

СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

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TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY: UKRAINE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Purpose. This article attempts to examine the current state of addressing gender inequality in Ukraine. **Methodology.** The author has used methodology of historical inquiry, hermeneutical methodology and content analysis. Theoretical basis and results. Issues about gender imbalance are acute in Ukraine. Gender inequality in politics is a matter of serious concern. Insignificant part of women in political and decision-making processes is a serious challenge to democracy. Discrimination in the labor market should be noted. Obvious gender inequality in the labor market has led to feminization of poverty. Violence against women has become an acute problem, which can be resolved at the state level only. Although international and national legislation is based on the principle of equality, in practice women are not equal in social life and activities. There is a deep contradiction between the new needs in society and the lack of conditions for their satisfaction. This situation appears to be a challenge to modern Ukrainian society and state of Ukraine, thus, immediate appropriate actions are required. **Scientific novelty.** It is essential to bring Ukrainian legislation into conformity with the constitutional principles of equality and European standards; develop appropriate and effective anti-discrimination norms and sanctions for violating gender legislation; introduce special measures to ensure gender parity in decision-making, in all public offices; conduct special information campaigns; develop and institutionalize gender studies and gender education at all stages; get more public control over the implementation of international commitments and principles of equal rights and opportunities for women and men. **Conclusion.** Appropriate mechanisms for overcoming gender stereotypes will contribute to integration of equal rights' principle and opportunities. Human resources policies require systematic approach to gender analysis and integration in order to address gender issues in program development. In the 21st century issues of gender equity should be a priority at all levels.

Keywords: gender, gender equality, gender politics, gender stereotypes, public administration, humanization, democracy.

Introduction

“Women's rights are human rights” is declared in paragraph 14 of the Declaration adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, which took place in 1995 [13]. Combating gender discrimination stereotypes is one of the most important issues of today. Its awareness and removal of “barriers” that impedes the development of equal relationship between men and women meet the goals of humanistic society.

The struggle for women's equality has a long history. At different times and in different countries voluntary associations declared that women as a social group hold unfair subordinate position in society and do not have basic civil and political rights. In 17th century works proving that women and men are created free and equal were written. The work “On the Equality of the Two Sexes” by Cartesian and feminist philosopher, convinced supporter of women's rights François Poulain de la Barre should be noted [32]. He among first to declare that gender imbalance is a result of women's

subjugation with brute male force, and by no means *lex naturalis* [1]. English pamphleteers of the 17th - beginning of the 18th century Mary Astell and Aphra Behn in their writings proclaimed women's inherent human right to freedom. They defended the thesis on the equality of women and men. A significant contribution to the preparation of the ideological platform of women's movements was made by the French writer, journalist, and political activist Olympe de Gouges. During the French Revolution, she wrote the “Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen” [25]. This declaration became a kind of counterbalance to the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen”. This document contained the requirement to provide women's civil and voting rights, as well as ability to hold public office. An eighteenth century English writer, philosopher, and advocate of women's rights Mary Wollstonecraft in her “A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects” [35] investigated the effects of a serious female

СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

education on the emancipation of women. She insisted on legal protection of women's rights to education, work, and equality.

In the 1840s-1850s in England and later in the United States, Germany, France, and other countries suffragism emerged. Suffragism is a socio-political women's movement, which advocated for women's suffrage and sought to transform the traditional system of gender relations, where the social role of women was limited to the private sphere. Overlapping manifestations of militant and constitutional suffrage activists has generated considerable public outcry. The years of suffragette struggle, of speeches, marches, civil disobedience, all bore fruit. During the first decades of the 20th century, majority of European and North American women gained their rights. "Voting rights were gained by women meant a radical undermining of the ideology of women's "natural subjugation" and male dominance. Suffragists hoped that gaining equal voting rights should automatically improve policies, however, their hopes proved to be illusory" [9].

The second wave of feminism in the West began in the 1960s. African-American civil rights movement, the Western leftist student movement in general, the campaign against the Vietnam War revived the women's movement. The significant role was played by the socio-economic changes in Western society in the mid-twentieth century: effective birth control methods, increasing female employment, increasing the number of women in higher education. Representatives of the second wave critically evaluated cultural stereotypes of society. During this period the main directions of feminism were formed: liberal, socialist, and radical.

The main ideas of the liberal feminism were outlined by Betty Friedan in her book "The Feminine Mystique" [22]. This classical feminist text debunked myths about natural subordination of women and the domination of men in all spheres of life. Author insisted on necessity to expand educational and career opportunities for women. She reasonably believed that getting the right to vote is not enough to address the whole spectrum of social and political issues. Liberal feminists Alice Rossi [31], Janet Richards [30], Susan Okin [29], Natalie Bluestone [14] stated that socio-economic and legal reforms within existing society are crucially needed to solve the problem of gender equality. Modern liberal feminism advocates for social and

legislative reforms, which aim to ensure equal opportunities for women, obtain equal civil rights, introduce a bill to legalize same-sex marriages. Social policy is seen as an important force in increasing women's access to economic opportunities and civil rights.

Socialist feminism, which synthesized Marxist and feminist views, is presented by Cynthia Cockburn [15], Mary Evans [20], Zillah Eisenstein [19], Linda Gordon [24], Mary O'Brien [28]. They emphasized that the main causes of discrimination against women are private property and class structure of society. Separation of public (men) and private (women) spheres of activity has a class character, that is, wives/women are similar to proletariat. The main goal of Marxist feminists is elimination of private property and capitalism.

For radical feminists Kate Millett [27], Shulamith Firestone [21], Christine Delphy [18], Mary Daly [17] patriarchy is the deepest foundation of women's oppression. Radical feminism was influenced by "The Second Sex" – famous writing of known French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir [12]. The author defined her position as existential, not as female or feminist. Men do not allow women to assert their own importance in this world, trying to turn them into an object of consumption. The problem of suppression of feminine in culture was posed in "The Second Sex". Human society identifies male/masculine as a positive cultural norm in contrast to female/feminine as a deviation from the norm. These cultural stereotypes are assimilated by men and women in the process of socialization.

The most radical feminists argue that women's oppression is the first, the most common and the most profound form of human oppression. A man arrogates to himself the most prestigious social roles, forcing a woman to be subordinated and exploited. Radical feminism defines patriarchy as "a system of government, in which the supreme power and economic privileges belong to a man" [11, P. 21]. In particular, men control women's sexuality and dominate in social institutions. This situation encourages the further devaluation of women and prolongs their submission.

The third wave of feminism began to emerge in the 1980s - 1990s. Its theorists recognize "multiplicity" of female and male worlds; emphasize the construction of different variations of "femininity" and "masculinity", which are perceived as "fluid", "recreated on a daily basis" in the process of hu-

СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

man interaction [4]. The third wave of feminism is characterized by deep theoretical foundations, as well as by shift from socio-economic sphere to philosophical.

Gender and feminist studies in Ukraine and the role of public institutions in addressing gender inequality recently started to attract more and more interest in the scientific community. The extreme importance of gender component in the process of humanization of public administration, the positive experience of other democracies encourage Ukrainian scholars to focus on this issue. Gender issues in public administration are developed by L. Kobelyanska, N. Grytsiak, A. Kulachek, I. Grabowski, G. Daudova, I. Lazar, N. Kovalishyna, M. Popov. Despite the availability of certain studies in this area, gender issues still remain terra incognita. Quite often women problem is seen as isolated from gender representations, which make significant adjustments to given perspective by identifying cultural norms and systems of expectations are imposed on men and women. Sometimes in our society we can observe so-called anti-gender resistance [5], which impedes the progress of Ukraine towards a just society.

Purpose

This article attempts to examine the current state of addressing gender inequality in Ukraine.

Methodology

The author has used methodology of historical inquiry, hermeneutical methodology, and content analysis.

Theoretical basis and results

Women's struggle for gender equality has led to certain changes in public consciousness over the role of women, but despite this, the real equality is not achieved. Although a lot of restrictions that existed before were canceled, there are no real guarantees of equal rights on the basis of sex. Women are still largely subordinate to men. Civil liberties will remain abstract concepts unless they can be supported by women's chances to realize their potential, their own life projects.

In today's world, there are 57 million more men than women. This surplus of men characterizes the world's most populous countries – China and India. In most other countries, there are more women than men [34]. However, women's representation in parliament barely holds 30 percent of the total number of deputies, and only in a few

countries. In 2009 women headed only 13 of 500 largest corporations in the world. Regardless of educational level and income both men and women are still not equal. In a majority of countries women's wages average 70 to 90 percent of men's wages [26]; women rarely occupy responsible positions. Women worldwide experience physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence. Thus, the gender inequality in the world remains a global problem.

Issues about gender imbalance are acute in Ukraine. During the Millennium Summit (2000) the Millennium Development Goals were outlined. Among 189 member states of the United Nations, Ukraine is committed to gender equality and the empowerment of women. One of the steps towards achieving gender equality is ensuring sex ratio of at least 30 to 70 percent of any sex within the top echelons of power, reduce the income gap between women and men by half [3]. According to Global Gender Gap Report 2012 by World Economic Forum, Ukraine occupies 64th place among 135 countries, which were included in the rating. Four major spheres of gender inequality were analyzed: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political rights and opportunities [23]. It is enough to state that only 9 percent of female deputies are in Ukrainian Parliament today, while 54 percent of Ukrainian citizens are women.

Gender inequality in politics is a serious concern. Over the last 22 years (since Ukraine's independence) the situation of the women representation in politics has not improved. Insignificant part of women in political and decision-making processes is a serious challenge to democracy, as far as more than 50 percent of people are excluded from participation in government [10]. Thus, the current state of gender equality in Ukrainian society within the highest echelons of power is unsatisfactory and does not meet international standards and international commitments undertaken by Ukraine.

Discrimination in the labor market should be noted, although this fact is so often disputed. Pay level is an indicator of discrimination among employees. Women performing the same type of work tasks (and sometimes more complicated work), working the same hours are paid less in comparison to men. In almost all sectors of the economy women hold low-weight jobs. During employment, women are less likely to get a vacancy than men

СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

and they have poorer job choices. Also, the employers often say that the competition is announced exclusively for men. Unemployment among women (hidden and registered both) is higher than among men. The female-to-male ratio for average hourly wages stands at 72, 5 percent. The occupations that employ the most women continue to fall under the "traditional" careers for women – education, health, social sector, etc. This leads to an increase in economic inequality of men and women. In 20-30 years, women's wages will be only 40-50 percent of men's pension. Generally women work 4-6 hours more than men, but work in the household is not considered to be productive and therefore is not paid and not included in the pension schemes. Women, who have children and get paid maternity leave, become uncompetitive in the labor market. Women make up the vast majority of labor migrants from Ukraine [6]. This obvious gender inequality in the labor market has led to feminization of poverty.

Violence against women has become an acute problem. Women in Ukraine are usually deprived of fundamental rights to be free from violence and to fight back on the grounds of law. Current legislation, economic and social structures do not allow women to receive compensation for domestic violence. According to the chairman of the Board of Women's Information Consultative Center O. Suslova, today in Ukraine we observe the phenomenon of femicide - systematic extermination of women. The expert believes that Ukrainian girls are brought up to be submissive and obedient to men. That is why "you can not expect them to say "no" when they want to say "no" [2]. Failing to respond adequately to the problem of domestic violence and discrimination of victims of domestic violence, Ukrainian government is unable to fulfill obligations as a member of the UN and the Council of Europe, and its actions are not consistent with international human rights standards. Domestic violence is not a private matter, but one of the most acute problems of society, which can be resolved at the state level only.

As a result of long-term women's groups activities in May, 2011, the Council of Europe finally adopted the Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence [16]. The Convention is the first European legally binding instrument, which requires the government to take action of preventing, combating and punishing violence against women. The Convention

shall enter into force only being signed and ratified by 10 countries - members of the Council of Europe. On November, 7, 2011, Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs (at the time) K. Gryshchenko signed the Convention on behalf of Ukraine. Thus, Ukraine became the 17th state to join it, but, unfortunately, has not yet ratified it. On March 14, 2013, ombudsman V. Lutkovska urged Ukrainian Government to ratify the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence [8]. Ratification of this Convention will implement appropriate measures to promote an integrated approach for elimination of violence against women and domestic violence by further application of the Convention at the national level.

But it is clear that rights alone do not guarantee equality and justice for women. National and international measures are at work, but they are not sufficient to minimize and eliminate gender inequality. Although international and national legislation is based on the principle of equality, in practice women are not equal in social life and activities. There is a deep contradiction between the new needs in society and the lack of conditions for their satisfaction. Deep roots of gender inequality in Ukrainian society are: stereotypes that view women as weak compared to men, as performing secondary roles in the political, economic, social, and private life; unstable, critical economic situation, unemployment that often turns free human being into "live goods"; poorly developed civil society, women's underrepresentation in all areas of decision-making; the passivity of women's organizations and every single woman in asserting their rights; traditional, patriarchal, sometimes unconsciously arrogant attitude of men towards women that further reinforces the gender asymmetry.

This situation appears to be a challenge to modern Ukrainian society and state of Ukraine, thus, immediate appropriate actions are required. The most important feature of good governance in addressing gender inequality is the ability of public institutions to develop effective mechanisms for implementation and application of gender equality policy, as well as related programs that recognize and adequately respond to the different needs of men and women.

Scientific novelty

While gender equality has been a central and enduring theme in Western gender theory, traditionally it has had a marginal reputation in Ukrain-

СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

ian mentality. Viewed as a challenge to traditional notions of women's place in society, gender issues are often seen as something to be avoided, as something problematic and harmful for society. However, more people are aware now that gender equality has the potential to bring new perspectives [6; 7].

It is essential to:

- bring Ukrainian legislation into conformity with the constitutional principles of equality and European standards;
- implement inventory of laws and regulations on the basis of gender expertise;
- develop appropriate and effective anti-discrimination norms and sanctions for violating gender legislation;
- set out special guarantees and penalties for violating principle of equal opportunities in the labor market;
- introduce special measures to ensure gender parity in decision-making, in all public offices;
- conduct special information campaigns;
- develop and institutionalize gender studies and gender education at all stages;
- focus on public accountability and get more public control over the implementation of international commitments and principles of equal rights and opportunities for women and men.

Specific spheres of gender policy development are:

- supporting further development of pragmatic policies and legislation, which are important for achieving gender equality in society: for example, legislation needed to ensure equal representation of men and women in elected bodies; legislation against gender discrimination; equal rights and opportunities for women and men in employment, training and retraining, business activity, balancing work and family;
- developing strategies to combat human trafficking and gender-based violence;
- improving family and labour legislation;
- supporting the development of sectoral and regional strategies and programs on gender equality;
- implementation of gender component in all international and national projects and programs at national and regional levels with the support of international organiza-

tions and foundations;

- increasing capacity of government agencies to gather gender-structured information, carry out gender analysis, integrate aspects of gender equality in other spheres of public life at national and regional levels;
- implementation of gender equality principle in policy of sustainable development of human resources;
- gender culture formation through development and implementation of special education programs aimed to overcome gender stereotypes.

Conclusion

Appropriate mechanisms for overcoming gender stereotypes will contribute to integration of equal rights' principle and opportunities. Human resources policies require systematic approach to gender analysis and integration in order to address gender issues in program development. In the 21st century issues of gender equity should be a priority at all levels.

The Beijing Platform for Action emphasizes that women share common tasks in achieving gender equality and women empowerment worldwide, which can be accomplished only in partnership with men. All state institutions and all public officials (men and women both) share responsibility for progress towards gender equality. Gender movement evolved into a movement for social progress. Tasks and goals of the movement are significant not only for women, they are important within society as a whole - society, in which men and women as two pieces of a unified system interact and complement each other. Thus, gender equality is the question of human existence equality. United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon stated: "There is one universal truth, applicable to all countries, cultures and communities: violence against women is never acceptable, never excusable, never tolerable" [33].

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СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

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НА ШЛЯХУ ДО ГЕНДЕРНОЇ РІВНОСТІ: УКРАЇНА В ХХІ СТОЛІТТІ

Мета. У статті робиться спроба проаналізувати сучасний стан вирішення проблеми гендерної нерівності в Україні. **Методологія.** Автор застосував порівняльно-історичний метод, методологію філософської герменевтики та контент-аналіз. Теоретичний базис та результати. Проблема гендерної справедливості не обминула й Україну. Гендерна нерівність у сфері політики викликає серйозну стурбованість. Низьке представництво й незначна участь жінок у політичних процесах і процесах ухвалення рішень є серйозним викликом українській демократії. Найважче є дискримінація на ринку праці. Очевидна нерівність позицій жінок та чоловіків на ринку праці призвела до фемінізації бідності. Особливої гостроти набула проблема насильства над жінками, вирішити яку під силу тільки на рівні держави. Хоча міжнародні й національні законодавчі акти виходять з принципу рівноправності, на практиці жінки не є рівноправними в суспільному житті та діяльності. Спостерігається яскраво виражене протиріччя між новими потребами та відсутністю в суспільстві умов для їх задоволення. Все це є викликом сучасному українському суспільству й державі та потребує негайних адекватних дій. **Новизна.** Необхідним є приведення українського законодавства у відповідність до конституційних принципів рівності та європейських норм; вироблення особливих антидискримінаційних норм і санкцій за порушення гендерного законодавства; введення спеціальних заходів для забезпечення паритетного представництва жінок і чоловіків на всіх рівнях прийняття рішень; проведення спеціальних інформаційних кампаній; розвиток та інституціалізація гендерних досліджень і гендерної освіти; посилення громадського контролю за виконанням міжнародних зобов'язань та задекларованих принципів рівності прав та можливостей жінок і чоловіків. **Висновки.** Відповідні механізми подолання гендерних стереотипів сприятимуть подальшій інтеграції принципу рівних прав і можливостей. Державна кадрова політика вимагає системного підходу до питань гендерного аналізу з метою подолання гендерних стереотипів та встановлення справедливого суспільства. В ХХІ ст. питання гендерної справедливості має стати пріоритетним на всіх рівнях.

Ключові слова: гендер, гендерна рівність, гендерна політика, гендерні стереотипи, державне управління, гуманізація, демократія

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НА ПУТИ К ГЕНДЕРНОМУ РАВЕНСТВУ: УКРАИНА В ХХІ ВЕКЕ

Цель. В статье предпринята попытка проанализировать современное состояние проблемы гендерного неравенства в Украине и пути ее решения. **Методология.** Автор применял сравнительно-исторический метод, методологию философской герменевтики и контент-анализ. Теоретический базис и результаты. Проблема гендерной справедливости не обошла и Украину. Гендерное неравенство в сфере политики

СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ І ФІЛОСОФІЯ ІСТОРІЇ

вызывает серьезную обеспокоенность. Низкое представительство и незначительное участие женщин в политических процессах и процессах принятия решений является серьезным вызовом украинской демократии. Налицо дискриминация на рынке труда. Очевидное неравенство позиций женщин и мужчин на рынке труда привело к феминизации бедности. Особую остроту приобрела проблема насилия над женщинами, решить которую под силу только на уровне государства. Хотя международные и национальные законодательные акты исходят из принципа равноправия, на практике женщины не являются равноправными в общественной жизни и деятельности. Наблюдается ярко выраженное противоречие между новыми потребностями и отсутствием в обществе условий для их удовлетворения. Все это является вызовом современному украинскому обществу и государству и требует немедленных адекватных действий. **Новизна.** Сегодня необходимы: приведение украинского законодательства в соответствие с конституционными принципами равенства и европейских норм; выработка особых антидискриминационных норм и санкций за нарушение гендерного законодательства; введение специальных мер для обеспечения паритетного представительства женщин и мужчин на всех уровнях принятия решений; проведение специальных информационных кампаний; развитие и институционализация гендерных исследований и гендерного образования; усиление общественного контроля за выполнением международных обязательств и задекларированных принципов равенства прав и возможностей женщин и мужчин. **Выводы.** Соответствующие механизмы преодоления гендерных стереотипов будут способствовать дальнейшей интеграции принципа равных прав и возможностей. Государственная кадровая политика требует системного подхода к вопросам гендерного анализа с целью преодоления гендерных стереотипов и установления справедливого общества. В XXI в. вопросы гендерной справедливости должны стать приоритетными на всех уровнях.

Ключевые слова: гендер, гендерное равенство, гендерная политика, гендерные стереотипы, государственное управление, гуманизация, демократия

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