

THE SPECIFICS OF RELIGIOUS ISSUES IN UKRAINIAN GENDER ELECTRONIC MASS MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Aim. The purpose of this study was to analyze religious issues in gender and feminist electronic mass media in Ukraine, taking into account the specifics of their policy, audience, and communication strategy

Methods. The empirical methods were gathered by a grouping of sites and electronic media: the official sites, the convergent scanned print media, and the social network Facebook. Overall, the 21 electronic mass media were analyzed. The main method of this research is a discourse analysis of religious topics. The main identified topics are representation of religions, political issues, gender history of religion, female priesthood, dogma of religion, pedagogical and scientific topics, critique of religion/church, anti-gender and religion, LGBT issues, sexuality, body, and religion. Only a small amount of material and topics are dedicated to religion, which is marginalized in the Ukrainian media.



Conclusions. Our main conclusion is that the more analytical analysis in the material, the more tolerant the authors are to religion, but not to religious organizations. The sensitive topics of sexual orientation, sexual violence, pedophilia, and abortion rights related to church activities, are raised in the feminist/gender mass media.

Originality. The coverage of religious issues depends on the type of media that presents a particular gender discourse: the more radical Ukrainian media in their visions, the less critical and stereotypical the representation of religion. Most Ukrainian gender media reflect general trends in the representation of religion.

Keywords: Religion, gender, feminism, Ukrainian electronic mass media, communication

INTRODUCTION

In the field of Ukrainian humanities, both feminist and gender studies, are largely politicized. Sometimes it acquires such bright and radical shapes that it is detrimental to the adequate perception of both gender and feminist movements. The defined situation is primarily related to the real force, which affects both the model of interaction between people in society and the construction of a certain type of worldview and identity. Institutional religiosity, represented by religious associations, organizations, and churches, generally had the same functions in traditional culture and sociocultural development. As we speak of mass influence, it becomes clear why these phenomena are politicized.

The theme of the interaction and interaction of gender/feminist theory (in the semantic context of our topic, we consider these theories as genetically related) and religion is extremely sensitive and requires an unbiased scientific view. The general situation shows up as a „double blindness“ in the relationship between gender and religious studies: gender studies in the social sciences prefer not to notice religion, while most religious studies do not pay attention to gender (Basauri Zyuzina, 2017, p. 2). This is manifested in the perspective of mass communications at the representative level. Consequently, there is a need to understand how religious issues are represented in the feminist/gender media. We focus on electronic media, which are the most representative ones in terms of covering these issues. Also, the Internet is one of the most productive areas of feminist discussions in the media, thus these limitations are acceptable in the further analysis.

METHODOLOGY

Feminist theory is not so much interested in religious issues as in the revision of religion, thus feminist theology, which comprehends different religions, is developing quite actively. Most of these studies are about world religions (especially Christianity, as it is open to transformation and understanding of the new, and Judaism). Gender and feminist research in

religion use the tools and key concepts of both gender theory (gender, identity, sexuality, power, subjectivity, sexism, gender egalitarianism) and classical theology (God, faith, spirituality, sacred, ordination, consecration).

The classics of gender and feminist research in religion are Mary Daly (1975), Judith Plaskow and Carol Christ (2017), Rebecca Chopp (1997), Daphne Hampson (2002), Elaine Pagels (2007), Rosemary Ruether, Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza (2003), and other theorists who contributed not only to the advancement of women's self-consciousness in the spiritual sphere, but also enriched the world's philosophical and theological thought (Sukovata, 2004, p. 388-389).

In the Ukrainian scientific community, not many scholars are engaged in gender/feminist revision of various aspects of religion and religiosity. First, we must mention the philosopher Victoria Sukovata (2002), author of articles on postmodern theology and feminist research. The vast majority of researchers focus on understanding gender and feminist issues in specific religions and religious practices. Among them are the philosopher Orysia Hachko (now Bila) (2012), who focuses on the analysis of the Christian tradition; the theologian Anna Maria Basauri Zyuzina (2014), who specializes in various aspects of the study of Judaism; political scientist Natalia Maly-novska (2017), who studies the role of Muslim women in politics.

Much more researches concerns the gender characteristics of the press, radio, television, and the Internet. Ukrainian studies of the interaction of gender theory, feminism, and mass media are devoted to various aspects of this issue. Here it is appropriate to mention the works of philologist Olena Poda (2009), among whose research interests are gender studies in social communications and literary studies. In the article „The problem of gender roles and stereotypes in the press at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries“ (Poda, 2009) the author speaks particularly about religion as one of the factors in the functioning of gender stereotypes in the media. Such Ukrainian researchers as Serhiy Shturkhetsky (2014), Volodymyr Lemesh (2013), Olha Sovenko (2018) dedicated their works to gender aspects of mass media activity.

Over the last decade, the Ukrainian scientific community has had the opportunity to read several textbooks, manuals, and scientific reports on gender aspects of the media. In these publications, many religious issues were related to human rights. The most relevant texts are *Gender media practices: A textbook on gender equality and non-discrimination for higher education students* (Shturkhetsky, 2014), *Representation of gender identities in Ukrainian regional studies* (Kostenko, Ivanov & Sovenko, 2013), and *Gender for the media* (Mayerchyk, 2017).

This study is related to the research *Gender issue in religiously oriented mass media in Ukraine* (Petrushkevych, 2013), which was carried out as part of preparation to the monograph *Religious communication in the context of mass culture* (Petrushkevych, 2018). The study concludes that the mass media, which have a religious focus, is a kind of mirror that symbolically

reflects and reproduces the existing systemic gender inequalities in society. As a result, most media outlets operate in a patriarchal worldview (Petrushkevych, 2013, p. 155).

HYPOTHESIS AND METHODS

Following the logic of dissemination of information and understanding the peculiarities of communication in the Internet environment, it is natural to assume that feminist media reflect general trends in the Ukrainian media space in its representation of religious issues. Only a small part of them is radical.

The methodological base consists of empirical and theoretical methods. Empirical methods are represented by grouping of sites and electronic mass media (full-scale, convergent printed, social networks) (Jenkins, 2006; Pecheransky & Zinkina, 2019). Theoretical methods are represented by a discourse analysis (Althusser, 2008) of religious topics. To confirm the hypothesis, gender/feminist mass media and the content related to religiosity, religion, activities of religious organizations, and churches are analyzed in the current research. The Internet resources that were considered have a common feature characteristic of electronic media, which are convergent (interpenetrating). Some mass media combine different ways of communication and transmission of information, including different types of media: printed text, audio and video content, interactive elements (especially connection with social networks), placement of electronic versions of printed publications (magazines and collections of articles).

The diversity of selected communication strategies requires the gradation of such mass media. First, these are full-scale sites with a complex content, with feedback and clearly defined thematic positions. Their authors hold specific point of views in interpreting various aspects of gender theory of feminist activity, usually representing a well-defined opinion on aspects of religious issues (Petrushkevych, 2021). These are the following sites:

- Respect. Campaign Against Sexism;
- Crown. Gender Religious Information Center;
- Gender in Details;
- Common;
- The Devochki;
- WoMo;
- Update;
- Nuntiare et Recreare;
- Gays.UA;
- LGBT News from Ukraine and Around the World.

Another group consists of printed publications presented on the Internet. They can be independent and function through connection with the Internet sites. Regarding this fact, the most representative are (a) Gender

Paradigm of Educational Space; (b) Gender Research; (c) Feminist Critique, and (d) I (Me).

Social networks are an equally important group in convergent electronic mass media. In this research, we focus on the analysis of Facebook, the format of which allows to use different forms of communication and reveal a wide range of both scientific and popular topics. Facebook communities and pages of feminist/gender communities can be structured according to the related religious content and topics that discuss religious events and church leaders.

THE CHARACTERISTIC OF INTERNET RESOURCES BY TOPIC

The interest in religious topics directly depends on the policy of the electronic media and its target audience. The reflection of general tendencies in the coverage of religious issues by feminist/gender electronic mass media is well traced in the description of sites by subject. During the review of analytical articles and information messages, a clear structure on their topics emerged. This issue is analyzed in the collective monograph *The humanitarian field of gender studies* (Petrushkevych, 2021). It is appropriate to identify more than ten positions on the topic:

Representation of religions. Most often, the media turn to Christianity and its varieties, Islam (here it is appropriate to highlight the neutral information articles, posts with a positive connotation, materials on religious stereotypes). There is less material on the national religions of Judaism and Hinduism because it is important to know the cultural context, which is not always possible to present in the published material (Petrushkevych, 2021). The media, which consciously offer religious multi-vectorism, should be addressed separately. For example, one of the principles of the specialized site *Nuntiare et Recreare* is the recognition of religious and ideological diversity with the further involvement in communication of people with different beliefs: Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Jews, followers of folk beliefs, secular humanists, agnostics, atheists, and others (Nuntiare et Recreare, 2021).

Political issues. The categories of gender and gender identity are politicized both in the world public discourse and Ukrainian realities. The topic of gender, as one of the aspects of identity, along with religious identity, is in fact quite sensitive in the media environment. Hence, the category of gender becomes the object of political manipulation. Feminist media often refer to the following aspects of the interaction between gender theory and religion in the political sphere: the Istanbul Convention (The Council of Europe Convention on the Prevention of Violence against Women and Domestic Violence); radical political views; ensuring women's political rights in Ukraine and the world (Petrushkevych, 2021).

Gender history of religion. This topic is covered only superficially since it can evoke an interest by a limited number of readers. The issues related to the historical roles of women in different religions are often verbalized.

The female priesthood. Women in official posts in churches are most often mentioned within the modernization of Protestant movements. Another topic discussed is the issue of the female priesthood in the Catholic Church. The mass media turn to the position of the Head of this Church. Feminist media also mention other religions and religious organizations where women have the opportunity to officially represent the church. For example, the WoMo website tells the story of a rabbi-woman from France (WoMo, 2020).

Dogmatics of religion. This topic is almost non-existent, primarily due to the complexity of coverage and sensitiveness about the concept of faith and the sacred. Among the few articles we can mention the material on the site The Devochki, concerning the interpretation of the identification of God (Divoche Media, 2020).

Pedagogical topics. This topic is related to the spread of stereotypes in education, the unwarranted influence of religious organizations on secular education. However, there are quite positive examples of religious pedagogy in the feminist media (WoMo, 2020).

Scientific topics and the topic of religious art. This topic is also marginal in online media, as almost all media are designed for a wide range of readers and focus on popular content.

Critique of religion/church. Critical topics are represented by a number of materials. Various online media have different policies for disseminating critical material about the activities of religious organizations, religious figures, and religion in general. Most of these articles are informative and analytical on the site Update.

Anti-gender and religion. This is one of the specific topics that can first be found in the feminist/gender media. Given the interest of the audience, the problems of anti-gender movements and their worldview with religious organizations in Ukraine are covered in articles on the sites Respect (2021), Common, Crown, Update, and other online resources (Petrushkevych, 2021). In general, the topic of anti-gender is quite sensitive and always attracts attention in the feminist media.

LGBT issues. It is a kind of marker of feminist/gender media. This topic is quite taboo, stigmatized, requires author's awareness and competence for adequate presentation of information. Analytical articles on the relationship between church, religious organizations, and LGBT people are rare.

The majority of articles deals with various aspects of the Christian tradition. LGBT issues are also linked to specialized sites, which are characterized by their international character. This is the already mentioned site Nuntiare et Recreare. The latter states that it was the first site of LGBT believers in the Russian-language Internet space. The site was originally used to serve LGBT Christians, but now the authors also cover various religious groups. The site presents a large number of materials on the attitude of different religions to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity from affirmative (supportive) positions (Nuntiare et Recreare, 2021).

Appearance/clothing. Clothing is one of the identifiers of religious affiliation. As an element of nonverbal communication, it plays an important role in creating one's image for communication in society. With the help of clothes, even to this day, adherence to certain religious norms and etiquette is marked in everyday life. In the electronic media, this topic was quite one-sided coverage. Almost all informative articles are devoted to wearing Muslim women's clothing: burqa, hijab, burkini, niqab (clothing that covers not only the body, but also the face of a woman). Such articles are most common on websites Krona, Update, Comrade, as well as in the I (Me) Magazine.

Sexuality, body, and religion. The topic of clothing in religion is related to the more problematic topic of physicality and sexuality. This topic can also be found mainly only in feminist/gender media. In Ukrainian Christianity, especially Orthodox Christianity, it is not only silenced, but partly taboo, so it is rare to meet it in the religious media.

The topic can be clearly divided into several issues, which are present in articles and informative messages: sexual harassment in the bosom of church organizations; the right to abortion, the problem of pedophilia most often associated with the Catholic Church and the Vatican's rethinking of its scale; rape; maternity practices.

Articles with a sarcastic tone. The use of humor is an effective mechanism in exposing a certain problem, adjusting to critical thinking. Therefore, some feminist media actively use sarcasm to expose the absurdity of one or another situation in order to demonstrate the existing problem. The authors of Update and The Devochki use this tool most actively. We suggest that the main aim of this approach is to show that the clergy are the same people as everyone else: they can make mistakes, talk nonsense, commit unethical/funny/strange acts. Their rank and membership in the church organization places a responsibility on them, not an indulgence in society. And the feminist/gender media clearly show this (Petrushkevych, 2021).

CONVERGENT PRINT MEDIA

Another group, smaller than the previous one, but no less representative for our research, are the print media presented on the Internet. Their feature is a combination of the classical structure of information presentation and the newest ways of its distribution. The analyzed printed periodicals can be divided into two categories: publications with sporadic religious themes and feminist/gender materials, which are entirely devoted to the analysis of various aspects of religion.

The materials in such publications are distinguished by an analytical understanding of the problems, mainly by a reasoned author's position. In the already mentioned collective monograph *Gender paradigm of educational space*, there is only one article that directly relates to the position of the Church

on the category of gender. The purpose of Beata Hovorko-Skladanek's publication was to analyze the pastoral message of the Roman Catholic Church in 2013, which influenced the popularization of the concept of gender in Polish society. At this time, a new Catholic concept of gender ideology emerged. In general, the article describes the main stereotypical approaches and maxims about the concept of gender and gender ideology, which are produced by the Roman Catholic Church (Hovorko-Skladanek, 2015).

The topic of religion is also presented in another issue of Gender Studies. For instance, Iryna Tartakovskaya in her article „Women's Rights in the Discourse of Islamic Feminism” analyzes feminism and Islam, raising the following question: „Can Islam be combined with feminism in principle?”. And she replies: „Can”. This statement has given rise many very interesting texts that break down stereotypes about Islam and feminism. This article aims to acquaint the reader with certain basic ideas of the most influential and interesting authors working in the tradition of Islamic feminism. These are representatives of different countries: both those where Islam is the main religion and those where Muslims are a minority (Tartakovskaya, 2008, p. 168). The author also compares Islamic feminism with the Western tradition and concludes that the works of authors, who consider themselves followers of Islamic feminism, do not reproduce the Western models. All their attention is focused on their identity, culture, and the correct interpretation of texts within their religion. None of them show contempt for Islam (Tartakovskaya, 2008, p. 175).

It should be added that there are publications in which topics related to faith, religion, and the activities of churches are not disclosed. This is, for example, the already mentioned peer-reviewed online journal *Feminist Critique: Eastern European Journal of Feminist and Queer Studies*. This may be due to the fact that the magazine was created relatively recently. However, there are editions in which some issues are devoted entirely to understanding the interaction of feminism, gender theory, and religious worldview. These include the social critique *Common*, magazine as Ukrainian left-wing intellectual publication (Dudko, 2016; Kostyanchuk, 2014). **One of the magazine's** issue from 2014 is devoted to the topic „Religion between exploitation and emancipation”. In this issue, there are two articles that discuss the problems of interaction between gender and religion.

The first article is „Movement for Gender Equality in Christianity” emphasizes that „rethinking gender issues is especially important in the field of religion, because by appealing to the transcendent position of religious institutions is very authoritative for believers and can legitimize essentialist discourses in others public spheres” (Dudko, 2016). Although initiatives to rethink religious texts and practices toward gender equality have taken place in many religions, this review focuses on the movement for gender equality in Christianity in the West (Dudko, 2016). The main provisions of the article are the role of women in the Christian tradition, the controversy over women's ordination, the compatibility of Christianity

and gender equality, and the activities of women's priesthood in Ukraine. The author proposes a scientific and non-confessional view on the issue, involving the interviews with ordinary Christian woman-priests. Based on the interview, the author makes a relevant remark: „The arrival of women in traditionally male spheres of activity (politics, church, army, etc.) will not necessarily lead to the feminization of these spheres; not necessarily women, who perform non-traditional gender roles, will promote ideas of gender equality“ (Dudko, 2016).

The second article is „Bread and Oranges on Easter Keara, Lesbian Readings of the Jewish Tradition“ by Martsela Kostyanchuk (2014, p. 80). The author tries to re-read the traditions and rituals of Judaism from a feminist and queer perspective. The main focus is to analyze the role of homosexual women in Jewish communities. She concludes that traditional sources of rabbinic Judaism (primarily The Torah, The Mishnah, and The Talmud) condemn female homosexuality much less than male homosexuality (Kostyanchuk, 2014, p. 81).

In another mass media, which specializes in gender issues, one of the issues for 2017 is dedicated to the topic „Gender, Tradition, and Religion“ in the I (Me) Magazine. Religious dogma and practice in Christianity, Islam, and Judaism are comprehended there. In this magazine, the article „Gender in religious studies: Western experience and Ukrainian realities“ by the Ukrainian theologian Anna Maria Basauri Zyuzina is the most significant. The author outlines the answers to several questions such as (a) how do gender and religious studies relate and interact; (b) how do gender studies change the lives of women believers; (c) what is happening in Ukrainian religious studies (2017). The article also discusses the issue of gender courses in religious education. Following this, Basauri Zyuzina (2017) suggests that „in the absence of the necessary education, we cannot hope that serious gender studies of religion will be conducted in Ukraine“. Oksana Kis (2017) suggests that religion can be understood through the category of tradition:

The institution of the church is quite patriarchal and hierarchical. We see Christianity as a religion that encourages the subordination of women and generally does not allow women to worship. However, under certain critical circumstances, the Christian faith saved women and helped them survive. (p. 13)

The issue also presents the analysis of gender balance in the process of ensuring suffrage in Muslim countries (Malynovska, 2017). The article highlights the reforms in the electoral law system in recent decades. The author focuses on the effect of Islam on the right to vote in the non-inclusiveness of elections. In another article, the position of women in Judaism is comprehended in a historical context. The author focuses on some of the most important female images of the Torah, trying to show the transformation of the role of women in Judaism, its legal status in the historical context (Krasko, 2017, p. 29).

The anthology *Gender, religion, and nationalism in Ukraine* edited by Halyna Yarmanova (2021, p. 4) is placed a little away from other printed publications on the Internet. The annotation suggests that the book is a collective study conducted by a group of Ukrainian authors that analyze the growth and strengthening of right-wing radical and religious associations in Ukraine, using feminist optics and the repressive discursive apparatus in the Ukrainian media and public sphere (Yarmanova, 2021, p. 4). Hence, the study focuses more on the political dimension of the relationship between gender and religion. The authors focus on the role of Christian churches of different denominations, as they believe that their influence on public policy has increased significantly in recent times (Yarmanova, 2021, p. 7). The editor concludes that „religious views are still key arguments in most political debates, especially when it comes to gender and sexuality policies... The conservative position of many churches also concerns the topic of homosexuality” (Yarmanova, 2021, p. 8). In general, the collection has a special critical emphasis. The activities of religious organizations in Ukraine are perceived as destructive to the implementation of ideas of gender equality and feminist ideas. The authors reveal examples of political and ideological confrontation between churches and religious organizations and feminist/gender initiatives.

Consequently, having carried out a rather superficial, permanent analysis, it becomes clear the peculiarity of printed publications presented on the Internet. It is a large analytical material, more author's articles and less informational messages. The materials are focused on rethinking the problems of interaction between feminism, gender theory, and religion, which are mostly scientific in nature, are a presentation of research and development based on a clear methodology. Such publications are a necessary part of feminist discourse in the environment of Internet communication.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Social networks are the third element of feminist/gender media that shows convergent features. The research is focused on Facebook as the most representative social electronic media in terms of groups and communities according to gender or religious interests. We believe that it is advisable to make only a general description of the communities on Facebook and focus on the topic, as often the materials posted in the community are links to other Internet resources, including those that have already been considered. Facebook communities often duplicate material from thematic and news sites.

There are very few feminist/gender communities entirely devoted to religion. The public group Christian feminism in Ukraine (280 participants) is one of them (Christian Feminism, n. d.), which believe that it is possible to combine the profession of Christianity and feminism. The Facebook group

Christian Feminism in Ukraine is generally focused on Orthodox believers. Its contributors do not question the need for faith, religion, and church for modern man. The main goal of the group is a reasonable, well-founded critique of misogynistic practices in the church and an analytical re-reading and interpretation of Biblical stories.

The ecumenical nature of the community is clearly traced: members of the community try to find common ground in their views and provide support to those who need it. There are elements of theological discussions as well as pronounced apolitical. The main topics of the community mostly posts about female saints, female positions in church organizations, analysis of the Virgin Mary, harm of surrogacy, historical excursions (about witches), female monasticism, and domestic violence. There are scientific and popular lectures and books about women in Christian churches and the role of women in the formation of early Christianity. The predominant methods of communication are links to analytical materials, news, messages of group members about the opportunities of women not only as Christian believers, but also as active members of religious centers and organizations of the Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The group supports the idea of a Swedish model of punishing prostitution, when clients and pimps are punished, and woman forced into prostitution are not. The problem of abortion and the responsibility for contraception, which should be shared between partners, is also rising. Other discussions include the role of women in philosophy and religion, Christian women-mystics, female pastors, and deaconesses in the Western version of Christianity.

The most discussed are the posts about the analysis of the textbook *Fundamentals of the Family* (for 10-11 grades) by Andrian Bukovynsky and the Curriculum according to this textbook (Bukovynsky, 2018). The Curriculum was approved by the Profile Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine in November 2018 and was recommended for teaching in 10 and 11 grades of secondary schools. Many feminist and gender resources criticize this book as an inappropriate source for use in secondary school. As for this group, it mostly represents a negative attitude towards the book in the comments.

Another specialized community NGO Association Quir-Credo (316 likes) (Obiednannia, n. d.). It is a small community that has been operating since 2013. The page is entirely dedicated to defending the position of freely expressing both gender identity and religiosity. The problems of LGBT integration into the Christian church are discussed and the Western and Ukrainian experience is considered. Options for LGBT members to acquire ritual rights in various Christian churches are being considered.

The topic of religion is touched on superficially in a number of feminist communities on Facebook. For example, in the large public group Feminism UA with more than 11,100 participants, religious topics are marginal, non-specialized, related to specific events in various churches and reli-

gious organizations (Feminism UA, n. d.). Another public group Sexism and Misogyny (3,900 participants), which is paired with the previous community, covers stereotypical, sexist, misogynistic narratives, but religious themes are marginal. Religions, churches, religious figures are mentioned/criticized mainly through specific sexual acts/ statements (**Seksyzm i mizohiniia**, n. d.).

The public page Feminism in detail (22,540 participants), which is associated with the site Gender in detail (Hender v detaliakh, 2020), contains posts about wearing the hijab (Feminizm v detaliakh, n. d.). The page League for the Protection of Women's Rights (3,115 participants) contains posts on specific events in various religious organizations and churches.

A little more attention to religious events can be found on the page of the social project Women are 50% of Ukraine's success (6,450 participants). In this large community purely official news is offered, such as the appointment of Francesca Di Giovanni to a high position in the State Secretariat of Vatican or the work of the Women's Council at the Pontifical Council for Culture. There are also critical articles that are mostly related to politics. For example, the UN statement that Ukrainian Christian churches are actively obstructing the adoption of legislation aimed at protecting the rights of the LGBT community; churches in Lutsk that oppose the adoption of the Charter of Equality.

There are communities on Facebook in which publications on religious topics are mostly critical. This is a group only for women Antyberegynya (Anti-guardian) (800 participants). The slogan of the community: „Woman, not Guardian! A Human, not an incubator and a servant!“ (Antiberegynya, n. d.). The group briefly mentions religious organizations in connection with anti-abortion positions. It criticizes not only religion, but also activities of religious organizations. The activity of the group is often incompatible with the ideology of religious organizations. In this case, the most critical is the community Comrade. Liberal feminists (1,260 participants). There is a clear critical attitude to both religion and religious organizations (Tovarishka, n. d.).

To sum up, the peculiarity of understanding religious issues in the feminist communities of Facebook is not only the active dissemination of information among stakeholders, but also real dialogue in Facebook community. This communication can have both constructive and destructive intentions. Therefore, social networks integrate different ways of communication and are convergent.

CONCLUSIONS

The current analysis of feminist and gender electronic media has shown that the categories of both religion and gender become relevant only in the context in which they are used. Only a small amount of material and topics

devoted to religion are in the analyzed electronic media. Particularly, the informative messages and articles predominate, but religious topics remain marginal, which corresponds to the general tendencies of the modern mass media discourse of Ukraine.

The religious themes of the materials vary greatly depending on the site and the main tasks that its organizers and authors set. The more in the article of analytical analysis, the more tolerant the authors are to religion (but not to religious organizations). Regarding this fact, one can distinguish the attitude towards religion and religious organizations in the texts on different sites. However, only few texts are related to religion. Actions of religious organizations that hinder gender and feminist initiatives in various spheres of social development are mainly analyzed on websites.

At the same time, thematic diversity indicates the distinct interest of the Ukrainians in the possibilities of combining religious and feminist identities. Such sensitive topics as sexual orientation, sexual violence, pedophilia, and the right to abortion are often silenced in the information field of religious organizations, while they are raised in the feminist/gender media. However, there is a noticeable tendency to impose stereotypes about Christianity or Islam, which often do not correspond to tradition and canon. It can be assumed that many authors of feminist/gender electronic media are quite skeptical in their religious views, although they live within the semantic boundaries of Ukrainian culture, a mandatory element of which is the infusion of Christian tradition. Therefore, when the authors expressed their views on Christian issues, they used stereotypes less than on other religions.

Consequently, gender and feminist electronic media in Ukraine are cautious about covering religious issues like most Ukrainian secular media. Specialized Internet sites, convergent periodicals, and feminist pages/groups in Facebook are loyal to religious issues. Criticism or misunderstanding is often not related to religion as a whole, but to the activities of specific religious institutions or representatives of religious organizations. Such critical reception is free from any religion since the same criticism is given to Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and other national religions. Only a small number of electronic media are fundamentally opposed to religion, they support left-wing and liberal beliefs.

It is appropriate to systematize the analyzed electronic mass media according to their communicative characteristics. First, websites organize communication by having critical view about religion. Since they are intended for a mass audience, religious themes are presented in a very general and stereotypical way. Second, print media are characterized by analytical communication. The analyzed print media are an example of the convergence of modern mass media, because although they are primarily print periodicals, their availability is associated with digital representation on the Internet. Third, communication on social networks is focused on creating a community of like-minded people. This method of communication

is the most interactive, quite flexible to the worldviews of the audience, and sensitive to external influences. Social networks create a collective emotional reaction to religious events, so they are influential media. Therefore, the analyzed feminist and gender electronic media actively influence the construction of the religious identity of their audience.

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