it"

(a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG). "In my 11th grade, they think that the most important thing is to get married successfully, and to marry a rich man. They watch movies that create such a stereotype. For them, beauty is necessary, brains are for nothing sometimes they think that way" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"A should woman become a self-sufficient person and not depend on anyone. At any time, she should be able to protect herself and her family (children), and not rely on someone. This will help her to live in parity with her husband ... First of all, a woman should receive an education in order to be able to feed herself somehow. And it's better not just to sit at home, but to work somewhere. Otherwise, if she had not worked for many years and was engaged only in matters of everyday life, it would be very difficult for her in the case of divorce. Such women would have to look for a new man, who would like to provide for her and the children" (a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

Readiness to seek help. The results of numerous studies highlight the silence surrounding domestic violence. Thus, according to a survey conducted in 28 European countries in 2014, only a third of survivors of intimate partner violence (33%) and a quarter of survivors of violence perpetrated by outsiders (26%) turned to the police or other specialized organizations after the most serious

case⁸¹. The national sample population-based surveys fully confirm this trend: only one-third (32%) of women who suffered physical or sexual violence dare to seek any kind of help, usually from the people closest to them⁸².

The lack of social guidance for seeking help is also reflected in the respondents' attitudes towards potential situations of violence that may occur. A fifth (21%) of all respondents interviewed in this study indicated that they were unwilling to seek help from specialized services if they were to face violence (Table 5.4). Men expressed a more categorical rejection of this possibility (25% of the respondents) than women (17% respectively). Those respondents who were ready to seek help often indicated that they would seek help from law enforcement agencies (two thirds of both women and men). Only onethird of the respondents were ready to go to health care providers or forensic medical examinations, as well as social services in cases of violence. Significantly fewer respondents express their readiness to turn to crisis centers or psychologists, non-governmental organizations assisting survivors of violence, or mobile brigades of social and psychological assistance (16-19% of all respondents). Only 9% of the respondents suggested that they would approach specialized shelters for survivors of violence. It is noteworthy that only a few percent of the respondents

⁸¹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Violence against Women: an EU-Wide Survey, March 2014. Available at: https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report

⁸² Ibid.

were ready to go to the media in five women interviewed), and, to a cases of violence in order to obtain any kind of help. Obviously, this results from the reluctance to publicize personal information and to attract excessive attention to their experience, due to anticipation of stigmatization at the community level.

The men interviewed were more skeptical about the possibility of seeking help than wom-5.4). (Table In particular. half as many of them were willing to cooperate with non-governmental organizations, mobile brigades of social-psychological help and shelters for survivors of violence. Probably such a distribution of responses reflects not only the level of public trust in public institutions, but also certain social norms according to which men are expected to show emotional restraint, self-control and autonomy in solving their problems.

The most common reason why respondents were not ready to seek help in case of violence was a lack of confidence in the ability to receive help (Table 5.5). Thus, almost three quarters of all respondents (72%) believed that turning to specialized services / institutions would not make sense, because they would not be able to obtain any assistance there. There were also quite common reasons for reluctance to seek help among women, such as a feeling of shame and fear of possible disclosure (one in

lesser extent, the expectation that they would be blamed for provoking violence by their own behavior and the fear of retaliation from the perpetrator (one in nine women).

Table 5.4

Distribution of answers to the question "If you face any form of violence, are you ready to seek help from the specialized services/institutions?", % of all respondents

70 Of all respondents			
SERVICES/ INSTITUTIONS	ALL RESPON- DENTS	MEN	WOMEN
Law enforce- ment authorities	66	64	68
Medical workers/ forensics	34	30	38
Social services	31	26	36
Legal advice	23	20	25
Crisis centres/ psychologists	19	12	24
Non-governmental organizations that provide support to survivors of violence	17	12	21
Mobile teams of social-psychological support	16	10	20
Shelters /centres for the survivors of violence	9	5	11
The media/ journalists	5	4	5
Other	1	1	0
Don't know	4	4	3
Not ready to seek help	21	25	17

^{*} The number of responses exceeds 100%, as the respondents could choose several answers.

Reasons why respondents are not ready to contact specialized services / institutions if they face domestic violence, % of respondents

CAUSES	ALL RESPON- DENTS	MEN	WOMEN
It doesn't make sense (they can't help)	72	76	67
Feel ashamed	16	12	22
Don't want disclosure of information	16	9	24
Afraid of victim-blaming attitude	10	8	13
There are no such services in my settlement	7	8	7
Afraid of perpetrator's retaliation	6	2	12
Don't want to raise children without a partner	3	1	5
Other	7	9	4
Don't know	5	5	4

^{*} The number of responses exceeds 100%, as the respondents could choose several answers.

The results of focus groups and interviews with experts indicate that there is some justification for the belief that specialized services/ institutions are unlikely to help a person who has suffered from domestic violence. Female FGD participants - survivors of violence stated that despite the presence of relevant provisions in the legislation, in many cases it is difficult for women to protect themselves even in the most obvious cases of violence (for example, physical). The greatest disappointment for women is the impossibility of obtaining effective assistance from the police.

"Everything can be bought or sold, so it's difficult for a woman to protect herself. It is not apparent that you will get skilled assistance, because they have already called (the police), and after that you are a nobody there. You go to the police station and they tell you that today is Thursday and you should come tomorrow. And tomorrow too, something would happen. Then on Saturday and Sunday the forensic examination service does not work - so you should come on Monday. And then 8 days will have passed, the bruises will already have healed"

(a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"Minor injuries, more than 10 court hearings, and the punishment was UAH 850 to be given to the state, that's all. If alimony is paid - then OK. But if he doesn't pay for half a year - nothing happens. "I'm ready to suit and boot, ready to pay the child psychologist..." But when the court case is over - again nothing happens, because nobody wants to do this"

(a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

"It is for nothing to turn to them (to the police). They told me: "When he kills you, then call us." That means they are joking that when you are a dead body - then call"

(a female FGD participant, representative of the VG).

It is a positive circumstance that the vast majority of the respondents reported that they would not stand aside if situations involving violence against other people occur in front of them (Table 5.6). At the same time, respondents are significantly more concerned about situations involving physical violence between outsiders than possible conflicts in the family or partner relationships. Thus, 81% of the respondents indicated that they would call the police if they witnessed the beating of people by strangers, but only 59% of them would consider it advis-

Table 5.6

Distribution of answers to the question:
"In which of the following situations would you call the police if you became a witness of ...?", % of respondents

SITUATIONS	ALL RESPON- DENTS	MEN	WOMEN
One or several un- known people are beating a person you know (your relative, friend, etc)	81	78	84
One or several un- known people are beating a person you don't know	71	68	73
A man/woman is beating his/ her wife/husband (partner)	59	53	65
Some people are pulling an unknown person against his/her will	58	55	61
Sexual harass- ment in a public place	42	40	44
A man/woman is shouting and threating his wife/husband (partner)	20	19	22
Other	3	4	3
Will not call police in any of these situations	7	10	5

^{*} The number of responses exceeds 100%, as the respondents could choose several answers.

able to turn to the police if a woman or a man is beaten by his/her spouse/partner. Less than half of the respondents (42%) recognized abusive sexual behavior in a public place as a reason to go to the police, and only 20% of those interviewed took this view of psychological violence (shouts, threats, insults) by spouses or partner.

Women were more sensitive to any form of violence and demonstrated more readiness to seek help from law enforcement in all the situations considered. At the same time, a certain part of the population (7% of the respondents) does not consider it necessary to turn to the police if they witnessed violent situations with other people. To justify their own reluctance to contact the police, half of them emphasize the private nature of such conflicts between others. hence outsiders should not interfere in the affairs of other people, and they also demonstrate doubts about the effectiveness of assistance of law enforcement officers. Among other reasons, reluctance to call the police was caused by fear that the victims would ultimately be blamed, unwillingness to spend their own time and stress, fears about possible harm to survivors or the perpetrators, the expectation of revenge, and the likelihood of prosecution for a "false" alarm.

The accessibility of services to combat domestic violence. According to the legislation, the prevention-and-response services to the survivors of GBV are provided by many entities, including the law enforcement bodies, social service and legal aid providers, medical and educational institutions, NGOs and others. Still, the coordination of activities of all these actors is not sufficient at the local level. In addition, the effectiveness of preventive work is affected by insufficient staffing of social services and the law enforcement agencies, etc.

As to providing services for survivors of gender-based violence, similar problems are also observed: insufficient funding, shortages of personnel and other resources, organizational and other problems, and as a result, the limited availability of necessary services to everyone who needs them.

"In our region, there is a center for social and psychological assistance. It is located in the city of Zaporizhzhia and is designed to accept women clients from all of Zaporizhzhia oblast. It is designed for 10 people, but it is not overloaded. Are there any people in need of its services? There are such people. But what is a survivor from Berdyansk to do? She would have to take her family and leave everything: social connections, her work, school / kindergarten for children. As a rule, people will never do this. Therefore, this shelter works for the city of Zaporizhzhia and nearby settlements, but this is extremely insufficient"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Resocialization services for women who have been affected by violence, such as job search assistance, are extremely relevant.

"What must be done to increase the number of appeals for assistance? In Zaporizhzhia there is a Center for Social and Psychological Aid, but there are very few accommodation places. And there you can live, as far as I know, only for three months. It is necessary to increase the number of such places. Secondly, people should know that even if they find housing, they will have the opportunity to receive legal and psychological assistance, resocialization and employment services. This is especially important for women who have stayed at home for the whole of their lives and raised children, and therefore do not have certain skills"

(a male expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Experts also emphasized that often the effectiveness of work with women who suffered from violence is being undermined due to the unfavorable socio-economic situation in the region and in the country as a whole.

"A social worker can "bang his or her head against the walls" to help a person to get out of a difficult life situation in which he/she finds him/ herself. But if there are no places in kindergarten, and a mother cannot arrange this service for the child so that she can be employed, then such moments could suspend the process of resocialization. Or there is no possibility of jobs, where a mother with a child could have a schedule which suits both her and the employer"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Experts pointed out the need for comprehensive work on cases of gender-based violence. On the one hand. it is necessary to work with survivors of violence (including mothers with children, even if the latter have not directly suffered from violence but simply become witnesses of it). On the other hand, more attention must be paid to working with the perpetrators. In particular, according to experts, more effective tools include a wide range of emergency protection orders (removal of a perpetrator from a family for a certain period), making it obligatory for perpetrators to participate in correctional programs, and imposing sanctions in the event that perpetrators refuse to do this or participate in them only "for form's sake".

What is happening with us now? We have all this: the correctional programs have been developed and also a mechanism for working with the "perpetrators" has been thought out. But they do not send them on a mandatory basis, they do not control their participation in the programs, there is no punishment for refusal to participate in programs, so this does not have any effect" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

In addition, it can be effective to expand the range of issues covered by correction programs for perpetrators:

for example, the inclusion of services aimed at overcoming dependencies, allowing the perpetrator to live separately from the family for the duration of the correctional program, etc.

"Correctional programs which would cover different aspects of life: there could be the ability to find a job, to start one's own business, to work with a psychologist to form new non-violent ways of communication, to work with a social teacher to get out of the role of an aggressor. Perhaps I would include more medical assistance, because the aggressors often commit such acts while under the influence of alcohol or drugs. So, if necessary, then, they can receive relevant treatment" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"If there is a court order for the perpetrator not to enter this apartment (where his family lives), and there is no other housing, then there should be beds in the centers for the perpetrators. And in the standard provision it should be stated that while he is participating in correctional programs, he has the right to live there" (a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

The findings of FGDs indicated a need for more information sharing of the provisions of the new law on domestic violence and an understanding of the challenges with its implementation, which are emerging. There is a pressing need for additional training of the police officers, social workers and other professionals in terms of practical implementation of the legal norms, in particular with regard to the EPO use.

"The protection orders are valid, but there are also certain problems. For instance, here is a practical example: if a woman and a man are proprietors of an apartment, and the court rules a restraining order, then how could it be implemented?" (a male expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"On the one hand, we have introduced a European practice - a protection order, which limits a man's access to a woman who has suffered from violence. At the same time, this restraining order is in contradiction with other existing regulatory documents, and it is rather difficult to drive a man out of his house"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Laws are impracticable. For example, a protection order. How can it be applied if a person has nowhere to be evicted to? Mechanisms for the implementation of these procedures are not developed, there are no specialists, nor any institutions for survivors. The perpetrator can be registered, but who will work with him?" (a male expert, Luhansk oblast).

According to the new legislation on domestic violence, administrative fines were re-introduced as a measure of the perpetrators' prosecution. But, many experts consider this measure ineffective, since the costs of fines might become a burden for the entire family budget. Consequently, a woman who survived domestic violence also suffers from the need to pay a fine. In addition, for the perpetrators with higher

incomes, payment of fines will be an easy and non-binding way to solve the problem of liability for domestic violence.

"Punishment in the form of a fine only aggravates the situation, because this is an additional burden for the family budget. Very often conflicts arise precisely on a material basis -because of lack of funds or extra expenses of one of the partners"

(a female expert, Luhansk oblast).

"Responsibility under most of these articles is provided in the form of a fine, which ultimately hits the family budget. Imagine that a person who commits violence does not have any job and abuses alcohol, he will be brought to the administrative court for committing domestic violence, and a fine will be imposed on him by the court. Where will he get the money from? He will pull it from the pocket of the family, the wife, the survivor. Therefore, in this case, according to the legislation, it is necessary to provide effective methods of punishment, for example, community service or temporary imprisonment, administrative arrest for up to 15 days. Because if there is a fact of physical violence in the family and the perpetrator is fined, then he is immediately released. It is better to isolate him for a few days, until he stops being crazy" (a male expert, Luhansk oblast).

However, experts noted that a significant proportion of survivors of violence did not seek assistance from the relevant services. Among the reasons, they indicated the woman's economic dependence on the perpetrator, and psychological factors; there is the complexity of the procedure for proving the fact that violence has been committed, etc.

"A woman writes a complaint that domestic violence has been committed. But after a day or two she takes this complaint back. At that moment there is a moral factor - fear - and also an economic one - the lack of money, housing and a place to live. If we remove these factors, the number of requests will rise"

(a male expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"A person who has experienced violence has psychological problems. She is afraid that she may not be supported, she has no confidence, she is afraid of everything. While we are calm, we can rationally think about if we should do this and that, but when we face violence, first of all we are moved by fear"

(a male expert, Luhansk oblast).

"In order to identify bruises, it is necessary to get through the dogs and the quicksand. And, also, you need the money for the examination not everyone has that"

(a female FGD participant a representative of the VG).

"People are not sure that, after their

will take effective measures to prevent violence. There have been cases when, after the arrival of the police, the person was kept in custody for up to three hours after the domestic violence occurred, and was then released. The perpetrator came home and committed a more serious crime, a murder"

(a male expert, Luhansk oblast).

As revealed by the in-depth interviews with experts, it can also be seen that professionals are not free from stereotypes and victim-blaming attitudes when it comes to the reaction of the survivor to deal with the violence:

"We have a part of the population who grew up in conditions of nurturing helplessness. Instead of taking care of herself, the survivor sits and waits for someone to come and solve all her problems. Social services and the police arrive. For a while this problem is resolved. But a person is "given the fish", without teaching her to cope with such situations, not to provoke violence, to conduct conflict-free communication with the aggressor, to react correctly, to clearly understand and defend her rights. Some of these people constantly walk in this vicious circle. 90% of women, experiencing violence at home, still live with their rapists. And we can say that there is no place to go, that the perpetrator is the father of the child, but in reality, it's just a reluctance to change something and the fear of "who'd have me, except him" complaint, the government bodies (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"And now I'll tell you directly. We arrive to address the call. The ladv suffered from domestic abuse. She says: "Take him somewhere. I don't care where to." But you understand that a policeman must act within the framework of legislation. To regain your rights, you need to do something. You need to go to a health facility, write a complaint to the police. "Will you write the complaint?" "No, I will not". But if there is a fact, it must be documented somehow. But then it starts: we have bad cops, they have not done anything"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"We have such cases: there was physical abuse of the child, the woman called the police. Then, when the police and social services arrive, the woman looks at all this, she feels sorry for her partner/husband, she understands that she has come to the attention of the services, and she immediately says that she didn't know the consequences, that she just wanted to scare him, but the complaint will not be written"

(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

"Many people do not understand the difference between various structures, that some of them are engaged in assistance for children, others for families, especially for families in difficult life circumstances. And if one organization denies them assistance, they do not want to go to another structure"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Consequently, the results of the population survey in this study indicate a superficial understanding of the deep roots of domestic violence, which in public opinion is more identified with provocative factors and circumstances (alcohol abuse, psychological disorders, stress due to misunderstandings) and not with the impact of cultural and social norms, reflecting inequality in power relations between the spouses. The perception of domestic violence as a private problem of an individual family, which should not be taken outside the household and discussed with other people, determines the unpopularity of seeking specialist services in the case of violence, especially those offering psychological and social support services. When speaking about possible situations of violence, respondents are willing to seek help from law enforcement, but this applies mostly to cases of physical violence, while sexual harassment and psychological abuse are not perceived as significant threats to the safety of survivors.

Therefore, based on expert assessments, there are some important factors that complicate the proper response to domestic violence, including limited understanding of the new legislation by in-line professionals, lack of funding assigned for the needs of service providers, staffing shortages, low capacity and poorly developed coordination between different state authorities. The limited accessibility of the response services and the complexity of their procedures reduce the willingness of survivors to contact the appropriate institutions to protect/restore their rights in cases of violence.

5.3. Attitudes regarding sexual violence and the treatment of survivors in society

Understanding the forms of sexual violence.

In general, two thirds (65%) of all respondents interviewed in this study agreed that violence should be considered as certain sexual acts by a stranger (unwanted touches, stroke, hugs). About a quarter (27%) of the respondents believed that hints and jokes of sexual character from a stranger should be treated as manifestations of violent behavior. Women in this context were more sensitive than men (Fig. 5.5), and there were no other socio-demographic factors that influence the respondents' attitude.

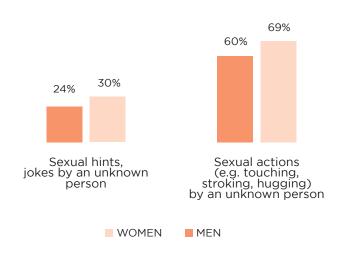


Fig. 5.5. Proportion of the respondents who believe that the relevant acts can be considered as forms of sexual violence, % of all respondents.

It is noteworthy that an overwhelming majority of the respondents recognize as fair the prosecution of the perpetrators in the case of rape, involvement in human trafficking or sexual exploitation, sexual intercourse with minors, beatings of spouses, children or other relatives, and honour killings. In relation to these crimes, there were no significant differences depending on the gender, age or level of education of the respondents. Somewhat fewer respondents considered as fair the prosecution of the perpetrators who commit psychological and economic violence in the family, or sexual harassment against another person (such as unwanted touches, sexual jokes), or persecution through obtrusive calls, letters, etc. Although female respondents were more sensitive to the understanding of violent nature of such actions than men (Figure 5.6), they were also not always able to identify them in their everyday lives. In practice, such an attitude has obvious negative consequences- as a result of inadequate public awareness, the above-mentioned manifestations of violence are not always perceived as punishable crimes, respectively, the perpetrators are not punished, and "cycles" of violence can be repeated.

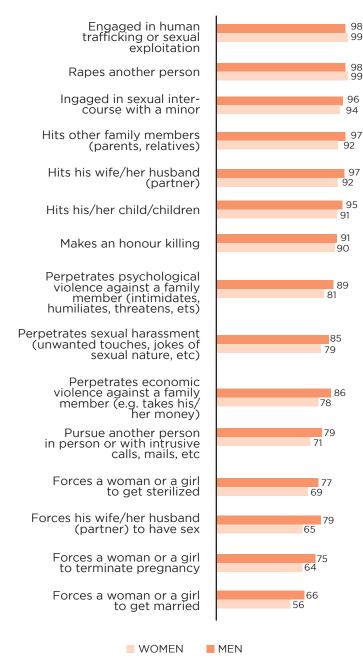


Fig. 5.6. Proportion of the respondents who consider it is right to prosecute people for above-mentioned actions, % of all respondents

With regard to the possibilities for prosecuting the perpetrators in the case of sexual violence outside home, different opinions were expressed by the experts and FGDs participants. Some participants of the research reported that it was easy to prove such acts as rape or attempted rape and, accordingly, to bring the perpetrator to responsibility; others believed that even in such obvious cases, the perpetrators often avoid responsibility. Obvi-

ously, these differences emerge due to the fact that the procedure for collecting evidence in such cases is really well specified at the legislative level, but in practice it is not always implemented properly. This happens both because of the stereotypes existing in society (including survivors themselves and law enforcement officers) about blaming the survivors of violence for what happened to them, and also due to other factors (for example, the lack of staff in the law enforcement agencies, strictly regulated working hours of institutions that conduct forensic examination, etc.). In addition, survivors often hesitate to seek help, and in this case, an increase in the period of time that has elapsed since the violence happened made it difficult to gather evidence.

"Women who have experienced sexual violence often blame themselves for the fact that this has happened to them. They are ashamed, and as a result they do not seek assistance in time. They ask for help after a while, when the traces of the crime are erased. The first desire of a person who has experienced violence is to clean, dry, wash off this dirt. Realizing this desire, they make it difficult to bring a rapist to responsibility"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Women often blame themselves for not doing the right thing or doing something wrong. Perhaps this woman has a high social status and does not want this information to become public. Accordingly, she, cannot say anything about it"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"If a man has low status, then everything is fine. But if a man is influential, then nothing will happen to him and it is almost impossible to prove the guilt of the rapist. Money solves a lot of problems. Examination is difficult, expensive and humiliating. Moreover, the police will blame the woman"

(a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

In the opinion of both FGD participants and experts (including law enforcement officers), for a girl/woman it is virtually impossible to protect her interests in the case of sexual harassment. This is due to the fact that in this case it is de facto very difficult to gather sufficient evidence and that sexual harassment is often seen as a kind of courting or a way of dating, and not as a crime that requires prosecution.

"Today, it is almost impossible to prove the fact of sexual violence or harassment for a woman. In such cases, it is the woman who is forced to look for some facts, an evidence base, and not law enforcement agencies. Therefore, these cases are not even declared. There are no statistical data, because there are no complaints"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Let's imagine that you are a policeman, and I am a survivor of such infringements. I come and say that I am sexually harassed, for example, at work. Your actions? You need some kind of evidence base or evidence from third parties (at least

two adults should testify to the fact that this person made me obscene propositions, touched intimate parts of my body). You, the cop, call the other side. Accordingly, he says that nothing happened. So, it's your word against his. If there is no evidence base it is impossible to initiate a criminal case"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"To get protection, you need to document this: either film or record it onto a voice recorder, but you won't shoot yourself on camera from all sides in the crowd"

(a female FGD participant, representative of VG).

"In the case of rape, it is easy to get help, but the woman has to be willing to ask for help and want to raise this problem. If she is ready, and if she reports in time, then everything is easy. Rape attempt - under the same conditions it is possible: if there are injuries on the body or witnesses. Sexual actions: you again need witnesses and visual damage. Insults: it is almost impossible to prove"

(a female expert, Luhansk oblast).

The most obvious gaps in the understanding of sexual abuse relate to the possibility of forcing sexual intercourse within marriage, that is, marital rape. Only 72% of the respondents considered it fair to prosecute the perpetrator in this case, while gender differences in the attitudes of citizens were the most significant. The feasibility of prosecution for the

coercion of a partner to have sexual intercourse was supported by 79% of the interviewed women versus 65% of men. The subjects of forced sterilization or abortion are likely to remain not only insignificant, but also poorly understood by the respondents, as every seventh interviewee said that it was difficult for him/her to answer this question.

Experts and FGD participants also confirmed that today in Ukrainian society there is a lack of understanding that sexual violence can be perpetrated not only by an outsider, but also by the husband/partner who is in a relationship with the woman is and lives together with her.

"In our society, the topic of sexual violence within marriage is a taboo. It is believed, if a woman is married, the husband has the right to do whatever he wants" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Many people do not know that despite the fact that you have a formal marriage, if one of the partners commits sexual violence against another, it is a criminal offence. It is considered this is a conjugal duty" (an expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

During the FGD, none of the male participants mentioned that sexual relations with her husband are the duty of a married woman. Instead, they noted that there are situations where each of the partners (both a woman and a man) can reject sexual relations, and this is a completely normal phenomenon.

"In any case, you can refuse. When she has a headache, when she is tired, when she has "one of those days". There is a period when she feels bad. Why you should force it? Now there is even a law: it is impossible to force her - there is criminal liability. And, of course, a man can get tired and say that he does not want to. If you have done heavy physical work for two days, what kind of intimate relationship could there be then? It is normal if it happens" (a male FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

Victim-blaming attitude persons who suffered from gender-based violence. Another problem is seen in victim-blaming attitudes to survivors of gender-based violence, which is commonly present in the culture of different countries. The accusatory attitude to the survivors is one of those social factors that promote tolerance of violence in society. International studies have shown that the tendency to blame the survivors for improper behavior that has led to rape is directly related to the tolerance to violence and seeking some reasons to justify it and release a perpetrator from liability⁸³. As a result, some forms of violence can be regarded as completely "justified", since they are believed to be partly to the fault of survivors who have received "fair" punishment. Specific attitudes towards survivors of gender-based violence largely determine the prospects for the deve-

⁸³ WHO, World Report on Violence and Health, Geneva, 2002. Available at: https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/42495/9241545615_eng.pdf?sequence=1

lopment of a comprehensive system of assistance for them and play an important role in providing informal assistance in cases where survivors do not turn to specialized providers of such assistance.

Unfortunately, the results of this survey demonstrate the ambiguous attitude of the respondents to survivors of domestic violence. Only half (49%) of them strongly agreed that violence cannot be justified, 41% believed that a woman could be partly blamed for her husband's ill-treatment, depending on the circumstances of a particular situation. Moreover, 8% of those interviewed indicated that women themselves often provoke partner's violence. Although women were less inclined to blame survivors of violence for provocative behavior, gender differences in this context were not very noticeable (Figure 5.7).

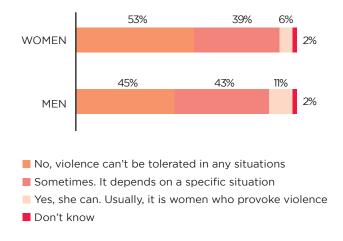


Fig. 5.7. Distribution of answers to the question: "Can a woman be guilty to some extent if she is ill-treated by her husband/ partner?", % of all respondents

A fairly similar attitude is common for public perception of survivors of sexual violence. Every second respondent (49%) agreed that the woman was guilty of what happened to her if she was under the influence of alcohol or drugs, about a third of them believed that women can provoke sexual violence by being promiscuous in relationships with the opposite sex (39%) or wearing provocative clothes (29%). One in six of the respondents (16%) were convinced that if a woman was raped, she usually did something to put herself in that situation (Figure 5.8). Although the proportion of the surveyed men who supported these statements was significantly higher than that of women (23% vs 11%, respectively), it is evident that women were also often inclined to blame survivors of sexual abuse in provoking perpetrators by "inappropriate" behaviour. These results clearly illustrate how relevant it is for a large part of society to properly clarify the notion of voluntary consent for sexual relations, as well as the inappropriateness of using the vulnerable and helpless state of a victim.

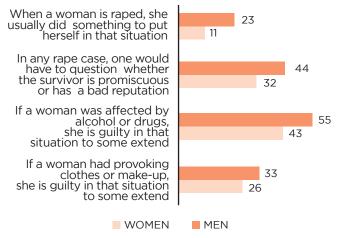


Fig. 5.8. Proportion of the respondents who agreed with the relevant statements about survivors of sexual violence, % of all respondents

Thus, the results of the survey indicate that there are certain gaps in public awareness of the problem of sexual violence. In particular, about a third of the respondents do not believe that touching, stroking and other acts of sexual nature by a stranger (for example, in public transport) can be regarded as forms of sexual violence. 28% of the respondents consider it unfair to prosecute for forcing sexual relations within marriage (so-called marital rape). There are widespread victim-blaming attitudes to survivors of violence that affect both survivors of marital violence and those who face sexual abuse outside the family.

6. PUBLIC AWARENESS OF UKRAINIAN LEGISLATION ON GENDER EQUALITY AND COMBATING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

A little more than half of the respondents (54%) are aware that there is the law on gender equality in Ukraine (the Law on Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men, # 2866-IV dated September 8, 2005); half of the respondents (50%) know about the existence of legislation on prevention and counteraction to domestic violence. However, the questionnaire checklists do not allow us to assess the "depth" of the respondents' awareness of these issues (whether they simply heard about the existence of these normative legal acts (NLA) or have personal knowledge of them and are aware of their rights and obligations in accordance with these NLA).

The respondents from Donetsk oblast are somewhat better informed about these NLA compared to those interviewed in other regions. In particular, 65% of those interviewed in Donetsk oblast against 47-49% in other regions know about the law on gender equality, and 60% of the respondents in Donetsk oblast, against 45-47% in other regions know about legislation on combating domestic violence.

A whole set of questions sought respondents' opinions about whether

a person would be prosecuted for various forms of violence against other people. The respondents are most aware of the fact that there is punishment for sexual and physical abuse (rape -95%, human trafficking or sexual exploitation - 91%, murder - 91%, sexual relations with minors - 87%). However, the fact that sexual harassment (51%), persecution (37%), psychological (39%) and economic (37%) violence, forced sexual relations (34%), forced sterilization (28%), abortion (24%) or forced marriage (21%) are also punishable was known by the respondents to a lesser degree (Fig. 6.1). Obviously, this correlates with the widespread perception of violence in society as a phenomenon that necessarily has certain expressions/consequences on the physical level, according to which manifestations of economic and psychological violence are not considered as violence.

A fairly significant proportion of the respondents who chose the answer "depending on the circumstances", stands out. They make the following comments on their preference: "Low-income (regular) people will be punished, but rich people will make a deal/ buy off", "If they catch them (prove the fault), they will be punished", and account not only these norms but the guestion was clarification that tice. The negative emotional colourit clarified as referring specifically ing of these comments may indicate to the "norms of the current legislation", the respondents took into ment and the system of justice.

so on. That is, despite the fact that also their mplementation in praca mistrust of citizens in law enforce-

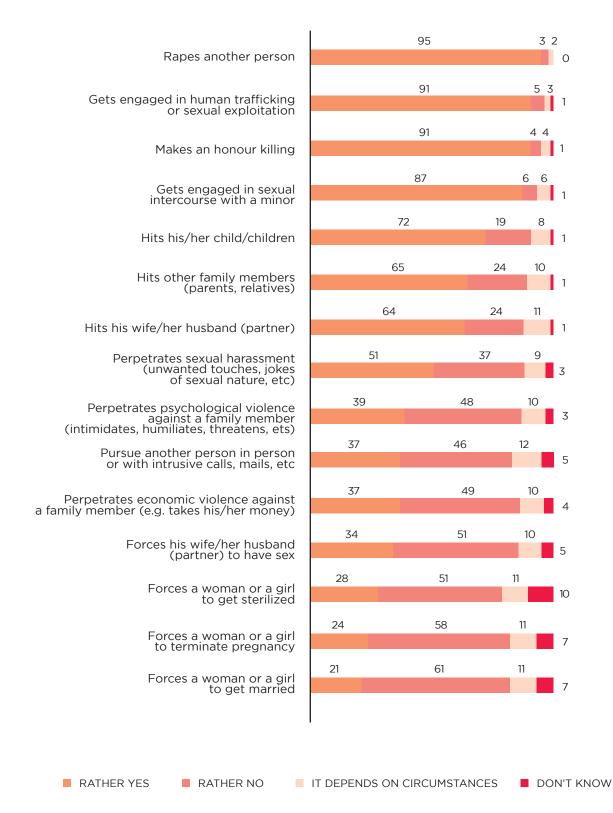
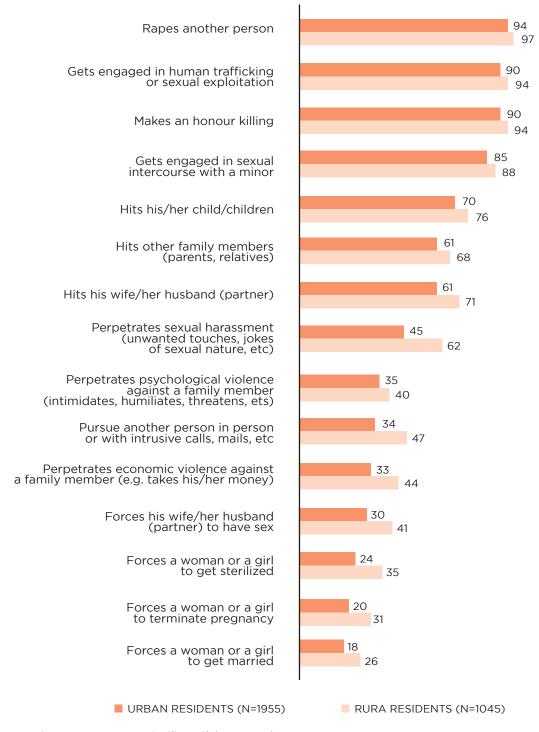


Fig. 6.1. Distribution of answers to the question: "In your view, will a person be prosecuted in accordance with the current legislation, if he / she ...?", % of all respondents

There were no significant differenc- these legislative norms. The propores between men and women, re- tion of respondents who consider spondents from different regions, that a person will be prosecuted for different age groups or with differ- various manifestations of violence ent levels of education and material (in particular, psychological, ecostatus for the above-mentioned set of questions.

Urban residents are more sceptical about the practice of implementing

nomic, sexual harassment) was lower among urban residents, as compared to rural population (Figure 6.2).



^{*} Differences between groups are significant if they exceed 3% Fig. 6.2. Proportion of the respondents who believe that a person will be prosecuted in accordance with current legislation for various forms of violence, % by type of settlement

According to expert opinion, Ukrainian legislation is well-drafted and in line with international standards in the field of ensuring gender equality and protection of the rights of women and men in various life situations, including such sensitive events as conflicts and domestic violence.

"Of course, there is no limit to perfection, but in general, the legislation of Ukraine, even in the context of international experience, sufficiently fully protects the rights of both women and men in different situations" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

It is much more problematic to implement the standards guaranteed by the law in practice. This is due to a number of factors:

1) Absence of necessary bylaws, in particular departmental orders and instructions regulating the algorithm of the actions of an individual specialist (for example, Children's Service, SSF-CY Center, etc.) in a particular case; for example, what a social worker should do if s/he knows about a case of domestic violence, where to report it to, whom to bring when visiting a family in difficult life circumstances, who should decide if there is a need to remove a child from such a family, etc.

"There are not enough bylaws that streamline and specify the implementation of legislation, provide for mechanisms of control and responsibility for the implementation of legislation on the ground in all spheres" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"There are no bylaws defining the specifics of the events. The law enforcement officials do not have a clear mechanism for assessing the situation, for example, how to differentiate psychological or economic violence. There are difficulties even with the definition of sexual and physical abuse. For example, parents fight, the child observes the situation, but the child is not considered as a witness. And when the police arrive, they often say they have no facts. If somebody wasn't killed, or beaten in their presence etc. (and they arrive in a few hours), they often do not even accept a complaint from the survivor"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Psychological violence is hard to prove. I have not come across a document where it is written how psychological violence could be proved. The law enforcement agencies do not always understand what psychological violence is, how to get this evidence ... Economic violence is even harder to prove than psychological"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

2) The persistent lack of funds, lack of staff in the law enforcement agencies, SSFCY Centers, children's services and other bodies involved in the implementation of legislation in practice, lack of other resources necessary for the full implementation of legislative norms (for example, insufficient number of shelters for survivors of domestic violence)

"If a woman calls the police because of domestic violence, they do not come immediately. When they arrive, as a rule, the peak of violence subsides a little, and some manifestations of violence (shouts, hurling things) already have died away. The law enforcement officers have not seen this. Late response leads to lack of evidence. And why does it happen? Because for example, at the level of Rozovsky district (a remote place in Zaporizhzhia oblast), the district police officers are only at 30% of their staff. There is no gasoline, there is no that, no this. Naturally, first of all they react to criminal, heavy cases, and not to domestic violence. Even if a person is a super responsible specialist, he will still arrive with a delay ... They have a high staff turnover rate, they have to do endless training for new specialists. Unfortunately, the situation is similar in social services. Today, the Center for Social Services is 45% staffed. In the context of decentralization in the community, there are no social services at all. This all leads to such an effect from the perspective of the client: they do nothing, why should we turn to them?"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Obligations, rights, everything seems to be prescribed in the Law (on Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence). But there is no implementation mechanism at the moment. Firstly, there is no unified electronic database of persons who committed such violence. Further, the Law suggests correctional programs to be

appointed by the court. But there are no trained specialists that are qualified to conduct these programs"

(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

"They invented the Law (on Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence), but no mechanisms to implement it. The police departments have not received any regulations ... They have no forms (emergency protection orders). They should send perpetrators to educational and correctional programs, and women who need it, to appropriate shelters. But there are no such shelters ... There are no correction programs that should include both women and perpetrators... And according to the legislation they should be in every city"

(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

"It would be nice if they raised the salary for people who work in this area. "Person-to-person" work is very difficult, exhausting. People are burnt out. When there is a constant turnover of specialists, and a new person comes, he/she needs to learn, re-enter, he needs some things to be explained. It is better to increase the income of a specialist who is already a professional. And it would be nice to organize seminars and trainings on professional burnout more often"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

3) Lack of control over the implementation of legislative standards in practice. In fact, there is no real responsibility for employees of state

structures (including both law enforcement agencies and social service providers) for not fulfilling or improperly performing their official duties in the area of implementation of legislation on prevention and response to cases of gender-based violence.

"The main problem of our state is the absence of control or extremely insufficient monitoring over the implementation of legislation at all levels" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

4) Significant turnover of personnel brings to the fore the problem of regular staff training. The regular introduction of certain innovations at the legislative level also requires updated staff training (including experienced staff who have been working for a long time). But they do not always have the necessary resources, time, etc.

"There are cases when the law enforcement agencies do not even know that such things ("protection orders") exist. I had a case when a drunk father beat up a mother with a small child. The police officers arrived, talked with the perpetrator and were going to leave without detaining him. To my question: "What about the protection order?" they answered: "What is that?"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

The lack of an adequate response to the complaints of survivors of gender-based violence leads to public mistrust in the ability to protect their rights and prosecute the perpetrators, and undermines the credibility of the entire law-enforcement system as a whole.

"If people have limited experience of the Ukrainian legislation, if they do not understand the illegitimacy of the police's actions (when the latter refuse to accept a complaint on domestic violence), if they do not defend their position, then they simply become discouraged from turning to any state authorities in general

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"The problem is that the relevant authorities do not always react. Sometimes you hear that something is happening next door. You call the police. But the police simply do not come. I am afraid to go in because I do not know what is happening there. Maybe she is running after her daughter with a knife" (a female FGD participant, a representative of the VG).

In the opinion of some experts, the measure of responsibility for domestic violence, guaranteed by the current legislation, is sufficient for its prevention, but the main problem is the implementation of legislation in practice. In the opinion of the rest of the experts, this responsibility should be strengthened.

"In my opinion, the responsibility (for domestic violence), which is currently prescribed in the legislation, is quite enough. My opinion, as a social worker, is that excessive punishment has never led society to the solution of a particular problem in a positive way. The question is that this punishment must be inevitable" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"I believe that there is a need for tougher penalties. Irresponsibility raises permissiveness. As far as I know, the maximum responsibility under the law is administrative arrest for 15 days. I read that for this type of offence there ought to be at least 1 year of probation. So, that a man is constantly checking himself and, before he hits this poor woman, he understands that he will be seriously charged including restriction of his rights"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Now the article of the Criminal Code provides for imprisonment of up to two years. In my opinion, if we tightened this norm, the number of incidents of violence would decrease. There is a saying about "carrots-and-sticks," I believe that sticks work better than carrots" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

As regards the protection of the rights and interests of the spouses in the process of divorce (including property rights, the right to communicate with the child/children, etc.), the experts also emphasized that, from an objective point of view, the legislation equally protects the rights of both the husband and the wife. Regarding the practical imple-

mentation of the legal norms, there are abuses, both from men and women. In particular, the court does not always make fair decisions, due to the imperfection of the judicial system (including the presence of certain gender stereotypes among the judges, for example, that the child must stay with its mother after a divorce), and from male/female manipulations, improper preparation of accompanying materials for the court, both from the plaintiff/defendant and from other state structures involved in this process.

"In my practice, I constantly encounter the fact that whoever the child stays with, if the parents have not fully sorted things out, if they are involved in property disputes (or disputes have been legally resolved, but there are personal insults), then they play this poor child like a bargaining chip. "If you do not give me money, I will not give you the child." I see all this from men and women alike"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"The question is the following: how well the state bodies (for example, social services) prepare materials and provide information to the panel of judges so that the judge will make a fair decision. Since social services do not have enough staff and time, etc., social workers do not prepare materials for the court very well because it is a lot of work. This undermines the fair decision of the courts"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Judicial practice on property rights in cases of divorce is ambiguous. If the woman was a housewife, and the man made money, then the court is not always on the side of the woman - a housewife making a decision on the division of property... There is an established practice concerning children. As a rule, in most cases, the courts determine the place of residence of the child should be at the mother's place, not at the father's"

(a male expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

Both experts and FGD participants have identified one area where discrimination against men is widespread. This is the definition of the place of residence of the child after the divorce of the parents. In this case, stereotypes and established jurisprudence are on the side of the woman, usually the courts give children to their mothers "as a default". Accordingly, even if, from an objective point of view, a husband has better opportunities for the upbringing of a child and for securing his/her needs, it is difficult for him to achieve a court decision which determines the place of residence of the child as his place, and not his ex-wife's.

"In Europe, in the USA, the conditions for both parents are equal. Each of them must provide a certificate from work that s/he is employed, that s/he has housing, that the children can enjoy their rights to food/housing/intellectual and emotional development, etc. We have a one-sided view of this

situation. We know from judicial practice that a child stays with the mother in 90% of cases after divorce" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Honestly, there is some inequality (in terms of determining the place of residence of a child after the divorce of the parents). It is not a legislative situation, but a mental one. To get a child during divorce, the woman needs only to write one line: "The children stay with me". And if a husband wants to keep the children, he must prove that he can bring up these children, the mother is drug or alcohol addicted, leads an amoral way of life, is unable to raise the children properly. Only if a husband proves this, will the child remain with him"

(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

"Now the position of men has become more active in this matter. Previously, as a rule, the place of children's residence was determined with the mother as a result of divorce, and men agreed with this decision. Presently, there are a lot of men's statements in the courts that they also want to participate actively in the upbringing of children. They believe they can provide a better education to the children than their mothers. Even if the place of residence is determined with the mother, the men still try to achieve their rights through the commission for the protection of children's rights, through the courts, in order to determine the amount of time for their children to stay with them"

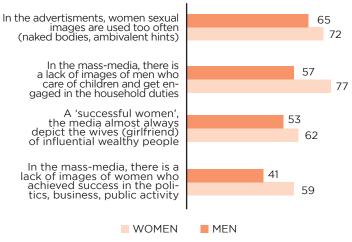
(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

Thus, the majority of respondents believe that a person will be prosecuted for serious crimes such as rape, human trafficking, honour killings, and sexual intercourse with minors. Instead, the probability of a perpetrator being prosecuted for violent acts against family members (even physical ones, not to mention psychological and economic), is assessed much more sceptically by the respondents.

The experts also confirmed this trend, noting that, despite the availability of relevant legislation standards, it is difficult to prove the facts of psychological and economic violence and, correspondingly, it is very difficult in practice to obtain the prosecution of the offender.

7. EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE MEDIA ENVIRONMENT ON GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SOCIETY

According to the respondents, the media do not always adequately cover gender issues, which may contribute to creating/ reinforcing the present social stereotypes about women as a "weak sex" whose mission is to successfully marry and become a guardian of the household, rather than try to succeed on their own. In particular, more than half of the respondents (51-69%) agreed with the statements that women's sexual images are used too often in advertisements, while there is a lack of images in the media and advertisements of men who care for children and get involved in household duties (i.e perform roles that are traditionally are considered "female"), and as examples of "successful" women media usually depict wives (or girlfriends) of influential men, and not those who have succeeded independently in different spheres of public life. Moreover, significantly more women than men agreed with each of the above statements (Fig. 7.1).



* Differences between men and women are significant if they exceed 3% Fig. 7.1. The proportion of women and men who agreed with the above-mentioned statements on the characteristics of the images of women and men in the media, %

There were no significant differences depending on the region, type of settlement, age, educational level and material wealth of the respondents.

The participants of FGD had different opinions about how to work with stereotypes. Some of them said that there is no need to do anything and stereotypes would gradually disappear by themselves; others, that some work should be done to change stereotypes, starting with information campaigns and ending with overcoming some stereotypes, for example, teaching boys to cook, and girls to carry out repairs (for example, to hammer a nail).

"I believe that there is no need to do anything. They (stereotypes) will disappear. Now society is changing and gradually these stereotypes themselves will be erased. It was such a stereotype that men are breadwinners. but now many women can make more money than men" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"I think that no revolution is needed. They (stereotypes) will gradually change themselves. For example, look at the situation in business: 90% of Zaporizhzhia business belonged to men recently, but the situation is completely different after 15 years - 30% are confidently occupied by women. We were given our rights and we are quietly starting to implement them" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Boys need to be taught to cook, so that they do not succumb to the pan and the pot, so that the hungry man would not just sit and wait until burgers are fried and potatoes are cooked for him"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"There is a need to carry out active information work among men and women, because it is by hearing that people are guided, that there is a new legislation, there are rights, they know where to apply. In addition, it is necessary to conduct trainings for police officers, social workers, even journalists. Talking about the main types of violence, because a lot of people don't even know when a spouse restricts you financially (I'm not talking about fashionable iPhones, but about eating and other immediate needs) - this is economic violence"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

In general, according to the experts, the work to overcome stereotypes must be comprehensive and should be built differently for various target groups (for example, depending on age). For example, when it comes to children (especially junior school age), it is advisable to use games to give information and to present it exclusively in a positive way, since the characteristic of the child's mental state is the suppression of negative images. When working with adolescents, you can cover both the positive and the negative aspects of the phenomenon (for example, to show the negative effects of gender inequality, to talk about responsibility for gender-based

violence, etc.). When working with representatives of older age groups it is necessary to take into account that it is scarcely possible to change the internal convictions of such people, whereas external behavioural manifestations are subject to correction.

"For children of primary school age, these can be cubes, comics, game activities, quests, where equal rights of boys and girls are shown. For children of middle school age and high school students these could be films, lectures, tolerance camps. For older people this can be an information campaign on equal opportunities for the realization of their rights, the formation of legal and psychological culture"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

As priority target groups for conducting information campaigns and other activities aimed at overcoming gender stereotypes and preventing gender-based violence, the experts identified the perpetrators (people who already have experience of violence) and young people who only come into life and are more flexible in their convictions and open to everything new. It is advisable to link the information campaign to the values as it exists in the youth environment, to communicate information on the "peer-to-peer" principle, to use various innovative forms of its presentation. including games.

"The slogan "Smoking is not fashionable" has worked very well. Then I would build a campaign to prevent gender stereotypes in a similar way. For example, "It is cool to be equal." The «peer-to-peer» method also suits very well: when it's not adults who are telling young people that it is cool to be equal, but their peers who have certain experience and knowledge in this field, who are trained trainers and conduct explanatory work"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"Maybe, we need some kind of outdoor activities. First of all, maybe, actions which provide information during games. Because citizens better perceive information presented in the form of a bright memorable picture" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"(The information campaign) should be directed both at the perpetrator and at the survivor. It is necessary to conduct information campaigns for the perpetrator in the context that "if you've done it, then you would have this and that." Not "A beating man is a loving man!", but "A beating man is a man in prison!" And for the survivor, you need to show a picture of a normal relationship, and if something is wrong, then you need to speak loudly about this and suggest a route of action: if something happens, you need to do this and that"

(a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

"There should be some interesting social events, something related to children, family vacations, so that there are incentive prizes or just a treat. If the information activities are conducted in an interactive, interesting form, not just holding lectures, then they would be effective" (a female expert, Zaporizhzhia oblast).

To report information, all available information channels should be used, including the Internet, other media, outdoor advertising, etc., as different target groups have access to various sources of information.

"The Internet is very good, but not everyone has Internet access. TV should therefore also be taken into account, because the people you need to reach out to watch TV"

(a female expert, Donetsk oblast).

"You need to make some kind of good TV show. And in each series, through humour, to demonstrate some things. Advertising is one thing, but the launch of the TV series is neutral so that it works in the subconscious, it's better..."

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"Outdoor advertising should be non-obtrusive. People are tired of "direct" things. It is better to do it in a half-muffled way. For example, advertising in the category "We've got your back" - on the poster could be a female soldier"

(a female expert, Luhansk oblast).

Taking into account the significant impact of the mass media on public opinion, it must be used as a means to overcome gender stereotypes. This requires changing the way the media cover gender-sensitive issues,

including gender stereotypes, gender roles, etc. In addition, experts pointed out the expediency of using other ways of communicating information (for example, conducting certain public events, activities for children and youth, for example, in educational institutions) in order to maximize the coverage of information work for different target groups.

8. THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AS ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SOCIETY

Those teachers who participated in FGD noted that the family is the main source of gender stereotypes for children and adolescents. At the same time, they indirectly confirmed that the education system plays a role in the transmission of gender stereotypes to students, for example, because of the gender structure of teachers or some other features of the organization of the educational process. For example, within the subject of "training for work", students are divided into groups not according to their wishes, but on a gender basis: girls are taught to cook, sew, etc., and boys to work with wood/metal.

"Now one of the education problems is that there are a lot of women in the field of education. (Children) do not have an understanding of how adult men and women interact with each other, how women behave and how men behave. If we recall school where we were pupils, we had both men and women. The quality of teaching did not depend on this. But behaviour itself did so depend and was very strongly influenced by it" (male FGD participant, psychologist).

"There are no whiskered nannies, and this is bad, because a huge number of [boy] children living in families without fathers do not have a male example, they grow up with their mothers, they are loved and kissed like flowers, and

then become husbands requiring care at the preschool level"

(female expert, Donetsk oblast).

At FGD, the teachers themselves also often displayed gender stereotypes, ranging from the perception of women and men and their roles in the family, to the fact that a teacher talked indignantly about the position of one of the parents. It turned out that the father of one of the students made a statement addressed to the director of the school asking him to transfer his son to the "girls" group for the 'training for work' subject, using as justification the fact that their family has several generations of tailors, therefore the parents want their son to continue the family tradition and learn to sew along with girls, and not to make wooden products together with boys.

"Who should hammer the nail in the house? Somebody with brute male strength"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"In my opinion, a wife should cook borscht, and a husband should make money for this borscht" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

At the same time practically all FGD participants from among the teachers are somehow familiar with the concept of gender and at the theoretical level realize the need for gender equality in

all spheres of life, even quite often identifying the concept of gender with the equality of boys and girls, women and men.

"Gender means equality in all areas of life. Equality in work, remuneration, fulfilment of duties, choice of occupation"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

However, in fact, all teachers who participated in the FGD indicated that educating students on the basis of gender equality (and in general any educating!) is not a part of the functions of the New Ukrainian school⁸⁴. The mission of the latter is education, information; acquisition of certain competences should take place exclusively within the family.

"Parents are responsible for raising their kids, and we cannot interfere in this process. We can only convey information to them, and even some corrective actions on the child are not our function ... Now, we call our work not the "process of education and upbringing", but just the "education process" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"I have been listening to Grynevych 85 recently. She said that we have the right not to write plans for nurturing work, although this is recommended. The teacher must just teach" (a female FGD participant, a teacher).

"If our state determines what should be a state standard, what should I say to children? There is no standard, so then it has to be developed. The specialists should examine this issue, then develop a standard and give it to us"

(a female FGD participant, a teacher).

Thus, the education system can become an important factor in educating the younger generation on the basis of gender equality, forming young people's beliefs about the impermissibility of gender-based discrimination and gender-based violence. However, for this purpose, significant work is needed to overcome gender stereotypes among the teachers themselves. In addition, the issue of their motivation to conduct educational work on gender equality is relevant. Perhaps it is worth putting the emphasis on younger educators, who are more flexible in their beliefs and with less commonly prevailing gender stereotypes.

⁸⁴ The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine portal, Human Capital Development, Education and Science Reform. Available at: https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/reformi/rozvitok-lyudskogo-kapitalu/reforma-osviti

⁸⁵ Liliya Grynevich, The Minister of Education of Ukraine, 2016 - 2019

CONCLUSIONS

Gender stereotypes and perceptions. The survey results indicate that gender stereotypes remain quite common among the respondents. For example, more than one-third of the respondents believe that women and men have different abilities (e.g. boys have more ability in the sciences and girls in the humanities), that men are usually better at doing business than women, that men cannot do several things at the same time, and so on. Meanwhile, women and men more often demonstrated the stereotypes related to positive characteristics of the representatives of their gender and negative attitudes to the another one. In particular, men were more likely to agree that men are better at doing business (44% of men versus 27% of women), while women, that men cannot do several things at the same time (55% of women versus 36% of men).

At the same time, respondents admit that women can be as effective as men as leaders of local communities, political leaders and top-level managers. About 80% of the interviewees (slightly more women than men) agreed with this statement. Therefore, it is important to promote positive images of successful women's roles and activities to transform gender stereotypes. In other words, there is a persistent need for awareness raising and education on gender equality principles to overcome gender stereotypes through best practices and female role models in various spheres of life, in particular in those traditionally considered by people as the "male" ones (science, politics, business, etc.).

Role distribution in marital relations. The study of the respondents' attitudes to marital relations has shown that traditional distribution of gender roles is still common for society. In the view of most respondents, financial provision for the family is the main responsibility of a man, while women's prerogatives are related to caring for the comfort of the family and the rearing of children. As compared with women, men are more inclined to support stereotyped ideas about sharing responsibilities and powers within a marriage. These expectations also enjoy relatively greater support from representatives of older age groups and rural residents.

Another important aspect is related to the devaluation of domestic work, which is perceived as not requiring significant workload and usually identified with the "female" sphere of responsibility. At the same time, the results of the survey show that young people are more likely to have partnerships and equal distribution of powers and responsibilities within a marriage, and it can be expected that gender norms will gradually change across the society.

Attitudes to domestic violence. It is noteworthy that the overwhelming

majority of the respondents do not justify physical violence perpetrated by the husband against his wife. According to some of the respondents (17% of men, 6% of women), the only reasons that can justify beating a woman is related to infidelity. Interestingly, a woman's physical violence against her husband is more tolerated by public opinion. Thus, a large proportion of respondents believe that a woman has the right to hit her husband if he hurts/hits a child (20% of men, 32% of women), and if she knows that he has cheated on her (19% of men, 20% of women).

People are much more tolerant of the possibility of psychological violence within marriage. More than half (52%) of male respondents and about one-third (31%) of female respondents agree that a man is justified in shouting at his wife, intimidating her, including swearing, if he knows that she has cheated on him. One in five respondents (29% of men, 13% of women) believes that even a suspicion of betrayal is a sufficient reason for shouting at a partner, including swearing at her. More than half (54%) of respondents agrees that a wife is justified in shouting at her husband if he hurts the child (46% of men, 61% of women), if she knows that he has cheated on her (47% of men, 45% of women) or he is abusing alcohol (37% of men, 46% of women).

Unfortunately, widespread public attitudes still largely identify domestic violence as the private problem of

an individual family. One in four respondents (24% of women, 30% of men) agreed that a woman who suffered from violence should seek help from her own family, not from the police. One in five respondents (14% of women, 26% of men) was convinced that outsiders should not interfere if they witness violence perpetrated by men against their wives. Public attitudes to the problem of violence forms the social climate in which domestic violence takes place, and its medical and demographic consequences are observed. Obviously, tolerance of violence in partner relations and the search for reasons that justify it reduce the effectiveness of any preventive programs and restrictive measures against the perpetrators. Accordingly, the role of advocacy efforts aimed at changing stereotypical attitudes is increasing, since it is possible to implement successfully any policy of combating violence only under this condition.

The survey results indicate a superficial understanding of the deep roots of domestic violence. In public opinion, the causes of violence are often identified with provocative factors and circumstances (alcohol abuse -71%, psychological disorders, stress due to misunderstandings - 55%), and not with the influence of cultural and social norms reflecting the inequality in power relations within a marriage (about 10%). As domestic violence is perceived as a private problem of an individual family that should not be discussed with people outside the household, there are no

prevalent practice for seeking help from support services in cases of violence, in particular from those offering psychological and social support (less than one-third of the respondents were willing to apply to these services). With reference to possible situations of violence, the respondents are ready to seek help from law enforcement bodies, but this is mostly concerned with the use of physical force (58-81% of the respondents are ready to call the police), while sexual harassment (42%) and psychological violence (20%) are not perceived as significant threats to the safety of survivors.

Understanding of sexual violence. The survey results also indicate that there are certain gaps in public understanding of the problem of sexual violence. In particular, about one-third of the respondents (31% of women and 40% of men) do not believe that touching, stroking and other acts of a sexual nature perpetrated by a stranger (for example, on public transport) can be regarded as forms of sexual violence. 21% of the women in the survey and 35% of the men consider it unfair to prosecute a person who forces his/ her wife or husband to have sex within a marriage (so-called marital rape). Survivors of both marital and sexual violence are blamed for their own situations.

Understanding of legislation. Most respondents believed that, according to current legislation, a person will be prosecuted for serious crimes such as rape (95%), human trafficking

(91%), honour killings (91%), or sexual intercourse with minors (87%). However, respondents were much more sceptical in evaluating the probability that a perpetrator would be prosecuted for violent acts against family members (even physical ones, not to mention psychological and economic). In particular, 64-72% of those interviewed stated that perpetrators could be prosecuted for physical violence against their spouses, children, and other relatives, 39% for psychological violence and 37% for economic violence. There were no significant differences between men and women in terms of this indicator.

Ukrainian legislation has improved significantly with the latest changes in the law against domestic violence and the Criminal code. Still, there is little awareness about the new provisions among the population and significant efforts must be invested to bring it into effect it and ensure the availability of services.

Role of the media. More than half of the respondents agreed that the media do not always adequately cover gender issues, thus contributing to the reinforcement of existing stereotypes about women in society as the "weaker sex", whose mission is to marry successfully and become the guardian of the household, rather than trying to succeed on their own. Women stated this more often than men (59-77% of positive responses for different indicators, compared with 41-65% for men). Taking into account the significant influence of the media on forming public opinion, they must be used as one of the means of overcoming gender stereotypes. To this end, the way gender-sensitive issues are covered in the media must change, including gender stereotypes, gender roles, etc.

Socio-demographic differences.

There were practically no differences between the views of residents of different regions. Instead, the type of settlement in which the respondent lives (i.e. rural or urban area) had a significant impact on the opinions and attitudes of the respondents. In particular, rural residents were more inclined to support the traditional distribution of family roles in comparison with urban residents, including the stereotypes that the woman is the guardian of hearth and home, and the husband is the breadwinner of the family. They were also more optimistic in arguing that a person who has committed various forms of violence (including physical, economic or psychological violence against members of his/her family or sexual harassment in relation to other people) will be prosecuted for these actions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results of the study, recommendations have been developed for progressing towards gender equality, breaking existing gender stereotypes and for strengthening the response to issues of gender-based violence.

gender inequality, Eradicating breaking existing gender stereotypes. Enhancing gender equality would require strengthening the protection of human rights and raising public awareness of anti-discrimination tools, including gender-based discrimination. Still, it is of crucial importance for its sustainable development for there to be a gradual transformation of gender stereotypes, and the creation of adherence to unbiased and equal treatment of women and men in different areas of public life. Presently, some progress is observed in terms of gender stereotypes and gender politics: the number of women who enter military educational institutions is increasing, initiatives to encourage girls to participate in STEM programs are being implemented, anti-discrimination evaluation of the school textbooks is gaining momentum under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine. Parallel efforts should be implemented to intensify information campaigns targeted at educators and media representatives, as some of them still disproportionately highlight different roles of women and men in a society. It is equally important to strengthen advocacy work with business and marketing agencies, as discriminatory advertisements that promote the objectification of women or impose harmful gender stereotypes result in a devaluation of women's position in society.

It is of principal importance to focus information campaigns not only at women, but also at men, and in particular at young people who have significant potential for promoting gender equality. In international practice, there are examples of successful strategies for increasing male participation in eradicating gender-based discrimination (for example, the White Ribbon⁸⁶, HeForShe⁸⁷ and MenEngage88 campaigns); it is therefore important to support such community initiatives and movements. The promotion of responsible parenting, more active involvement of men in the process of raising children, and equal distribution of home duties should be important components of the information campaigns on transforming established gender norms. It is equally important to promote "role models" of women who have succeeded in traditionally "male" spheres of activity (the security sector, information technologies, energy sector, science, engineering, etc.), to develop women's leadership programs, and to involve

^{86 2} https://www.whiteribbon.ca/

⁸⁷ For more details please visit https://www.heforshe.org/ru

⁸⁸ For more details please visit http://menengage.org/

"opinion leaders" as participants in mentoring programs with teenage girls and female students.

The other recommendations are aimed at **strengthening community-based education** to adequately perceive gender roles and create zero tolerance for gender-based violence, in order to raise awareness among members of the community, in particular among men, including:

- public-oriented actions (e.g., flash mobs, street theaters, volunteer activities about prevention and response to gender-based discrimination and violence), including outdoor advertising;
- information events at educational institutions, among pupils/students and teaching staff;
- information work among youth, based on the "peer-to-peer" principle, with involvement of representatives of local youth associations and youth centers;
- competitions (one-off or periodical) among local journalists/ mass media in order to collect the best materials for adequately covering issues of gender roles, gender violence, promoting better social advertising, etc.;
- training/awareness raising among rural women on protection of their rights, promoting self-esteem and capacity building in terms of combating gender-based discrimination and violence.

Strengthening the response to GBV. Using the results of the study, the following recommendations have been developed to improve services to counteract GBV, reverse high tolerance of GBV, and reduce the high level of stigma and victim blaming. These activities can be implemented at national, regional or community level depending on the stakeholders.

Proposed recommendations include:
• implement measures aimed at creating/enhancing the personal commitment of regional and community-level decision-makers in terms of enhancing gender equality, combating gender-based discrimination and violence:

- strengthen educational work with managers and experts of entities authorized to respond to violence (the law enforcement agencies, children's services, centers of services for family, children and youth, educational institutions, etc.) to familiarize them with the provisions of current legislation on gender equality, response to gender-based violence;
- effectively involve representatives of all entities involved in the prevention of gender-based discrimination and violence at the local level, in participating in joint interactive trainings to establish effective communication and develop joint strategies and tactics for eradicating gender-based discrimination and violence;
- promote dialogue between experts and citizens, including those

from the most vulnerable groups (for example, in round-table format with representatives of the authorities), about problems related to protection against gender-based discrimination, including gender-based violence, identifying the present challenges in this area that require priority actions, and the community resources available to address them:

• facilitate systematic consultative meetings and joint actions of the police and members of the community (e.g. 'Safe City', 'Neighborhood Watch', 'Safe House', etc.) in order to organize informal communication, discuss priority security issues and gender-sensitive problems in local communities.



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