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УДК 316.6: 316.616801.73
doi: 10.15330/psp.22.15–26

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GENDER IDENTITY OF WOMEN IN UKRAINE AS A RESULT OF CULTURAL TEXTS INTERPRETATION

У статті аналізується проблема конструювання гендерних моделей ідентичності української жінки у соціокультурному контексті. Розглядається гендер як соціокультурний конструкт, що створюється завдяки соціокультурному досвіду, культурним текстам в яких створюються гендерні моделі, які легітимізуються інституціями соціалізації і визначають формування гендерної ідентичності в певній культурі. Гендерна ідентичність розглядається як усвідомлення аспекту «Я» пов'язаного з культурним визначення мужності і жіночності. Розкривається роль культури як тексту у формуванні соціокультурного досвіду людини, створенні нових гендерних смислів, концептів. Пізнаючи тексти культури, особистість розвивається як дискурсивний суб'єкт. Висвітлюються різні тексти культури, які поділяються на символічні, метафоричні та теоретичні (концептуальні), аналіз яких дозволяє визначити концепти гендерної культури українців, які визначають конструювання моделей гендерної ідентичності жінок. Проаналізовано ключові концепти гендерних відносин, гендерної ідентичності жінки в Україні через призму різноманітних суспільств, що жили на її території у різні періоди часу на основі аналізу наукових публікацій, статей з даної проблематики.

Ключові слова: гендер, гендерна ідентичність, культурний текст, інтерпретація, концепт гендерної культури, гендерна модель, соціокультурний конструкт.

The paper focuses on the problem of constructing gender models of a Ukrainian woman's identity in a social-cultural context. Gender identity is analyzed as a comprehension of the individual «Self», connected with cultural determination of masculinity and femininity. The role of culture is being disclosed as a text within formation of social-cultural experience of a person, creation of new gender senses, concepts. Comprehending cultural texts, a personality develops as a discursive subject. The paper gives coverage to different cultural texts, the analysis of which let us identify concepts of Ukrainians' gender culture, which determine construction of models of women's gender identity. Crucial concepts of gender relations, gender identity of a woman in Ukraine are analyzed in the light of different communities which inhabited its territory over various periods of time on the basis of academic studies, papers devoted to the current problem.

Keywords: gender, gender identity, cultural texts, interpretation, concepts of Ukrainians' gender culture, gender models, social-cultural construct.

Introduction. In each culture and society there are texts, narratives owing to which gender is created and recreated. In other words a gender model of a certain culture or society is constructed and reconstructed. Each society is characterized by its own cultural specificity, which is formed and legitimized by institutions of socialization and which determines social statuses of genders, differences in education level; engagement into out-of-home activity and qualification level, participation of each gender in management etc. These institutions legitimize cultural schemes formalized in texts, narratives and encourage us to use certain norms of gender behavior, dictate their ideas, according to which the process of gender socialization occurs. Thus, there is a question which gender models are formalized in cultural texts in Ukraine.

Gender is interpreted as a social construction, which, on the one hand, is created due to social and cultural experience, social labor division, institutions of socialization, and on the other hand is a result of reflection, interpretation, internationalization, internalization, which ensures the process of transformation from external into internal [9]. Gender is represented in the interpersonal cooperation, due to which we create and recreate the ideas of male and female in a given culture. Such approach to gender comprehension lets us understand its social and cultural nature and provides possibilities to interpret gender identity as a social-cultural construct.

Gender identity is an aspect of person's self-consciousness, type of social identity, the essence of which represents that aspect of the individual «Self» that is connected with cultural determination of masculinity and femininity. In this sense, to the foreground come social-cultural parameters of «male» and «female» categories, according to which people identify themselves with a certain gender group. Therefore, gender identity is an individual perception of characteristics connected with cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity [4, p. 110]. Taking into consideration this definition we realize that gender identity is based on gender constructs, formed in a certain culture.

From the point of view of social constructivism to analyze any kind of reality one should find out ways of its construction within a certain culture, society, community. A. Shuts states that reality is a structural world of inter-subjective meanings, which have the form of typified ideas as to the objects and events of this world. Such typifications form schemes to comprehend the reality [22]. In other words, social reality is a reality of meanings, which are translated by culture and interpreted by people in an everyday life. Only a small part of our visions about the world is a result of individual's personal experience. Almost everything what we believe to be ours is a result of other people's experience interpretations which are passed directly or by means of cultural texts. Thus, from people to people, from generation to generation takes place a process of handing over and creation of experience, which is accumulated, formalized in cultural texts and gains a status of social-cultural. Individual's personal experience is not just private experience, but an inter-subjective world of culture.

Culture plays a leading role in assimilation and creation of personal experience, being a concentrated, organized background of the humanity, basics for compre-

hension, conceptualization of environment. Accumulation, organization and normalization of senses, which are directed by culture, make an important condition for development of a personality and culture as well [21, p. 51]. Social-cultural texts, which contain main senses, patterns and models, set those interpretational schemes, which contribute to their normalization, organization of personal experience. That is to say, social-cultural factors help people to find ways for self-conception, comprehension of others and reality in general.

Culture is defined as a complex of specific and more or less normalized ways and forms of social integration, regulations of behavior, comprehension, communication, estimation and symbolic designation of environment, inherent to any stable society, what is a reason for self-identification of society and personality [21, p. 51]. A person receives a ready standardized scheme of cultural pattern, which is rendered by teachers, authoritative people as doubtless situation-action rules suitable for events, which appear in a social world. Due to such cultural schemes, a person is incorporated into social reality, adapts to it [22].

In our research on the basis of post-structuralism and post-modernism ideas we interpret culture as a text, which has been created by people over a certain period of time within a certain context, filled with senses, concepts that play a role of a comprehension scheme and perception of reality.

Correspondingly, culture is a textual space, where senses, concepts, basic narratives are continuously circulating and formed on the ground of other texts, perhaps even other cultures, subcultures, what ensures its development.

Any text is a texture of numerous cultural codes which are implemented by authors, however not always consciously. A cultural code is a code of human knowledge, social ideas, thoughts etc. Being made of a set of equal codes, text, in its turn, is interlaced into an infinite nature of culture; it is memory, which «remembers» not only past and present, but also culture of future. Perceiving cultural texts personality is being developed as a discursive subject, which is a base for acquiring social-cultural experience by means of comprehension, interpretation and internationalization of main cultural texts [1]. Individual interprets cultural texts, which include main cultural senses, norms, values, and gets themselves through the form of culture, owing to which a new image of culture as a peculiar text is being formed up [19]. Interpreting cultural texts, a person denotes it, giving it new meaning, which promotes creation of new senses. Thus, an individual not only absorbs social-cultural experience, but constructs it, filling it with new senses. That is why carrying out the analysis of cultural texts it is possible to trace the ways of formation of meanings, concepts and models. In other words, having determined cultural codes, one can understand the ways of reality construction, in particular gender models in Ukrainian culture.

Cultural texts are divided into symbolic, which include symbolic essence of gender culture (myths, tales, fiction, music, fine arts), metaphorical, which contribute to creation of new senses, theoretical (conceptual), which comprise main concepts of culture – gender regulations, requirements, rules (gender ideology, various theories, which disclose nature and determination of male/female etc.). Therefore, it is possible to outline main functions of gender cultural texts: 1) translative, which provides

transfer of cultural values, regulations, senses, interpretational schemes, concepts, models etc.; 2) regulative, which assists in self-representation, activity, estimations, interpretation of members of cultural community; 3) cognitive, due to which people acquire some knowledge, traditions, ideas etc.; 4) affective, which ensures adoption of cultural experience at the emotional level owing to excitement, which accompanies the process of cooperation with cultural texts; 5) educating that helps to enrich the range of discourses [21, p. 55]. Texts, standardized in gender culture, (symbolic, metaphorical and theoretical) represent social-cultural experience, which has been created over a certain historical period. Thus, to understand how gender discourse in Ukraine has been constructed, it is necessary to analyze main cultural codes, concepts, which already are in cultural texts. For data collection we applied a method of theoretical analysis of academic papers, articles devoted to the questions of models of constructing gender identity of a woman in Ukraine.

As social and cultural research show [16] a woman is interpreted as a performer of two social roles. Firstly, she is a mother – woman-guardian, who embodies an image of a nation; secondly she is an adornment that adorns a man, helps and supports him especially in complicated situations and women's work is conceived as tending and entertaining. Obviously, such conceptualizations are stereotyped, however, to a great extent, they determine formation of a woman's gender identity, which, on the one hand, simplify the process of gender identification of a woman, and, on the other hand, prevent her absolute self-actualization, limit her opportunities for self-realization.

The aim is to analyze crucial concepts of gender relations, gender identity of a woman in Ukraine in the light of different communities which inhabited its territory over various periods of time on the basis of academic studies, papers devoted to the questions of models of constructing gender identity of a woman in Ukraine.

Let us consider on the basis of the analysis of cultural texts throughout significant historical periods how concepts of gender culture, which laid the foundation for models of reconstruction of a female gender identity in Ukraine, have been created.

In myths, fairy tales, ritual practices there are gender ideologemes, which direct formation of gender consciousness, represent its main symbolic essence. That is why let's review fundamental gender ideologemes, which were founded in pagan traditions, where there was not any central organization or a single leader. God and Goddess (Priest and Priestess) were interpreted as two equal incarnations of one and the same divine quality. The Slavs offered worship not only to gods, but also to goddesses. The example of such worship is introduction into the state pantheon the patroness of fertility Mokosha, worship to the goddess of marriage – Lada and her daughter Lela, who was the goddess of spring renewal of nature, Dana (Divoniia, Divanna, Diva) – a goddess of water; ever-young and beautiful Diva and at the same time wife of Fire (Svitla, Svitovyda), who gave birth to Love, Earth [11].

Pagan interpretations laid in the foundation of mythological images of northern warrior maidens, Valkyries, Old Slavic strongwomen-warriors, amazons of the ancient Scythia etc., who became the characters of numerous Scandinavian, Russian and Ukrainian fairy tales. Main heroines from tales Maria Morivna, Sineglazka, Tsar-

divytsia are women-«warriors» [9]. Apart from their beauty they all are extremely physically strong, what in other tales is considered to be an absolutely masculine attribute. In these texts a mature woman «shares» a sphere of social activity beyond the house with a man.

A young woman's actions are not limited by the family. A world in its traditional sense is her home, which she fits out and governs. If in the so-called «patriarchal» fairy tales one can clearly follow up condemnation of women's dominance, then in the tales about women-warriors a head of the family is a positive heroine. Therefore, we may observe a kind of deviation from a patriarchal scheme of role division in the family, where a woman goes to war, while a man remains to keep a family hearth. Figuratively, such model of gender identity can be called matriarchal, which offers an ideal of female courage, independence and active position in all spheres of social life. (As various archeological studies show, on the territory of Ukraine there were tribes of women-amazons/warriors [7]. It goes without saying, that such cultural patterns left their imprint on the Slavic nations' experience, in particular Ukrainians and contributed to formation of a «woman-warrior» model.

As the recent historical research testifies, cultural patterns of the Ukrainians were laid before Christ, at the times of the Trypillian culture. Archeological evidence of that epoch attests a peculiar significance of feminine in the Trypillian culture, what is shown by clay female figures, different in thickness, sometimes with signs of pregnancy and even with clear signs of hair-do (they are peculiar of other antique cultures as well). They were put in special places – holy shrines, what allows us to speak of importance of female beginning in the Trypillian culture. The Trypillians worship nature, earth, which symbolized mother, Woman-Guardian [11]. The Trypillian culture played an important role in formation symbolic cultural texts. One may mark this period as a beginning of construction of a woman-guardian model, which has passed through the ages to our days. The cult of Rodova matir (mother of generation) – the image of the cleverest woman who headed the generation, and the cult of Rozhanytsia (birthing mother) – a fertility goddess had been preserved in the Kyivska Rus till introduction of Christianity. The scientists state [2] that the Trypillian women, who headed their people, had great impact on the mentality of modern Ukrainians. That is why the Ukrainians are characterized by female traits: closeness to nature, war,-heartedness, brotherhood, priority of moral appraisal over the legal ones, amenity of temper, peaceable disposition, patience, religious commitment. Typical of the Ukrainians is a phrase «Nenka (Mother)-Ukraine», and Fatherland is always associated with mother and female beginning.

In times of the Kyivska Rus (from the late 9th century to the middle of the 13th century) a significant place in cultural texts belongs to a woman, in the cultural texts of those times an image of princess Olha was formed (who became history as a ruler of a great country) on the one hand, as a perfect wife, who carried out her duty to her deceased husband and who was described as a clever and sly woman on the other hand. Attitude towards women in the Kyivska Rus was a bit more progressive than in Europe. Quite well-known are historical facts, concerning the education level of daughters of Yaroslav the Wise (Mudryi) and Halych princes, who astonished by

their intellect, various talents, and became wives of the European kings [18]. After her husband's death Anna Yaroslavivna became the queen of France. She fluently spoke Greek, swiftly mastered French, knew Latin – the official language of those times, which was used in written and spoken forms all educated society in Western Europe. The fact that Anna had an exclusive right to sign state documents testified of her growing authority and influence. Her distinct and intelligible letters are written near the «crosses» of illiterate royal official, court nobility and the king himself – Henry I. Such privilege of Anna was a unique phenomenon for the French Royal House in the 11th century [18].

Quite notable for the Kyivska Rus epoch was a person of princess Yevpraksiia-Zoia (daughter of Mstyslav Volodymyrovych and granddaughter of prince Monomakh). In 1112 she married the Byzantine Emperor Ioan Kospel and after coronation she took the name Zoia. Being in her youth she was interested in medicine, and living in Greece she deepened her knowledge and became the author of the first scientific tract «Alimma» (ointments), which is still being preserved in Medici library in Florence. In the book «Slovo o polku Ihorevi» (The Tale of Ihor's Campaign), which is an old East Slavic masterpiece, a prominent place is given to the description of prince Ihor's wife's extreme self-commitment, compassion and concernment in her husband's affairs. It speaks for the status of a woman in those old days being a friend, guardian of a family hearth [20]. Legal and moral regulations of marriage which existed in the Kyivska Rus were fixed in «Pravda» (Truth) by Yaroslav Mudryi (the Wise), what in fact or at least partial can explain an independent status of a woman in the Kyivska Rus [18].

Cultural models of a woman's identity in the Kyivska Rus were further promoted in Cossack's cultural texts. Ideologemes of female freedom were laid during the Cossack times (15th–18th centuries). Some researchers [24; 12] highlighted the existence of the most honored cult of women – Holy Mother within the system of moral values. Crucial archetypes of ethnic mentality and national consciousness, for instance, are «House-Field-Temple-Mother» [15], where one of the major, as philosopher and cultural scholar S. Krymskyi believes, is an archetype of the mother-earth as a symbol of national wealth and national unity on the own ethnical basis. The scholar connects this archetype with an image of Holy Mother, who became an incarnation of Protection, a recognized guardian of Ukrainian Cossacks. Namely idealization of a female beginning, which in Sich was embodied in the image of Holy Mother, can to some extent explain emergence and establishment among Cossacks those traditions which preserved women from disrespectful attitude. «In Zaporizhzhia, as remarked a renowned historian and researcher of the Cossacks' period D. Yavornytskyi, one could be punished not only for adultery, but also for offending woman, when a Cossack «abases a woman not for decency» as such misbehavior «disgraces the whole Zaporizhzhian Host» [24]. Due to such circumstances one can explain numerous occurrences of respect attitude both to the ideal Mother-Ukraine, Mother-Sich and a certain woman – a mother, girl or wife in the Cossacks' songs of different periods. In the Cossacks' folklore a woman dominates over a Cossack-man, while in religion the cult of Holy Mother was praised even more than the cult of Christ Lord-Man [14, p. 46].

This factor could not but leave an imprint on mutual relations between a male-Cossack and female in the then society. During the Cossack times a noble-woman had wide freedom for self-actualization, almost equal rights with a man and played quite an active role in that society.

Thus, in the Romantic epoch a Ukrainian woman on a par with a man participated in all social and political processes, though she was disposed of voting rights [23]. During the Cossack times a Ukrainian woman was considered to be a guardian of a family hearth, and was an honorable person. Even taking an insight into the semantic sense of the Ukrainian notion «druzhyna» (wife), we may assure that a woman was treated as a «druh» (friend). In comparison with attitude towards a woman, her status and rights in many other societies, we can surely state that Ukrainian women obtained privileged position.

There is evidence that it was up to a girl to propose to Cossack and not the contrary. Future Cossack-wife proposing to her fiancé highlighted his strong points (she had a right to judge/evaluate her future husband). In the same way a Cossack-wife took the initiative in divorce, and it was not an individual case. Quite interesting is that at the Cossack times a girl could even save a guy from a death penalty, if she publicly agreed to marry him. Another interesting fact, which testifies a predominant position of a Cossack-wife, was that a foster boy had to take a girl's last name in case of marrying her. Thus, Cossack Andrii Bezridnyi [12], great grandfather of the renowned T. H. Shevchenko, taking his wife's last name Shvets, became Shevchenko. Even modification of a surname in such cases testified a so-called subordinate position of a man.

If we take a look at intersex relations of our ancestors, it is notable that a woman in a family sometimes was more influential, powerful and practical in the family. Though, it is believed that in a family a man is highly authoritative. As distinct from women of other nationalities Ukrainian women actively participated in civil and educational activity and during war times took responsibility and became a head of the family.

Independence of Ukrainian women was highlighted by the fact that they owned their own seals, and in the absence of a husband, a hetman's wife had a right to conduct civil and political activity, sign documents, taking in their tender hands full authority. In historical archives there are a lot of documents, in fact signed by the first and third wives of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Hanna Zolotarenko and Hanna Somkivna. The former as well as the latter successfully ruled the country during Cossacks' military campaigns. Women-leaders were at the same times diplomats: at a decent level they received ambassadors and maintained relations with influential dames from other countries [14].

Much historical evidence testifies that at a time of war some Cossack-wives directly participated in fights. It is necessary to recollect famous Paliika (wife of Semen Pali), who, in the absence of her husband, not only successfully ruled the Right-Bank Ukraine, but repeatedly conducted military campaigns against Moskovia and allied Poles [14].

A heroic deed of Orysia Zavistna is vividly described in the historical narration by «Obloha Bushi» by M. Starytskyi. This brave woman sacrificed her life to defend

her native land and blew herself up together with hundreds of enemies, setting fire to a powder cellar.

And such occasions are not rare – in the Cossacks' epoch there were a lot of warlike women. Volyn princess Sophiia Ruzhynska in 1609 personally led her troop consisting of 6000 soldiers and cavalry, with flags and music captured princes Koretsky's castle in Cheremoshnia. «Like a Goddess-Holy Mother she protected her family with deadly force». A representative of such persistent type of a Cossack-woman was Kateryna, last wife of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. There is historical evidence which testifies that Cossacks' wives took part in rebellion troops during Khmelnychchyna. Thus, in 1584 noble Ostapkova with her daughter Sophia organized an armed assault on noble Stryzhevskiy's house in Didkivtsi village in Zhytomyr region and caused great damages. Colonel Ivan Dosh's sister directly participated as a horse-soldier in military actions against the Polish-noble troops in Volyn in 1649 [14; 23].

In general Cossack-women were literate and promoted education, became patrons, donating material values for the sake of literacy of the Ukrainian people. In particular and to the full extent Ukrainian women's activity was realized in a clergy sphere of the society. Women were the bearers of Ukrainian culture and spiritual values, guardians of the national customs and habits, national mentality.

A new turn in constructing gender ideologemes was the Soviet period (1917–1991), marked by a totalitarian regime, cult of power, violence. The Bolsheviks offered a project of «a new woman-builder» of socialism, who had equal rights and opportunities with proletarian-men, conducted active labor and civil activity, could sacrifice her own interests for «general social sake» [5; 10].

The period of constructing the identity of a freedom-loving woman-guardian, warrior, who is ready to defend her land and family, also marked its place in the history. In Soviet Ukraine the image of the Ukrainian woman willing to protect her national identity and authentic character was harshly oppressed. For the last decades we have got to know the names of women of the Ukrainian War of Independence period. A picture of intelligibility, literacy and military virtue are women-ensigns among Sichovi Striltsi troops– Sophiia Halechko and Olena Stepaniv, who were renowned as the most educated women of that time (the former was a master of philosophy, the latter was a historian) [3, p. 266].

The example of invincibility, courage and devotedness to her commitment is Olha Basarab – a civil and political activist, founder of the 1st women's chota in the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen in Lviv. In 1918–1923 O. Basarab worked as an accountant in the Ukrainian embassy in Vienna and at the same time was a Ukrainian spy. To get military strategic and political information she visited Denmark, Norway, Germany and other countries. She also conducted charitable and public awareness activity in the Committee for wounded and captives in Vienna and in the Committee for civil citizens, owing to which she was awarded by the international organization Red Cross. She was a member of the Ukrainian military organization, communicator of colonel Yevhen Konovalts [3].

Activity of Ukrainian women of that time progressively influenced further development of political and social-cultural sphere of the Ukrainian society as a

whole became a significant step in determining a social status of women under the modified social-economic conditions both in Nadniprianska Ukraine and Western Ukraine. And the most important thing was that a woman became an active subject of civil development, one of the main driving forces of national revival of Ukraine.

The Soviet system modeled and promulgated another image of a woman, an image of a «new woman», which combined new ideas as to identity of a woman, beauty of her inner and outer worlds. New ideological orientations were aimed at forming an image of a «Working woman», «Country woman», «Soviet woman». Tireless worker, sportswoman, activist, good housekeeper, faithful wife and careful mother it is not even a full list of traits, which had to characterize an ideal woman in the Soviet ideology [3].

Identity of the then woman had to combine traditional and revolutionary standards: a woman was to be hardworking and ascetic, being at the same time loving, faithful mother and wife, who preserved a family hearth. Quite a contradictory image – on the one hand of a mother, housewife, on the other hand – of a leading worker, physically strong woman, devoted to her work.

In the context of the Soviet society a Ukrainian woman received a new gender dimension, which has been characterizing her as a powerful stereotype for a long period of time. Definition of a «woman» disappears as a social sex. And this was an equal share of social democracy in the Soviet society. There appeared a «worker», who must participate in a family formation process and give birth to children. Though, a woman did not have a right just to run the house. Therefore, beyond family relationship a Ukrainian woman lost her traditional gender dimension. Hard labor of women in metal industry, construction sphere as well as participation in the war gave her masculine characteristics, which even nowadays accompany her in an everyday life and draw an image of a victim, who will overcome, endure, survive everything and support a man, infantilized by the Soviet system.

At the same time, access to all kinds of labor and officially declared civil equality had nothing to do with politics. Women could aspire to the party membership but not for running leading posts. They occupied «ceremonial» leading posts: headed councils, trade unions, komsomol organizations etc. Namely soviet party nomenclature was vividly distinguished by patriarchal character. Women, who held leading party offices, displayed the image of an «iron lady», deprived of sexuality, attractiveness, femininity [5, p. 45–51].

In Soviet Ukraine models of gender identity of the Soviet period did not gain popularity and importance. Under the conditions of the undeveloped social sphere, double bargain of labor – at home and at work – added negative features to the model and did not arouse special enthusiasm as an example for imitation in everyday life. Beautiful, cared-for, perfect and inexhaustible woman as an opposition to the «aunt from a line» could become an attractive image and dream for many women. The researcher Oksana Kis singles out models of constructing gender identity of a modern woman – Guardian, Barbie and business woman. The first one is connected with a Ukrainian national-liberation idea, the second one – with western standards of consumption and design of «a western lifestyle». In fact, in public discourse women are attributed the roles, connected with motherhood, beauty and a firm foundation [13].

«Woman-Guardian» is a rooted gender type traditional for Ukrainians, which embraces the myth about a special eternal-rightful Ukrainian Woman. As an integral image Woman-Guardian established not so long ago in the late 1980s. And though it is an eclectic combination of heterogeneous as to the essence and origin of elements (from fragments of pagan beliefs and matriarchal myth, typical folklore motives and features of individual literary characters and up to the Christian cult of Mary), society conceives it as an authentic canon of traditional-national femininity. The key representatives of this image are Holy Mother, Committed Christian and Sacrificial Patriot. It is also significant that Woman-Guardian has profound matriarchal implications, i.e. propose to women to show their dominance, determination and competence within her own sphere. Another image of Barbie was created by market ideology and culture of mass consumption [8; 13]. Devotion to nation and devotion to esthetic and erotic satisfaction of a man these are the roles in accordance with each model. Their common ground in particular selfless service, without freedom of individual choice is the main factor within a feministic theory.

A role of a mother, reliable partner becomes more and more actual in the course of the national struggle. Some tendencies towards attracting women to protest activity, including a military one, must be reasonably studied on the example of women's participation in the Euromaidan (2013–2014) and the war, which is taking place in the East of Ukraine. According to the official statistics 14 000 women got involved into the hostilities in the East of Ukraine [16]. An image of a military woman is quite popular among modern youth. Many girls enter military educational institutions. However, in Ukrainian media more often we may come across the stories of «heroes», including the lists of their names and achievements, and quite rarely we see the lists of «heroines». To study how women are represented at the war, the non-government youth organization «Woman» conducted a qualitative content-analysis of 33 media [16]. Women in the ATO bear a positive image in the media. Journalists try to balance between the masculine and feminine characteristics of women-combatants, representing women from the ATO as a harmonious union of tenderness, beauty, courage and power. Women are described as «tender», «combative», «beautiful», «brave», «rescuers» and «guardians».

One can observe glorification and romanticization of a woman's image in the ATO: participation of a woman in the antiterrorist operation is a heroic deed, irrespective of her position. We may come across the elements of depicting a woman at the front as an assisting, supporting function for combatants. Along with that there are images of women, who are just as good in their fighting skills and achievements as men are. In both cases, presence of women in the ATO has a positive function of support and mobilization. It is significant to state the absence of extremely negative images of women in media: there are no accusations of flippant attitude, masculinity, non-execution of traditionally women's functions, almost absent examples of victimization of women in the ATO.

Less popular in a cultural discourse (commercials, literature, movies) is an image of a business woman, despite a great amount of women taking part in running business structures, as well as women-politicians.

Conclusions. Therefore, during various historical periods, cultural epochs were formed key ideologemes, concepts of gender culture, which predetermined formation of female gender identity in Ukraine. Through the ages, the models of gender have been created in the Ukrainian culture, which have been formalized in cultural texts and function at the mental level and determined formation of female identity, laying foundation for gender equity and equal opportunities both for men and women. Another significant task is analysis of such texts, concepts and determining of their role in formation gender identity of a woman, aiming at harmonization of her background knowledge and development of ability to effective self-actualization and self-establishment. In the most critical periods of the Ukrainian cultural development women always played an essential role and that is why nowadays we require an active position of a woman in social and political life of the country. And we must understand this.

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УДК 305: 316.614.5

doi: 10.15330/psp.22.26–32

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GENDER STEREOTYPES AS A DRIVER OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Суспільство нав'язує чоловікам та жінкам різні ролі, що стереотипно приписуються йому/їй соціумом і передаються від покоління до покоління. Деструктивний вплив гендерних стереотипів можна спостерігати у сім'ї у різних проявах насильства стосовно чоловіків чи жінок. Дослідження вітчизняних і зарубіжних дослідників дають підстави стверджувати, що в основі гендерного насильства у сім'ї лежать патріархальні уявлення і переконання про функціонально-рольову структуру сім'ї. Однак не всі чоловіки з такими установками вчиняють насильство. У статті здійснено аналіз сутності феномену «гендерні стереотипи», його складових та різновидів, виявлено особливості впливу гендерних стереотипів у поєднанні з іншими чинниками (економічними, психофізіологічними, психологічними) на прояви насильства у сім'ї щодо чоловіків і жінок, окреслено напрями подолання гендерних стереотипів.

Ключові слова: *стереотипи, гендерні стереотипи, насильство, гендерна рівність, гендерна дискримінація, патріархальні уявлення і переконання.*

Society pressures men and women into playing certain roles, prescribed by the community and passed down from generation to generation. Destructive impact of gender stereotypes can be observed at the family level in various forms of violence against men or women. Studies of domestic and foreign researchers give grounds for arguing that it is patriarchal attitudes and beliefs concerning the functional and role structure of the family that account for gender-based violence in the family. However, not all men with such attitudes commit violence. This paper analyses the nature of gender stereotypes, their components and varieties. We explore particular impact of gender stereotypes together with other factors (economic, psychophysiological and psychological) on acts of domestic violence against men and women and suggest ways to challenge gender stereotypes.

Keywords: *stereotypes, gender stereotypes, violence, gender equality, gender discrimination, patriarchal attitudes and beliefs.*

Topic Outline. Gender stereotypes as a set of conventional generally accepted rules and attitudes in respect to male and female status, codes of conduct, motives behind their actions and need patterns are the most persistent social stereotypes. They consolidate prevailing gender differences and relations [1].