



# MASCULINITY TODAY:

MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES  
AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN





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Kyiv - 2018



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. **Gender inequality remains one of the major human rights violations** that mostly manifests itself in the limited rights, opportunities and interests of women, in particular, in the context of access to resources and decision-making. These manifestations of inequality are largely caused by the impact of stereotypes that establish different public expectations with regard to the roles, functions and powers of women and men. Gender-based violence is closely linked to the unequal division of powers between women and men, with its causes directly stemming from the subordinated position of women in the hierarchy of family relations and social stratification. That's why, in order to combat gender inequality, the public attitudes in the entire society should be transformed, while men have to be involved in promoting the ideas of gender equality and in the response to gender-based violence.
2. **This study of masculinity as a concept of men's culture** was undertaken with the purpose of generating data needed to understand the processes of formation of men's identity and evolution of men's cultural practices in order to find efficient communication channels for advocacy efforts to effect changes in the social stereotypes. Contemporary theories widely acknowledge that masculine identity is formed under the permanent pressure from the society that poses certain requirements to men in terms of behavioral norms and standards. The gap between these expectations and the real lives of men may result in the negative effects that have been conceptualized within the 'masculinity in crisis' theory. In particular, as a result of unmet expectations, men may consequently seek affirmation of their masculinity in other ways such as alcohol abuse, risk-taking behaviors, or outbursts of aggression. Therefore, studies of men's contemporary cultural practices have obvious practical applications both in promoting gender equality, and in addressing important social problems, including creation of a progressive educational system, development of healthcare sector and improvement of health and demography situation, strengthening the labour market policies, improvement of wellbeing of workers with family duties, and boosting public safety.

3. To fill the gaps in the data throwing light on men's behavioral practices and attitudes to gender equality and violence, the UNFPA launched a **special sociological survey**. The study methodology was based on the approaches of the International Men and Gender Equity Survey (IMAGES) adjusted to the local socio-cultural context. The survey topics covered men's experience in childhood and their marital relationships, division of powers in households and attitudes to parenthood, perceptions of the gender norms, awareness on gender-sensitive legislation and attitudes to gender-based violence. The issues of violence against women constitute the major focus of the study, as the underlying causes of this social problem are related to public perceptions of unequal gender roles and powers that could result in women's subordinated position. That's why the target audiences of the study were focused at two population categories: randomly selected men in the ages of 18-59, a sample representative for the country, and men who perpetrated domestic violence and were directed to the mandatory intervention programs as a group of respondents who face the specific crisis of masculinity.
  
4. **Men's socialization begins in the early childhood and faces multiple impacts**, including upbringing and witnessing marital relations in the parent's family, school environment and relations with peers, and the ways information is presented in the mass media. The study of men's childhood experience reveals that the negative circumstances of childhood may affect men's choices of behavioral patterns in the adulthood. In particular, aggression and violence are often present in men's lives since the early ages (e.g. physical punishment by parents and school teachers, bullying by mates and older children), while violence-friendly environment might be developed at times when men are involved in the military training. Almost a half of the survey respondents had the experience of military service or training; 54% of them reportedly encountered ill-treatment from their officers personally, while 60% witnessed such actions against their comrades. One in four respondents witnessed his father's or stepfather's physical violence towards his mother, while one in seven respondents suffered from his parents' negligence as they abused alcohol. Respectively, the aggressive patterns of behavior may be perceived by men as cultural norms, while physical violence might be regarded as a universal tool to resolve conflicts or stand one's interests.

5. **Family is the main origin of the perceived understanding of social roles, responsibilities and powers for women and men.** According to the survey findings, the Ukrainian society still shares firm expectations regarding patterns of marital relationship that establish men's role as the family breadwinner, and women's role the care-giver for the family and children with lots of responsibilities related to household work. In particular, almost 70% of the surveyed men agreed that women's most important role is to take care of her house and cook for her family. As a result of unequal division of family duties, women spend on average twice as much time for household activities as men (respectively 29 and 15 hours per week). The distribution of parent's time spent with children looks similarly asymmetric (49 hours per week for women and 22 hours per week for men). Ultimately, these public perceptions of women's vs. men's social functions result in unequal treatment of women and their subordinated position, while disparity of expectations and the real circumstances of family life can result in disappointments and conflicts in the family.
  
6. **Men's attitudes to gender-based violence** represent the key focus of this study, as the scope of this social problem is quite large in Ukraine. The survey findings confirmed that men are quite tolerant to domestic violence (in particular, 18% of respondents justify physical violence if a wife cheats on a husband) and biased to the victims of sexual violence, who are often blamed for provoking crime offenses by their behaviors or lifestyles (about a half of the respondents questioned that an offence could be qualified as rape if a woman was affected by alcohol or had a bad reputation). Almost one-third of men recognized that they used to perpetrate emotional violence in their partnerships over the life course, one in seven men used economic violence, while 13% of men had experience of physical violence against their partners. A few percent of the respondents reported that they forced their partners or other women to have sex with them despite the women's unwillingness. The prevalent manifestations of men's controlling behaviors are also closely linked to their wish to dominate in partnerships.

7. **Domestic violence has gender-based grounds** and remains systemic problem. In more than a half of the situations, the aggressive behaviors of men who perpetrated domestic violence were targeted at their wives or partners, while over 80% of all reported conflicts were repeated conflicts. The causes of violent conflicts were equally associated by perpetrators with social and economic factors (financial hardships or negative social behaviors in the family such as alcoholism, drug addiction, or gambling) and problems in interpersonal relations (partner's excessive control or nagging, or interference of relatives in marital relations, etc.). More than a half of the perpetrators confirmed the provocative effect of alcohol and other stimulants on deployment of conflicts in their families. Unfortunately, the public attitudes still do not encourage seeking for help in case of domestic violence, as more than a half of the men who used to perpetrate violence believed that family conflicts are a private problem that should be resolved within the family. At the same time, one-fourth of the perpetrators acknowledged effectiveness of addressing a psychologist or social worker to break the cycle of violence in case if all family members are involved in the therapy, while 13% of the perpetrators suggested that intervention work only with the perpetrator might be effective as well. In most situations, men prone to aggression demonstrated their readiness to listen only to the closest environment, i.e. their own parents and friends. In spite of attending the intervention programs and prevention efforts of the law enforcement officers, only 7% of the perpetrators strongly agreed that the conflicts would not repeat in their families.
8. **Transforming social stereotypes that establish behavioral patterns and attitudes among adult men** is a difficult task that requires a comprehensive approach. Therefore, it is crucial to focus advocacy efforts and information campaigns on young men who have a large potential to promote gender equality. The survey findings revealed that younger men demonstrated more progressive views in terms of the gender division of social roles, and supported the participative approach to family decision-making and responsible parenthood. In the international practice, there are numerous examples of successful strategies for increasing male participation in combating gender-based violence and discrimination (for example, the White Ribbon Campaign, as well as other evidence-based school, sports, or community-based interventions), so it is important to support civil activists and

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social movements of young men, who do not tolerate gender-based violence and discrimination. In addition, bystander interventions and psychosocial support are also needed for men, women and children who witness violence in their families, as this negative experience might become a driver of the later use of domestic violence. Another way to involve men is to promote responsible parenting and equal sharing of household responsibilities between women and men. It may be more effective if it relies on the involvement of men's credible 'opinion leaders'. In parallel, additional efforts should be targeted at eliminating gender stereotypes in the roles, powers and responsibilities of women and men that are still reinforced in the system of schooling and imposed by the media and advertising. It is equally important to attract men to the healthcare, including reproductive health, family planning, safe lifestyles and preventing of risk-taking behaviors. Men's stressful employment may be addressed through the active labor market policies, re-equipment of hazardous occupations, and improvement of the system of social protection for employed persons, including men with family responsibilities. All these efforts will enhance men's social well-being and improve their quality of life.

## INTRODUCTION

Gender inequality is one of the main human rights violations that manifests itself in the unequal opportunities of women and men in various domains of public life, including political representation and decision-making, economic opportunities and access to resources, empowerment in the family and vulnerability to discrimination and violence. The reasons for the unequal distribution of powers of women and men should be sought in the patriarchal norms that establish gender-based social roles and behavior patterns accepted by the society. In the past, the gender inequality problems were perceived mostly as the 'women's issues', while gender programs focused on improving well-being of women. However, over the past decades, there has been a growing recognition of the need to involve men in promoting gender equality, in particular, through active participation in policies to combat and prevent gender-based violence.

One of the ways to start the discussion about the role, responsibilities and potential of men in advancing gender equality is to study the culture of masculinity, as it is responsible for determining and entrenchment of the prevailing men's roles, patterns of behavior and attitudes. In this way we recognize that the evolution of masculine identity is under the permanent pressure of society requiring that men's behavior should meet certain expectations and norms. Men's socialization starts in the early childhood and faces many impacts, including upbringing and observation of marital relations in the parents' family, school environment and relations with peers, information environment and the mass media. Widely accepted norms of male behavior also determine what traits, attitudes and lifestyle patterns are expected from modern men by the society; these norms are not always favorable to their social well-being and quality of life. In particular, aggression and predisposition to violence are often perceived by most people as the negative aspects of manhood and masculine identity.

Therefore, the **purpose of this study** is to analyze the process of socialization of the modern men by exploring their behavioral patterns, attitudes and cultural practices related to the impact of gender norms and stereotypes. The study is also particularly focused at men's perception of the gender-based violence, since the causes of this social problem are largely related to inequalities between men and women. Accordingly, the research objectives are as follows:

- to review the concepts of masculinity through the prism of gender norms and men's attitude to violence;

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- to analyze factors that determine the present cultural practices of men, such as their childhood experience and patterns of relationships in the parents' family;
- to study marital relations, and division of powers and responsibilities between women and men in households;
- to explore men's attitudes to parenthood and relationships with their children;
- to assess men's attitudes to gender norms and stereotypes that are commonly accepted in the society, as well as their awareness of the current legislation on gender equality;
- to study men's attitudes to gender-based violence, including their understanding of causes, consequences and ways to prevent violence against women.

In accordance with the study objectives, the **first section** of the report presents an overview of the modern concepts of masculinity through the prism of men's attitudes to gender norms and violence. The section lists main traits and cultural practices attributed to the 'real man' concept and explains why the excessive pressure posed by the society on men produces negative effects resulting in the 'crisis of masculinity' faced today; and conceptualizes the correlations between gender-based violence and masculinity standards.

**Section two** briefly describes the methodology and design of the research based on quantitative and qualitative sociology methods, the characteristics of the target population groups, and the recruiting technology used to select the respondents and participants of focus groups.

**Section three** analyzes the impact of social expectations and behavioral models associated with masculinity, on men's social well-being in the context of labor relations, health and emotional well-being.

**Section four** examines men's experiences of childhood through the prism of division of powers and home responsibilities between parents, and perceptions of marital relationship patterns that can be reproduced in men's adult life. In the same section, men's attitudes to parenthood are examined in detail, as well as their involvement in the childcare, including the practice of taking parental leaves.

**Section five** presents the study findings on the features of marital relations in modern families, including the division of powers in terms of household decision-making and men's involvement in domestic work.

**Section six** assesses men's attitudes to the prevailing gender norms and stereotypes that determine the division of priorities between family and professional commitments, approaches to family planning and the perception of individual attributes of the masculine culture. Men's awareness of the national legislation and state policy on gender equality is also discussed, as well as their attitudes to the family law and law on domestic violence.

**Section seven** is dedicated to men's attitudes to the problem of gender-based violence, in particular their tolerance of violence in the society, the attitudes to the victims of violence, and understanding the causes and consequences of domestic violence. In a separate paragraph, men's controlling behavior in marriage is studied, as well as their personal experience in perpetrating violent actions against women.

**Section eight** presents findings of the survey of men who attended intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence or were recorded on the police domestic violence registry. The summarized data provides the opportunity to analyze the circumstances of domestic violence from the offenders' point of view, to find out their visions in terms of resolving conflicts in the family, to assess their needs for psychological support, and to identify the effective channels of correctional impacts.

The study findings can be used to develop gender sensitive programs targeted at conversion of gender norms and stereotypes in the society, and at strengthening advocacy efforts and information campaigns to involve men in promoting gender equality and combat of gender-based violence.

The research was conducted by experts of the NGO 'Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms' with leadership, as well as technical and organizational support from the UNFPA, United Nations Population Fund in Ukraine. Financial support of the study was also provided by the UK Government.

The study was conducted by Ganna Gerasymenko, Iryna Maidanik, Svitlana Polyakova and Tetyana Bachek under the general scientific guidance of Professor Ella Libanova. The fieldworks were carried out by the Ukrainian Institute for Social Research named after Oleksandr Yaremenko.

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## 1. MODERN CONCEPTS OF MASCULINITY THROUGH THE PRISM OF GENDER NORMS AND VIOLENCE

The increasing number of gender studies in the recent decades reflects the growing public interest to exploration of gender identity and norms that reinforce social roles of men and women while linking particular attributes and characteristics with a particular gender. According to UNESCO, the term 'gender' refers to the socially and culturally constructed meanings and roles assigned to persons of different biological sexes - males and females <sup>1</sup>. As a concept, this definition also covers the expectations held about the characteristics, attitudes and behaviors of both women and men in a society, while recognizing that manifestations of unequal treatments stem from stereotypes, rigid role-setting and prejudices.

Following the global debates on women's position called to promote the fundamental principles of gender equality in rights, opportunities, and responsibilities of citizens, there has been an increasing interest to exploration of gender issues from the standpoint of men. Research on masculinity have obvious applicative outcomes enabling to address important social problems, including the education of boys, actions on men's healthcare, and promotion of gender equality ideas <sup>2</sup>. Over the recent years a stronger focus has developed on the positive role men and boys can and do play in promoting women's empowerment in the family, the community, the labour market, and the decision-making.

Beginning with the Beijing Declaration, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), a number of international platforms have been focused on these issues, including the World Summit on Social Development (1995), its review session (2000), and the special session of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS (2001). Respectively, the key international documents emphasize the critical role of men and boys in addressing the inequality in power relations between men and women: 'The Platform of Action emphasizes that women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality around the world' (Beijing Platform for Action, 1995 <sup>3</sup>).

- 1 UNESCO (2004). *Role of Men and Boys in Promoting Gender Equality – Advocacy Brief*, Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL), Bangkok: 15.
- 2 Connell, R.W. (2001). *The Men and the Boys*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin; Cambridge: 268.
- 3 Beijing Declaration, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, Paragraph 35, 'Men's role in promoting gender equality.'

The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women specifically focused on the topic *'The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality'* in its 48th session in March 2004<sup>4</sup>. The Commission recognized *'the capacity of men and boys in bringing about change in attitudes, relationships, and access to resources and decision-making which are critical for the promotion of gender equality and the full enjoyment of all human rights by women,'* and called for action to *'ensure that men and boys, whose role is critical in achieving gender equality, are actively involved in policies and programs that aim to involve the equal sharing of responsibilities'*<sup>5</sup>.

The investigation of masculinities or men's studies have been active for more than 20 years; research findings in numerous fields were presented in book series, individual monographs and policy papers in various countries<sup>6,7,8</sup>. Conceptual frameworks of masculinity have been developed by psychologists, anthropologists, philosophers, historians, and other social scientists. Most of these studies explore the intersection of masculinity with other dimensions of social relations, structures, and concepts from other research fields, such as the social construction of gender differences.

When defining the concept of masculinity, a well-known Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell argues that it is important to focus on the process through which men and women conduct their gendered lives: *'Masculinity, to the extent that the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture'*<sup>9</sup>.

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- 4 Commission on the Status of Women 48th Session, *'The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality'*; 1-12 March 2004. Discussion papers prepared can be found at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/index.html>, and agreed conclusions: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw48/ac-men-auv.pdf>.
  - 5 Commission on the Status of Women Report, 53rd Session. 2009. New York: UN Women.
  - 6 Reeser, T.W. (2010). *Masculinities in Theory: an Introduction*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell
  - 7 Connell, R.W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity: 360.
  - 8 Kimmel, M. S. (1994). *Theorizing Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.: 119-141
  - 9 Connell, R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge, Polity Press: 360.

According to the author, there is abundant evidence that masculinities are multiple, with internal complexities and even contradictions. Importantly, women play a crucial role in constructing masculinities through interaction with boys and men in their private and public domains of life. In particular, mothers may reinforce the traditional ideas about manhood by demonstrating that they do not expect sons to do household chores or express their emotions.

In other words, it is society, not biology, which confines males and females to particular masculine and feminine character profiles associated with individual personality traits <sup>10</sup>. M. Kimmel stated that masculine attributes are associated with the gendered social roles that males are expected to fulfill <sup>11</sup>. In particular, in most societies and cultures, masculinity which refers to traits which are stereotypically attributed to men, is typified by the image of a strong, brave, ambitious, self-sufficient and authoritative leader who can rationally maintain control of his emotions <sup>12</sup>. In contrast, femininity comprising traits which are stereotypically attributed to women are associated with empathy, sensitivity, passiveness, loyalty, irrationality and a caring disposition <sup>13</sup>. There are also commonly held assumptions that not only do men and women differ, but they also tend to act like polar opposites, with women appearing to lack the qualities which are most prevalent in men, and vice versa <sup>14</sup>. For example, dominance is an acceptable trait in men, but is less socially acceptable in women; in contrast, women are permitted to display weakness, whereas this trait is viewed as unacceptable in men <sup>15</sup>.

To develop the concept, R. Connell introduces the term of 'hegemonic' masculinities which embody a **'currently accepted strategy... which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women'**, being a subject of a constant adaptation and negotiation <sup>16</sup>. Indeed, the

10 Drydakis, N., Sidiropoulou, K. and others (2017). *Masculine vs Feminine Personality Traits and Women's Employment Outcomes in Britain: A Field Experiment*, Discussion Paper Series, IZA, November 2017: 23.

11 Kimmel, M., Hearn J., Connell R. (2005). *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, SAGE: 505.

12 Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press

13 Kolb, J.A. (1999). The Effect of Gender Role, Attitude Toward Leadership, and Self-Confidence on Leader Emergence: Implications for Leadership Development. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, Vol.10, No.4: 305-320.

14 Heilman, M.E. (2012). Gender Stereotypes and Workplace Bias. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol.32: 113-135.

15 Rudman, L. A. and Phelan, J. E. (2008). Backlash Effects for Disconfirming Gender Stereotypes in Organizations. In A. P. Brief, and B. M. Staw, (Eds.), *Research in Organizational Behaviour* (4: 61-79). New York, Elsevier.

16 Connell, R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge, Polity Press: 360.

standards of manliness or masculinity vary across different cultures, historical periods and geographical areas. Age, ethnicity, race, social class and other stratification criteria intersect with gender identity to construct multiple masculinities which operate through the system of power relations between them. Researchers have also argued that traditionally-masculine behaviour is contributed by the 'precariousness' of manhood<sup>17</sup>. This aspect means that manhood is not inborn, but must be achieved by engaging in stereotypically-masculine behaviours and beliefs, such as supporting hierarchy, aggression and demonstrating power and physical potential.

In practice, the hegemonic strategies are rarely fulfilled by men in their real lives, as multiple social constraints may cause a failure in possessing the dominant roles in a family or society in general. Unemployment, low income, disability or alcohol abuse may prevent them from the role of 'breadwinner', while impossibility to support one's family could be seen as a failure to achieve the ideals of masculinity prescribed by dominant norms. As a result, evidence points to the negative impact of the hegemonic masculinity attributes on men's health-related behaviour, causing the gender disparities in health and life expectancy. In most countries, men live shorter lives than women do<sup>18</sup>, while it is widely recognized that factors that influence gender disparities in death rates include not only biological ones, but also social and cultural influences on expectations of men in women in terms of health-related behaviors. For example, some cultures encourage or condone men's drinking, but discourage it in women. Also, in many countries, women are discouraged to work outside the home, while men are expected to be part of the labor force and provide the decent incomes for their households.

Prevalence of risk-taking behaviours among men results in male's higher death rates due to the external causes such as injuries, accidents, self-harms and homicide. Due to higher rates of cigarette smoking and heavy drinking, men face higher risks of smoking-related ailments and circulatory problems. According to the national studies, these trends are particularly obvious in Ukraine, as men's medical-demographic crisis is aggravated with prevalence of socially determined diseases, such as tuberculosis, mental disorders attributed to alcohol and drugs abuse, and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, men are more likely to be diag-

17 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.

18 Based on 2015 World Development Indicators Database, the average female life expectancy was 74.1, while the average male life expectancy was 69.8 across the world countries.

19 Лібанова Е., Герасименко Г. та ін. *Залучення чоловіків до збереження здоров'я в Україні: Аналітичний звіт*. – Київ: Мінмолодьспорт та UNFPA, 2006. – 87 с.

nosed terminal illness due to their reluctance to visit doctors and undergo regular medical check-ups. Such health attitudes are directly caused by male-attributed perceptions and behaviors such as dislike of out-of-control situations, fear of weakness and embarrassment<sup>20</sup>. Inconsistency in meeting the hegemonic masculinity attributes could provoke excessive psychological pressure on men, while common suppressing of emotions may lead to mental disorders and deep depressions. Men may consequently seek affirmation of their masculinity in other ways such as alcohol and drugs abuse, irresponsible sexual behavior or aggression.

As a result of a gradual understanding of the outlined problems with men's identity and social roles, the theory of '*masculinity in crisis*' has emerged<sup>21</sup>, posing the questions on the need to search for men's new roles in modern societies. Social scientists and the mass-media have examined also the concept of '*toxic masculinity*', focusing on traditionally male attributes that many have come to see as harmful not only to women, but also to men and the fabric of society.

The gap between normative definitions of masculinity and the embodied realities might also be seen as one the causal factors in the occurrence of gender-based violence (GBV). As R. Connell argues, '*Violence is part of a system of domination, but is at the same time a measure of its imperfection*'. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity states that this dominant form of manhood asserts control over women. Varying forms of GBV might be seen to stem from attempts to sustain dominance and relations of inequality between men and women and from incoherencies within normative and realistic constructions of masculinities in different societies. As a result, aggression and violence are often perceived by most people as the negative sides of conventional masculine identities.

Indeed, numerous international studies suggest that men perpetrate the bulk of the violence in intimate relations. In 1993, the United Nations offered the first official definition of violence against women, when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. Article 1 of the declaration defines violence against women as

*'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 acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.'*<sup>22</sup>

20 Galdas, P.; Cheater, F.; Marshall P. (2005). Men and health help-seeking behaviour: Literature review. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. Wiley. 49 (6): 616–623.

21 Robinson, S. (2000). *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

22 *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*. New York, United Nations, 23 February 1994

Therefore, physical, sexual, emotional and economic forms of violence against women are associated with unequal distribution of power between women and men, when a woman's position is subordinate to that of a man's. In most studies males are viewed as the perpetrators of violence while females are more likely to be the victims of violence. Indeed, data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) find men's reports of having used physical intimate partner violence ranging from 18% to 46% in various countries, while men's reports of perpetration of sexual violence against women and girls ranged from 2% to 25%<sup>23</sup>.

Consequently, most of GBV policies and advocacy campaigns focus at women as survivors to examine how violence occurs from women's perspective. To date, some comprehensive assessments have been conducted worldwide, highlighting such issues as women's experience of GBV over their life-courses<sup>24,25</sup>, consequences of violence for women's health and quality of life<sup>26,27,28</sup>, correlations between GBV and reproductive health losses and risks of HIV-infecting<sup>29,30</sup>, survivor's coping strategies and needs assessment in terms of service-providing<sup>31,32</sup>.

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- 23 Levto, R., Barker G., et al. (2014). Pathways to Gender Equitable Men: Findings from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey in Eight Countries. *Men and Masculinities*, 2014, Vol. 17: 467–501.
  - 24 WHO (2013). *Global and Regional Estimates of Violence against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Sexual Violence*. World Health Organization: 57.
  - 25 European Union (2015). *Violence against Women: an EU-Wide Survey. Results at a Glance*, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2015: 44.
  - 26 Howard, LM et al. (2010). Domestic Violence and Severe Psychiatric Disorders: Prevalence and Interventions. *Psychological Medicine*, 40(6): 881–893.
  - 27 Campbell, J.C. (2002). Health Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence. *The Lancet*, 359(9314): 1331–1336.
  - 28 Ellsberg, M. (2008). Intimate Partner Violence and Women's Physical and Mental Health in the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence: an Observational Study. *The Lancet*, 371(9619):1165–1172.
  - 29 Pallitto, C., Campbell, J., O'Campo, P. (2005). Is Intimate Partner Violence Associated with Unintended Pregnancy? A Review of the Literature. *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, 6(3): 217–235.
  - 30 Campbell, J.C et al. (2008). The Intersection of Intimate Partner Violence against Women and HIV/AIDS: a Review. *International Journal of Injury Control and Safety Promotion*, 15(4): 221–231.
  - 31 Heise, L. (2011). *What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview*. London: Crown Copyright. – Access mode: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/dfid-research-what-works-to-prevent-violence-against-women-by-theirpartners>.
  - 32 WHO (2010). *Preventing Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Violence against Women. Taking Action and Generating Evidence*. Geneva.

A number of studies on violence against women have been conducted in Ukraine as well, including population-based surveys (Demography and Health Survey in 2007, Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey in 2012, Incidence of Violence against Women and Girls Survey in 2014<sup>33</sup>), situational analyses and population needs assessments<sup>34</sup>. In 2016-2017, an innovative research entitled '*Economic costs of violence against women in Ukraine*'<sup>35</sup>, was launched by the UNFPA Country Office in Ukraine to facilitate the advocacy efforts and strengthen the awareness raising campaign on GBV preventing. Several national studies were devoted to the problems of gender stereotypes in the Ukrainian society, which underpin public perceptions of women's and men's behavioural norms and social roles<sup>36,37</sup>. Among the recent studies, the issues of gender and men in the context of multiple inequalities and discrimination were raised by T. Martsenyuk in her book '*Gender for All. Challenging the stereotypes*'<sup>38</sup>, while the problem of unequal distribution of parental responsibilities was approached by O. Strelnyk in the publication '*Care as Work: Motherhood in the Focus of Sociology*'<sup>39</sup>.

Meanwhile, fewer research studies were targeted at analysis of the complex relationship between GBV and construction of gender roles instilled by historically and culturally determined social relations, including socialization in the family, school, daily life and routine everyday acts of people<sup>40,41</sup>. Globally, violence is analyzed from a number of perspectives such as psychoanalytical approaches and biological theories which identify the hormone testoster-

33 *Incidence of Violence against Women and Girls*, GfK Ukraine and UNFPA, 2014. Access mode: <http://ukraine.unfpa.org/en/publications/incidence-violence-against-girls-and-women>.

34 USCR and UNFPA (2015). *Gender-Based Violence in the Conflict-Affected Regions*. The study report. Access mode: [http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/gbv\\_study\\_2015\\_final\\_eng.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/gbv_study_2015_final_eng.pdf).

35 USCR and UNFPA (2017). *Economic Costs of Violence against Women in Ukraine*, USCR, UNFPA: 94.

36 *Вплив гендерних норм і стереотипів на поширення ВПЛ/СНДу в Україні*. – Київ: Аналітичний центр «Соціс», 2004.

37 *Гендерний паритет в умовах розбудови сучасного українського суспільства*. – Київ: УІСД, 2002.

38 Марценюк Т. *Гендер для всіх. Виклик стереотипам*. – Київ: Вид-во «Основи», 2017. – 256 с.

39 Стрельник О. *Турбота як робота: материнство у фокусі соціології*. – Київ: Вид-во «Критика», 2017. – 280 с.

40 Medrado, D., Lyra J. (2003). *Men, Masculinities and Gender Violence*, Expert Group Meeting on The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Brasilia, October, 21st to 24th, 2003.

41 Peacock, D., Barker, G. (2014). Working with Men and Boys to Prevent Gender-based Violence: Principles, Lessons Learned, and Ways Forward. *Men and Masculinities*, 2014, Vol. 17(5): 578-599.

one as the catalyst for aggression in males<sup>42</sup>. Recently, the ideas claiming that men supposedly carry a hereditary predisposition in their genes that justify violence, aggression and criminal offenses were quite prevalent, being associated with presence of additional Y-chromosomes<sup>43</sup>.

At the same time, a body of research literature has been focused on the role that an individual's environment plays in fostering forms of violent behavior among young men. For example, some studies imply that boys living in a violent culture learn that violence is a way to resolve conflicts and to assert power over others. As R. Connell asserts, boys learn how to be violent and aggressive by copying the behaviors of their fathers who act as role models in terms of 'how to act like a real man'.

Thus, as various social pressures are placed upon men, the current understanding of masculinity stems from a combination of biological, cultural and social influences. Although it is difficult to determine the extent to which each of these factors has influenced current gender inequalities and causes of GBV, an understanding of all three of these determinants provides a framework for possible changes and policy implications. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to explore the models of socialization which could involve men in efforts to end violence against women in public and private domains. The conceptual framework of the analysis is focused on the role of gendered norms in constructing men's behavioral patterns through exploration of their childhood experience, current family relations and attitudes to children, justifying gender-based violence and perceptions of gender equality. GBV is a socially determined problem and, therefore, should be confronted using a range of strategic policies and direct social interventions at different levels of society.

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42 Batrinos, M. (2012). Testosterone and Aggressive Behavior in Man. *International Journal of Endocrinology and Metabolism*, 2012 Summer; 10(3): 563–568.

43 Fromm, E. (1973). *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

This research is a comprehensive study, conducted using quantitative and qualitative methods of sociological research. The study used specifically designed tools to conduct a nation-wide men's survey, and one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions with targeted men's audiences.

**The quantitative research** was built on approaches of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) developed by *Promundo* and the *International Center for Research on Women* (ICRW) <sup>44</sup>. Currently, the IMAGES is among the most comprehensive household studies of men's behavioral practices and attitudes to a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. The IMAGES data provides insights on men's use of intimate partner violence, participation in household decision-making, involvement in household work and parenting, and response to the national policies on promoting gender equality, etc. As of 2017, the IMAGES studies had been carried out in more than 20 countries worldwide.

The IMAGES standardized questionnaires include topics from the World Health Organization (WHO) Multi-Country Study on Violence against Women, Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale – a standardized instrument to assess attitudes to gender that was adapted and validated in household surveys in more than 20 countries – and other questions on men's attitudes and practices related to gender equality. The data of the IMAGES are used for broad research and monitoring purposes, advocacy activities, and policy-setting at the national and international levels.

The IMAGES questionnaire was adjusted to various contexts across Ukraine while maintaining its core set of comparable questions, to ensure its cultural suitability and relevance. The adjusted questionnaire consisted of the following sections:

1. Social and Demographic Background and Employment;
2. Relations in Households;
3. Childhood Experience;
4. Parenting and Men's Relations with Children
5. Cultural Practices, Relations between Men and Women;
6. Attitudes to Violence;

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<sup>44</sup> *International Men and Gender Equality Survey* – Promundo – EN. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://promundoglobal.org/programs/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images/>

7. Laws and Policies;
8. Health and Quality of Life.

The survey covered 1,520 randomly selected men aged 18-59 in all regions of Ukraine, except AR Crimea (Annex 1). The sample was stratified based on the following criteria: 25 administrative territorial units (oblasts and Kyiv city), type of residential area (urban/rural), and broad age groups of the population. The sample is representative at the national level, with standard deviations within 1.55-2.58% and at a confidence level of 95% in the range of variables from 0.1: 0.9 to 0.5: 0.5. Data collection was conducted by the regional network of well-trained interviewers of the Ukrainian Institute for Social Research named after Oleksandr Yaremko (February-March, 2018). The survey met all requirements of the population sampling, technologies of individual interviewing, data entry and processing, and data quality control.

Data collected through the men's quantitative survey were supplemented with findings of the **qualitative research** to map the current understanding of masculinities, identify the key factors of men's attitudes and practices, and provide detailed life histories to assist in interpretation of some quantitative data. Within the focus groups (FGs), the following topics were discussed with participants: understanding 'female' and 'male' virtues, duties and social roles; perception of the "proper" patterns of marital relations and distribution of household activities; justifying situations of domestic violence and identifying the deep roots of violence; tolerance to victims of violence and estimating their needs in assistance outside home. Overall, ten FGs were conducted, including five FGs with male participants stratified by age, country regions and residential area, and five FGs with target male audiences, including:

- 1) 'millennials' in the age between 15 and 24;
- 2) ATO combatants;
- 3) men ordered to attend intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence.

The targeted categories of FG participants were recruited through assisting NGOs and public centers of social and social-psychological services that operate in various regions of the country. Detailed information on the composition of FG participants is presented in Annex 2.

To fill the existing gaps in understanding deep roots and motives of domestic violence, a **special survey** of men ordered to attend intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence was also conducted. A targeted questionnaire for aggressors was developed in collaboration with

social workers to cover such topics as the abusers' childhood experience, understanding causes, triggers, and provoking factors for violent behaviors, attitudes to victims of violence, emotional state and aggression during the conflict, ideas on approaches to prevent domestic violence and the most efficient communication tools with offenders. Overall, social workers and police officers interviewed 355 men that were referred to the intervention programs or listed in the domestic violence registry in various regions of the country<sup>45</sup> (Annex 3).

Given the sensitive character of the survey topics, the study paid particular attention to **ethical considerations**. The research objectives were communicated to all respondents of the survey and clear explanation were given on how the results would be used. Verbal informed consent was obtained from all survey participants; they were also guaranteed anonymity and non-judgmental attitudes during the interviews and focus group discussions. With regard to highly sensitive questions, an opportunity of self-completion by the respondents was offered for some sections of the questionnaires, including issues of violence and childhood memories. As a result of properly addressed ethical considerations in the study, sincerity of answers was raised, while stressful situations related to possible awkward questions about men's personal experience were avoided. Most of the respondents (46%) eventually reported that they felt rather good during the interview, while 44% reported that their emotional state wasn't affected in any way. Only 10% of the surveyed men informed that they felt bad during the interview, when answering some sensitive questions. Among positive effects of the survey, it's worth noting raised awareness of men about the issues of gender equality, gender-sensitive policies, and combating gender-based violence.

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45 Zaporizhzhya, Zhytomyr, Kharkiv, Kherson, Khmelnytskyi, Kyiv, Lutsk, Lviv, Odesa, Sumy, and Vinnytsia.

### 3. REFLECTION OF MASCULINITY: MEN'S SOCIAL WELL-BEING

**3.1. Social and demographic portrait of a modern man.** The nation-wide survey built on the IMAGES approaches covered 1,520 men aged 18-59 from all regions of the country. To ensure the representativeness of the survey findings, the sample was stratified both by regions, and by residential area: 68% of the interviewed respondents were from urban settlements (including: 38% from oblast centers and large cities with population over 100,000), and 32% from rural area.

By age, almost one-third of the surveyed men were in the age group of 18-29, one-fourth of them were aged 30-39, and the rest of respondents were equally distributed between two older age groups (Table 3.1). Most of the respondents had vocational training or specialized secondary education (42%), as well as complete or incomplete higher education (38%). Seventeen percent of men reported complete general secondary education, while the rest had lower educational attainments. This pattern of educational achievements generally reflects the educational structure of the male population of Ukraine.

Marital relations of the surveyed men can be described as follows. More than two-thirds of the respondents had stable relationships with their partners at the time of the interview. Of these, 56% were officially married, 8% lived in cohabitation, and 4% had girlfriends but did not live together. One in five respondents were never married or partnered and three-fourths of these respondents were in the age under 30. Nine percent of the respondents were reportedly divorced or separated, and another two percent were widowed. The largest share of divorced men was observed in the age groups between 30 and 49 (one in eleven respondents).

The average household of the surveyed men was 3.4 people big, including the respondent; the biggest reported number of household members was 14. At the time of the interview, one in ten men lived alone, 23% of the respondents lived in the households of two persons, and 30% – in the households of three persons (Fig. 3.1). More than one-third of respondents lived in large families, consisting of 4 persons and more.

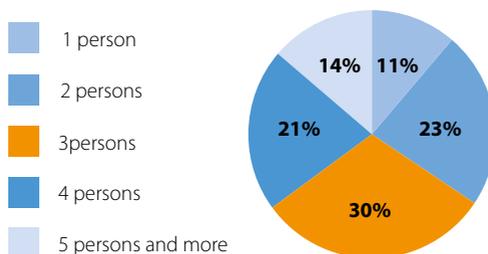
**Table 3.1. Social and demographic background of the surveyed men, % of respondents**

Variables	Percentage
<b>Age groups</b>	
18-29 years	30
30-39 years	26
40-49 years	22
50-59 years	22
<b>Residential area</b>	
Oblast centers and large cities (more than 100,000 population)	38
Small cities and urban settlements	31
Rural area	32
<b>Education</b>	
Incomplete secondary education	3
Complete general secondary education	17
Vocational or specialized secondary education	42
Complete or incomplete higher education	38
<b>Marital status and relationship</b>	
Never married or partnered	21
Married	56
Non-registered marriage (cohabitation)	8
Has a girlfriend, but does not live together	4
Divorced or separated	9
Widowed	2

As to the composition of the households, one-third of men lived in nuclear families that consisted of the couple with children or without

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**Fig.3.1. Distribution of respondents by the size of the household, % of respondents**

them. Only 11% of the married men lived in multi-generational families (e.g. with the respondent's parents or his wife's parents). Almost a half of the respondents reported they had children living in their households (Table 3.2).

For almost 80% of the surveyed men the main source of household incomes is salaries. 13% of men reported that their main source of personal income is business activities or self-employment. Due to the age limits of the sample, only six percent of the respondents informed that pensions is their household's main source of incomes, however, the role of pensions is increasing with the age of the respondents. It was good to know, that only a few men reported that the main source of income for their families was the government social aid or assistance from other relatives.

According to the survey findings, in most cases men act as breadwinners for their families (60%). At the same time, one in seven respondents was supported by his parents, and this proportion is a lot larger among younger men (more than a half of young men between 18 and 24 and one in five respondents aged 25-29). 28% of married men in the survey said that they made almost equal contributions with their wives to the total household income. At the same time, six percent of the respondents indicated that their wives or partners are the main providers of the household income. Women's role in providing for the household is increasing with age progression: while only 4% of men under 30 recognized that their wives are the main providers, this proportion was almost 12% among men aged 50 and over.

A few percent of the respondents reportedly represented vulnerable groups of population, including internally displaced people (IDPs), combatants, and persons with disability. Two percent of men lived in families with many children, and two other percent represented single-parent families.

**Table 3.2. Household composition and incomes,**  
*% of respondents*

Variables	Percentage
<b>Household composition*</b>	
Lives alone	11
Has wife/partner	63
Has a child/children	42
Lives with other children (by relatives, of wife's from previous marriage)	4
Lives with the parents	26
Lives with the wife's parents	7
Lives with other relatives, family members	15
Other persons, not relatives	1
<b>Main source of household incomes</b>	
Salary	79
Incomes of business activity/self-employment	13
Pension	6
Stipend/scholarship	1
Social benefit/aid	1
Assistance from relatives, family members	1
<b>Main provider of household</b>	
Respondent himself	60
Respondent's wife/partner	4
Respondent himself and his wife/partner about equally	18
Respondent's parents or his wife's/partner's parents	15
Respondent's children	1
Other relatives, family members	1
<b>Vulnerability status</b>	
Internally displaced people	2
Combatants, incl. ATO combatants	5
Persons with disability	6
Families with many children	3
Single-parent families	2

*\*the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

**3.2. *Employment and labour market relations.*** A prestigious job, income earning, career growth and professional self-realization still are the important attributes of a man's success in life. Within the modern masculinity concepts, men's social roles are largely related to activities in the public, not private, domain, and they encourage men to play an active role at the labour market. Respectively, men are charged with the duty to satisfy economic needs of a family. Indeed, men's rates of participation in the labour force and employment are traditionally higher than those of women; men prevail in large business, while men-friendly corporate practices facilitate their access to senior executive positions. The dominant position of men at the labour market is also confirmed by a large gender gap in wages and traditional concentration of women in the less prestigious types of economic activity and low paid occupations.

Meanwhile, the risks of low income, unemployment and vulnerable employment in the informal economy could constrain men in following the ideals of the dominant masculinity in their real life. The expectations posed by the society on men as breadwinners for their families are associated with excessive psychological pressure that might result in emotional disorders, while stress outbursts affect the closest people. That's why the problems of men's stressful employment appear to be the drivers of the present crisis of masculinity.

Most of the surveyed men were employed at the time of the interview; two-thirds of them were employed full-time, and 12% worked on a part-time basis (Table 3.3). Less than 10% of the respondents were students, five percent were pensioners and the unemployed, who looked for a job or were registered at the employment centers. A few percent of men reported that they were neither working nor studying (and did not seek a job), were engaged in household works, or stayed on parental leaves.

A significant portion of employed men (40%) informed that they usually work for more than 40 hours per week. The share of urban residents with excessive working hours was somewhat larger than that of rural men. The main reasons of the long work hours included the demanding job duties (54%), the need to maintain living standards of the family (36%) and the need to earn additional money on the side (21%). Only one in ten respondents admitted that they spend more time at the workplace because it was important for their professional career (Table 3.4). Three percent of men reported that they prefer to stay at work instead of going home; this group of respondents was notably larger among divorced and separated men.

**Table 3.3. Men's status at the labour market, % of respondents**

Status	Percentage
Neither working nor studying	1
Student	8
Unemployed (seeking a job)	5
Full-time employed	67
Part-time employed (incl. seasonal works)	12
Pensioner (age, length of service, etc)	5
Engaged in household activities	1
On parental leave	1

**Table 3.4. Reasons of the excessive working hours for men, % of respondents who work more than 40 hours per week**

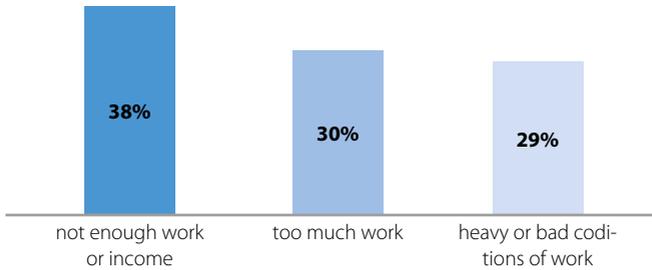
Reasons	Percentage
Demanding job duties	54
The need to maintain the living standards of family	36
The need to earn more money	21
It is important for professional career	10
Prefer to spend time at work rather than at home	3

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

Importantly, stressful labour relations can affect the emotional state of workers – causing either excessive workload in case of the long working hours, or psychological pressure because of the feeling of professional non-realization. In particular, 38% of the employed respondents agreed that they were frequently stressed or depressed because they did not have enough work and income of employment (Fig. 3.2). Fewer respondents generally agreed that they were frequently stressed or depressed because they had too much work (30%) or were forced to work in bad or hard working conditions (29%).

The rate of stressful employment wasn't linked to the type of residential area, but correlated with men's educational level. Men with lower education levels were stressed due to the lack of income or excessive work more often, while men with vocational training largely reported stresses due to difficult work conditions.

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**Fig. 3.2. Men who agreed that they were frequently stressed or depressed for the reasons related to their employment, % of the employed respondents**

**3.3. Health and quality of life.** According to the survey results, most of the respondents estimated their health as good or excellent (52%), although the respondent's health self-assessment obviously getting worse the older are the respondents: while good and excellent health was reported by 82% of young men aged between 18 and 24, the share of those who said so among men aged 40-49 was two times less, and there were only 22% of the respondents with reportedly good health among men over 50 (Table 3.5).

**Table 3.5. Men's self-estimates of health, % of respondents**

Age groups	State of health				
	excellent	good	normal	bad	very bad
18-24 years	37	45	15	2	0
25-29 years	20	48	31	1	0
30-39 years	13	48	33	6	0
40-49 years	7	34	49	9	1
50-59 years	3	19	58	20	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>

It is widely acknowledged that the negative effects of the so called 'masculinity crisis' mostly impact the men's health, including their emotional well-being. It is argued in the review of social determinants of the health, conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO) Regional Office for Europe that men's

poorer survival rates reflect *'the impact of several factors – greater levels of occupational exposure to physical and chemical hazards, risk behaviours associated with male lifestyles, health behaviour paradigms related to masculinity and the fact that men are less likely to visit a doctor when they are ill and are less likely to report on the symptoms of disease or illness'*<sup>46</sup>.

Indeed, almost a half of the surveyed men (43%) did not seek any health services in the last year, and only one in seven men visited a medical institution more than 5 years ago. Only 12% of the men reported that they sought help from a doctor over the last month, and 17% – over the last six months. In contrast to the expectations caused by unsatisfactory development of medical infrastructure in rural area, rural and urban residents demonstrated practically identical behavioral patterns in terms of visiting doctors. This also suggests that socio-psychological factors and behavioural patterns play an important role in the context of men's attitudes to their health.

As to those men, who reached out for medical help over the last 5 years, only a half of them saw doctors in order to have a general preventative medical check-up (Table 3.6). Many of others sought medical attention because of acute illness (23%), chronic illness (13%), and due to an injury or accident (11%). Other reasons for attending medical institutions, according to the respondents, included the need to obtain some medical documentation, or to register themselves in family clinics.

**Table 3.6. Main reasons for men's most recent visit to a healthcare facility, % of respondents**

Reason	Percentage
General medical check-up	50
Injury or accident	11
Acute illness	23
Chronic illness	13
Sexual health issues	1
Other	2

Quite a lot of men (16%) reportedly had a disability or chronic illness. The

46 UCL Institute of Health Equity. (2013). Review of social determinants and the health divide in the WHO European Region: final report. Copenhagen: World Health Organization, Regional Office for Europe: 139.

incidence of these health problems increases as the age of the respondents increases: from 7% among young people aged 18-24 to 30% among men in the 50-59 age group. Importantly, a bulk of permanent health disorders was caused by consequences of the external impacts that could be eliminated, such as accidents (one in ten men with a disability), occupational injuries (7% of the respective group of the respondents), car accidents (3%), and survived violence (1% of respondents).

These problems are closely correlated with the lack of safe behaviors among men, as well as common practices of alcohol abuse. In particular, only about one-third of the respondents indicated that they haven't consumed any drinks containing alcohol in the last month (one-third of them were represented by young people under 30). 38% of the men consumed alcohol at least 1-3 times per month, 23% - 1-2 times per week, and 4% of respondents – almost every day (Fig. 3.3). Three percent of the men reported that they had used some drugs or psychotropic substances.

The impact of alcohol on the incidence of the risk-taking situations can be confirmed by the following data: one in five men reported that he committed violent acts (such as fighting) because of drinking, while 13% of the men indicated that either themselves or another person were injured because of alcohol abuse.

Over the past decades, psychologists have been actively exploring the link between traditional masculinity norms and poor mental health. One of the recent studies argues that, *'In general, individuals who conformed strongly to masculine norms tended to have poorer mental health and less favorable attitudes toward seeking psychological help, although the results differed depending on specific types of masculine norms'*<sup>47</sup>.

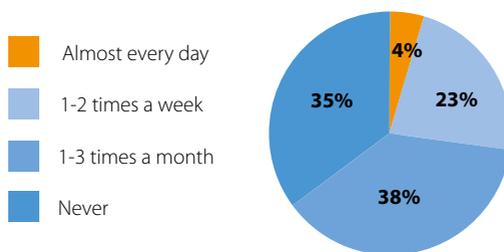
Indeed, the survey findings revealed that one in six men had problems with focusing on his current activities, felt depressed and even experienced outbreaks of anger during the last month preceding the survey. One-third of the men had problems with sleep; moreover, 8% of them reported that sleep disorders were of a systematic nature, e.g. several times per week or most of the time (Table 3.7).

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47 Wong, J., Ringo Ho, V. et al. (2017). Meta-Analyses of the Relationship Between Conformity to Masculine Norms and Mental Health-Related Outcomes, *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, American Psychological Association, Vol. 64, No. 1: 80–93.

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**Fig. 3.3.** How frequently men consumed drinks containing alcohol over the last 30 days, % of the respondents

**Table 3.7.** Incidence of stress disorders among men, % of respondents

Answers to questions: 'During the last 30 days, did you...'	Frequency			
	Rarely or never	1-2 days per week	3-4 days per week	Most or all the time (5-7 days per week)
have trouble focusing on what you were doing	78	19	2	1
feel stressed or depressed	77	19	3	2
have thoughts that your life had been a failure	84	13	2	2
feel fearful / face panic attacks	89	9	2	
have problems with sleep	70	23	6	2
feel lonely	80	14	4	2
feel sick with no particular reasons	79	19	2	
feel that people disliked me	80	17	2	1
experience outbreaks of anger	80	17	3	1

Regardless, one-third of the respondents reported that they do not turn to anyone, when feeling frustrated or depressed (Table 3.8). This data perfectly fit within the perceived concept of masculinity that disapproves men manifesting emotions, recognizing their weaknesses or perplexity, and seeking outside emotional help. As to the men who do seek external help, most often they seek it from their wives and partners (38%), friends (26%), and parents (16%). Only few percent of the respondents sought help from other relatives, colleagues, church or their children. Unfortunately, psychologists and psychotherapists enjoy the lowest level of trust, although these groups of experts can provide most professional support in the situations of psychological crisis.

**Table 3.8. Sources of help men usually turn to, when feeling frustrated or disappointed,**  
*% of respondents*

Source of help	Percentage
None	36
Friend	38
Parents	26
Wife/partner	16
Other relatives, family members	5
Colleagues	4
Church	5
Psychologist, psychotherapist	1
Children	2

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

Most of the surveyed men (81%) have never visited a psychologist. Only 8% of them indicated that they sought help from psychologists at least once, one in ten men – several times, while about 1% of men confirmed that they visit psychologists often. According to the respondents who had experience of going to psychologists, the principal reason for their visits was the need in prophylactic examination, including job requirements (81% of the respondents). A small share of the respondents told that they needed professional psychological support because of stresses (7%), deep depression (6%), or sought help from family psychologists (3%). A few

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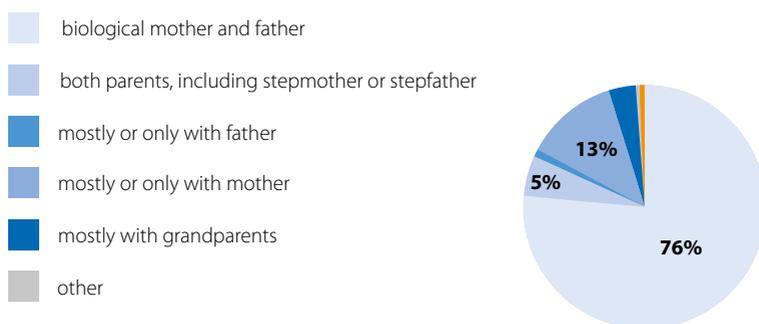
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other reasons for visiting psychologists, quoted by individual respondents, included drug addiction, orders from law enforcement agencies, and post-traumatic syndrome caused by participating in the antiterrorist operation (ATO).

Thus, the expectations towards social roles and behavioral patterns that society imposes on men may have negative impacts on their social and emotional well-being. Desire to meet the masculinity standards may lead to psychological pressure as a result of the excessive workload or due to incapacity to provide acceptable living standards for one's family. On the other hand, the neglect of one's health, prevalence of risk-taking behaviors and alcohol abuse pave the way for the current men's medical and demographic crisis.

## 4. CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES AND MEN'S RELATIONS WITH CHILDREN

**4.1. Patterns of spousal relations in parent's family.** The overwhelming majority (76%) of the surveyed men spent most of their childhood in full families, with both mothers and fathers (Figure 4.1). In situations, where the respondents spent their childhood with only one of their parents, most often it was mother or stepmother (13%). Only a few respondents (about 1%) spent most of their childhood with their fathers. 3% of the respondents were raised by grandparents. About 1% of the surveyed men spent most of their childhood with other relatives, in foster families or at boarding schools. The study found virtually no difference in the distribution of the respondents' caregivers between urban and rural areas.



**Fig. 4.1. Distribution of respondents by answers on question 'Whom did you live with while growing up?'; % of respondents**

A rewarding finding of the study is that quite a large proportion of men enjoyed care of their both biological parents in their childhood. The international comparisons reveal that Ukraine looks rather good in this regard: for example, the proportion of men who lived with both parents in their childhood was 55% in the neighboring Moldova (based on the same methodology study)<sup>48</sup>. According to the US Census Bureau, 58% of children

48 *Men and Gender Equality in the Republic of Moldova* / D. Cheianu-Andrei, L. Perevoznic, at al. Women's Law Center, Center for Investigation and Consultation 'SocioPolic'. – Chisinau: Tipogr. 'Bons Offices', 2015, p.51

lived together with both biological parents in the United States in 2014 <sup>49</sup>. However, since these data was obtained based on another methodology, it cannot be unconditionally compared with the results of the Ukraine's study, but perceived only as a benchmark for comparisons. In addition, presence of both parents in the respondent's childhood does not reflect whether the real relationships were meaningful.

The interviewed men reported that their fathers/stepfathers and mothers/stepmothers were practically equally respectful of each other (Table 4.1). However, such findings should be taken with caution, as they do not give unquestionable grounds to speak about the total equality and commonly respectful spousal attitudes in the Ukrainian families. The fact is that in some cases, discriminatory practices and gender disputes are so deeply rooted in the public consciousness that most people can perceive them as normal behavioral patterns. As a rule, people also try to avoid any negative self-identifications, so the respondents may have difficulties in identifying unequal attitudes between parents in their family.

**Table 4.1. Distribution of answers to questions 'Did your father or stepfather treat your mother with respect?' and 'Did your mother or stepmother treat your father with respect?', % of respondents**

Answers	Father's/stepfather's treatment of mother/stepmother	Mother's/stepmother's treatment of father/stepfather
Always	53	57
Mostly	32	32
Sometimes	14	10
Never	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The study findings revealed a small variation in the respectful treatment of the respondents' parents between types of their residential area. In urban area, the share of the respondents whose parents - both mother and father - had always been respectful to each other was somewhat larger than that in rural areas (Table 4.2). Obviously, urban residents are more progressive in terms of equal fam-

49 Zill, N. More Than 60% of US Kids Live with Two Biological Parents /Institute for Family Studies [official web-site]. – Access mode: <https://ifstudies.org/blog/more-than-60-of-u-s-kids-live-with-two-biological-parents>

ily relationships. However, it should be taken into account that this survey traced the respondents' current residential area, and did not trace where they spent their childhood, which may be totally different places. Therefore, the estimates presented below should be considered rather as a reference point for future studies.

**Table 4.2. Distribution of answers to questions 'Did your father or stepfather treat your mother with respect?' and 'Did your mother or stepmother treat your father with respect?' by type of residential area, % of respondents**

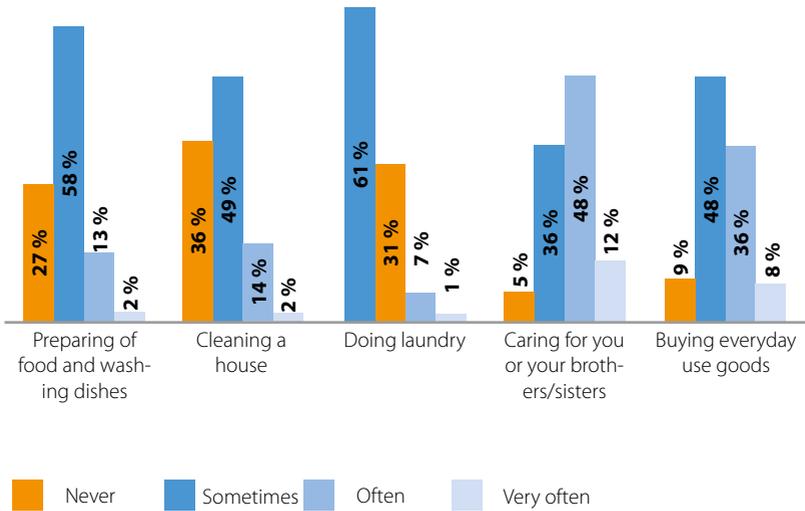
Answers	Father's/stepfather's treatment of mother/stepmother		Mother's/stepmother's treatment of father/stepfather	
	urban area	rural area	urban area	rural area
Always	58	54	55	48
Mostly	32	32	31	32
Sometimes	9	13	12	18
Never	1	1	2	2
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100

The findings of the respondent's childhood experience enable both to analyze the factors that affected men's personality development, and to observe intergenerational changes in the patterns of marital relations. There is a clear trend towards gradual acceptance of the ideas of gender equality and respectful relations in the marriage, supported by age-specific distribution of the respondents' answers (Table 4.3). In particular, the proportion of men in the age under 30 who indicated that their parents were always respectful to each other is importantly larger than the same proportion among respondents of older ages (respectively, 60% in contrast to 50%).

**Table 4.3. Distribution of answers to question 'Did your father or stepfather treat your mother with respect?' and 'Did your mother or stepmother treat your father with respect?' by age groups of respondents, % of respondents**

Answers	Age groups			
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
<b>Father's/stepfather's treatment of mother/stepmother</b>				
Always	60	50	50	50
Mostly	28	32	34	36
Sometimes	10	16	15	12
Never	1	2	1	2
<b>Mother's/stepmother's treatment of father/stepfather</b>				
Always	62	56	54	54
Mostly	29	28	35	38
Sometimes	8	15	10	7
Never	1	1	1	1

The survey findings make it possible to study the division of household chores in the Ukrainian families that was observed several decades ago (Fig. 4.2). Most men didn't wish to get engaged in doing laundry with 62% of the respondents' fathers never been engaged in this type of domestic work. Until recently, few Ukrainian families could afford a washing machine, so women had to wash dirty clothes manually, demonstrating physical strength and endurance. One-third of the respondents' fathers (36%) had never cleaned the house, while about one-fourth of them (27%) were not familiar with cooking and dishwashing. Instead, most of fathers were involved in the caring for children (i.e. the respondents when they were small, and their brothers and sisters), and purchasing everyday goods (44%).



**Fig. 4.2. Distribution of answers to question**  
**'When you were a child or teenager, how often did your father or another man in the home was engaged in the following tasks?'**, % of respondents

In the respondents' families, important decisions were mostly made by both parents or only by mother. In more than a half of families, women had the final word on decisions about the current expenses for essentials, such as food, clothes and other household items, as well as about issues related to children's health (Table 4.4). Both parents were usually involved in the decisions related to children's education and purchase of expensive things (cars, houses, and home appliances).

In the context of studying formation of the masculine identity, assessments of men's negative childhood experiences is of particular interest, as psychologists argue that traumatic effects obtained in the early ages have the most significant impacts on individual development. Unfortunately, many surveyed men confirmed that they experienced situations that affected their life and well-being. One in seven respondents reported that he faced his parents' negligence in the childhood, as they were under excessive influence of alcohol or psychotropic substances, and could not take a proper care of him (Table 4.5). One in seven men witnessed his father's physical violence

**Table 4.4. Distribution of answers to question 'When you were a child or teenager, who had the final word in your household on the following decisions?', % of respondents**

Decisions	Mostly mother / stepmother	Mostly father / stepfather	Both parents equally
Current expenses on essentials (food, clothes, etc.)	51	14	36
Buying expensive items (cars, houses, and household appliances)	13	26	61
Issues related to children's education (respondent himself and his sisters/ brothers)	26	10	65
Issues related to children's health (respondent himself and his sisters/ brothers)	47	3	50

against his mother, 7% of the men indicated that they used to witness these situations often. Obviously, such experience has a very negative impact on any child's emotional well-being, and can result in the prevalent perceptions of domestic violence as the norm of marital relations. At the same time, the opposite reaction is also possible when a person expresses zero tolerance to violence in his/her own relationship after observing such behaviors in the parents' family. In particular, some participants of the focus group discussions who witnessed physical abuse of their mothers by their fathers claimed that they cannot justify such actions and would do everything to avoid similar situations in their own relationships with women.

Overall, physical violence is present in the men's life since their early ages; therefore, they might perceive it as a universal tool for resolving the conflicts and defending their interests. In particular, a half of the surveyed men admitted that they personally faced physical punishment by their parents in the childhood, 18% of respondents were physically punished by school teachers or coaches of the sports clubs. One in five respondents was subjected to in-

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sults or humiliation by his family members, 18% of them were bullied by their mates or older children at school. Although the rate of sexual violence in the childhood was reported as minimum, it is common knowledge that this topic is usually tabooed in social studies, so these findings may be well as underestimated.

**Table 4.5. Prevalence of the negative childhood experiences among men, % of respondents**

Situations	Never	Sometimes	Often	Don't know
I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or partner	69	20	7	4
I was insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people	75	17	3	5
I was physically punished by my parents or other family members at home (slapped, beaten, etc.)	47	43	7	3
I was physically punished at school by a teacher or a coach of sport club	78	15	3	4
There were situations, when one or both of my parents were too drunk or high on drugs to take care of me	80	12	4	4
I had to have sex with someone because I was threatened, frightened or forced	95	1	1	3
Before I reached 18, I was bullied by my schoolmates	78	15	2	5

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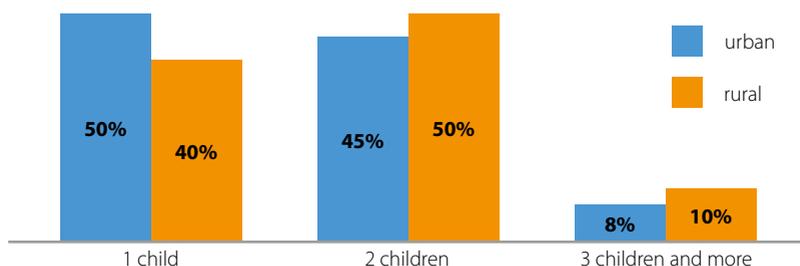
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Importantly, the patterns of violent culture accompany the emergence of men's identity in the adulthood, too. In particular, the aggression-friendly environment surrounds men when they serve in the army or study in military schools. In fact, 48% of the survey respondents were in the army or in the military training; more than a half of them admitted that they faced violent treatments from their officers personally, or witnessed such attitudes to their mates (Table 4.6). In addition, one in ten respondents said that he found himself in such situations often, while one in seven respondents often witnessed such acts towards other men. Violent harassments and bullying were also common among young people who served in the army or studied at military schools.

**Table 4.6. Distribution of answers to question 'Have you faced violent treatments by senior officers or other soldiers or students?'; % the respondents, who were in the army or military schools**

Situations	Never	Sometimes	Often	Don't know
<u>personally</u> faced violent treatment/punishment by senior officers or teachers	43	43	11	3
witnessed these attitudes towards other soldiers/students	36	46	14	4
<u>personally</u> faced violent treatment or bullying from your mates	46	40	11	3
witnessed any violent behavior or bullying among your mates	33	50	14	3

**4.2. Parenthood and attitudes to children.** More than a half (62%) of the surveyed men had biological children. The overwhelming majority of them had only one child (47%) or two children (44%); the share of men having many children was quite small (9%). The share of men with many children was about the same in urban and rural area, while some residential differences were observed in the number of men with one child and two children: there were more rural residents having two children, than urban dwellers (Fig. 4.3).



**Fig. 4.3. Distribution of men with children by the number of children and residential area, % of respondents**

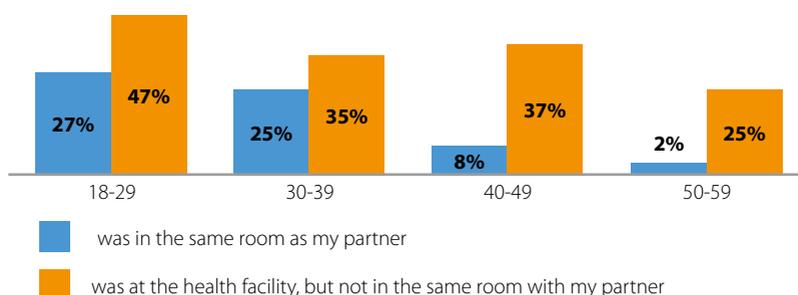
Transformation of marital and family relations also impacts ways of natural reproduction of families. In Ukraine and all over the globe new approaches to childbirths where the father plays an active role, such as childbirth with the partner and home births, become increasingly more popular. Notwithstanding, specialized healthcare facilities remain the most popular locations for childbirth: 93% of men having biological children reported that their children were born in these institutions, 2% of children were born at home, and 5% were born elsewhere.

Almost a half (47%) of the surveyed men with children were in the maternity clinics at the time of the childbirth (in case of many children, this question concerned only the youngest one), and 13% of the men stayed in the same room with mother of the child at the time of the delivery. Rural men appeared to be involved in the progressive practices of delivering babies on the about the same level as urban men: the percentage of respondents who were in the maternity clinics at the time of the childbirth (including in the same room with the mother) were almost equal in urban and rural areas (Table 4.7).

**Table 4.7. Distribution of answers to question 'Were you present in the healthcare facility during the birth of your (last) child?' by residential area, % of respondents with children**

Answers	Total	Urban area	Rural area
I was in the same room as my partner	13	13	12
I was at the healthcare facility, but not in the same room with my partner	34	34	33
I was not at the healthcare facility	53	53	55

The data about the presence of the respondents of different age groups at the childbirth can be used to illustrate the evolution of men's attitudes towards births with the partner. Expectedly, the oldest men (50-59) were not at the healthcare facilities during the birth of their youngest child in most situations (72%) (Fig. 4.4). Such attitudes were discouraged by both cultural practices of that time and by the lack of appropriate infrastructure. In each subsequent age group of the younger men, the percentage of the respondents who were in the healthcare facilities (including in the same room with the partner) is increasing, and, accordingly, the percentage of those who were absent and stayed elsewhere is decreasing. Thus, a gradual change in the cultural practices in society can be suggested, towards increased perceptions of the responsible parenthood among young men.



**Fig. 4.4. Proportions of men of different age who were at the healthcare facility and in the same room with their partners at the time of the childbirth, % of respondents with children**

There is also a certain link between the level of respondent's education and their involvement in births with the partner. These attitudes were mostly prevalent among men with higher education (17% of them were in the same room as their partners and 35% - at the healthcare facility), while it is less prevalent among the respondents with lower education levels (respectively 11% and 33% for men with vocational training and secondary special education, 9% and 39% for men with complete secondary education). Men with lower educational levels are less aware of the importance of the father's role in the processes associated with childbearing; and they may represent a target groups for future educational campaigns.

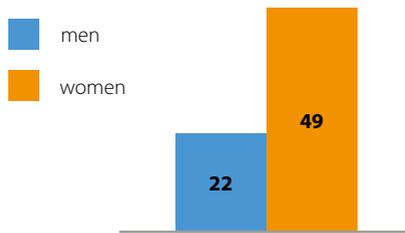
During their partner's pregnancy, the respondents took active interest in the state of the women's health, and mostly accompanied them to antenatal visits. Only 13% of the respondents had never visited doctors together with their pregnant partners, while 7% of the men accompanied their partners only once; 53% - several times; 27% - to every visit to the doctor. The study did not reveal any significant differences between behavioural patterns of urban and rural men.

When planning future addition to the family, Ukraine's couples predominantly discuss this issue together and listen to the partner's opinion. When answering the question about who wanted to have a child the last time they had a child, the vast majority of respondents (84%) reported that they wanted it together with their partners. Only one in ten men admitted that it was mostly the desire of his wife/partner, and 6% of men reported that it was their own initiative.

A new-born child in a family means a significant increase in family responsibilities. These responsibilities are often put on the shoulders of the young mother, who needs to recover after the childbirth. It was relieving to know that quite many men want to spend time together with their families after the childbirth. According to the survey findings, more than one-fourth of the men (27%) used their vacation or parental leaves, when their (youngest) child was born. In urban settlements, the surveyed men took leaves by almost 10 percent points more often than in rural areas (29% vis-a-vis 19%). Younger respondents also are more likely to take leaves: while one-third of men in the age under 40 took leaves after the childbirth, the proportions were lower for older men: 24% among men aged 40-49, and 18% among men aged 50-59.

Meanwhile, the leaves of the respondents who took the opportunity to stay at home with the new-born child were short. Only one man from the entire sample stayed on the parental leave for a year. The total number of the respondents who took leaves after the childbirth can be divided into four practically equal groups by the length of the leaves: 1-3 days - 20%, 4-7 days - 24%, 8-14 days - 28%, 15 days and more - 28%.

The distribution of time spent on family responsibilities related to the subsequent care of the child reveals that childcare remains mainly the women's prerogative. According to the survey, men spent with their child/children 22 hours per week on average, including their daily routine, communication, walks, and leisure activities. Instead, the average women's time spent with children was significantly longer, 49 hours per week (Fig. 4.5). It is obvious that both men and women having children spend some time with them, but the main burden of the responsibilities is carried by the women.



**Fig. 4.5. The average time spent with children by men and their partners, hours per week**

The verbal expressions of the focus group participants demonstrated that men often develop their attitudes to childcare based on the behavioural patterns that prevailed in their parents' families:

*'I did not have a father, my mother raised me. In my opinion, it is the mother who should bring up children, as she is closer to a child'* (a man, 16 y.o.),

*'While a child is small, it is important to have connection with mother, that's why women should take care of pre-schoolers. Men can join the education process later, in teenage years, when it is necessary to explain some things related to discipline, responsibility, and maturity'* (a man, 42 y.o.).

On the other hand, there is a clear trend, when the negative childhood experiences could result in the opposite reactions of the men who disapprove the lack of attention from their fathers, and deliberately strive to avoid their mistakes:

*'My father was not interested in me at all - neither did he go to school, nor walk with me. Therefore, in my own life, I decided that I have to be interested in my children's lives. I used to go to their kindergarten, I went to the school and talked to teachers, I try to participate in their lives in every possible way'* (a married man, 39 y.o.),

*'you know, my father was like a child until the age of forty - watching cartoons on the TV for days ... He wasn't interested in the family matters at all. In any case, I do not want to become like him'* (an unmarried man, 32 y.o.).

Despite the fact that most of the focus groups participants agreed with the importance of the father's role in a child's upbringing, they expressed quite different views with regard to the father's participation in the upbringing of children of different genders. One group of men was convinced that the same-sex parent should play the leading role in the child education: *'I believe that a son should be raised more by the father, not by the mother'* (a man, 17 y.o.), *'a boy has to acquire male qualities. Therefore, the father has to play the first role'* (a man, 39 y. o.), while other respondents expressed the opposite view: *'I've noticed that girls are more drawn to their fathers, and boys to mothers'* (a married man, 51 y.o.), *'someone believes that fathers are more important for boys. But it seems to me that fathers should spend no less time with girls too'* (a man, 38 y.o.).

Reflecting on their relationships with their own children, the overwhelming majority (71%) of men generally agreed that they spend too little time with their children because of their work. The long working hours that are common for men leave even less time for fathers to communicate with their children. In particular, 83% of the men who work for more than 40 hours per week agreed that they spend too little time with their children because of work. One of the focus group participants commented on this situation: *'in the contemporary world, you have either to support the child financially or spend your time with the child'* (a man, 42 y. o.).

Two-thirds of the respondents weren't afraid to lose contact with the children if they broke up with their mothers. It can be explained by the men's confidence in the ability to keep good relations with their ex-spouses, and by a strong relationship with children that does not depend on the relations

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with their mothers. At the same time, the majority of the respondents agreed that their role in raising children is limited to the status of the 'breadwinner': one-third of the respondents strongly agreeing with this statement (Table 4.8).

**Table 4.8. Men's attitude to relations with their own children,**  
*% of respondents with children*

Statements	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree
I spend too little time with children because of my work	25	46	17	12
I am afraid that I would lose contact with the children if my relationship broke up	10	20	34	36
Children get educated mostly by their mother, I only provide help in the case of need	14	34	36	15
My role in caring for children is mostly as the provider	33	32	24	11

Instead, young men (age 18-24) expressed the views that men's role in the family should not be limited to providing for the family. To back up this opinion, two reasons were put forward: firstly, women and men are equally demanded by and are active at the labour market: 'if a mother works, the man cannot claim that he feeds and dresses her up and this is the end of his role'. As the second reason, the focus group participants emphasized the importance of emotional contact between children and their father ('otherwise, a child will treat his father somehow wrong, the father will remain a stranger', 'a child should receive equal amount of love from both father and mother').

Analysing the distribution of the main responsibilities for caring of small children between men and women, we found out that there wasn't any responsibility that was always or prevalently a men's obligation (Table 4.9). It is

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usually mom who takes daily care of a child, stays at home with sick child, change diapers and clothes on the baby. As to the activities that were equally shared between men and women, these as rule were playing games and entertaining the child (65%), instilling discipline on the child verbally (76%), and talking about personal matters with the child (60%). Four out of ten men reported that they help their children with homework about the same as their mothers, get involved in physical punishment of children in the case of need, and accompany the child to school, kindergarten or children's clubs.

**Table 4.9. Distribution of answers to question 'Disregarding the help you may get from others, how do /did you and your partner distribute the following tasks now or when the child was small?'**  
*% of respondents with children*

Responsibilities	Always husband	Usually husband	Shared equally/ done together	Usually wife	Always wife
Daily care of the child	3	2	33	45	17
Staying at home with the sick child	1	1	19	45	33
Taking or collecting the child to/from school/daycare center	2	9	39	33	16
Playing with the child or doing leisure-time activities together	1	4	65	25	5
Scolding the child (verbal discipline)	1	2	76	15	6
Physical punishment of the child	7	16	43	26	8
Changing the child's diapers or clothes	1	1	28	44	25
Talking about personal matters with the child	2	5	60	24	9
Helping with the child's homework	1	7	43	36	13

Although the vast majority of the men (84%) lived with all of their biological children, a small proportion of respondents reported that they live with only a few of them (6%), and less than one percent of men did not live with any biological child. Those respondents who didn't live with their children generally communicated and supported them financially. Only two men reported that they did not communicate with their biological children at all; the rest of the respondents communicated with their children every day (14%) or at least once a week (37%), once a month (25%), or several times a year (25%). Almost a half of the men who didn't live with their children provided them with financial support sometimes, one third of them - often, 15% of respondents reported that they pay for most of the children's expenses.

The survey results confirmed that the experiences of childhood and behaviour patterns from the parent's family have important impacts on men's perceptions in building their own marital relationships and attitudes toward parenthood. However, the effects of such impacts can be controversial; they may lead to reproducing the perceived division of decision-making, responsibilities and relationships between the family members, but also perceived as negative experiences that should be avoided in one's own life.

Positively, gender stereotypes undergo gradual transformation from generation to generation. The younger respondents observed their parent's respectful attitude towards each other more often; they also have shown more interest in their own children, pregnancy planning and childbirth with the partner. Some men sought to spend their time with the wife after the childbirth - about one-fourth of the respondents took a leave or days off (usually, several days), when their youngest child was born. Still, the division of responsibilities related to further upbringing of the child remains quite traditional, since most household activities related to the daily care or caring for a sick child are considered to be mother's prerogative, while men's participation is observed mostly in the educational process and leisure activities with the child. Men also get involved in talking with children about personal matters, but it obviously concerns older children, who do not need the daily care.

## 5. CURRENT FAMILY LIFE AND RELATIONS

**5.1. Spousal Relations.** Family environment remains the main origin of the perceived understanding of social roles, responsibilities and empowerments of women and men. As social scientists argue, *'Families are ideal social institutions to examine gender because gender hierarchy is created, reproduced, and maintained on a day-to-day basis through interaction among members of a household'*<sup>50</sup>. The expectations towards marital relationships, personality traits and behavior patterns that are common for 'good' wives and 'good' husbands are developed yet in the adolescence, being under the impact of family education and standards imposed by public opinion. In practice, the unspoken division of the family roles between women and men is rarely discussed before starting the cohabitation that may lead to misunderstandings and disappointments in the subsequent spousal life.

According to the focus group discussions with men of different ages, different levels of education and different experiences of family relationships, the main attribute of a 'good' man is seen in his financial capacity to provide a decent living for his family. Interestingly, this was the only requirement to men in terms of being a 'proper' husband perceived by the public. On the other hand, a bulk of requirements and restrictions was put forward to a standard 'good' wife: 'She must be friendly, well-balanced and caring, so that her husband was willing to come home every day' (a man, 18 y.o.). The 'ideal' wife is regarded by men as a resourceful housekeeper, who cares about the family and provides comfort to her family. Some important traits for women include patience, ability to avoid and 'smooth out' any conflicts, yield to her husband in disputes and support him in all his intentions:

*'To me, what makes a good wife is, for sure, her appearance and her inner world, and mutual understanding, loyalty, and flexibility ... I think, that for a woman, a 'good' man is her defender in all possible senses, and the breadwinner for her family'* (a man, 39 y.o.);

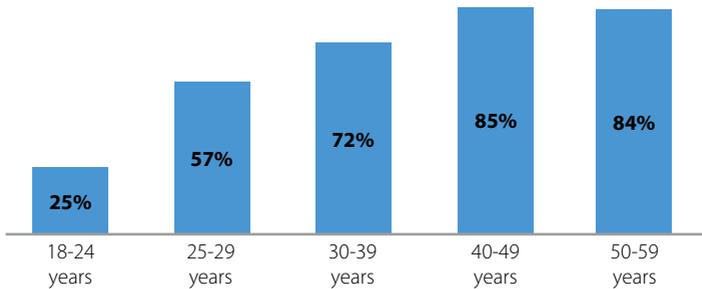
*'A husband has to provide for his family financially, and a wife has to take care of her own looks, children and the household... so that there is comfort and mutual understanding in the family'* (a man, 64 y.o.).

Obviously, these perceptions may make a significant impact on the relationship between men and the opposite sex, while disparities between their expectations and real circumstances of the family life could lead to frustration,

50 Glenn, E. N. (1987). Gender & the family. In B. B. Hess & M. M. Ferree (Eds.), *Analyzing gender: A handbook of social science research* (pp. 348–380). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

stress and, consequently, to interpersonal conflicts. Therefore, the issues of the marital relations, distribution of the gender roles in terms of decision-making and household activities were in focus of this study. Presented below are, the survey findings that highlight the men's personal experiences in steady and long-term relationships with women, i.e. wives, partners, or girlfriends at the time of the interview or earlier.

In general, only 21% of the surveyed men reported that they had never been married and partnered. The bulk of these respondents was presented by young people - only one in four men aged 18-24 and more than a half of the men aged 25-29 reported having a permanent partner (Fig. 5.1). Among older men, the proportion of the respondents who had stable relationships with partners was higher, up to more than 80% in the age groups over 40. The absolute majority of men in these age groups were officially married.



**Fig. 5.1. Availability of a stable partner by age groups of men, %**

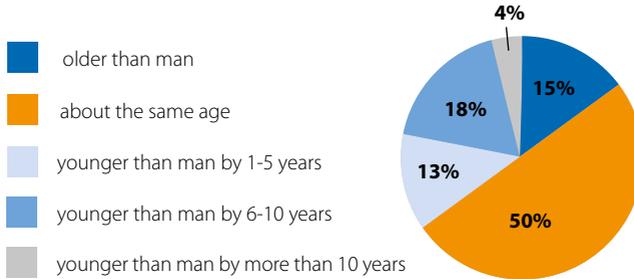
According to the survey, a half of the men preferred relationships with women of the same age as themselves (Figure 5.2). Only one in seven respondents reported that his wife or partner was older; the maximum age difference did not exceed 5 years. Meanwhile, quite a large proportion of the surveyed men were in stable relationships with younger women: 13% of the respondents indicated that their partners are younger by 1-5 years, 18% - by 6-10 years, and 4% of the respondents reported that their present or most recent partners were younger by more than 10 years.

More than a half of the men reported that they had the same level of education as their partners did (Figure 5.3), with 17% of them having higher educational attainments. At the same time, one in five men reported that his partner was better educated. This trend is a good evidence of a wide-spread women's objective to obtain a higher education, while men tend to be targeted at voca-

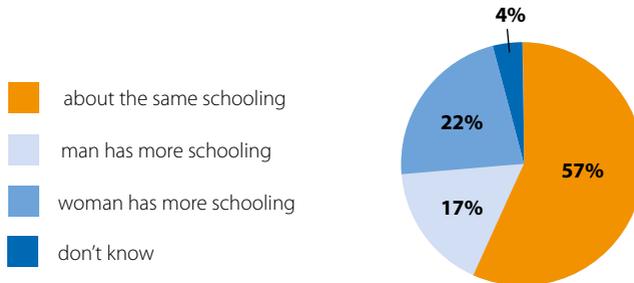
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tional training to be able to secure a blue collar job, or start their employment just immediately after graduation from high school.



**Fig. 5.2. Age difference between men and their partners,**  
*% of partnered respondents*



**Fig. 5.3. Educational levels of men and their partners,**  
*% of partnered respondents*

As noted, the gender distribution of social norms implies men's greater orientation at self-realization in the public sector, including at the labor market, whereas women's priorities are linked to the private life, family roles and responsibilities. Accordingly, a bulk of the surveyed men were economically active through full or part-time employment (almost 80%), while employment rates were significantly lower among their wives or partners (65%). Women were importantly more engaged in the household activities: one in ten respondents' partners stayed on a maternity leave, one in eleven wom-

en was a housewife involved in care-giving activities for family members (children, elderly, sick, people with disabilities). The respective shares of men who were engaged in household activities or stayed on parental leaves did not exceed 1% of the respondents (Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1. Employment status for men and their partners,  
% of partnered respondents**

Status	Men	Wives or partners
Neither working nor studying	1	3
Student	8	4
Unemployed	5	3
Full-time employee	67	56
Part-time employee (incl. seasonal works)	12	9
Pensioner (age retiree, by length of service, disability)	5	5
Engaged in household activities	1	9
Stay on parental leave	1	10

The outlined trends in employment for men and women are logically reflected in the gender gap in earnings. Almost 60% of the interviewed men reported that they earn more than their partners do; only one in four men believed that he has about the same level of income as his partner (Table 5.2). Only nine percent of men acknowledged that their partners earn more than they do. The gender gap in earnings is not correlated with such variable as residential area, but depends on the level of education and age group. In particular, the percentage of women earning more than their husbands is bigger for couples with well-educated women ( 18%). In older age groups, the gender gap in earnings is also gradually changing for the benefit of women (Table 5.2).

**Table 5.2. The gender disparities in earnings between men and their partners by age groups of men, % of partnered respondents**

Age groups	Disparities in earnings			
	about the same level	women earn more than men	men earn more than women	don't know
18-24 years	19	7	63	11
25-29 years	21	4	69	6
30-39 years	26	6	60	8
40-49 years	27	10	56	7
50-59 years	29	14	52	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>7</b>

**5.2. Decision-making and household activities.** Although in their verbal comments men acknowledged that they were quite capable of coping with most of the household works and had been actively involved in household activities in the childhood, the current division of powers and responsibilities in their partnerships looks very similar to that in a traditional family. Focus group participants argue that men's responsibility is to provide for their families financially; they argue that men's wages are usually higher, so it is economically unreasonable for women to enter the labor market. Instead, women should take care of their children and do all household work, as women are more apt in these responsibilities than men. A large proportion of men preferred not to get involved into daily housekeeping issues at all.

Thus, only a half of the men reported that they make decisions on the current expenditures on the essentials (such as food, clothing, etc.) and goods and services for children, jointly with their partners (Table 5.3). In a significant percentage of households responsibility for these items is borne solely by women (35% and 27%, respectively). The process of making decisions about investing in the expensive goods such as cars and houses was more participative (63% of men make these decisions jointly with partners). Only a small percentage of the partnered men reported that the final say about these critical decisions have other people in the household, mostly parents.

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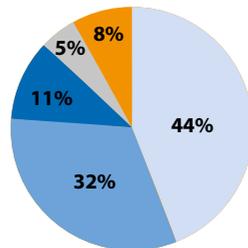
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Positively, the couples tend to make joint decisions on spending time with family friends or relatives (three-fourths of the respondents), while decisions on one's employment are mostly independently made by women and men. The participativity of decision-making tends to be higher among respondents with higher educational levels, especially among married couples in which women are better educated than men.

**Table 5.3. Distribution of answers to question 'Who in your current or most recent relationship has (had) the final say about the following?', % of partnered respondents**

Decisions	Husband	Wife/partner	Husband and wife/partner jointly	Another person	Difficult to answer
Current expenditures on everyday goods	11	35	49	4	1
Buying expensive goods (a car, a house)	23	4	63	2	8
Expenditures on goods and services for children	8	27	54	1	10
Spending time with friends or relatives	13	8	76		3
Husband's employment	67	2	26	1	4
Wife's/partner's employment	5	56	32		7

- Almost every day
- Once or twice a week
- Once or twice a month
- Rarer than once a month
- Very rare or never



**Fig. 5.4. Men's practice of talking to partners about problems they face in their lives, % of partnered respondents**

The issues of division of household activities between partners rank high on the agenda of all gender studies, since it is widely recognized that the grounds of gender inequality in a society are largely linked to women's disproportionate involvement in household work. The research approaches that attempt to explain this correlation can be divided into the following three groups: 1) theories that focus on the value of financial support for the family ('exchange theory' and the 'relative resources theory'); 2) theories of gender ideology ('gender display model' and 'gender roles socialization theory'); and 3) approaches that focus on the value of time ('time availability theory')<sup>51</sup>.

Within the economic approach, it is assumed that the partner with higher incomes (usually, this role is attributed to men) performs smaller portion of household activities or avoids them completely, while the person whose financial contribution to the family budget is significantly smaller may compensate the low income by doing more of the daily household work. In other words, there is a conditional exchange between domestic work and economic support, therefore the intra-family distribution of responsibilities is perceived as fair and well-grounded.

According to the 'gender display model', the amounts of household work are determined by norms and values that are usually associated with gendered social roles. In particular, economic dependence and performance of everyday work are primarily perceived as attributes of femininity, whereas economic independence and exclusion from domestic work are associated with masculinity.

According to the present survey, the gendered distribution of powers still persists in the Ukrainian households. Women's traditional responsibilities include: doing laundry, cooking, dishwashing, and cleaning the house (Table 5.4). The responsibilities related to the purchase of essentials and care-giving for family members in need for outside help (senior, sick or persons with disability) are shared between partners in almost a half of the families. Small household repairs was the only type of household work that was perceived as exclusively masculine duty by almost 90% of respondents.

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51 Аналітичне дослідження участі жінок у складі робочої сили України / Лібанова Е., Макарова О., Герасименко Г. та інші. – Київ: УЦЛР, UNFPA, МОП, 2012. – 212 с.

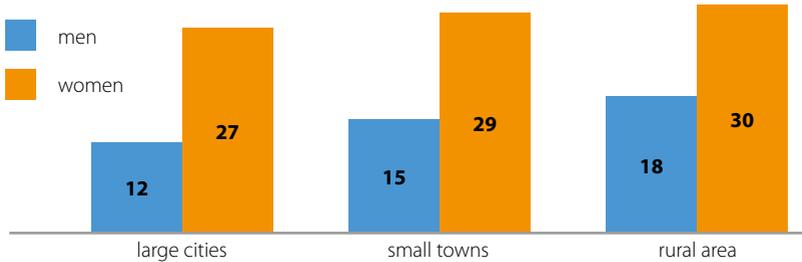
**Table 5.4. Distribution of answers to question 'Disregarding the outside help you receive from others, how did/do you and your partner divide the following household tasks'?',**  
*% of partnered respondents*

Household activities	Always man	Usually man	Shared equally or done together	Usually woman	Always woman	Difficult to answer
Doing laundry	3	3	16	49	25	4
Repairing the house	51	38	7	1		3
Buying food and essentials	5	8	49	27	8	3
Cleaning the house	3	3	31	43	16	4
Cooking and dishwashing	3	3	23	49	19	3
Paying bills	12	17	28	25	11	7
Care giving for family members	2	2	48	26	8	14

On average, men spent about 15 hours per week on the household work. Meanwhile, according to the respondents' answers, their partners spent twice as much time on fulfilling these home duties (29 hours per week). Ultimately, this trend can result in the excessive burden for women who are also employed at the labor market; moreover, household work may require much more physical efforts than professional employment. Therefore, in the contemporary social studies, the gender trends in the distribution of working time are described in terms of women's 'double workload', 'double working day' or the 'second shift'. Importantly, the women's disproportionate involvement in household activities could constrain their opportunities of life choices, professional realization and prospects of development.

Time spent on household work is significantly bigger in rural areas (Fig. 5.5). At the same time, the gender gap is somewhat declining among rural population, as men get usually involved in the household works requiring physical labor (i.e. in the backyard, gardening, and caring for livestock). The

largest gap in the average time spent on household work is observed among residents of large cities, e.g. oblast centers and cities with population of more than 100,000.



**Fig. 5.5. Average time spent on household work by men and their partners, hours per week**

The detailed analysis in the trends of spending time on household work by men and their partners reveals that almost one in seven woman spends about 31-49 hours per week on household activities, and as many women spend 50 hours per week or more (Table 5.5). Interestingly, none of the men reported of bearing this heavy burden of domestic work, while the majority of male respondents reported their average time spent on household work within 14 hours per week.

**Table 5.5. Distribution of men and their partners by average time spent on household work, % of partnered respondents**

Time spent on household works, hours per week	Distribution of respondents, of them:	
	men, %	their wives or partners, %
Less than 14 hours	61	22
15-20 hours	19	26
21-30 hours	20	24
31-49 hours		14
50 hours and more		14

The absolute majority of men (89%) were generally satisfied with the current distribution of household work in their families (a half of them were fully satisfied), while 62% of respondents believed that their partners were also satisfied with the status quo (one in five respondents was convinced that his wife is fully satisfied with the division of household activities). These common perceptions obviously result in instilling of the 'proper' social roles and functions for men and women in the public mind, and, consequently, may determine the perceived women's 'inferiority' in the society, and their dependent or even subordinate position in family hierarchy.

However, the discussions with young people do provide some reasons for optimism with regard to gradual transformation of the stereotypical views on distribution of household activities and decision-making in families. A lot of young men aged 18-24 expressed their opinions that all family responsibilities should be shared or equally divided between a husband and a wife:

*'there are no exclusively 'male' and 'female' responsibilities, as everyday household work should be divided equally; that is the partner who has more free time at the moment should take care of it. As to some specific things, such as repair of a car or a computer, they must be performed by a person who knows better how to do it... no matter whether it is a man or a woman'* (a man, 19 y.o.);

*'both partners have to earn money, and then there will be no complaints, disagreements or disappointments between them... And it's not a matter of who earns more, but the feeling of personal independence and self-sufficiency. Of course, decisions on large purchases for the entire family, investments in children, their education and development, must be taken together and calmly discussed by the partners'* (a man, 20 y.o.).

## 6. ATTITUDES TO GENDER NORMS AND STEREOTYPES IN THE SOCIETY

**6.1. Perceptions of gender equality.** Even though the concept of gender equality was integrated into the legislative and institutional environment of Ukraine quite a long time ago, plain people do not always know what it is about or interpret it correctly. *'Gender equality is the equality between women and men... But is there any problem with this in our country? Women can study and work, and make their careers – that is one's personal matter, a question of choosing priorities'* (a man, 42 y.o.), *'not only our women have all the opportunities and rights that are provided by the state, they are also supported by men in everything... Men try to get out of their skin to please women. I think that it is men who are treated unfairly and belittled in society'* (a man, 55 y.o.).

A lot of men tend to that gender equality exists where equal rights of women and men are declared formally and, therefore fail to see whether they are easily exercisable in real life. In particular, 41% of men agreed that gender equality in the Ukrainian society has mostly been achieved (Table 6.1). Meanwhile, 29% of them opined that promotion of gender equality benefits mostly well-to-do people, as they are better positioned to use these benefits. In general, the rate of public awareness of the policies of gender equality is quite low: a lot of men were unable to rate their attitudes to these issues and didn't know how to answer the questions.

Though the overwhelming majority of the men have shown an unbiased attitude to women's empowerment (Table 6.1), one in ten men still agreed with the stereotyped statements that giving rights to women results in restricting men's rights, and that women who enter the labor market take the jobs from men. The prevailing majority of men who thought so, were the respondents of older age.

**Table 6.1. Men's perceptions of gender equality,**  
*% of respondents*

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Gender equality has already been achieved for the most part	10	31	27	9	23
When women get the rights, they take the rights away from men	3	9	36	48	5
When women get employed, they take the jobs away from men	2	8	39	48	3
Promotion of gender equality benefits mostly well-to-do people	8	21	25	14	32

Positively, most of the respondents were not biased towards women's professional skills and employment. About 80% of the respondents agreed that women with the same qualification can do as good a job as men, and should be paid equally with men for work of the same value (Fig. 6.1). Meanwhile, 82% of the interviewed men were convinced that there is a division between 'female' and 'male' occupations at the labor market, while 40% of the respondents generally agreed with the statement that men are better businessmen than women. These ideas build preconditions for the gender-based segregation of employment that usually results in concentration of women's employment in the low-paid economic sectors and lower-ranking positions, and strengthens the gender inequality in society. Public views that underestimate the entrepreneurial potential of women predetermine constraints that women's business can face in accessing financial resources and development programs.

The statements about women's aptness to public and political activities garnered somewhat weaker support. Although three-fourths of the respondents agreed that women could be as good community leaders as men, and should have the same chances to be elected to political structures, a half of the respondents generally agreed with the statement that men are better political leaders than women (Fig. 6.1). These social expectations are consequently reflected in a low level of women's political representation, since the proportion of women

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among the Parliament members never exceeded 12% throughout the period of independence of Ukraine. The percentage of women holding executive managerial positions remains disproportionately low as well: based on the recent studies, women represent only 30% of managers of enterprises and organizations established as legal entities<sup>52</sup>.



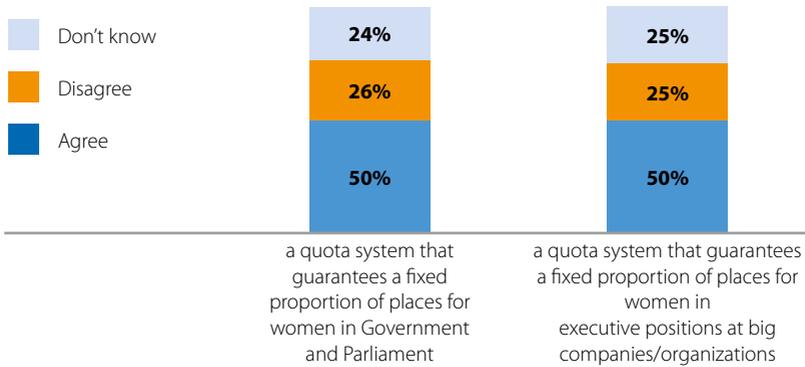
**Fig. 6.1. Attitudes to opportunities of professional fulfillment of women and men in society, % of respondent who generally agreed with the statements**

Even though the study respondents admitted low representation of women in political structures and at managerial positions, they did not support the idea of introducing gender quotas as a temporary affirmative action to recompense the long-term neglect of the gender equality ideas. Only a half of the men generally supported the idea to establish a fixed proportion of seats for women in the Government and Parliament, as well as on executive positions at big organizations and companies. Meanwhile, one-fourth of the respondents strongly disagreed with this approach to promote gender equality (Fig. 6.2), and another one-fourth of the respondents didn't have an opinion about it, presumably because they did not care about gender equality altogether.

52 Жінки та чоловіки на керівних посадах в Україні. Статистичний аналіз відкритих даних ЄДРПОУ. Вересень 2017. – Київ: ПРООН, 52 с.

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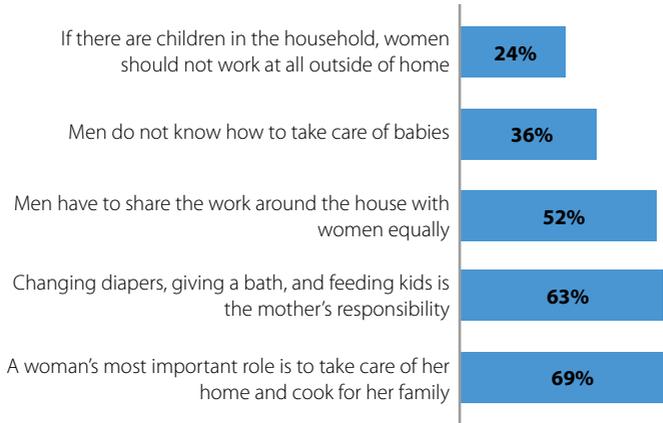


**Fig. 6.2. Attitudes to the system of gender quotas in public administration and executive positions, % of respondents**

The respondents' views on the priority of family responsibilities for women remain quite pronounced. Almost 70% of the respondents believed that woman's most important role is taking care of her home and cook for her family (Fig. 6.3). A large proportion of men still see women's social roles as housewives who give birth, nurture and take care of children. Thus, 63% of the respondents noted that babysitting, e.g. changing the diapers, bathing and feeding of children, is purely women's responsibility, while one-third of them articulated that men do not know how to take care of babies at all. Only a half of the respondents supported the idea that men have to share the work around the house with women equally, but personal experience of the respondents (section 5.2) suggests quite a different reality with the division of family responsibilities and time spent on household work. In this context, young men (in the ages of 18-24), men with higher education and urban residents, were more progressive, as they were less supportive of these stereotyped statements.

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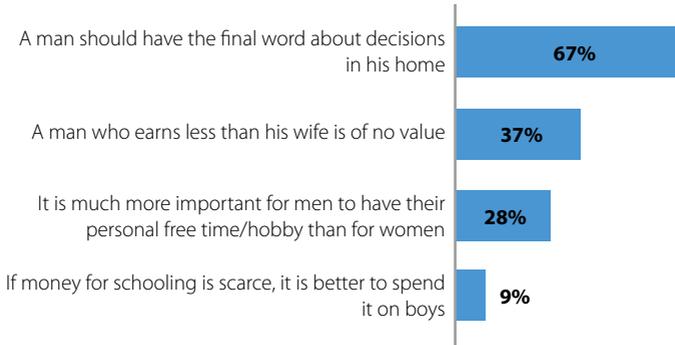
**Fig. 6.3. Attitudes to the distribution of family roles between women and men,**  
*% of respondents who generally agreed with the statements*

Traditional perceptions of social roles take roots in some perceptions of masculinity related to the expectations of men's dominant roles in the household decision-making and financial support of a family. Two-thirds of the survey respondents were convinced that it is men who have a final say in decisions influencing welfare of their families; one-third of them believed that a man is worthless if he earns less than his wife (Fig. 6.4). The youngest respondents were particularly radical in this regard; almost a half of them told that if a man earns less than his wife, he is weak and incapable in his life.

It is noteworthy that more than one-fourth of the respondents agreed that having personal leisure time or a hobby is more important for men than for women, which may satisfy themselves with having a family to feel themselves fulfilled. Meanwhile, it is positive that the stereotyped attitudes to the division of family roles between women and men are much less pronounced in relation to the respondents' children. The vast majority of the surveyed men disagree that, given that money is scarce in a family, these resources should be spent on education of boys, as girls may not need university education in the adulthood. Therefore, there is a reason to expect a gradual transformation of public views at women's and men's position in the future.

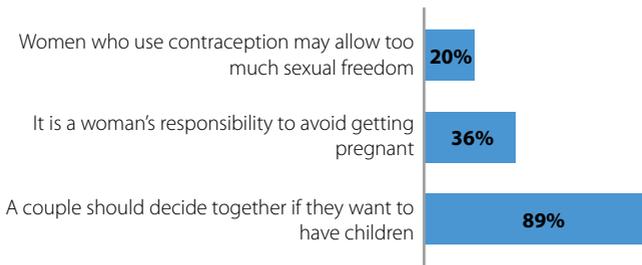
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**Fig. 6.4. Perceptions of some masculinity attributes,**  
*% of respondents who generally agreed with statements*

Unfortunately, patriarchal views persist when it goes about family planning. Although the vast majority of the respondents agreed that spouses or partners should decide together whether they want to have children, the responsibility for unwanted pregnancy is mostly placed on women. Thus, more than one-third of men agreed that it is women's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant (Fig. 6.5). Rural residents were particularly categorical with regard to family planning, with 41% of them claiming that it is a woman who is responsible for preventing unwanted pregnancy. In addition, one in five respondents supported stereotyped statements about use of contraceptives by women, suggesting that women who use contraception may have too much sexual freedom.



**Fig. 6.5. Men's attitudes to family planning,**  
*% of respondents who generally agreed with the statements*

Summarizing the findings of the survey, it should be noted that the formal recognition of equality of women and men in a society is combined with sustainable perceptions of the distribution between priorities of private (family) and public life and social roles of women and men. In practice, these expectations not only strengthen the barriers limiting women's life choices, but also have a negative impact on men's lives. An extensive social pressure related to the need to meet generally accepted masculinity guidelines results in men's excessive psychological pressure, as they feel personally responsible for the well-being of their families, and deliberately avoid being engaged in family responsibilities and childcare. At the same time, one's subjective well-being, satisfaction with life and emotional well-being largely depend on the relations with children.

**6.2. Awareness on gender-sensitive legislation and policies.** International observers argue that a progressive legislation and institutional environment were established in Ukraine to regulate the issues of gender equality<sup>53</sup>. The country has joined the fundamental international treaties that declare the equality between women and men and non-discrimination with regard to gender; the governmental authorities regularly report on the progress in promoting gender inequality in various domains of the society. At the national level, a number of the State target social programs for ensuring gender equality were implemented, and the issue of equal rights and opportunities for women and men was included in the national development agenda<sup>54</sup>.

In 2005, the Law of Ukraine 'On Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men' was adopted, defining main directions of the national gender policy, introducing the gender mechanisms at the national level and prohibiting gender-based discrimination. Numerous amendments to ensure gender equality were introduced into family law, laws of education, political representation and employment opportunities. Finally, the Law 'On Grounds of Preventing and Combating of Discrimination in Ukraine' (2012) determined the forms of discrimination, including gender-based discrimination, and outlined the mechanisms for preventing human rights violations.

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53 Gerasymenko, G., Maksymenko, K. (2016). Country Gender Assessment for Ukraine 2016. Document of the World Bank, Washington, DC: 93. – Access mode: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/953111470822853577/Оцінка-гендернихпитаньв-україні-2016>.

54 Національна доповідь «Цілі сталого розвитку: Україна». – Мінекономрозвитку, ПРООН, 2017. – 176 с.

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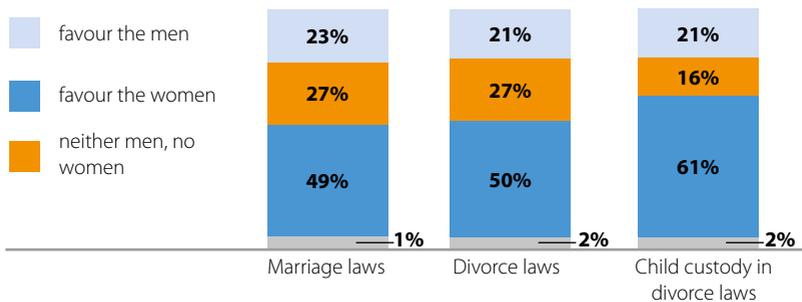
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Nevertheless, the level of public awareness on the gender-sensitive legislation and public policies targeted at ensuring equality between women and men is still rather low. According to the survey, only 30% of men were aware that gender equality legislation exists in the country. More than a half of the respondents did not know the answer to this question, and one in nine respondents was convinced that there is no special law to guarantee the equality of rights and opportunities for women and men in the country.

Assessing the gender sensitivity of family laws, a half of the respondents indicated that the national laws on marriages and divorces favour women (Fig. 6.6). Only 27% of the men recognized that family laws favour neither women nor men; the percentage of the respondents who assessed family laws as gender-neutral was slightly higher among men with higher education.

In the opinion of many respondents, a particular problem with the family law is related to the biased attitude to men in the issues of child custody after divorce. The vast majority of men (61%) were convinced that the custody laws work in favour of women, since it is women who usually stay with children based on the court decisions. Only 16% of the respondents agreed that the child custody legislation is gender-neutral.

A large number of men were unable to answer the question about the family laws which suggests a rather low level of public awareness about the legal issues. The ignorance about the basic legal aspects of the family relations could result in men's vulnerability to violation of rights, while unawareness on the existing mechanisms of protection could restrict their access to obtaining legal support in resolving family disputes.



**Fig. 6.6. Assessment of the national family laws favorability for women and men, % of respondents**

In the context of public attitudes to the gender norms and stereotypes, it is particularly interesting to study the level of men's awareness of the government aid programs targeted at protecting workers with family responsibilities. In general, the national legislation offers Ukrainian women a broad array of social protection measures in case of childbirth. In particular, they are entitled to a paid maternity leave of a minimum 70 days before the childbirth and 56 days (and in the case of health problems - 70 days) after the childbirth. After this period, mother (or father) may take up to 3 years of parental leave (in some situations - up to 6 years); moreover under the law, mother (or father, as applicable) keeps their place of job during the leave. This parental leave may be used, in full or in part within the established timeframe, by other relatives who provide the actual childcare or by another person who adopted or offers tutelage to the child.

However, men's acceptance of the opportunity to take parental leaves until the child turns 3 years old remain so unpopular that only a few of men inquire about the opportunities to that effect provided by the legislation. Thus, less than a half of the respondents (46%) basically knew that father has the same right to take parental leave, as mother. At the same time, 8% of the men were convinced that there are no such legislative clauses; the rest of them did not know the exact answer to this question.

Men's little interest in parental leaves is well illustrated by the following data. Less than a half of the respondents (44%) who were aware of the leaves could give the correct answer about the length of this leave (Table 6.2). One-third of the men were unable to answer this question at all, and the rest of them tended to underestimate the norms of labor legislation by assuming that father's parental leave may last no more than a year, for several months, or for a month. Because of these social expectations, there aren't any discussions on harmonizing professional employment and family responsibilities of a father in the national legislation and institutional environment, while most of the state policies, advocacy efforts and initiatives of social partners are directed exclusively at protecting employment opportunities for women with small children.

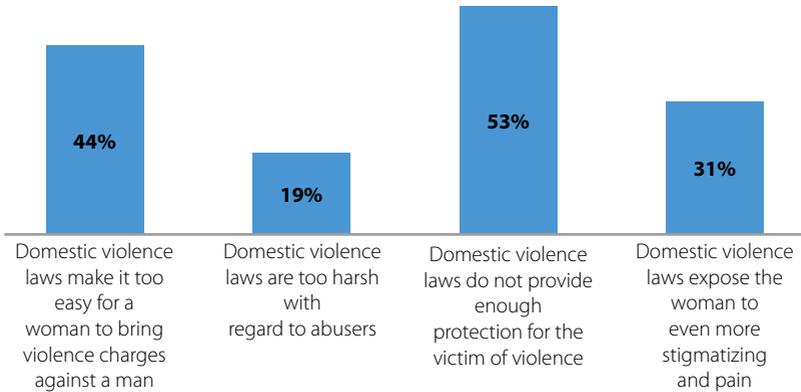
**Table 6.2. Expectations of the length of parental leave for men, % of respondents who were aware on the opportunity of the leave**

Length of parental leave	Percentage
One month or less	3
Several months	4
About 1 year	11
Several years	44
Don't know	36

Among the recent legislative initiatives designed to promote gender equality, the Law *'On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence'* has to be mentioned, as it was adopted in late 2017 following a lengthy advocacy campaign. The law criminalizes domestic violence, introduces an integrated approach to combat violence, and extends the range of tools to protect victims. Despite the extensive outreach activities that accompanied fine-tuning of the Law, only 30% of the surveyed men were informed about existing of the special legislation on domestic violence in Ukraine. The rest of respondents did not know anything about it at all.

As to the informed men, their attitudes to the domestic violence laws were quite skeptical. In particular, more than a half of the men believed that the laws will fail to provide relevant support for victims of violence (Figure 6.7), while almost one-third of them believed that the laws expose women to even more stigmatizing and suffering. Also quite common are public perceptions that the law is biased against men: 44% of respondents agreed that the law makes it too easy for women to bring violence charges against men, while these charges may not be-grounded sometimes. Finally, almost one in five men believed that the laws are too harsh to abusers. More rural residents and older men were in support of the last assumption.

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**Fig. 6.7. Attitudes to the national legislation on domestic violence,**  
*% of respondents who have heard about the law*

Thus, the level of men's awareness on the gender-sensitive legislation and specific gender policies remains quite a low. A large proportion of respondents were either not interested in these topics at all or do not see the need to study provisions of the law, even though it has been designed to protect their rights. Therefore, there is a need to intensify efforts to raise population awareness and strengthen the information campaigns highlighting the current legal issues on protecting people's social and labor rights, preventing gender-based discrimination, and introducing measures to combat gender-based violence, including strengthening liability for perpetrators and providing support services for survivors.

## 7. ATTITUDES TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

**7.1. Perceptions of gender-based violence.** Gender-based violence has been recognized one of the major social problems as affecting both women, and men. However, international data confirms that the bulk of the gender-based violence is perpetrated by men against women and girls. Therefore, the following definition is generally used by international organizations that may be applied in Ukraine's context: '*Gender-based violence is violence involving men and women, in which the female is usually the survivor; and which is derived from unequal power relationships between men and women. Violence is directed specifically against a woman because she is a woman, or affects women disproportionately. It includes, but is not limited to, physical, sexual and psychological harm (including intimidation, suffering, coercion, and/or deprivation of liberty within the family, or within the general community)*'<sup>55</sup>.

Unfortunately, the incidence of sexual crimes is rather high in Ukraine. In particular, the number of rapes and rape attempts was 15.1% higher in 2016, than in the previous year (respectively 328 vs. 285 offenses). In 2016, 240 persons were notified of suspicion for these crimes (73.2% of crimes solved), and the number of undetected crimes for the previous years totaled 231. In 9 months of 2017, 249 rapes were registered, and 213 persons were notified of suspicion (86% of crimes solved).

Domestic violence represents another pressing problem; the number of reported domestic violence cases is increasing thanks to the wider information campaigns targeted at the population. According to the Law of Ukraine '*On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence*', domestic violence is defined as follows: *all acts (actions and inactions) of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence, perpetrated in the family or at a place of residence between relatives, former or current spouses or persons who live or have been living together as a family, but are not married or have not been married, irrespective of the current place of residence of perpetrator and survivor of domestic violence, as well as threats of these acts*'<sup>56</sup>. In 2016, the National Police received 127.5 thousand applications and notifications about crime offences and other situations related to domestic violence (2.5% of the total number of registered crime offences), of them 982 applications were filed by under-

55 UNFPA (1998). *Violence against Girls and Women: A Public Health Priority*. UNFPA Gender Theme Group, Interactive Population Center. New York: UNFPA.

56 Law of Ukraine 'On Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence' of 07.12.2017. – Access mode: <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2229-19>.

age children. Over the year, 893 criminal cases on domestic violence were investigated, with 87.6 thousand persons brought to administrative liability in accordance with Article 173-2 of the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences, including 246 juveniles.

In the 9 months of 2017, police registered 83.9 thousand applications and notifications related to domestic violence, including 1.1 thousand from children (Annex 4). Based on these applications, 55.9 thousand persons who committed administrative offences were identified, and 2 thousand of these applications resulted in pre-trial investigations. In the same period, criminal proceedings were closed with regard to 599 offences related to domestic violence, including 110 serious and particularly serious crimes. There were 463 persons identified for committed crimes related to domestic violence, including 409 men (88% of all offenders). On the other hand, almost 71% of victims in these crime offences were women (correspondingly 401 of 568 persons) and this again support the argument about gender-based nature of domestic violence.

Combating gender-based violence is constrained with prevalent underreporting of such situations, since a small part of victims seek help due to socio-cultural barriers or because of the failures of the institutional environment. Victims of violence do not always seek protection from the law enforcement authorities, or turn to specialized medical and psychological assistance due to low awareness of the services availability, inaccessibility of service providers at the local level, or low credibility of specialists in these institutions. Other important constrains for victims are related to their fears of possible retaliation from perpetrators and anticipation of stigmatizing by the community.

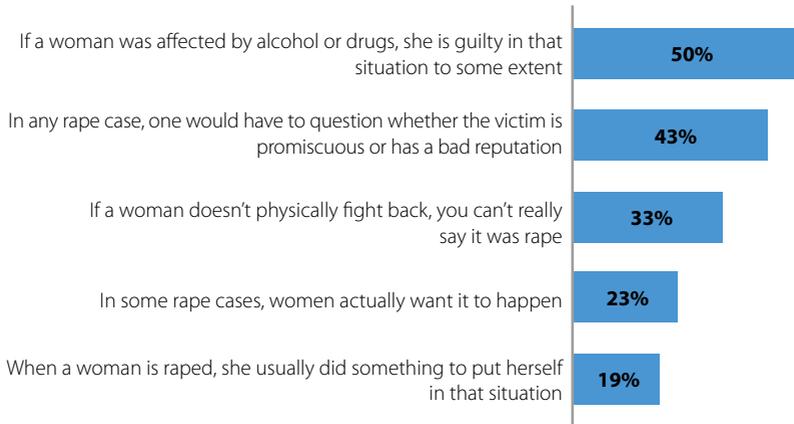
Therefore, prevention of GBV needs some durable solutions, targeted not only at strengthening inter-agency coordination in combating and preventing violence, but also at overcoming gender discrimination, transforming gender stereotypes and developing zero tolerance to violence in the society. In this context, the systematic efforts are needed to expand political, social and economic rights and opportunities of women, to ensure gender equality, and to involve men in response to GBV.

Indeed, the prevailing public views on the division of social roles and powers between women and men largely determine the attitudes towards gender-based violence. Patriarchal expectations about the 'proper' behavioural patterns for women result in the victim-blaming, as victims of sexual violence are often blamed for provoking violence with their behaviours

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and lifestyle, associated with promiscuity in relations with the opposite sex. A half of the surveyed men questioned the rape in case when a woman was affected by alcohol or drugs, 43% of men – in case when women had a bad reputation, one-third of men – if a woman didn't physically fight back (Fig. 7.1).



**Fig. 7.1. Attitudes to victims of sexual violence,**  
*% of respondents who generally agreed with statements*

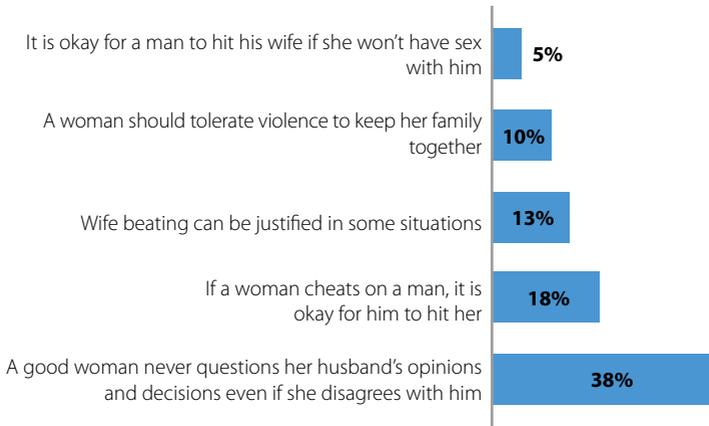
The tolerant attitudes to domestic violence are also quite prevalent among men. To a large extent, the reasons for this attitude are related to the deeply rooted perceptions of the unequal importance of women and men in a society, in particular the subordinate women's position in the family hierarchy. Respectively, the attributes of a 'good' wife are often associated with complacency, obeying her husband, and trying to avoid any conflicts in the family. In particular, more than one-third of the surveyed men agreed with that a good woman should not question her husband's opinion and decisions, even if she does not agree (Fig. 7.2). Inconsistency between the real marital life and these expectations could obviously result in conflicts that may be accompanied by aggression and violence.

As a result, cultural practices that justify men's rights to use physical punishment against their wives remain quite wide-spread in the public opinion. In particular, 13% of the surveyed men agreed that one's wife beating can be justified in some situations, 18% of men agreed that a husband has the

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right to hit or beat his wife if she cheats on him, 5 % of men - if the wife doesn't want to have sex with her husband. Meanwhile, one in ten respondents agreed with the statement that a woman should tolerate her husband's violence to keep her family together.



**Fig. 7.2. Attitudes to domestic violence,**  
*% of respondents who generally agreed*

Some men of the focus group participants, who agreed with this thesis, shared their own experiences: *'Well, my friend's wife tried to have the final say in everything, and make final decisions, because her mother behaved like this in her family. My friend physically punished her several times - and all such attempts stopped... There is peace and tranquillity in the family now'* (a man, 36 y.o.).

When returning to the realities of their own lives, a large proportion of the respondents (32%) reported that they know men who actually use physical force to their wives or partners. The respondents demonstrated different attitudes to these practices: the overwhelming majority of men were convinced that their friends were doing wrong (41%), one-fourth of them were angry because of this behaviour, and one in five men felt uncomfortable because of his friend's violence (Table 7.1). At the same time, one-third of the respondents indicated that they consider it a private matter of the couple that shouldn't be discussed with other people. Moreover,

6% of the men were convinced that some compelling reasons must be present to justify physical violence: *'Everyone has their own reasons for violence. If a man believes that woman can be taught a lesson, he becomes violent; if he doesn't see a chance, he packs up and goes away. With me, this was the case.'* (a married man, 45 y.o.).

**Table 7.1. Attitudes to men who perpetrate physical violence against their wives or partners, % respondents who know such men**

Answers	Percentage
I think he is doing wrong	41
It is a private matter, not my business	34
It makes me angry	25
It makes me uncomfortable	21
He must have a good reason to do so	6

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible*

Verbally, the vast majority of men claimed that they would not be out of the swim in situations when they witness physical violence against women. Only 14% of the respondents acknowledged that they would not interfere in any way if their friends committed violence against their partners. The rest of the men stressed that they would intervene in the situation immediately (51%), talk with the man later about unacceptability of his behaviour (31%), turn for help to other persons (police, neighbours, representatives of local authorities) or offer their help to the injured woman later (6%). One in ten respondents admitted that he would stop being friends with a man who committed physical violence against a woman in his presence (Table 7.2).

**Table 7.2. Distribution of answers to question 'What would you do, or what did you do when you saw your friend use physical violence against his partner or wife?'; % of respondents**

Answers	Percentage
Intervene immediately	51
Speak to him afterwards	31
Avoid/shun him	10
Call the police	9
Speak to his partner afterwards	5
Informed neighbors or friends	3
Contact local authorities	2
<b>Do nothing</b>	<b>14</b>

*\*the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

According to the men who participated in focus groups discussions, the main causes of family conflicts are related to financial problems and economic hardships in the family. If a married man gets unemployed, cannot find a decently-paid job for a long time, and does not endeavour to improve financial situation of his household, the family conflicts are to be inevitable:

*'It might be that spouses get tired of each other. But, the money is needed to escape the routine and have fun, to change the situation... Finally, just go for a walk and drink some coffee. If there is no money, it will be difficult to get new impressions and freshen up the relationship. That is, financial hardship is the cause of all family conflicts'* (a man, 28 y.o.).

Focus group participants emphasize that using alcohol, narcotic substances, mental disorders and stress outside the home, increase the risk of conflicts and serve as a kind of 'triggers' for outburst of aggression accumulated because of external problems. Therefore, if people try to solve their problems with alcohol, the problems only get exacerbated, while the chances to resolve the conflict amicably are disappearing:

*'Alcohol and drug addicts spend the entire family budget on their addictions. And what kind of a woman would like it, who would endure it? There are also situations, when a husband drinks for money that was earned by his wife, or social assistance on children. Nobody wants to live with an alcoholic or a drug addict, who provides neither for himself nor for his family'* (a man, 49 y.o.).

When reflecting on the effects of domestic violence, focus groups participants opined that both women and men may be the victims of violence:

*'Of course, a woman is more likely to be physically injured, because a man is simply stronger... But as to psychological violence, it seems to me that men are more affected... and the consequences of their emotional trauma can be more serious, and 'explode' in the form of uncontrolled aggression'* (a married man, 52 y.o.).

Meanwhile, the men unanimously admitted that children who witnessed aggression between parents suffer most from conflicts in the family. Focus group participants are well aware that such experiences can have extremely negative psychological consequences for children, and form pre-conditions for repeating violent behaviour patterns in their own family:

*'Conflicts between parents strongly impact on children, because the children are like sponges, absorbing and accumulating everything, and any negative thing would affect development of the child's character, views, and thoughts. In what kind of a family the child grows, such kind of a person he (she) will be'* (a man, 30 y.o.).

Support of a child psychologist is seen as the most effective way to help children cope with the aftermaths of the witnessed domestic violence ('I don't know what kind of specific programs for children are necessary, but some sessions with a child psychologist are needed') and counselling the child's parents on how to address the negative effects of this psychological trauma:

*'Psychologists should work with both the child and the parents to explain to them how to make sure that the child forgets all that he (she) saw ... so that it does not remain in the memory, in the views and in the character.'*

Regardless, the survey findings prove that the men do not accept their personal responsibility for educational effect on the growing generation. In particular, less than a half of the respondents (46%) with children reported that they used to talk with boys - both their sons and other children they care about - about unacceptability of violence against women. Since attitudes to the opposite sex and expectations of the future marital relationships are formed yet in the childhood, the role of family education should be strengthened in advancing the development of partnerships of mutual respect.

***7.2. Personal experience in perpetrating violence against women.***

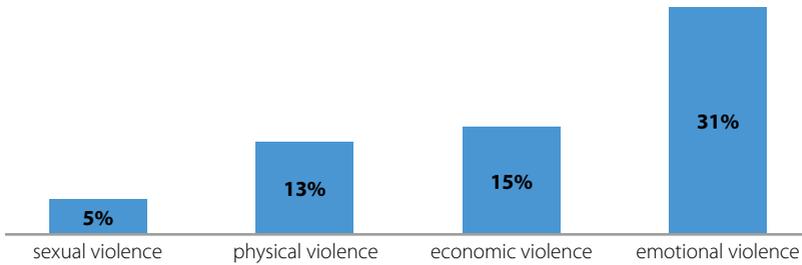
Gender-based and domestic violence can be perpetrated in multiple forms and manifestations that involve not only using of physical force and causing injuries, but also psychological pressure, threats, intimidation, as detaining victims under control. However, not all of these situations are clearly perceived as violent acts in the society, some of them might be regarded as normal practices of the marital life and relations between partners due to the impacts of patriarchal social norms.

In this regard, all research on gender-based violence are confronted with a number of challenges, including victim's reluctance to share their experience due to possible stigmatizing or fears of perpetrator's revenge, as well as because of their inability to identify the forms of violence.

Although the international studies link these gaps in data collecting predominantly with women who have survived violence, there are also reasonable grounds to argue that the same underreporting can be applied to men who have committed violence against women. Therefore, the methodological approaches to population-based surveys on domestic and gender-based violence require clear and understandable language that will provide reliable research data, and enable public awareness-raising on these issues.

In this regard, the program of this study provided for a number of specific questions to address all possible forms of emotional, economic, physical and sexual violence perpetrated by men against their intimate partners (Table 7.3). The survey was also targeted at analysis of the incidence of sexual violence against women who were not the stable intimate partners of the surveyed men.

Even in conditions of expected underreporting of the survey results, almost one-third of the interviewed men recognized that they have performed some actions related to emotional abuse against their wives or stable partners (Fig. 7.3). Moreover, one in seven respondents reported perpetrating economic violence in his partnership, and 13% of the men had the experience of physical violence in their marriage. 5% of the men reportedly forced their partners to have sex or do other sexual things, when women didn't want to do so. Finally, 3% of the respondents admitted that they had forced another woman, who was not the wife or stable partner, to have sex.



**Fig. 7.3. Proportions of men who perpetrated some violent acts against their intimate partners over the lifetime, % of partnered respondents**

The most prevalent forms of the reported emotional violence against intimate partners were insults and intimidations (Table 7.3). Almost one in ten men admitted that he perpetrated such violent acts against his partners several times in his life, and 13% of them reported that they offended their partners some time last year. One in seven respondents belittled or humiliated partners in front of other people, while a half of them did so during the last 12 months.

Forms of physical violence that might result in minor injuries were also quite wide-spread (such as *'slapping, pushing, and shoving a partner'*). Having perpetrated these forms of physical violence was reported by 13% of men, one-third of them committed such acts during the last year. Though other forms of violence were reported by only a few percent of the respondents, they were not one-off violent situations in the lifetime. Some men reported having perpetrated violence for several times, including at least once in the last year.

**Table 7.3. Personal experience in perpetrating violent acts against intimate partner and other women,**  
*% partnered respondents*

<b>Forms of violence</b>	<b>Over the life time:</b>			<b>At least once during the last 12 months, %</b>
	<b>total, of them:</b>	<b>once</b>	<b>several times</b>	
<b>Emotional violence:</b>				
insult your partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	25	13	12	13
do things to scare your partner on purpose (for example, by yelling and smashing things)	17	9	8	7
belittle or humiliate your partner in front of other people	14	9	5	7
threaten to hurt your partner	9	5	4	3
hurt people your partner cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	5	3	2	2
<b>Economic violence:</b>				
prohibited your partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money	7	6	1	3
throw your partner out of a house	6	4	2	2
take joint money for yourself when you knew your partner was finding it hard to afford the most needed household expenses	5	3	2	2
take your partner's earnings against her will	3	2	1	2
<b>Physical violence:</b>				
slap, push or shove a partner	13	8	5	4

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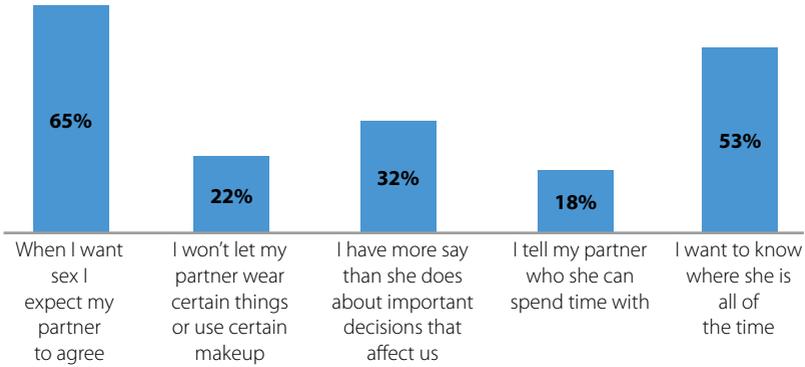
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Forms of violence	Over the life time:			At least once during the last 12 months, %
	total, of them:	once	several times	
hit a partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her	6	3	3	1
kick, drag, beat, choke or burn your wife/partner	2	1	1	0,5
threaten to use or actually use some weapon against your wife/partner	0,5	0,3	0,2	0,2
<b>Sexual violence:</b>				
forced your partner to have sex or do something sexual with you when she did not want to	5	3	2	2
<b>Sexual violence outside the family:</b>				
forced a woman who was not your wife or partner to have sex with you	3	2	1	0,3

The forms of controlling behaviour towards men's wives or stable intimate partners turned out to be even more wide-spread. More than a half of the respondents reported that they want to know where their partners are at any moment of the time (Figure 7.4), 22% of them would not allow a partner to wear some clothes or make certain make-up that they seem too provocative, and 18% of men tell their partners who they can spend their time with. Men's struggle to play the dominant roles in the hierarchy of marital relationships is confirmed by the following data: two-thirds of the respondents expected their partners to agree immediately when they wanted to have sex, and one-third of them believed that men's opinion on important decisions that affect both partners are more important than that of a woman.

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**Fig. 7.4. Prevalence of controlling behaviors towards intimate partners,**  
*% of partnered respondents who generally agreed with statements*

These findings are fully consistent with the theory of hegemonic masculinity, as control over women is perceived as an important attribute of the male culture, and the causes of gender-based violence are associated with attempts to preserve the domination and relations of inequality between men and women. The survey hasn't revealed any clear correlation between perpetrating of violence and any socio-demographic characteristics of men, including age, education, and residential area. Thus, violence against women is not affected by any social barriers. Therefore, the research efforts in determining the causes, circumstances and consequences of violence should be directed at a profound analysis of the target populations, in particular those men who have the documented experience of committing domestic violence, and cooperate with social services in order to break the cycle of violence in their partnerships.

## 8. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: PERPETRATOR'S PORTRAIT AND INTERVENTION OPPORTUNITIES

In order to better understand causes of domestic violence, a special study was undertaken in Ukraine to survey those men who were referred to intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence or recorded in the police domestic violence registry<sup>57</sup>. Through assistance of the police officers, social workers and civic organizations that work with perpetrators, 355 men of this target population group were individually interviewed. After obtaining their informed consent, the respondents were requested to answer questions related to their personal experiences of family conflicts, their causes and ways to prevent the conflicts in the future. The process of drafting the questionnaire was preceded by the qualitative research phase, as the topics, structured questions and possible answers were prepared on the basis of focus group discussions with the men that undergo the intervention programs.

The sample consisted of men from different regions and different socio-demographic groups (Annex 3). Most of the respondents were in the most active working age, while the youngest one was 16, and the oldest was 75. The majority of men had vocational or secondary education (about 40%), and one in four men had complete or incomplete higher education. Two-thirds of the respondents were employed at the labor market (one-third of them were in the irregular employment), one in nine men was unemployed (looking for a job), 9% were neither working nor studying. The rest of the respondents were represented by pensioners, students and househusbands.

At the time of the survey, almost two-thirds of the men who perpetrated domestic violence were officially married or partnered; one in five men was divorced or separated. The average length of relationships was 10.6 years; for one-fourth of the respondents this length was less than 5 years, and almost a half of them were married for more than 10 years.

A half of the men reportedly had minor children, but only one in three respondents lived together with his own children at the time of the survey. About a half of the surveyed perpetrators lived with their wives or partners, about 40% of them said that they live together with children and parents in the households; there were other relatives in one in ten household. Only 8%

<sup>57</sup> According to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, there were 3,093 persons ordered to attend intervention programs during 9 months of 2017 (on them almost 94% were men), while almost 60,000 persons were recorded in the domestic violence registry (93% of them were men).

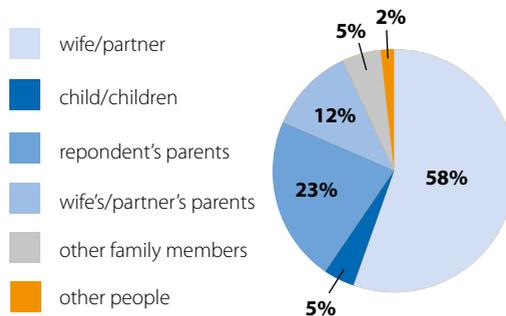
of the respondents reported that they lived alone at the time of attending the intervention program.

Almost a half (43%) of the men who were in stable relations reported that they make about the same contribution to the household incomes as their wives. One-third of them considered themselves to be the main breadwinners of the family, and 17% of the respondents said that their wives or partners provided the main part of household income. Noticeably, while estimating their personal roles in contributing to the household income, those men who had experience of violence largely lagged behind the representatives of the 'entire' male population (in the overall survey's sample of men in the ages between 18 and 59, only 26% of those who had partners reported about the equal incomes with their partners, while 58% of them earned more than their partners). These data gives grounds to assume that the unmet standards of the breadwinner could become an important stressful factor provoking men's aggression against their close people. In their estimates of the proper division of powers in the family, the surveyed perpetrators demonstrated quite categorical assessments of the division of powers between the spouses: 'I believe that there should be only one master in the house. Everything should be as the man says... I educate my family and children exactly in this way' (a married man, 54 y.o.); 'A woman should know her place, while her husband should perform the duties of the breadwinner' (a married man, 32 y.o.).

More men who were not married or partnered were supported by their parents; these respondents were represented not only by young people but also by men of older age groups. A few percent of the respondents noted that their household income is mostly dependent on social benefits and other assistance from the state. A small proportion of respondents confirmed affiliation with some vulnerable population groups, including internally displaced people (2%), ATO combatants (4%), families with many children (5%), and persons with disabilities (8%). Eight men (2% of respondents) reported being single-parent families.

**8.1. Causes and circumstances of family conflicts.** According to the survey findings, psychological violence remains the most prevalent form of the family conflicts. Three-fourths of the surveyed men were directed to attend the intervention programs or recorded in the domestic violence registry due to emotional violence in the family (e.g. quarrels, threats). Only 13% of the respondents reported that the need for the intervention program was driven by physical aggression against a close person. Quite a large proportion of offenders still haven't recognized their responsibility for violence: one in twelve respondents indicated that he cannot explain (understand) the reason for his referral to the intervention program, and 4% of them believed that the reason was related to a misunderstanding or unwarranted pressure from family members.

In the vast majority of situations, men's aggressive behavior was targeted at their wives or partners (Fig. 8.1). Once again, these findings confirm the gender-based character of domestic violence, as the victims were mostly women. Moreover, women were survivors in two-thirds of the family conflicts related to the men's physical aggression. Also of importance is the role of inter-generational domestic violence: one in five respondents reported that the conflict situation arose with his parents, while 12% of the respondents were in conflicts with parents of their partners. The number of violent conflicts with children, other relatives and people outside the family were much less common.



**Fig. 8.1. Survivors in the family conflicts that resulted in men's directing to attend the intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence, %**

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In the view of the perpetrators of violence, the causes of conflicts in their families are about equally attributed to the impact of socio-economic determinants and interpersonal factors (Table 8.1). About one-third of the men admitted that their own aggression is caused by the partner's or family member's vexation or criticism, and one in four of the perpetrators by excessive control in the relationships. About the same percentage of respondents linked the main causes of the conflicts with economic hardship and negative behaviors of the family members (alcohol abuse, drug addiction, gambling). One in six perpetrators linked the causes of the conflict with interference of relatives in marital relations, one in ten men - with the lack of mutual interests among family members or the feeling of non-fulfillment in life. Among other causes of family conflicts, the interviewed perpetrators noted disorders in the intimate relationships, cheating and jealousy, absence of children, housing problems, and unauthorized spending of the household budget.

**Table 8.1. Perpetrators' views on the causes of conflicts in their families that resulted in ordering to enroll into the intervention programs/records in the domestic violence registry, % of respondents**

Causes	Percentage
Permanent nagging of the partner/family member	36
Economic hardship	32
Excessive control by the partner/family member	25
Negative behavior (alcohol or drug abuse, gambling)	25
No mutual interests	17
Unrealized life	11
Intrusion of relatives to spousal relations	10
Intimate life disorders	5
Other	3

*\*the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

The surveyed men confirmed the provocative effect of alcohol and drugs, as most of the family conflicts were accompanied by using these substances. In particular, 55% of perpetrators reported that they were affected by some stimulants at time of the conflict, and 17% of them indicated that other conflict participants

were intoxicated. One in ten respondents reported that both parties of the conflict were affected by alcohol or drugs.

When discussing the principal causes of domestic violence in a society, men who had experience of aggressive behaviors towards close people, demonstrated a clear trend of victim-blaming. More than one-third of the respondents claimed that it was victims who usually provoke the violence (Table 8.2), and the responsibility for conflicts was laid mostly on women:

- *'Women usually initiate the conflicts'* (a married man, 42 y.o.),

- *'A woman is the main 'driver' of the conflict, although she does not always realize its potential consequences. Women consider themselves as victims, and the police usually supports women. But, in most cases, it is women who are guilty of the conflict'* (a married man, 62 y.o.),

- *'Women are guilty, as they always have overestimated expectations of men. And men use their physical force, when they begin losing patience'* (an unmarried man, 27 y.o.).

About one-fourth of the respondents linked the causes of domestic violence in a society to problems in the interpersonal relationships (such as inability to communicate, overestimated expectations or control over the partner/family member), economic hardships or using the stimulants in the family. In their verbal responses, focus group participants indicated:

- *'Conflict may be caused by a combination of all things together: the economic situation, inability to hear each other, and upbringing... Just as his father beat his mother, so the son will beat his own wife... People follow the examples of their previous generations in some way, and they follow not only good examples'* (a married man, 62 y.o.),

- *'Everything starts with one's upbringing. Then, one's job, relationships... and, finally, the impact of the state policy. All these are the links of one and the same chain'* (an unmarried man, 27 y.o.).

The perpetrators of violence admit that the following psychological determinants of the conflicts are less important: stresses from outside home (17%), knee-jerk reactions – 'I don't know how it happened, I can't control myself in such situations' (14%), perceptions of personal non-fulfillment (11%) or impact of psychological disorders (1%). Only few percent of the perpetrators recognize the role of cultural and institutional factors (in particular, absence of liability) as preconditions of domestic violence in a society.

**Table 8.2. The principal causes of domestic violence in a society, % of perpetrators of domestic violence**

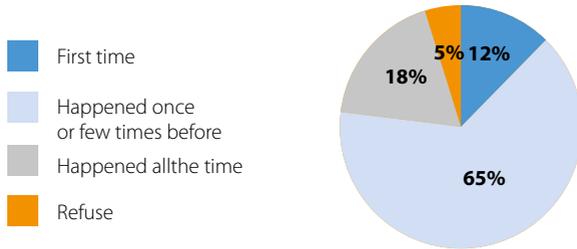
Causes	Percentage
Victims provoke the violence by their behavior	37
No mutual understanding with the partner/family members	28
Economic hardship in the family	27
Use of stimulators (alcohol, drugs, energizers)	25
Previous insults by a partner/family member	20
Stresses obtained outside the home	17
Hasty, knee-jerk reaction	14
Personal non-fulfillment	12
Spousal cheating / jealousy	11
Self-defense	8
Violence used to teach the partner/family member a lesson	7
Low level of culture	3
No liability for domestic violence	2
Mental disorders	1

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

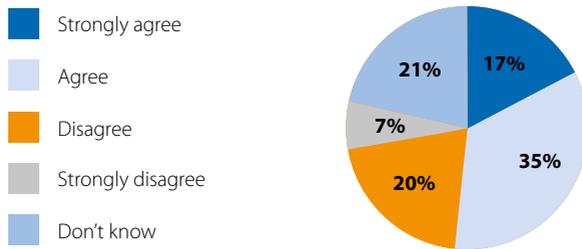
The survey data revealed that domestic violence could turn into a systemic problem: 83% of the perpetrators reported that they had conflicts with victims in the past. Some of the focus group participants were frankly sharing their own experience: ***'We have been living together for 20 years, and I have to tell you that there were situations in my life that I had to punish a woman'*** (a man, 47 y.o.). About two-thirds of the respondents indicated that conflict situations had occurred at least several times, while 18% of them reported that the conflicts were ongoing (Fig. 8.2). There is a worrying trend that a half of the interviewed men who have experience of domestic violence believe that these family conflicts will continue in the future. Regardless of the intervention programs and preventive measures taken by the law enforcement officers, the percentage of the perpetrators who strongly agreed that the conflicts in their relationship with family members will not repeat is negligible, only 7% (Fig. 8.3).

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**Fig. 8.2. Distribution of answers to question 'Have you experienced any conflicts with the victims before?'; % of perpetrators**



**Fig. 8.3. Distribution of answers to question 'In your view, is there a risk that the conflicts will continue?'; % of perpetrators**

Men's predisposition to violent behavior can be observed in the communication of perpetrators with other people: one-third of them indicated that they had conflicts with other people sometimes, and 3% of them admitted that they have conflicts all the time. Men's aggression is mainly directed at the closest people, i.e. their parents (almost one-third of respondents), friends and acquaintances, ex-wives and ex-partners (one in five respondents). Conflict situations were less prevalent with siblings, distant relatives, neighbors, occasional people, children or colleagues (Table 8.3).

**Table 8.3. Other conflict participants, who have faced aggression of the interviewed perpetrators of domestic violence, % of perpetrators having conflicts with other people**

Other conflict participants	Percentage
Parents	31
Friends	22
Ex-wife/ex-partner/ex-girlfriend	21
Parents of respondent's wife/partner	19
Other relatives/family members	17
Occasional, unknown people	15
Neighbors	14
Siblings	10
Child/children	9
Colleagues	7

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

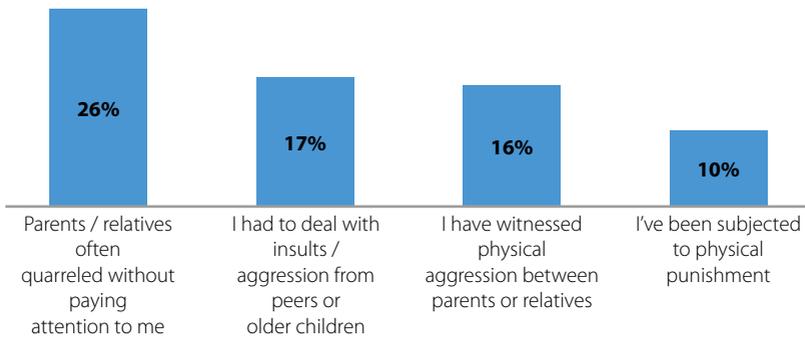
Multiple studies argue that the trend of aggressive behaviors in the family may be linked to the negative childhood experiences and inherited patterns of relationships in the parent's family. Respectively, these issues were addressed in a special part of interviews with the men who were ordered to attend intervention programs or recorded in the domestic violence registry. The majority of respondents spent their childhood in full families (71%), so they had every opportunity to learn the behavioral models of their parents. Only 22% of the men were raised in incomplete families (mainly with their mothers), while a small percent of the respondents spent their childhood with other relatives, foster families or in boarding schools.

When recalling the childhood experience, one in four perpetrators noted that he often had to witness conflicts between his parents or other relatives (Fig. 8.4). These men admitted that this experience had a tremendous impact on their psychological state in the childhood: 'children are always the main victims in the situations of domestic conflicts' (a man, 66 y.o.). One in six respondents witnessed physical violence in their parents' families or faced offenses and aggression from his mates and older children. One in ten men reported that he was physically punished by his parents in the childhood.

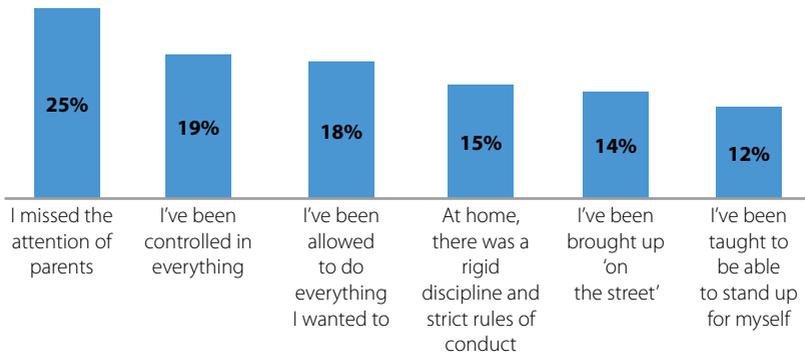
## MASCULINITY TODAY:

### MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

However, the surveyed men's answers do not give sufficient grounds to conclude that the negative childhood experiences are the main determinants of developing violent behavioral patterns in the adult life. Only one-fourth of the perpetrators acknowledged that they missed their parents' attention in the childhood, one in seven men complained about rigorous discipline and strict rules of behavior in his family, or argued that they had 'street upbringing'. The survey revealed practically identical effects of total 'permissiveness' and rigorous control in the education (Fig. 8.5), only 12% of respondents indicated that they were taught to use force to resolve conflict situations ('to be able to stand for themselves,' 'to fight back,' and 'to hit first').



**Fig. 8.4. Proportion of perpetrators of violence who face various forms of violence in the childhood, % of respondents**



**Fig. 8.5. Proportion of perpetrators of violence, who had some negative experiences of childhood, % of respondents**

When discussing the origins of domestic violence, focus group participants stated that the final choice of the aggressive behavior patterns in the family remains one's personal choice, although it depends on the behavioral patterns that have emerged in the childhood, adolescent education and socialization in adulthood:

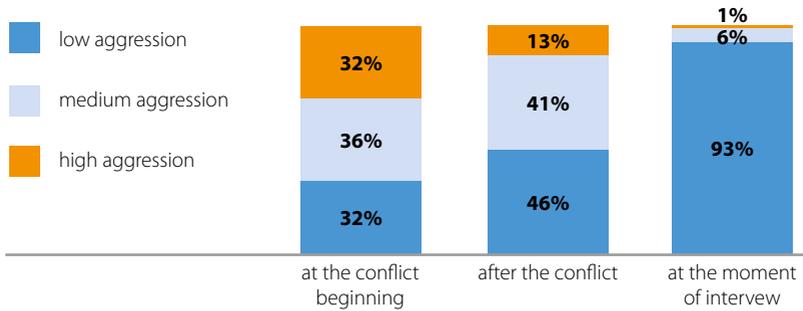
- *'Of course, it's very bad if the children witness conflicts between parents - they will not learn anything good about it, it's a big stress for them. But they won't necessary repeat this example in their lives. Perhaps, in contrast, they will perceive it as the negative experience that they wouldn't want to repeat in their families, and will make efforts to avoid the parents' mistakes'* (a divorced man, 39 y.o.),

- *'If children systematically witness conflicts, they are likely to reproduce this behavior, and repeat the same conflicts in their own families. But, it still depends on their education and the external impact'* (a married man, 35 y.o.).

**8.2. Emotional state of perpetrators.** Studying the emotional state of abusers can enable a better understanding of the ways to prevent the extreme forms of violence in the family and to ground the need for psychological support. Therefore, in the framework of the survey, men were asked to make self-assessments of their aggression at the time of conflict that had resulted in their referral for interventional works. One-third of them estimated their aggression at the beginning of the conflict as high (at the level of 8-10 points based on the 10-point scale, where 0 – 'no aggression, 10 – 'the highest aggression'). After the conflict, the level of men's aggression was significantly reduced (Fig. 8.6), and only 13% of them felt very angry. However, the superficial attitude of perpetrators to the consequences of their violent acts is reflected in their expressions: 'conflicts lead to the emotional cleansing that positively affects the psychological state of partners'; 'conflict is a way to learn new information about the partner'; 'conflict are useful for improving the emotional state of the family, providing opportunity for individual development and dialogue'.

Despite the drop in the level of aggression after the conflict, family conflicts do not contribute to the improvement of emotional state of perpetrators: a large proportion of men felt guilty, insulted, depressed and tired after the conflict (Table 8.4). In other words, the violent acts in the family environment have traumatic impacts not only on the emotional state of the victims; obviously, the negative effects of the stress can be observed among persons who committed violent acts or tend to demonstrate aggressive behavior.

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**Fig. 8.6. Self-assessment of the rate of aggression at the onset of the conflict, after the conflict and at time of the interview, % of perpetrators of domestic violence**

*Note: The level of aggression was evaluated based on a 10-point scale, where 0 – ‘no aggression’, 10 – ‘maximum aggression’. The category ‘low level of aggression’ is classified to include from 0 to 3 points, the category ‘medium aggression’ - from 4 to 7 points, the category ‘high level of aggression’ - from 8 to 10 points.*

**Table 8.4. Self-assessment of one’s emotional state at the onset and after conflict, % of perpetrators of domestic violence**

	Emotional state	
	onset of the conflict	after the conflict
Calm	16	15
High/joyful	6	1
Down/depressed	13	19
Exhausted/tired	16	19
Irritated	45	28
Angry/aggressive	23	19
Offended	17	25
Guilty	4	12

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Indeed, almost a half of the interviewed men who attended the intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence reported some stress disorders in the previous month (Table 8.5). Moreover, about one-third of them experienced some negative psychological disorders occasionally (1-2 times per week), more than 10% of them experienced such disorders 3-4 times per week, while a small percent of them - the overwhelming majority of time. The most prevalent disorders that were reported by more than a half of men were depression, a sense of ill-treatment from other people, and obsessive thoughts about the pointlessness of their own lives. Among the less prevalent disorders, problems with concentrating, sleep disorders, sudden outbreaks of anger and panic attacks were mentioned. Eventually, these findings reveal that the need for emotional support is common not only for victims of domestic violence, but also for other parties of the conflict, in particular, the perpetrators.

**Table 8.5. Incidence of stress disorders among men who committed domestic violence, %**

Distribution of answers to question 'In the last 30 days, did you...?'	Never	Rarely (1-2 times per week)	Sometimes (3-4 times per week)	Most of the time (5-7 times per week)
find it difficult to get concentrated on your current affairs	56	32	10	2
feel depressed	48	30	17	5
think that your life is a failure	46	28	18	7
feel fearful /panic attacks	72	19	6	3
have problems with sleep	53	36	10	2
feel lonely	51	31	12	6
feel bad without any important reason	58	25	14	4
feel that other people treat you badly	48	30	16	7
have sudden outbursts of anger	55	29	12	4

**8.3. Ways to resolve conflicts in the family and guidance on seeking help.** The findings of the survey of perpetrators of violence who attended the intervention programs or were recorded in the police domestic violence registry confirmed the wide-spread stereotyped masculinity perceptions that do not encourage men's looking for emotional support. The vast majority of the respondents (43%) said that they generally do not turn to anyone for help, if they feel sad or confused: *'I used to solve my problems by myself'* (a man, 35 y.o.). As to men, who discuss their problems with other people, the majority seeks support of friends and acquaintances (one-third of the respondents). One in six of them seeks support from his parents, one in nine – from his wife or partner (Table 8.6). Unfortunately, the level of respondent's trust to the church and experts who provide specialized support (i.e. psychologists, support groups, etc.) is still low.

**Table 8.6. Distribution of answers to question 'Whom do you usually turn to for emotional support when you feel depressed or frustrated?'**  
*% of perpetrators of domestic violence*

Answers	Percentage
Nobody	43
Friend	32
Parents	17
Wife/partner	12
Other relatives, family members	5
Colleagues	5
Church	3
Experts (psychologists, groups of support)	3
Children	2
Other	16

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

Generally, domestic violence is perceived by men as a family's internal problem that shouldn't be discussed with outsiders. More than a half of the interviewed perpetrators of violence, who had experience of committing violence in their families, are confident that such conflicts should be resolved exclusively within the family (57%), only 17% of them admit the effectiveness of 'educational' intervention from the closest environment, such as relatives, close friends, and colleagues (Table 8.7).

**Table 8.7. Ways to resolve and prevent family conflicts associated with aggressive behaviors, % of perpetrators of violence**

Answers	Percentage
Conflict situations should be resolved exclusively within the family	57
Work of psychologists / social workers with all members of families where conflicts take place	26
'Educative' impact of relatives, close friends, colleagues	17
Work of psychologists/social workers with people who are prone to aggression	13
Information work in the mass-media, social advertisement	12
Strengthening liability for domestic violence	10
'Educative' impact of moral authorities	8

*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

In this context, the participants of focus groups pointed out:

- *'I believe that one shouldn't tell tales in public, and if there is a need, than this should be done only with trusted people'* (an unmarried man, 20 y.o.),

- *'Outsiders should not interfere in the marital conflicts; it's a private life that does not concern anyone'* (a married man, 62 y.o.),

- *'Outsiders can only make things worse, because they do not understand the true nature of the conflict...'* (a divorced man, 39 y.o.).

In general, the respondents justify victims seeking help only in case of the extreme violence that poses threat to their life and health: 'Of course, in a situation of physical violence, victims should seek help' (a single man, 37 y.o.), 'if a husband is chasing his wife in the backyard with an axe in his

hand, only police can help in this situation... If he argues all the time and provokes scandals, - he should be examined by a doctor' (a married man, 62 y.o.).

One-fourth of the surveyed perpetrators suggested that psychologists or social workers could be contacted in case of family conflicts, but stressed the need to involve all family members in the therapy. Only one in eight men believed that the intervention work should be conducted only with individuals who are prone to aggression in the family. At the same time, the focus group participants questioned the effectiveness of the intervention programs ('I don't think you can help me with anything, I will resolve everything by myself') and expressed distrust to the law enforcement agencies.

The surveyed men questioned any good effects of such interventions as outreach activities through the media and social advertising aimed at promoting family models built on mutual respect, or strengthening liability for domestic violence. The least popular option was related to the opportunity of the 'educative' impact from the figures of authority or 'opinion leaders' well-known in a society (such as celebrities, public activists, representatives of the government).

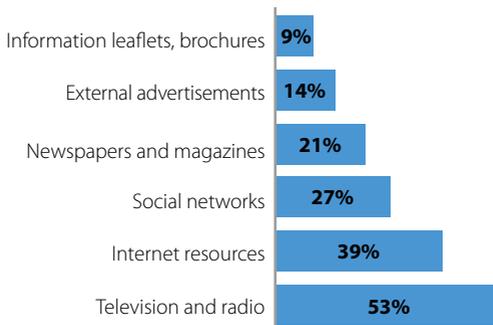
In fact, the issue of the impact of 'opinion leaders' on men who are prone to domestic violence remains rather controversial, as one-fourth of them indicated that for them there exists no figure of authority they are ready to listen to (Table 8.8). For the rest of the respondents, their parents and relatives are the figures of authority (one-third of the respondents), as well as their friends (one-fourth of the respondents). Only 13% of the respondents were ready to listen to the opinion of their wives or partners, one in ten - to their children, colleagues or representatives of government bodies e.g. (police officers, public officials, judges, etc.). Unfortunately, the effect of psychologists and social workers' interventions on men who committed violence remains minimal; the influence of the church, well-known public activists and celebrities is even smaller.

**Table 8.8. Distribution of answers to question  
'Who is your most important opinion leader you are ready to listen to?,'  
% of perpetrators of domestic violence**

Answers	Percentage
Parents or other relatives	31
Friends	26
Wife/partner	13
Child/children	10
Colleagues	9
Representatives of authorities	9
Psychologists or social workers	7
Church, clergymen	4
Well-known public activists – politicians, writers, scientists	2
Popular persons, celebrities (sportsmen, actors, singers)	2
Have no authorities	26

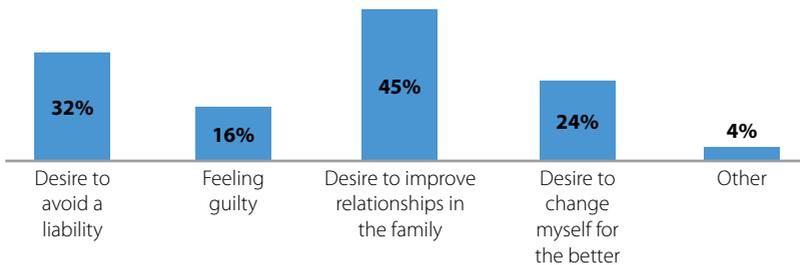
*\* the sum is over 100%, as multiple answers were possible.*

As to the most effective channels to inform the targeted population audiences, more than a half of the respondents recognized an important role of television and radio, while almost 40% of them mentioned the internet resources as a powerful information source (Fig. 8.7). More than one-fourth of the men regarded social networks as an important information channel, but this group largely consisted of men under 40. The printed sources of information (billboards, advertisements in public places or on transport), special leaflets and brochures were less popular.



**Fig. 8.7. Vision of the most effective outreach channels to inform the targeted population audiences, % of perpetrators of domestic violence**

Positively, when discussing the personal motives to undergo the intervention program for perpetrators of domestic violence, almost a half of the respondents declared their desire to improve the relations in their family, and to break the cycle of violence in the future. One in four respondents reported that he would like to change himself for the better, in particular learn to master his emotions, while one in six respondents felt guilty for hurting close people (Fig. 8.8). However, one-third of the men did not even try to hide that they participate in the intervention programs only because they expect to avoid liability for their acts of violence, or due to the forced referral by the police, among other reasons. Unfortunately, quite a lot of perpetrators still did not accept the intervention work as the effective means to improve the relationships in the family; they also lack personal motivation for attendance, and do not recognize their responsibility for domestic violence.



**Fig. 8.8. Distribution of answer to question 'What was your personal motivation to attend the intervention program/co-work with social service?';**  
*% of perpetrators of domestic violence*

Summarizing the survey findings, particular attention should be paid to addressing ethical considerations by the study. Importantly, the interviewing process did not lead to any negative reactions from men, who had experience of committing domestic violence. The majority of respondents (93%) calmly answered all sensitive questions (see Figure 8.6), while focus groups participants frankly shared their experiences and thoughts. In the final comments, some of the respondents mentioned that they believe the questioning was rather useful for them, as some questions made them think about their own lives and review some aspects of their family behavior.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. Gender inequality is one of the major human rights violations that manifests itself in the limited rights, opportunities and interests of women, in particular in the context of access to resources and decision-making. Gender-based violence is closely linked to the unequal division of powers between women and men, as its causes are directly related to the subordinated position of women in the hierarchy of family relations and social stratification. These relations of inequality are largely caused by the impact of stereotypes that establish different public expectations on the roles, functions and powers for women and men. That's why, in order to combat gender inequality, the public attitudes should be transformed in the entire society, and, respectively, the need to involve men in promoting gender equality is increasingly better understood by policy-makers. Meanwhile, the gaps in data about drivers of emerging masculinity identity and men's attitudes to the division of social roles of women and men, marital relations or attitudes to gender-based violence, limit the efficiency of the information campaigns targeted at ensuring this social change. One of the ways of strengthening these advocacy efforts is to study masculinity as the concept of men's culture that socially constructs the men's roles, behavioral patterns and attitudes. In addition to promoting gender equality, the studies of men's contemporary cultural practices have obvious practical applications for resolving important social problems such as creation of a progressive educational system, development of the healthcare sector and improvement of health and demography situation, improvement of the labour market policies and improvement of position of workers with family duties, enhanced public safety and lower incidence of asocial phenomena in the society.
2. In order to fill the gaps in data that throw light on men's behavioral practices and attitudes to gender equality, a special sociological study was launched by the UNFPA. It was based on the approaches of the International Men and Gender Equity Survey (IMAGES) adjusted to the local socio-cultural context. The survey topics covered men's experience in childhood and their marital relationships, division of powers in households and attitudes to parenthood, perceptions of the gender norms, awareness on gender-sensitive legislation and attitudes to gender-based violence. The issues of violence against women constitute the major focus of the study, as the underlying causes of this social problem are related to unequal division of the gender roles and powers that could result in women's subordinated position. The study's

target audiences were represented by two population groups: 1) 1,520 randomly selected men in the ages of 18-59, a sample representative for the country, and 2) 355 men who perpetrated domestic violence and were directed to the intervention programs or recorded on the police domestic violence registry. While the first group of respondents was surveyed to provide a study of the entire male population, the perpetrators of violence were surveyed as the target group of men who face a specific crisis of manhood. In order to better understand the problems faced by men and ways to resolve these problems, focus group discussions were conducted with different categories of male participants, including young men (the so called 'millennials') and men in the intervention programs for perpetrators of domestic violence.

3. The process of development of the masculine identity is under the permanent pressure from the society that requires men to meet certain expectations and norms. Men's socialization starts in the early childhood and faces multiple impacts, including upbringing and observation of marital relations in the family of parents, school environment and relations with peers, the approaches to present the information in the mass media. The mismatch between social expectations posed by the society on men and men's real lives could result in the negative effects that have been conceptualized in the frameworks of the current 'masculinity in crisis' theory. As a result of unfulfilled expectations, men may consequently seek affirmation of their masculinity in other ways such as alcohol and drugs abuse, risk-taking behaviors, and aggression.
4. The study of men's childhood experiences reveals that aggression and violence are present in men's life since the early childhood. In particular, a half of the men indicated that they were physically punished by their parents, while one in five respondents experienced physical punishment from the school teachers. The experience of emotional violence was also quite prevalent in the childhood: one in five men faced insults and humiliation by family members, and 18% were bullied by their mates. One in four respondents witnessed his father's or stepfather's physical violence towards his mother, one in seven respondents faced his parents' negligence as they abused alcohol. Later on, men find themselves in violence-prone environment when they are in the regular army or in the military training. Almost a half of the survey respondents had the experience of military service or training; 54% of them reportedly encountered ill-treatment from their officers personally, while 60%

witnessed such actions against their comrades. The situations of ill-treatment and bullying were also reported among young men who served in the army (51% of the respondents experienced it by themselves, while 64% witnessed these situations). Respectively, men can perceive aggressive behaviors as cultural norms, while physical violence that is largely present in men's lives can be taken as a universal tool to resolve the conflicts and pursue one's interests.

5. Family remains the main origin of the perceived understanding of social roles, responsibilities and powers for women and men. According to the study results, some persistent expectations exist in the Ukrainian society in terms of marital relationships and division of powers and responsibilities in a household. In particular, a capacity of providing the economic well-being for the family is mostly perceived as the only requirement for a 'good' husband to meet. Moreover, 37% of the respondents agreed that a man who earns less than his wife is of no value. At the same time, the role of a 'good' wife is associated with a set of requirements including caring about her good looks, intelligence, prudence, skills in running the household and setting up the family comfort. Among important female traits, men mentioned patience, ability to avoid and 'smooth out' any conflicts, obey her husband and support him in any situations. Obviously, inconsistency between the expectations and the real family life can result in disappointments, stresses, and, consequently, interpersonal conflicts in the family.
6. The issues of the gendered division of powers and responsibilities in the households rank among highest priorities in the system of gender studies, since the grounds of gender inequality are largely determined by women's disproportionate involvement in domestic work. According to the study findings, the family roles are still distributed in the traditional manner in the Ukrainian households; ultimately, the average women's time spent on household work was twice as long as that of men (respectively, 29 and 15 hours per week). Most men were satisfied with the distribution of responsibilities in their families and believe that their partners have no objections to keeping the house as well. The study confirms that family obligations are prioritized for women in the public opinion (almost 70% of men agreed that women's most important role is to take care of her house and family) and quite patriarchal views on some issues of family planning (one-third of respondents believed that it is only women's responsibility to prevent unwanted pregnancy).

As a result, these public expectations on the 'proper' social roles and functions for women and men result in the unequal treatments and women's subordinate position.

7. Positively, the survey findings demonstrate a gradual transformation of the gender norms among young men. A large proportion of young people (18-24) articulated that all family activities have to be performed by partners jointly or equally divided between husbands and wives. A gradual increase in responsible parenting attitudes is also observed among young men, as they get more interested in their children, pay attention to the issues of family planning, and get involved in the partner births. In particular, about one-third of men in the age under 40 reportedly took a leave when their child was born to spend time with the family (in contrast to 24% of men aged 40-49 and 18% of men aged 50-59). Still, the division of childcare responsibilities is quite traditional even among the young age cohort, since most household duties related to daily care or care for a sick child are considered to be the mother's prerogative; men get mostly engaged in scolding the child and doing leisure activities. On average, men spend 22 hours per week with their children, while women spend about 49 hours per week for child caring activities.
8. The key theme of this study is related to men's attitudes to gender-based violence, since this social problem remains prevalent in Ukraine. In particular, one-third of the respondents indicated that they had male friends who commit physical violence against their partners. As a whole, men's tolerance to domestic violence remains quite high: 18% of respondents justify physical violence if a woman cheats on a man, and 5% of them - if a woman doesn't want to have sex with her husband. Men's attitude towards victims of sexual violence is also quite biased, as a lot of them blame victims for provoking behaviors or life styles. In particular, a half of the men questioned legitimacy of rape charges if the woman was affected by alcohol or drugs, 43% - if the woman had a bad reputation, one-third of men - if the woman did not physically fight back. Although men were verbally indifferent and willing to intervene if they had to become a witness of physical violence against women, their personal experience of relationships with stable partners reveals quite different realities.
9. In spite of the expected underreporting of violence, almost one-third of the men recognized that they used emotional violence against their stable partners at least once in their lives. One in seven respondents

reportedly used economic violence in his partnership, and 13% of the men had experience of use of physical violence against their partners. In addition, 5% of men forced their partners to have sex or do sexual things when she didn't want to, and other 3% of respondents forced another woman, who was not a stable partner, to have sex with them. Domestic violence is also closely linked to controlling behavior in partnerships: more than a half of the men wanted to know where their partner was all of the time, 22% of respondents wouldn't let their partners wear certain clothes or use certain make-up, while 18% of men tell their partners who they can spend time with.

10. The survey of men who were perpetrating domestic violence confirmed the gender-based grounds of this problem, as the perpetrators' aggression was targeted at their wives or partners in most situations (58%). The causes of violent conflicts were equally associated with socioeconomic factors (e.g. economic hardships or negative social behaviors in the family - alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.) and problems in interpersonal relations (partner's excessive control or nagging, interference of relatives in marital relations, etc.). More than a half of the perpetrators confirmed the provocative effect of alcohol and other stimulants: 55% of them were intoxicated at the time of abuse, while 17% indicated that other conflict participants were affected by alcohol. The survey data suggests that domestic violence is a systemic problem, since 83% of perpetrators reported that they had conflicts with victims in the past. In spite of intervention programs and preventive measures of the law enforcement officers, only 7% of perpetrators strongly agreed that conflicts will not be repeated in their families in the future.
11. Unfortunately, the public attitudes still disprove the practice of seeking outside help in the situation of domestic violence. In particular, more than a half of the men who used to perpetrate domestic violence and cooperated with social services to break the cycle of violence believed that family conflicts are private problems that should be resolved within the family. Still, one-fourth of the perpetrators admit effectiveness of contacting psychologists or social workers to break the cycle of violence in case if all family members are involved in the therapy, while 13% of the perpetrators suggested that intervention work with the perpetrator might be effective as well. Such intervention tools as information campaigns in the media and social advertising were less supported by the perpetrators, as was strengthening liability for domestic violence or

'educational' impact of moral authorities. In most situations, men who are prone to aggression demonstrated their readiness to listen only to those in their closest environment - their own parents, friends and - to a lesser extent - wives. Perpetrators were rather skeptical in terms of intervention impacts of special programs; they also reported the lack in motivation to attend the training. Although almost a half of them declared a desire to improve family relations, 24% wanted to change themselves for the better, and 16% felt guilty, a large proportion of perpetrators indicated that they attend intervention programs in order to avoid liability (32%).

12. According to the survey of men who perpetrated domestic violence, it is difficult to change the behavioral patterns, perceptions and attitudes that are firmly established in the minds of adult men. Therefore, it is crucial to focus advocacy efforts and information campaigns on young men who have significant potential to promote gender equality. Respectively, support of civic activists and social movements of young men who recognize the unacceptability of gender-based violence and discrimination should be prioritized by governmental authorities, civil society and international organizations that support the reforms in Ukraine. In the international practice, there are numerous examples of successful strategies for increasing male participation in combating gender-based violence and discrimination, and supporting the empowerment of women (for example, the White Ribbon Campaign that is gaining momentum in many countries, as well as other evidence-based school, sports, or community-based interventions). In addition, bystander interventions and psychosocial support are also needed for men, women and children who witness violence in their families, as this negative experience might become a driver of the later use of domestic violence.
13. The parallel efforts should be targeted at eliminating the gender stereotypes on the roles, powers and responsibilities of women and men that are still reinforced in the system of schooling and imposed by the media and advertising. These problems could be solved by a systematic gender expertise of the educational programs, textbooks and study materials, special training for educators and media representatives, and strengthening liability for using sexist approaches in advertisements. Responsible fatherhood may be another way to engage men in mainstreaming gender equality and transforming the gender stereotypes. In particular, development of special father training

programs may provide benefits for both parents and children, as well enhance men's involvement in the family planning and healthcare. Outreach campaigns might be the efficient tools of promoting responsible fatherhood and equal sharing of household responsibilities between women and men given involvement of the 'opinion leaders' and 'role models' who are popular and trustworthy for men. Importantly, these efforts should be implemented together with efforts to engage young women in questioning of gender norms and roles.

14. It is equally important to attract men to the health care and safe lifestyles, including reproductive health, mental health and prevention of risk-taking behaviors. Men's stressful employment may be addressed through the active labor market policies, re-equipping hazardous occupations, and enhancing the system of social protection for employed persons, including male and female workers with family responsibilities. All these efforts will enhance men's social well-being and improve their quality of life.

## ANNEXES

### *Annex 1.*

#### **Distribution of the survey respondents (men aged 18-59) by the regions of Ukraine**

Oblast	Number of men, persons	Percentage
1. Vinnytsia oblast	61	4,0
2. Volyn oblast	40	2,6
3. Dnipropetrivsk oblast	128	8,4
4. Donetsk oblast	75	4,9
5. Zhytomyr oblast	46	3,0
6. Zakarpattia oblast	47	3,1
7. Zaporizhzhia oblast	71	4,7
8. Ivano-Frankivsk oblast	54	3,6
9. Kyiv oblast	66	4,3
10. Kyiv city	111	7,3
11. Kirovograd oblast	37	2,4
12. Luhansk oblast	35	2,3
13. Lviv oblast	100	6,6
14. Mykolaiv oblast	45	3,0
15. Odesa oblast	94	6,2
16. Poltava oblast	55	3,6
17. Rivne oblast	42	2,8
18. Sumy oblast	45	3,0
19. Ternopil oblast	41	2,7
20. Kharkiv oblast	110	7,2
21. Kherson oblast	44	2,9
22. Khmelnytskyi oblast	49	3,2
23. Cherkasy oblast	48	3,2
24. Chernivtsi oblast	35	2,3
25. Chernihiv oblast	41	2,7
<b>26. Total</b>	<b>1 520</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**Annex 2.**

**Information about participants of focus groups discussions entitled  
'Masculinity today: men's attitude to gender norms and domestic violence'**

<b>№</b>	<b>Target group of men</b>	<b>Number of participants</b>	<b>Age of participants</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Local organizer/partner</b>
1.	'Millennials'	10 persons	15-22	Kremenchuk, Poltava oblast	Kremenchuk Municipal Committee of Youth Organization
2.	ATO combatants	10 persons	23-49	Kyiv	NGO of ATO combatants 'Spravedlyvist'
3.	Men ordered to attend the intervention programs/ recorded in the police domestic violence registry	6 persons	22-66	Kyiv	Center on Family and Women of Desnyanska District Administration of Kyiv city
4	Men ordered to attend the intervention programs/ recorded in the police domestic violence registry	8 persons	17-62	Odesa	Department of Social Work of Odesa Municipal center of Social Service for Family, Children and Youth in Malynovskiy district
5.	Men ordered to attend the intervention programs/ recorded in the police domestic violence registry	7 persons	35-69	Zaporizhzhia	NGO «APP «Vzayemodiya»
6.	Men ordered to attend the intervention programs/ recorded in the police domestic violence registry	10 persons	18-59	Bila Tserkva, Kyiv oblast	Ukrainian Institute for Social Research named after Oleksandr Yaremchenko
7.	Men	8 persons	18-59	Lysychansk, Luhansk oblast	Ukrainian Institute for Social Research named after Oleksandr Yaremchenko
8.	Men	8 oci6	18-59	Soposhyn, Lviv oblast	Ukrainian Institute for Social Research after Oleksandr Yaremchenko
9.	Men	10 persons	18-59	Mykolayiv	Ukrainian Institute for Social Research after Oleksandr Yaremchenko
10.	Men	10 persons	18-59	Chernihiv oblast	Ukrainian Institute for Social Research after Oleksandr Yaremchenko

**Annex 3.**

**Social-demographic background of men ordered to attend the intervention program for perpetrators of domestic violence or recorded in the police domestic violence registry**

Variables	Percentage, %
<b>Age groups</b>	
18-29 years old	18
30-39 years old	40
40-49 years old	27
50-59 years old	16
<b>Education</b>	
Primary education (less than 9 grades)	2
Incomplete secondary education (full 9 grades)	12
Complete secondary education (11 grades)	24
Vocational training or special secondary education (vocational schools, professional colleges)	39
Complete or incomplete higher education	24
<b>Marital status</b>	
Never married	12
Married	40
Non-registered marriage (cohabitation)	24
Divorced	16
Separated (no official divorce)	6
Widowed	1
<b>Length of relationship (among the partnered respondents)</b>	
Less than 5 years	27
5 – 9 years	27
10-14 years	18
15 years and more	27

**MASCULINITY TODAY:**  
MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Variables	Percentage, %
<b>Presence of minor children</b>	
With children under 18	50
No children under 18	50
<b>Current place of residence</b>	
Own accommodation	18
Accommodation owned by wife/partner	15
Accommodation jointly owned by the respondent and his wife/partner	16
Accommodation owned by respondent's parents	30
Accommodation owned by wife's/partner's parents	9
Accommodation owned by friends/other people	0
Rented accommodation	10
Office accommodation (hostel, dormitory)	0
Other	1
<b>Household composition</b>	
Single person	8
Wife/partner	58
Child/children	35
Other children (of relatives, of wife's previous marriage, etc.)	7
Mother and/or father	27
Wife's/partner's mother and/or father	13
Other relatives, family members	11
Other persons, non-family members (dormitory roommates)	1

**MASCULINITY TODAY:**  
MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Variables	Percentage, %
<b>Labour market status</b>	
Neither working nor studying (not seeking for a job)	9
Student, pupil	2
Unemployed (seeking for a job)	12
Employed full-time	33
Irregular employment (incl. Seasonal works)	36
Pensioner (age retiree, length of service, etc.)	6
Engaged in household activities (incl. care-giving for children and family members)	1
Other	1
<b>Main household 'breadwinner' (the main part of household income)</b>	
Respondent	36
Wife/partner	13
Respondent and his wife/partner about the same	31
Respondent's parents	17
Respondent wife's parents	1
Other relatives, family members	1
Social benefits, assistance from the state	2
<b>Vulnerability status</b>	
Internally displaced people	2
Combatants, including ATO combatants	4
Persons with disability	8
Families with many children	5
Single-parent families	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Information on crime offences related to domestic violence in the regions of Ukraine, 9 months of 2017**

**Annex 4**

Region	Registered reports and notification about crime offenses related to domestic violence	of them: from children	pre-court investigation started	adminis-trative protocols signed	of them:				no deci-sions made	materials are proceeded in departments:
					district police officers	juvenile preven-tion	district po-lice officers	juvenile prevention		
Vinnitsia oblast	6 385	65	8	4 946	2 442	70	1 431	717	21	
Volyn oblast	2 389		30	2 359	2 338	21				
Dnipropetrivsk oblast	6 936		112	6 773	4 493	146	51	32		
Donetsk oblast	2 894	517	14	2 098	2 001	97	265	216	49	
Zhytomyr oblast	2 528	58	63	2 360	2 284	76	47			
Zakarpattia oblast	2 107	12	49	2 058	598	27				
Zaporizhzhia oblast	3 672	6	530	1 482	736	30	20	9	1	
Ivano-Frankivsk oblast	1 841	41	17	290	147	1				
Kyiv oblast	5 016	2		3 612	1 771	94	303	176		
Kyiv city	7 160	2	233	4 698	4 290	47	754	750	4	
Kirovograd oblast	3 119	1	124	1 853	1 521	38	637	634	2	
Luhansk oblast	2 461	5	65	582	542	15				
Lviv oblast	3 485	28	28	2 922	1 473	39	67	59	8	
Mykolajiv oblast	2 640	9	173	1 506	1 482	24				
Odesa oblast	6 294	7	10	5 821	4 443	139	463	415	7	

## MASCULINITY TODAY:

MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Region	Registered reports and notification about crime offenses related to domestic violence	of them:						
		of them: from children		of them by departments:		of them: materials are proceeded in departments:		
		pre-court investigation started	adminis-trative protocols signed	district police officers	juvenile preven-tion	no deci-sions made	district po-lice officers	juvenile prevention
Poltava oblast	1 197	2	2	1 195	1 102	93		
Rivne oblast	3 579	92	41	3 468	1 031	56		
Sумы oblast	3 145	77	41	1 616	1 590	26	38	38
Ternopil oblast	2 120	18		2 013	1 960	53		
Kharkiv oblast	3 768	7	3	3 163	3 113	50	8	7
Kherson oblast	3 045	73	339	2 422	993	53	211	201
Khmelnytskyi oblast	2 195		131	2 049	704	33	15	14
Cherkasy oblast	1 988	42	26	1 407	690	43		
Chernivtsi oblast	1 778	92	6	796	741	55	24	22
Chernihiv oblast	2 222	5	12	879	826	51		
Ukraine, total	83 964	1 133	2 057	62 368	43 311	1 377	4 334	3 290

Source: National Police of Ukraine.

**MASCULINITY TODAY:  
MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES  
AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**



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