WOMEN WARRIORS: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN'S IMAGES IN THE UKRAINIAN MEDIA

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INTRODUCTION

In contemporary times, gender issues have emerged as a pivotal aspect within the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The integration of women in the armed forces is influenced by four primary factors. The first of these factors pertains to demographic shifts within society, along with the implementation of gender policy regulations. These regulations are designed to guarantee equal rights and opportunities for both women and men, while also addressing issues of gender discrimination. In accordance with the principle of social justice, it is imperative that women be granted equal rights to those of men, including in the domain of national defense. The second factor pertains to an internal aspect of the military. Military organizations are obligated to address the demands of women in the armed forces and to provide opportunities for their career advancement. The third factor is related to changes observed in modern warfare. These changes can be attributed, at least in part, to the development and integration of advanced weaponry. Technological advancements have the effect of diminishing the importance of conventional masculine traits, such as physical prowess and combativeness. The fourth factor is the societal denial of the distinct nature of military organizations and the demand by state and governmental structures for the implementation of the same principles of equal opportunities for women in military structures as in civilian organizations. As female military representation becomes the prevailing paradigm rather than an anomalous phenomenon, the military forces must address a range of gender-related issues in addition to simply augmenting the number of women in the armed forces¹.

It is imperative to recognize the persistent prevalence of gender stereotypes in Ukraine, despite the nation's dedication to ensuring equitable opportunities for both men and women across all societal domains. The

¹ Храбан Т. Жінка в армії: гендерна стереотипізація у військово-професійном середовищі. *Polonistyczno-Ukrainoznawcze Studia Naukowe*. 2022. Вип. 2. Ч. 5. С. 91–104. DOI: 10.15804/PPUSN.2022.02.10

establishment of gender-neutral professional standards, coupled with the significant increase in the female presence within the Ukrainian Armed Forces, does not overshadow the persistent challenges women face in the military and the profound societal repercussions they encounter during periods of conflict. Their involvement in warfare frequently provokes contentious responses, thereby emphasizing the deep-seated stereotypes and entrenched cultural values that continue to influence societal attitudes. Gender stereotypes manifest in all sectors of society; yet, they assume a particular significance within the domain of the military due, in part, to the pervasive influence of the military as a social institution that embodies a distinctly masculine archetype. Within this social institution, the notion that both men and women possess distinct roles to perform, while concomitantly asserting that men's roles are to be regarded as superior to those occupied by women, is not merely a subjective perception but rather, a fundamental component of military culture². The social acceptance of the notion that the armed forces are an exclusively masculine institution, devoid of any space for women, and that it is natural for men to become soldiers, serves to endorse the privileging of masculinity and men over femininity and women in society as a whole. The right of women to officially enlist in the military and to assume warrior and leadership roles, which have historically been reserved for men, has given rise to the emergence of hostile stereotypes aimed at countering and resisting this change. This resistance is particularly pronounced when the proposed change threatens to disrupt the culture and standard operating procedures of an organization³. The employment of gender stereotypes has historically functioned as a means of imposing limitations on the participation of women in military roles. This practice has aimed to render them invisible or to confine them to supportive roles, rather than fully embracing their contributions⁴. The inclusion of women in peacekeeping and conflict prevention operations has the potential to enhance the effectiveness of armed forces. However, the substitution of individualized assessments with inappropriate stereotypes has deleterious consequences for women, as well as for operational, geopolitical capabilities, partnerships, and the prospects for sustainable and equitable peace. This substitution poses significant concerns, as it not only

² Храбан Т. Соціально-комунікаційне конструювання гендерної ідентичності жінками, що проходять службу в Збройних силах України. *Соціальні комунікації: теорія і практика*. 2022. Вип. 14. ч. 1. 182–195. DOI: 10.51423/2524-0471-2022-14-1-6

³ Khraban, T. Developing a Well-balanced Military Identity among Female Military Personnel. *Polish Sociological Review*. 2024. Vol. 225. Iss. 1. P. 69–82. DOI: 10.26412/psr225.04

⁴ Храбан Т., Храбан М. Уніформа як символічна сцена формування організаційної та гендерної ідентичностей військовослужбовиць Збройних сил України. *Український соціум.* 2023. Вип. 4. Ч. 87. С. 21–36. DOI: 10.15407/socium2023.04.021

jeopardizes the integrity of armed forces but also undermines national security and hinders countries' adherence to international law. This perspective underscores the imperative to analyze the role of the media in establishing and transcending subconscious gender standards and sexist beliefs when depicting women in the military.

The media assumes a pivotal role within society. The role of the media in society is multifaceted and profound. The media function as conduits for the dissemination of information, thereby establishing a foundation for understanding textual content and interpreting its underlying meaning. Furthermore, they enable public participation in addressing issues pertinent to various facets of public and private life. The media play a pivotal role in shaping public opinion, personal beliefs, and even self-perception. They exert a significant influence on the socialization process and the development of ideology and cognitive structures. This influence contributes to the perpetuation of prevailing cultural norms and societal structures, thereby ensuring the continuity of dominant cultural forms⁵. The contemporary focus of democratic states on the establishment of an egalitarian society grounded in principles of justice has led to the media playing a distinctive and significant role in fostering a society in which women not only have equal rights, but also equal opportunities to exercise those rights.

The media plays a substantial role in shaping women's images and gender roles, establishing value judgments concerning women's characteristics and gender roles, and exerting a gradual influence on the audience to align with the views disseminated by the media⁶. The media has the potential to perpetuate conventional stereotypes concerning women, such as the archetypes of the mother or the seductress. These stereotypes can result in adverse outcomes related to gender stereotypes⁷. The pervasive presence of gender-stereotypical depictions of women in the media has been demonstrated to perpetuate and exacerbate gender inequality. The profound influence of media content on individuals' subconscious adoption and internalization of the values, beliefs, and viewpoints presented therein cannot be refuted or underestimated. The media assumes a considerable

⁵ Llanos B., Nina J. Election Coverage from a Gender Perspective: A Media Monitoring Manual. Sweden, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2011. 53 p. URL: https://recef.org/wp-content/uploads/FEM-ELEC-ONU-IDEA-monitoring-medias-genre-EN.pdf. 52 (date of access: 14.01.2024).

⁶ Kaplan E. A. Feminism and Film. Oxford University Press. 2000. 566 p.

⁷ Isaksson C. Integrating Gender Perspectives at NATO: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back. Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison / ed. by R. Egnell and M. Alam. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2019. P. 225–252. URL: https://muse.jhu.edu/book/63220 (date of access: 14.01.2024).

social responsibility⁸, acting as channels for social ideas and principles that are vital for the transformation of gender practices and the establishment of contemporary gender identities. As Butler⁹ asserts, the media assumes a pivotal role in the shaping of gender identity, initially molding the concept of femininity in accordance with prevailing cultural norms and subsequently compelling women to align their behaviors with these representations. In this manner, gender assumes a performative nature, that is, it becomes an agent of shaping the very identity it is intended to embody. In this sense, gender can be considered a productive activity. The manifestation of gender is not determined by gender identity; rather, it is a performative construction that is itself influenced by the very manifestations it purports to result from 10. As Luo 11 observes, contemporary society is distinguished by a multifaceted and dynamic cultural landscape, influenced by a complex interplay of different forces and centers. This dynamic nature renders the female image inherently resistant to a single definition imposed by dominant social institutions. Instead, the female image is a multifaceted construct, encompassing various forms of resistance and articulation of positional politics in relation to factors such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and identity. The feminist movement culminated in the attainment of equal rights for women and men. In alignment with these societal shifts, it is incumbent upon the media to evolve its portraval of women, rather than perpetuating the prevailing norm. The ongoing developments in the pursuit of gender equality have given rise to a critical discussion concerning the portrayal of women in media¹². As asserted by researchers, the gender representation of women in the media ought to embody a professional and ethical orientation, incorporating principles such as respect for accuracy, fairness, and honesty. The underlying assumption of this approach is that it can function as a means of combating misperceptions regarding women's images. This entails a departure from the conventional focus on physical attractiveness, emphasizing instead the value of recognizing and valorizing women's intellectual aptitude and professional competencies. This involves transcending conventional gender roles, recognizing the diversity of women's personalities, and acknowledging the contributions of women in

⁸ Chen M., Jiang Q. Research on the Female Image-Building in Mass Media. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*. 2019. Vol. 315. P. 285–288. DOI: 10.2991/icpcs-19.2019.63

⁹ Butler J. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York: Routledge. 1990. 256 p.

¹⁰ Luo X.H. Cultural Representation of Female Images in Advertising. *Open Access Library Journal*. 2022. Vol. 9. P. 1–20. DOI: 10.4236/oalib.1108703

¹¹ Luo X.H., op. cit.

¹² Bonsu-Owu H. A Three Step Approach Analysis of the Portrayal of Images of Women in three Ghanaian Newspapers: Newsone, Ebony and The Mirror. *Athens journal of mass media and communications*. 2019. Vol. 5. P. 131–156. DOI: 10.30958/ajmmc.5-2-4.

society¹³. Furthermore, the gender representation of women in the media should promote the expansion of women's roles beyond conventional familial and entertainment boundaries, while concurrently advocating for their entitlement to professional advancement¹⁴.

The promotion of gender equality in the media, the presentation of a true image of women, and the use of neutral and non-gendered language¹⁵ have been shown to improve the prospects for women's integration into the armed forces. It is imperative to acknowledge that the issue of inequality must not be addressed exclusively within the purview of specific social and institutional systems, such as government, education, family, and religion, as this would constitute a gross oversimplification of an issue of considerable complexity¹⁶. A precise and non-stereotypical depiction of servicewomen in the media possesses the potential to enhance public recognition of women in the armed forces, thereby underscoring their contribution to the protection of the nation's borders and national security. Furthermore, these portrayals may contribute to the dismantling of ideological and other barriers that compel servicewomen to balance between two identities in order to avoid condemnation for deviations from gender norms, whether in the imitation of men's behavior or in the manifestation of femininity, which is often perceived as the contrary of military courage. Consequently, there is a necessity to undertake a comprehensive study of the prevailing media representations of women in the armed forces. This undertaking is imperative for the continued enhancement of an accurate and truthful depiction of servicewomen.

1. A review of contemporary research and publications

Since the 1980s, scholars in the field of communication sciences have directed their research toward the portrayal of women in media images. By drawing attention to the manner in which media reflect gender stereotypes in society, these scholars have contributed to the ongoing study of this phenomenon. To this day, research conducted by scholars who utilize a feminist approach to the study of mass communication has established a foundational framework, characterized by a well-developed

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¹³ Храбан Т., Храбан М. Відображення в мас-медіа наслідків впливу війни на гендерну сегрегацію на українському ринку праці. *Соціологія: теорія, методи, маркетинг.* 2024. Вип. 2. С. 85–100. DOI: 10.15407/sociology2024.02.085

¹⁴ Chen M., Jiang Q., op. cit.

¹⁵ Asr F. T., Mazraeh M., Lopes A., Gautam V., Gonzales J., Rao P., Taboada M., & Kehler A. The Gender Gap Tracker: Using Natural Language Processing to measure gender bias in media. *PLoS ONE*. 2021. Vol. 16. Iss. 1. e0245533. URL: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A650107237/AONE?u=googlescholar&sid=googleScholar&xid=32123696 (date of access: 14.01.2024).

¹⁶ Sharma B. Image of Women in Media. SSRN Electronic Journal. 2013. DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.2316183

theoretical and empirical content¹⁷. Conventionally, research in the domain of gender representation in media is classified into two approaches. One of these approaches is centered on the relationship between gender, media, and culture, while the other is focused on the impact of gender on journalistic practice and news audiences. Researchers conducting studies in accordance with these two approaches note that media continue to create stereotypical images of women, thereby engaging in discriminatory attitudes toward women based on a male worldview¹⁸. Tuchman observes that dominant media representations of women frequently fall into two categories: housewives, mothers, or "pink-collar" workers (i.e., service or social infrastructure workers). These representations typically emphasize "domestic" concerns such as marriage and child-rearing, while neglecting to address crucial aspects such as education, training, and other factors associated with power, authority, and independence 19. In the process of creating female images, the media demonstrate a consistent adherence to myths, archetypes, and stereotypes²⁰ that prescribe "correct" gender behavior and gender roles. It is evident that the media serve to reinforce the prevailing norms associated with gender, dictating the behaviors considered acceptable for each gender. These norms function as a critical evaluative framework, providing a lens through which individuals interpret and comprehend their worldview²¹. The persistent utilization of fixed narratological frameworks concerning gender identity in media discourses serves to perpetuate entrenched gender norms, while concurrently cultivating a pervasive comprehension of social configurations that uphold the traditional patriarchal order²². A similar situation is observed regarding women in the military, as noted in a number of scholarly studies of contemporary media images of women soldiers (Holland²³, Just²⁴, Howard

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¹⁷ Luo X.H., op. cit.

¹⁸ Paynter K. C. Gender Stereotypes and Representation of Female Characters in Children's Picture Books. Doctoral Dissertations and Projects, 2011. 464 p. URL: https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/doctoral/464 (date of access: 14.01.2024).

¹⁹ Tuchman G. The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media. *Culture and Politics* / ed. by L. Crothers, C. Lockhart. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000. P. 150–174. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-349-62965-7_9

²⁰ Berkowitz D. Suicide bombers as women warriors: Making news through mythical archetypes. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly. 2005. Vol. 82, no. 3. P. 607–622. DOI:10.1177/107769900508200308

²¹ Sjober L., & Gentry C.E. Mothers, monsters, whores: *Women's violence in global politics*. New York, NY: Zed Books Ltd, 2007. 276 p.

²² Ross K. and Byerly C.M. Women and Media: International Perspectives. John Wiley & Sons, 2008. 304 p.

²³ Holland S. L. The dangers of playing dress-up: Popular representations of Jessica Lynch and the controversy regarding women in combat. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 2006. Vol. 92, no. 1. P. 27–50. DOI:10.1080/00335630600687123

& Prividera²⁵, among others). The media contribute to the formation of the public's perceptions by establishing a stereotypically feminine and fragile image, thereby fostering the belief that the concepts of "woman" and "army" are inherently incompatible. Narratives that align with a "patriarchal militarism" perspective often portray valiant and courageous male figures in contrast to weak and defenseless female characters. A potential indication of patriarchal militarism can be inferred through the examination of narratives that center on male figures who prioritize the protection of women and the feminine essence embodied by concepts such as the motherland²⁶. As such, the military becomes an ideal manifestation of hegemonic masculinity, wherein individuals of the male gender construct and actualize their notions of masculinity by engaging in combat for the defense of their nation. Conversely, women are regarded as the physical manifestation of the causes that motivate men to engage in warfare. The findings from a range of studies (Howard & Prividera²⁷; Kumar²⁸; Taylor & Hardman²⁹, among others) demonstrate that the news media not only objectify the army as a masculine social institution in contemporary society but also promote patriarchal militarism, with a particular emphasis during wartime. The majority of studies conducted by Ukrainian media scholars, drawing upon gender or feminist theoretical frameworks, have focused on the representation of women through the lens of consumerism. Nevertheless, contemporary media imagery depicting women in the military has received scant attention in these analyses.

The **aim** of this study is to propose a typology of images of female soldiers created by the Ukrainian media during the Russo-Ukrainian War.

²⁴ Just S. N. Embattled agencies: How mass mediated comparisons of Lynndie England and Jessica Lynch affect the identity positions available to female soldiers in the US army. Scandinavian Journal of Management. 2006. Vol. 22, no. 2 P. 99–119. URL: http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/09565221 (date of access: 14.01.2024).

²⁵ Howard J.W., & Prividera L.C. The Fallen Woman Archetype: Media Representations of Lynndie England, Gender, and the (Ab)uses of U.S. Female Soldiers. *Women's Studies in Communication*. 2008. Vol. 31. P. 287–311. DOI: 10.1080/07491409.2008.10162544

²⁶ Howard J.W., & Prividera L.C., op. cit.

²⁷ Howard J.W., & Prividera L.C., op. cit.

²⁸ Kumar D. Media, war and propaganda: Strategies of information management during the 2003 Iraq war. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*. 2006. Vol. 3, no. 1. P. 48–69. DOI: 10.1080/14791420500505650

²⁹ Taylor A., & Hardman M.J. War, language and gender, what new can be said? Framing the issues. *Women and Language*. 2004. Vol. 27, no. 2. P. 3–19. URL: https://mason.gmu.edu/~ataylor/dvd_project/Readings/War,%20Language%20and%20Gender.pdf (date of access: 14.01.2024).

2. Methods and Materials

The research method employed was qualitative content analysis. Given the demonstrated reliability of content analysis in media research, its utilization as a methodological framework for this study was a logical choice, as it offered a robust foundation for the analysis of the target data. Content analysis represents a research method characterized by the systematic description of the meaningful content of qualitative material and the subjective interpretation of textual data. This process entails a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns, resulting in the provision of knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study³⁰. Qualitative content analysis involves the focused study of specific aspects of the material pertinent to the research topic, thereby significantly reducing the amount of data subjected to analysis. A variety of sources may be utilized to procure the material intended for analysis. These may include descriptive responses, open-ended questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, observations, or print media³¹. The central focus of the study is on the characteristics of language as a medium of communication, the content or contextual meaning of the text, and the manner in which these characteristics and meanings are expressed³². The conventional approach to content analysis was employed, which entails extensive language study to categorize voluminous textual data into a finite number of categorical units that align with semantic concepts³³. The preliminary phase of data analysis entailed a meticulous scrutiny of the entire dataset, thereby facilitating comprehensive immersion and attaining a holistic understanding³⁴. Concurrently, we recorded our preliminary impressions and reflections, subsequently undertaking an initial analysis. Subsequently, words were extracted from the text that represented fundamental ideas or concepts. These ideas or concepts were then used to develop the initial codes. The labels assigned to these codes were frequently derived directly from the text itself, thereby establishing the initial coding scheme. The generated categories were then employed to organize and group the codes into meaningful thematic groups, thereby providing a

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³⁰ Храбан Т., Храбан М. Контент-аналіз у військових дослідженнях. *Вісник Національного університету оборони України*. 2024. Вип. 78. Ч. 2. С. 141–150. https://doi.org/10.33099/2617-6858-2024-78-2-141-150

³¹ Kondracki N. L., & Wellman N. S. Content analysis: Review of methods and their applications innutrition education. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*. 2002. Vol. 34. P. 224–230. DOI: 10.1016/S1499-4046(06)60097-3

³² McTavish D.-G., & Pirro E.-B. Contextual content analysis. *Quality and Quantity*. 1990. Vol. 24 P. 245–265. DOI: 10.1007/BF00139259

³³ Weber R. P. Basic content analysis. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1990. 96 p.

³⁴ Mayring P. Qualitative Content Analysis: Demarcation, Varieties, Developments. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung Forum: Qualitative Sozial Research.* 2019. Vol. 20, no. 3. DOI: 10.17169/fqs-20.3.3343

meaningful interpretation of the data by grouping the information into themes that represent the identified patterns³⁵. The final stage of the content analysis was the interpretation of the data. This is a multifaceted process in which we integrate our perception of the material with our own individual experience, encompassing our knowledge about the topic, the circumstances in which we encountered it, our current emotional state, and numerous other factors³⁶. In the interest of achieving rigor and credibility, as well as ensuring the utmost reliability of the results, we drew upon a range of sources during the data collection process. The present study utilized a comprehensive array of articles concerning women in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. These articles were published by an assortment of media resources within Ukraine. The selection of articles was carried out by employing a combination of keywords, including "women", "the Armed Forces of Ukraine", "female service members", "servicewomen", and "gender equality". The search words were utilized in various combinations. Subsequently, key repetitive phrases were identified in the material and used as the basis for forming coherent thematic groups. A total of 51 articles pertaining to women in the Armed Forces of Ukraine were identified, with the publication dates ranging from November 2020 to May 2023. The timing was selected to align with an event that symbolized the Ukrainian government's deepened engagement in promoting gender equality within the Ukrainian Armed Forces. For instance, following the adoption of the NATO Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council/Partnership for Peace Plan, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine approved the corresponding National Action Plan for the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine officially endorsed the National Action Plan on Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on women, peace and security, establishing its agenda for the period leading up to the year 2025. This endorsement was formalized through a decree issued on October 28, 2020, bearing the designation Order No. 1544-r.

The limitations of this study are associated with the inherent shortcomings of content analysis as a research method. Content analysis, a qualitative research method, is the process of examining and interpreting the symbolism present within text and video materials. Symbolism affords considerable scope for interpretation, underscoring the necessity for meticulous and contemplative examination of well-known words and concepts to ensure accurate comprehension and interpretation of their

³⁵ Creswell J. W. Qualitative inquiry and research design. Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007. 414 p.

³⁶ Храбан Т. Психоаналітична інтерпретація як метод дослідження військового дискурсу. Вісник університету імені Альфреда Нобеля. Серія «Філологічні науки». 2021. Вип. 2. Ч. 22. С. 184-193. DOI: 10.32342/2523-4463-2021-2-22-17

meanings. Therefore, determining the meaning of symbolic material is often an arduous task, and a complete understanding of the context is frequently elusive, which hinders the identification of key categories. This can result in erroneous conclusions. Furthermore, individual characteristics, needs, and moods are incorporated into the interpretation process, resulting in the potential for multiple interpretations to emerge. These interpretations may undergo changes over time and across individuals³⁷.

3. Results and Discussion

To elucidate the presented content, a table of examples has been provided. The table contains texts that include keywords, terms, and phrases that have been grouped into thematic categories. These categories reflect the contemporary image of women in the military (see Table 1).

Table 1

Example of texts that serve as a basis for the formation of thematic groups (developed by the authors³⁸)

Thematic Groups	Sample Text
Professional	Maryna is a seasoned soldier with a strong physical fitness regimen. She is well-versed in combat tactics and proficient in the use of various weapons. She has extensive experience in high-risk areas and has been deployed to some of the most challenging environments. She participated in the battles at the Svetlodarsk Bulge, in Maryanka, Zaitseve, and near Volnovakha. "We have a wide range of responsibilities, including destroying tanks, other enemy equipment, and manpower, as well as evacuating wounded or deceased soldiers," the servicewoman informed us.
Rebel	When I heard suggestions that I should consider a career in the press service, I responded: "I did not enlist in the army to seek employment. I had a job. I did not enlist in the military for that purpose." I began to decline any tasks related to kitchen duties or assistance at headquarters. This was not due to a lack of respect for these roles, but rather due to the presence of individuals with professional cooking, clerical, and pastry chef skills who were assigned to rifle positions. I chose to disobey orders, which ultimately led to my reassignment to a rifle position.

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 $^{^{37}}$ Rolfe G. Validity, trustworthiness and rigour: quality and the idea of qua-litative research. $\it Journal$ of Advanced Nursing. 2006. Vol. 53. P. 304–310. DOI: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2006.03727.x

³⁸ Храбан Т., Самойленко К. Висвітлення образів військовослужбовиць в українських медіа в період російсько-української війни. 2023. *Український соціум*. Вип. 2. Ч. 85. С. 145–167. DOI: 10.15407/socium2023.02.145

Table 1 (continuance)

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Beauty in uniform	Not only are brave men defending Ukraine from the Russian aggressor, but also young, beautiful women soldiers. Alexandra's resemblance to the iconic character Lara Croft, portrayed by world-renowned actress Angelina Jolie, has contributed to her Internet popularity. The guests took turns trying on the warrior's beret. She also tried it on. When she saw her reflection in the window, she was captivated. She then had a realization: her blue eyes and blue beret complement each other, making it a suitable choice for her. It was then that she decided to transfer to part-time studies and enlist in the contract service with the paratroopers. The presence of a fragile blonde-haired woman with a neat hairstyle and light makeup on the war is a significant deviation from the typical appearance of most fighters. Her fellow servicemen are accustomed to her presence and take pride in serving alongside such a distinguished and accomplished officer.
Model for a glossy magazine	Emerald posed for Ukrainian photographer Anastasia Vodchenko in a series of chic images that showcased her pregnancy. In particular, the Ukrainian defender can be seen in black-and-white images wearing oversized coats, dresses, and a black suit with a crop top and leggings. Ukrainian servicewoman Yevheniya Emerald, who is known to many under the call sign "Joan of Arc", was a guest on the program "Evenings with Olena Kravets". Emerald is currently eight months pregnant. Emerald informs us that all processes are running smoothly. She has recently gained weight, but has already adjusted her diet and lost weight.
First and foremost, a woman	I was taken aback by the remarkable transformation girls undergo when dressed in different attire. In their undergarments, they exude a tenderness, sensuality, and fragility. They appear fluttering, as if caught in a gentle breeze, their countenance reflecting a subtle sense of concern. However, when I requested that they change their attire, their demeanor shifted immediately, becoming more composed and professional.
Beloved	The woman encountered her significant other while serving on the front lines. They traversed numerous challenging areas in tandem. Her pregnancy was a welcome revelation, a pleasant twist in their lives. The woman maintained her pregnancy in secret until the final stages of the pregnancy. Zelensky presented awards to Da Vinci's girlfriend and other volunteers. Alina Mykhailova, junior lieutenant of the medical service and beloved of fallen soldier Dmytro Kotsyubaylo (Da Vinci), was awarded the Order of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi III degree.

Table 1 (continuance)

1	Table 1 (continuance)
Mother	Lieutenant Alyona Pavlova-Fedchenko, a combat veteran, has been on maternity leave for two months, having recently become a mother for the fourth time. As soon as her daughter becomes a toddler, she will resume her duties, including combat missions in eastern Ukraine.
Sexual object	She also recalled that men in the army tolerate calendars with naked women. "It is an unpleasant experience when Zaluzhny signs a calendar displaying the body of a naked woman. This incident highlights the prevalence of stereotypes in society," observed Ganzha. "They believe it's acceptable to exhibit sexually suggestive behavior towards women. They want to touch you somewhere, even on the arm, but to touch you." At times, when dealing with individuals in the military, Anna Zyablikova perceives a violation of her personal boundaries and experiences harassment. According to reports, sexual violence against women in captivity is a prevalent issue. Similar sexual crimes have also been reported at checkpoints and crossing points, as stated by Kateryna Levchenko, the government commissioner for gender policy, in an interview with the publication. Additionally, there have been reports of brothels established by militants, where women are coerced into prostitution.
Person with special domestic needs	In addition to uniforms, women face unique challenges in military field life that are distinct from those experienced by men. Firstly, female soldiers face a lack of access to hygiene products, which can lead to significant discomfort during menstruation. Lesya Ganzha, a soldier, also shared her experience: when she needs sanitary pads, she requests them from her fellow servicemen. "Yes, men always have them, it's not a joke. They utilize them as shoe insoles due to their capacity to absorb moisture effectively. In fact, if one were to inspect their first aid kits, they would likely also find tampons." Iryna Tyshko has indicated that she has inquired with the commanders of the front-line battalions regarding the requirements of the female soldiers.
Lesbian	When asked about my romantic partners, I respond in a lighthearted manner by mentioning that I have relationships with both men and women. Anna Zyablikova identifies as pansexual and has significant experience in relationships with both women and men.

The "Professional" image of women is constructed by emphasizing women's achievements in male-dominated fields and acknowledging their contributions. Media outlets present the audience with narratives of real-

life servicewomen, showcasing their ability to meet the demands of combative roles. The increasing portraval of women in these professional roles is a positive development, as it highlights the growing participation of women in fields that were previously considered non-traditional for them. The media's portrayal of the "Professional" female image suggests that gender is not the primary criterion for a professional soldier. Instead, it emphasizes the importance of professional knowledge and skills, given that military forces responsible for national protection must maintain an effective organization in the face of an enemy that does not consider gender as a factor³⁹. The "Professional" image conveys an objective representation of women in the military, without any connotations of exceptionalism. These women are not portrayed as unusual Amazon warriors, Lara Crofts, or modern-day Joan of Arc. The "Professional" image exemplifies a servicewoman who embodies a positive military role model. This image does not necessitate superpowers or extraordinary strength, is attainable, and encourages personal growth. Furthermore, it does not promote an inferiority complex that may arise when individuals compare themselves to superheroes.

Aligning itself with the predominant trends observable within Ukraine's feminist movements, the media has begun to depict female soldiers through the lens of the "Rebel" image. The publications delineate a novel cohort of women who are engaged in protest against the prevailing societal position of women. They make a deliberate and explicit assertion of their prerogative to self-determination and enlistment in the military to counter the prevailing stereotype of the "weaker sex". The "Rebel" image is characterized by a distinct behavioral pattern. The aspiration to attain autonomy of action, which is often ascribed to males, results in the "Rebel" distancing herself from women and conventional notions of femininity. This distancing manifests in the adoption of masculine behavioral and discursive practices, characterized by a rigid categorization of ideas, an absence of nuance, and a distinct style of speech marked by expressiveness, emotionality, and the utilization of colloquial language. It is important to acknowledge the potential risks associated with this image, particularly in the context of addressing the question of how servicewomen construct their gender identity. The "Rebel" female image places significant emphasis on masculinity, as illustrated through its strategic avoidance of feminine titles, its depiction of behavioral patterns characteristic of aggressive men, and its portrayal of such figures as exemplary role models for women. The emphasis on masculinity in

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³⁹ Planiol A. The integration of women in the US military. Études de l'IRSEM. 2016. n°43. URL: https://www.irsem.fr/data/files/irsem/documents/document/file/2443/Etude_IRSEM_n43_En.pdf (date of access: 14.01.2024).

creating the female image demonstrates that, despite the increase in the number of women, the army is still perceived by the media as a masculine institution. The primary factor in understanding this phenomenon is recognizing that the armed forces are predominantly comprised of male personnel; however, this is not the only contributing element. The military serves as an instrumental space for the development of masculine identity, thereby significantly influencing societal perceptions of masculinity 40. The "Rebel" image conveys the expectation that women in the armed forces should adhere to masculine ethics as the prevailing standard and emulate the behaviors of the gendered masculine collective. Should a woman find herself unable to resist the pressure of this image, or to conform to it, this may result in the construction of a false gender identity. Such a development can lead to internal gender conflict and psychological states of alienation, discomfort, dissonance, and disharmony⁴¹. Notwithstanding, it is noteworthy that the alternative "Professional" and "Rebel" images are considered progressive in the contemporary context. as they symbolize the evolving roles of women who are directly engaged in combat operations within the Armed Forces, operating on an equal footing with their male counterparts.

Furthermore, the media presents a variety of gender stereotypical images to its audience, including "Beauty in uniform", "Model for a glossy magazine", "First and foremost, a woman", "Beloved", "Mother", "Sexual object", "Person with special domestic needs". The following images exemplify a phenomenon that has been termed "benevolent sexism", a term used to describe prejudicial attitudes toward women. This phenomenon comprises three distinct components: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. Paternalism, conceptualized as the belief that women should be cherished and safeguarded by men, is predicated on the notion of protective superiority, which posits that men should wield authority over women⁴². This practice endeavors to restrict women's access to resources and privileges, purportedly with the objective of safeguarding them. Gender differentiation, predicated on the notion that women exhibit heightened moral sensitivity in comparison to men, delineates an artificial boundary between the sexes by ascribing

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⁴⁰ Sasson-Levy O. Feminism and military gender practices: Israeliwomen soldiers in 'masculine'roles. *Sociological Inquiry*. 2003. Vol. 73, no. 3. P. 440–465. DOI: 10.1111/1475-682X.00064

⁴¹ Храбан Т. Соціально-комунікаційне конструювання гендерної ідентичності жінками, що проходять службу в Збройних силах України. *Соціальні комунікації: теорія і практика*. 2022. Вип. 14. ч. 1. 182–195. DOI: 10.51423/2524-0471-2022-14-1-6

⁴² Glick P., & Fiske S. T. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 1996. Vol. 70, no. 3. P. 491–512. DOI: 10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491

favorable characteristics to women in domains that are irrelevant to status and power⁴³. Heterosexual intimacy is predicated on the idealization of women as romantic partners. This perspective suggests that every man should have a woman he adores⁴⁴. Benevolent sexism fosters a societal environment that engenders patronizing behaviors towards women. These behaviors, while ostensibly supportive, can perpetuate women's dependency on men and hinder women's career prospects. Concurrently, the majority of women remain unaware of their status as subjects of gender discrimination and, as a consequence, often reject the notion of their own marginalization, despite its evident veracity⁴⁵. In light of the assertion that even brief exposure to sexist or sexually explicit media content is sufficient to trigger adverse social behaviors, and that gender stereotypes prevalent in media can exert a direct influence on women's intellectual pursuits and career aspirations, we can discuss the negative implications of such images, not only for women's status within defense institutions but also across the Ukrainian society at large. Therefore, it can be asserted that the women who serve as prototypes for the "Beauty in uniform" and "Model for a glossy magazine" images, despite their physical attractiveness and strength, which inspire respect and admiration, are complicit in the perpetuation of sexism and the promotion of the brand.

However, this phenomenon is not exclusive to Ukraine, as analogous examples can be identified in other countries as well. According to the results of the study conducted by Brown⁴⁶, the portrayal of women in recruitment advertisements as marginal to military service strengthens the association between military service and masculinity. The argument is supported by the observation that the advertising campaign for the recruitment of military personnel emphasizes the feminine identity of women rather than their role as soldiers. The recruitment advertisements refrain from aligning women with combat-related symbols, thereby creating a distinction between female soldiers and the prevailing war imagery. While these advertisements depict women engaging in physical activities such as exercising or flying aircraft, they do not feature them in scenes involving actual combat. This suggests a strategic approach in which women's

⁴³ Barreto M., Doyle D. M. Benevolent and hostile sexism in a shifting global context. *Nature Reviews Psychology*. 2023. Vol. 2. P. 98–111. DOI: 10.1038/s44159-022-00136-x

⁴⁴ Taylor L.D., Setters T. Watching Aggressive, Attractive, Female Protagonists Shapes Gender Roles for Women Among Male and Female Undergraduate Viewers. *Sex Roles*. 2011.Vol. 65 P. 35–46. DOI: 10.1007/s11199-011-9960-1

⁴⁵ Ellemers N. Gender stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 2018. Vol. 69, P. 275–298. DOI: 10.1146/annurev-psych-122216-011719

⁴⁶ Brown M. A. Woman in the Army is still a Woman: Representation of Women in U.S. Military Recruiting advertisements for the all-volunteer force. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*. 2012. Vol. 3, no. 2. P. 151–175. DOI: 10.1080/1554477X.2012.667737

presence is acknowledged without depicting them as actively engaged in combat roles. Instead, the emphasis is placed on their gender, creating a nuanced representation of their marginal status in the military. Therefore, the depiction of a female soldier is characterized by a pronounced emphasis on her womanhood, while her role as a soldier is often overshadowed. Paradoxically, this depiction of women has the effect of both trivializing and denying their active engagement in military service, while concurrently reinforcing the stereotypical gender division, thereby confirming the link between masculinity and militancy⁴⁷. It is important to note that the media's promotion of the "Beauty in uniform" and "Model for a glossy magazine" images can lead to the cultivation of unrealistically high standards of physical appearance. This may result in unfavorable comparisons between real and ideal physical appearance among female soldiers who already struggle with a positive self-perception⁴⁸. This dynamic has the potential to dissuade potential female soldiers who hold idealized perceptions of media models and are sensitive to issues of beauty and conformity from enlisting in the armed forces. Furthermore, it can precipitate psychological health complications for those female soldiers who are predisposed to selfobjectification, that is, perceiving themselves from the perspective of an external observer, which engenders incessant monitoring of their appearance, a process that exhausts their cognitive and psychological resources⁴⁹. Moreover, the pervasive dissemination of sexually objectified images of servicewoman in the media has deleterious effects not solely on women's self-perception but also on men's perceptions of female military personnel. The objectification of the female body complicates the perception of the female body in its entirety and hinders the recognition of its distinct individuality⁵⁰.

Despite the contemporary trend of the media presenting an image of a resilient and self-sufficient servicewoman, the characteristics associated with sexuality persist in exerting a predominant influence on the portrayal of women in the military. Media coverage of the grave social problem of sexual misconduct in the armed forces, including sexual violence and sexual harassment against servicewomen, cannot do without the "Sexual object" image. Despite the scarcity of publications addressing this subject, they offer substantiated evidence that women continue to be perceived as sexual

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⁴⁷ Brown M. A., op. cit.

⁴⁸ Greenwood D. & Lippman J. Gender and Media: Content, Uses, and Impact. *Handbook of Gender Research in Psychology* / ed. by C. J. Chrisler, D. R. McCreary. Springer Science+Business Media LLC, 2010. P. 643–669. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4419-1467-5_27

⁴⁹ Kahalon R., Shnabel N., & Becker J. C. Experimental Studies on State Self-Objectification: A Review and an Integrative Process Model. *Frontiers in psychology*. 2018. Vol. 9 P. 1268. DOI: 10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01268

⁵⁰ Kahalon R., Shnabel N., & Becker J., op. cit.

objects⁵¹.As the media generates content that focuses on instances of victimization of women, with the aim of attracting an audience, opponents of the integration of women into the armed forces gain a foundation upon which to articulate their arguments. These arguments assert that women are more susceptible to becoming victims of sexual violence in the event of being captured by enemy forces⁵².

The prevailing narrative disseminated by the media, in which women engaged in military activities are depicted as archetypal role models of mother, widow, wife, bride, and lover, has culminated in the actualization of the "First and foremost, a woman", "Beloved", "Mother", "Person with special domestic needs" images. Krepstekies⁵³ posits that the juxtaposition of femininity with the concept of a warrior or soldier engenders a paradox, as the latter implies the likelihood and expectation of violent actions. The associations evoked by words such as "warrior", "soldier", and "hero" are profoundly masculinized. Meanwhile, women are seen as the opposite of masculinity. Therefore, servicewomen who demonstrate acts of courage are often perceived in a contradictory manner; that is, they are viewed not only as controversial, but also as unconventional and eccentric. Moreover, these images give rise to contentions that are used to argue against the inclusion of women in combat roles. The most evident argument pertains to the physical distinctions between men and women. The second argument is associated with the purported diminished resilience of women in coping with combat stress and its psychological ramifications. The third argument concerns pregnancy-related concerns, and the fourth argument addresses menstruation issues as a challenge for women in combat settings. The media disseminates patriarchal stereotypes via "First and foremost, a woman", "Beloved", "Mother", "Person with special domestic needs" images. These stereotypes uphold the notion that women's biology renders them psychologically passive, pacifist, caring, and fragile. The media further perpetuates the belief that women are not biologically predisposed to violence and are incapable of taking aggressive action against a mostly male foe. Finally, the media suggests that it can be physically and emotionally harmful for women to be captured or unable to perform the necessary hygiene measures in combat situations. The "First and foremost, a woman", "Beloved", "Mother", "Person with special domestic needs" images convey social and cultural attitudes that dictate that women should be protected. According to Holland⁵⁴, protecting women from danger is one of the constant arguments against assigning

⁵¹ Jeffreys S. Double jeopardy: Women, the US military and the war in Iraq. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 2007. Vol. 30, no. 1 P. 16–25. DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2006.12.002

⁵² Jeffreys S., op. cit.

⁵³ Krepstekies C., op. cit.

⁵⁴ Holland S. L., op. cit.

women to combat roles. The portrayals of women in military service, exemplified by the "First and foremost, a woman", "Beloved", "Mother", "Person with special domestic needs" images, appear to convey the implicit notion that military servicewomen transgress the gender norms imposed upon them by engaging in activities that fall outside the conventional boundaries of their gender. Simultaneously, the media has demonstrated a marked reluctance to address the role of women in combat missions, offering only the most cursory coverage. As a result, it appears that women are honored with combat awards not in recognition of their deeds during combat operations, but rather as a gesture of sympathy for their loss of a male loved one. The dissemination of such information has the effect of encouraging societal acceptance of traditional notions of masculinity and the privileges associated with being a man, while at the same time creating a societal environment that is less favorable for women⁵⁵. The "Lesbian" image focuses on lesbian sexual behavior within the military context. The creation of this image is driven by purely commercial interests, as its primary objective is to employ the depiction of lesbian relationships as a marketing strategy to stimulate public interest and encourage advocacy for LGBT relations.

CONCLUSIONS

The Russo-Ukrainian war has led to the increased portrayal of female soldiers in various media outlets. The contemporary paradigm of an ideal female service member is often represented by the "Professional" image. This image contributes to the recognition of military servicewomen's achievements in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and acknowledges their valuable combat experience in armed conflict. The "Rebel" image conveys a contemporary paradigm of femininity, characterized by the proactive assertion of individual self-determination and the decision to enlist in the military to counteract entrenched stereotypes regarding gendered roles in society. Nevertheless, the pervasive emphasis on masculinity in the construction of the image of a servicewoman indicates that, despite the increase in the number of women in the armed forces, the media continues to marginalize women. Furthermore, various gender stereotypical images are presented by media to its audience, including "Beauty in uniform", "Model for a glossy magazine", "First and foremost, a woman", "Beloved", "Mother", "Sexual object", "Person with special domestic needs". It is evident that the aforementioned images are influenced by a particular societal attitude, characterized by benevolent sexism. This phenomenon can be understood through the lens of three interwoven components: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. Given that

⁵⁵ Mathers J. G. Women and State Military Forces. *Women and War: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures Polity* / ed. by C. Cohn. Polity, Cambridge, 2012. P. 124–145.

the creation of such imagery is frequently motivated by commercial interests or employed as a marketing strategy to attract an audience, these images have the potential to not only hinder the advancement of gender equality within the armed forces but also to impede the development of an egalitarian societal model in Ukraine.

The analysis of images of servicewomen indicates that, despite the growing interest of the media in the role of women in defending the state during wartime, there is a tendency to replace the objective assessment of women's professional qualities as military personnel with gender-based stereotypes. The portrayal of women in the military within the context of hegemonic masculinity represents a pervasive social construct that is employed to impose limitations on the professional and social scope of women in the armed forces. This construct often relegates women to roles that are deemed as secondary or supportive, thereby perpetuating a societal paradigm that diminishes their contributions and potential. Therefore, it is apparent that the directives set forth in the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine's resolution of May 14, 2021, entitled "On the Human Development Strategy", as well as the "Code of Good Practice for Journalists in the Field of Gender Stereotypes and Dignity", are not being adhered to. Adherence to egalitarian principles in the construction of military servicewomen's media images necessitates a modification in the gender policy of the media at the level of national legislation regulating media activities. It is imperative to implement training programs for journalists to cultivate their competencies in incorporating gender-related considerations into story coverage. Moreover, it is crucial to incentivize media channels to prioritize the promotion of gender equality. Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that allocating the entirety of the responsibility to the media is an oversimplification of a multifaceted issue. The marginalization of women is largely attributable to deeply entrenched prejudices and stereotypes that are ingrained in Ukrainian society. Despite Ukraine's policy of providing equal opportunities for men and women in all aspects of society, women can, at times, unwittingly choose to accentuate their bodily femininity, thereby effectively consigning themselves to a role as mere objects of "consumption" through their representation in media.

SUMMARY

The aim of the study is to propose a typology of servicewomen's images promoted by the Ukrainian media during the Russo-Ukrainian war. The article draws attention to the fact that the Russo-Ukrainian war has given rise to a proliferation of images of female soldiers in the media. The analysis of images of servicewomen indicates that, despite the growing

interest of the media in the role of women in defending the state during wartime, there is a tendency to replace the objective assessment of women's professional qualities as military personnel with gender-based stereotypes. The portrayal of women in the military within the context of hegemonic masculinity represents a pervasive social construct that is employed to impose limitations on the professional and social scope of women in the armed forces. This construct often relegates women to roles that are deemed as secondary or supportive, thereby perpetuating a societal paradigm that diminishes their contributions and potential.

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