Розділ 2

СОЦІАЛЬНІ РЕАЛЬНОСТІ
В ЕМПІРИЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ

Gendered Narratives of Grief for a Fallen Soldier in a Course of the Russian Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine as Expressed Online

Halyna Herasym –
PhD candidate, School of Sociology, University College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland
E-mail: Halyna.herasym@ucdconnect.ie
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0009-0008-3596-4551

This article explores gendered narratives of grief for fallen servicemen and women in the course of the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine after February, 24 2022. While the public image of a soldier typically represents a plethora of traditionally masculine features, the public nature of the private grief in the age of digitalization challenges this image. Moreover, a rather significant participation of women in combat roles adds to the distortion of the traditional expressions of grief in a public space. Another prominent factor is the sheer scale of invasion and the proximity of the soldiers to the civilians, which forges the bonds of micro-solidarities and changes the perception of the military. Drawing on the narrative analysis of the public expressions of grief in the social media, this text explores how the decentralization of grief granted by the social media and the changed demographical landscape among the soldiers are echoed in the process of mourning online.

This article focuses solely on the death of the soldiers of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and the volunteers who died as the result of the military action and does not touch upon the death of Russian servicemen and/or deaths of the soldiers and volunteers that occurred beyond the combat zone and military action.

Key words: grief, mourning, bereavement, gender, grief, Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Герасим Галина. Гендеровані наративи скорботи за полеглим солдатом у ході російсько-української війни, висловлювані онлайн. У цьому тексті розглянуто гендеровані наративи скорботи за полеглими службовцями та службовицями Збройних сил України після початку повномасштабного вторгнення Росії до України 24 лютого 2022 року. Зважаючи на масовий характер воєнних дій, який провокує близький контакт цивільних та військових, майже безпрецедентну участь жінок у бойових діях та небачене раніше проникнення інтернету, змінюється образ військовослужбовця та спосіб висловлювати горе й скорботу. Авторка вдається до наративного аналізу оповідей про скорботу за загиблими під час бойових дій військовослужбовцями та військовослужбовицями в соціальних мережах, щоб простежити, якими є гендеровані наративи жалоби й горя.

Ця стаття не розглядає наративи горя за військовослужбовцями російської федерації та концентрується на скорботі за загиблими в межах бойових дій захисниками й захисницями України та волонтерками.

Ключові слова: скорбота, траур, утрата, гендер, горе, російське вторгнення в Україну.

INTRODUCTION

It has been long noted that the story-telling and sharing the narratives of loss is a tried and true way to cope with grief (Bosticco, & Thompson, 2005; De Fina, & Georgakopoulou, 2015). Perhaps, this is not

surprising, as the stories help people to make sense of the world, and it is in the times of bereavement when this search for meaning becomes the most acute. Nevertheless, the private stories of grief and loss, expressed through the means of diaries or letters, in the close circles, and, in extraordinary circumstances, through the means of art had changed significantly with the digitalization and wide accessibility of the Internet and social media. The new media allow for the people to freely share their narrative without the imposed policies of a state, and editorial board or another power agent. When it comes to the grief that is oftentimes coopted by public institution, like in times of major social tragedies, wars and catastrophes, this opportunity to express oneself becomes even more important. Considering the shifting gender roles in the circumstances of the collective trauma, the picture becomes even more tangled and less clear than ever before. How are the narratives of grief and loss shaped in this changing environment? The case of grief during the full-scale invasion of Ukraine presents a suitable environment to conduct an investigation of such narratives. In the course of this paper, therefore the following question is explored:

How does the nature of the full-scale war, combined with the development of the media that allow for the direct self-expression, and changing gender roles reflect upon the narratives of grief that are being presented to the world?

1. DISCUSSION OF THE LITERATURE AND THE PURPOSE OF THE ARTICLE

Prior to the change in the media landscape that happened with the introduction of the Internet and the new media, when a private grief was communicated publicly (in the news or through the means of art), it usually had to go through various gatekeepers: the editor, the label, the operator, the producer, the publisher, museum curator, etc. Apart from the rare instances of grassroot and vernacular art, like graffiti, the mourner never had been fully in control of the narrative, communicated to the wider audience, and even so, the dissemination was often out of the mourners hands and up to the, so to speak, "collective TV anchor".

This restriction on making ones grief public changed when the high-speed mobile Internet had become readily available to the relatively numerous people and with the introduction of the means of social media. An opportunity to communicate private emotions and experiences to the public with very little mediation and restriction of the professional communities introduced the change in the power dynamic in this collective storytelling. Even though the algorithms of the social media are not entirely egalitarian (the pitfalls of the algorithms and authoritarian tendencies of social media are at length discussed in (Morozov, 2013; O'Neil, 2016)), and tend to bend to the whims of the advertisers, there is little to be harnessed from the private memorialization, grief and mourning, so the space to share and connect in that realm is relatively free and fair.

COVID-19 pandemic had exacerbated this process. Myers and Donely explore how the grief was expressed with the medium of online-memorials, as traditional means of expressing grief and paying respect to the deceased like attending burials and funeral religious services, saying goodbye in places of care, taking care of the dead body or being a part of a wake became not available to the many people (Myers, & Donley, 2022). The Internet was also instrumental in establishing the bereavement support groups (Ummel, Vachon, & Guité-Verret, 2022). In that sense, the online-space became a substitute for traditional ways of bereavement. Another facet of dealing with end-of-life experiences, introduced by the pandemic deals with an opportunity rather than with a restriction. Quite a few professionals, involved in the death care had also mentioned in the personal conversations and research interviews, that COVID-19 pandemic allowed for them to normalize online-calls and streams from the deathbed or funeral for the relatives and friends overseas, who were unable to say goodbye or attend the funeral otherwise and the practice had remained in their professional toolbox since.

Another trend in this mix of digital and offline grief are the QR codes, that increasingly appear on the gravestones all over the world (Bridgwater, 2012). Unlike online communities and memorials, that take the offline grief to the online space, the QR-codes serve the opposite purpose, and take the visitor of the gravesite or a memorial online and familiarize them with the life and legacy of the buried person. Even though this technology is more likely to appear within the sites of collective memory or at the side of the dead bodies that lead, as Katherina Verdery calls it "political lives" (Verdery, 1999), this trend is worth mentioning as a part of the newly introduced blending of the, so to speak, "real" and "virtual" in the death care, that was made accessible by the digital tide of the last decades.

Consequently, the new technology changes the experiences and representations of grief quite a bit, even though grieving and dying online is still developing rapidly and are far from completion. It can already be noted, however, that, when it comes to mourning, in the process of those developments the private emotion and the public life (and, consequently, death) are becoming more fluid and the margins are thinning more than ever.

Whereas in the social sciences there had been a rather clear distinction between the individual and collective trauma and grief (see e.g. (Alexander, 2013)), in the absence of the professional gatekeeper, a collective "TV anchor", that was mentioned earlier, who tells us, whom to grieve as a community, how does it reflect on the representations of trauma and grief? Even though there is a long lasting Durkheimian tradition to view death not just as an individual tragedy, but as an event, which is disruptive for the whole community, in modern nation-states a single death of a private citizen can hardly be perceived like that considering the scale of the population. In the case of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russian Federation, though, the distinction between the private and collective trauma is thinning as it rarely did before. This results from the scale of warfare and the speed and variety of dissemination of information. In comparable armed conflicts and wars there rarely had been a combination of factors that could have led to the blurred distinction to such an extent.

Even though the armed conflict in Ukraine had started with the annexation of Crimea and fighting in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions in 2014, the scale and geography of the destruction and hostilities of the ongoing phase of the conflict well surpass that of the hybrid war, fought before. The difference is also reflected in the scale of losses and contact with the realities of the frontline: according to the Sociological group "Rating" survey, conducted in the end of summer of 2023, 65% of Ukrainians have a loved one or a relative, who had been taking part in the combat on the front lines since February, 22 2022, as compared to the 49% between 2014 and 2021 (Rating Group, 2023). Moreover, the exposure to the consequences of the warfare among civilians, weather direct or indirect had increased dramatically. In addition, the war could arguably be called one of the most televised in history. The relatively cheap, accessible and high-quality Internet coverage in Ukraine, the Starlink technology, available to the Ukrainian troops on the frontlines, are making the expression of grief more immediate. This widespread acquaintance with the servicemen and servicewomen of the Armed forces of Ukraine combined with the parasocial relations fostered by the new media, develop the new bonds of solidarity on the micro level and help maintaining the old relations that would have decayed otherwise. In those circumstances, the figure of the soldier exceeds the traditional image of a state-deployed trooper and becomes personal to everybody, who has a loved one in the military.

Another aspect of the changed narrative in this warfare is, perhaps, almost unprecedented involvement of women in combat (according to various sources, as of October 2022, between 7 to 10 thousand women fought directly at "zero", that is, on the front line (Grabovska, 2022)). Even though there is plenty of historic evidence of women joining the warfare, both in the pre-modern and modern times, their roles were rarely recognized, especially if the women did not serve in the traditionally feminine roles such as nurses, or working desk jobs. The seminal study "Invisible battalion" conducted by Tamara Martseniuk, Anna Kvit and Ganna Grytsenko in 2016, points out that Ukrainian army used to face many challenges, prevalent all over the world with an added burden of soviet legacy: the conservative nature of the military institutions, infringement to the right of education and numerous legal obstacles (Martsenyuk, Grytsenko, & Kvit, 2016, pp. 14–17).

It should be noted, that since the "Invisible battalion" was published and in response to the advocacy campaign that accompanied it, the massive changes were introduced to the Armed Forces of Ukraine and Ministry of Defense in terms of policies, legislature and approaches. The most significant of them, perhaps, is the open opportunity for the women to legally serve at the combat positions.

The Military Media Center of the Ministry of defence of Ukraine indicates, that as of fall 2023, the number of the women in the Armed Forces of Ukraine was 62 062, which constituted 7,3 % of the general AFU staff. Roughly half of them were serving or training in/for the combat roles (Kuzmenko, 2023). It is hard to tell exactly what is the gender ratio of the volunteers, who accommodate the needs of the servicemen and women and help an army with the needed supplies is, but the women are an integral part of this community as well. While the percentage of women in combat in Ukraine nears that of the female American troops in Iraq (Millar, 2015), it does not account for the women, who help an army and the nature/scale of the warfare.

The mentioned above changes do not indicate the dissapearence of sexism and gender stereotypes in the Ukrainian Armed Forces, of course. But they speak to the massive shift that took place in the Ukrainian military over the last ten years. The important change happened in the media coverage and narratives. As is pointed out by Al Oriami and Antwi-Boateng, in the course of the Russian full-scale invasion, Ukrainian women demonstrated agency and were not confined to the traditional gender roles of victimhood and sacrifice. Ironically, their particular text downplays the role of Ukrainian women in the armed combat, although it pays a lot of attention to other important social obligations, fulfilled by women, among them – the mentioned above role of the volunteer, who helps the soldiers with needed supplies (Al Oraimi & Antwi-Boateng, 2023).

Everything discussed above: a massive collective trauma combined with the plethora of individual traumas, developments in the media landscapes and a rather swift shifts in the gender dispositions in the military changes the landscapes of grief. Traditional expressions of grief implied a private grief of a mother, sister or wife/bride for the fallen man (see e. g. (Butler, 2016)) and the public mourning of a community for a soldier, a perfect representation of masculine power, strengths and valiance. Nevertheless, the discussed above developments in the social fabric and digital environment allow for removal of certain barriers and massive turn in expressions of grief.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper draws on the narrative analysis in order to uncover the ways the grief is being articulated in the increasingly public media space. 15 cases of deaths of the Ukrainian Armed Forces servicepersons and 5 cases of the volunteers were randomly selected with a variety of age, gender, and social standing. For all these cases as many posts about them, published in social media Facebook, Instagram and X (formerly known as Twitter) were retrieved as possible, regardless of who posted them. The analyzed stories mostly consist of the obituaries that were posted immediately after the death and before the burial, or shortly after the funeral. In the course of this particular piece of research no multimedia materials were analyzed, and the study predominantly concerns the texts.

It is worth noting, that the depiction of death online by the loved ones of the deceased already points out to certain social inequalities: for the story of the deceased to be seen, the departed and/or their loved one should already possess, so to speak, certain social capital (either online or offline), gadgets and the internet access, and digital literacy skills. Moreso, the younger people are more likely to be mourned online, as the digital divide in Ukraine concerns older generation. On the other hand, this inequality is to a certain extent negated by the nature of the military service, where people of all walks of life have a chance to communicate and create meaningful social connections, therefore the stories of loss might be told by comrades with wider networks.

On top of that 5 cases of the deaths of the volunteers, who support the Armed forces were analyzed. In Ukraine, "volunteer" signifies two distinct groups of people. One of them, depicted in the word "dobrovolets" means a person, who voluntarily joined the Armed Forces of Ukraine as opposed to being drafted, and had been serving as a soldier. However, in this section, we are concerned about the volunteers of the different kind, who are called "volontery" in Ukrainian. They are the people, who are helping the army with the needed supplies ranging from drones or vehicles and to the thermal underwear for the servicewomen or medical supplies, fundraising for the military units, resolving the logistics issues, etc. If not on paper, the volunteers are an essential part of the Ukrainian war effort: they are faster and more agile in their approach than the government structures, and are capable of delivering the needed help and supplies in a fast and efficient manner. Oftentimes, the line between the soldier and the volunteer is blurred: sometimes, the military members would fundraise for their own unit or the fellow soldiers from other units, or a person, working a desk job is helping several units on the frontline. Within this paper, however, only the deceased "volontery" who were not formally affiliated with the AFU are considered as volunteers.

I did not aim at searching for a variety in the manner of death, limiting this piece of research to the cases of servicemen and women, killed in combat and volunteers, whose death resulted from acts of war (fire, death in captivity, etc.).

All of the analyzed stories were publicly accessible in the social media (Facebook, Instagram and X, formerly known as Twitter), but for the sake of privacy and decency of the deceased the names and the

recognizable details are omitted in this paper, and the results are presented in the generalized way. At a time of the publication of this article, the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces does not publish the statistics of the losses and MIA servicemembers, therefore it is hard to observe any ratios in relation to the losses. The tentative number, published by the activists nears 30000 soldiers (Matiyash, 2023). Considering, that the analyzed data are publicly available, due to the unobtrusive nature of the research, concealment of most personal details and absence of harm to the humans in the process of the research, I made a decision not to seek the IRB approval.

Since the nature of this research does not allow for it to be representative, and the quantity of the selected cases is relatively small, I chose to omit the quantitative elements to an analysis and stick to the discussion of the themes and the ways that are being implored to tell the stories of grief and bereavement. The narratives of grief selected for this article are mostly immediately following the loss. As shall be discussed below, the grief morphs over time, and the larger analysis with a wider selection of cases should be pursued once more data on the general population of the killed and MIA military members would be available and with the development of the more robust policies of memory, in particular in the built environments. The grief over the MIA military members is not discussed within this paper.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The Known Soldier

The overarching theme of the personalized narratives of grief that are being presented to the general public is that they become an antithesis to the tomb of the unknown soldier. Even though the tombs, monuments and media representations of the unknown soldiers are pretty common across European countries and Americas (see e. g. (Cardozo, 2018; Jones, 2013; McDermott, & Anderson, 2022)), in Ukraine there is a wide-spread association between an anonymity of a military member, who was killed in combat and a Soviet, and, by extension, Russian imperialist legacy. The projects and calls for remembering an individual and their personality both online and offline are not rare, and could be found even in the official, state-funded and/or endorsed memorial projects akin to "The Wall of Memory" in Kyiv that depicts the portraits of the killed in combat, and where the civilians and comrades could, so to speak, "meet" the fallen soldiers (Wanner, 2022). The online-narratives, produced by the private persons are often directed at making the deceased "known" through sharing the anecdotes of their lives, jokes, intimate memories and funny pictures often accompany the messages of grief. Those obituaries dedicated to women, full of personal details and intimate feelings, come in stark contrast with some of the more traditional allegoric memorial feminine depictions, like Marianne, Motherland etc. It is worth noting, that historically, the allegorical depictions usually tended to develop to their fullest over time, so the further research would be needed considering that specific issue.

3.2. The Theme of a Defender

As had been mentioned before, typically, female experiences during the wartime are being presented in the light of victimhood and sacrifice. Even though this discourse is indeed present in discussion of the war in Ukraine, especially when it comes to the female refugees, IDPs and civilian casualties of attacks, there is one more strong public image, and that is of a female fighter and volunteer (Phillips, & Martsenyuk, 2023).

As observed by Millar, "in the gendered system of warfare, the subject in need of protection is feminine, while the subject obliged to protect is masculine" (Millar, 2015, p. 761). Although it might usually be the case in many Western societies, the private language of grief in Ukraine certainly challenges that convention. Both men and women in the Armed Forces are referred to as "defenders" or "protectors", and the gendered character of Ukrainian language allows for a specific word, "defendress", zakhysnytsia to describe a female soldier. It is worth noting, that this had been a bilateral process between the state and the civil society for quite some time. For instance, the Day of the Defender ("Den Zakhysnyka") established in 2014 and celebrated in Ukraine on October, 1, had been renamed in 2021 and is now officially recognized as the Day of the Defender and Defendress ("Den Zakhysnyka i Zakhysnytsi").

The specific salvos that are being used to honor the fallen soldiers are being applied both to men and women, both in the posts and the comments. The three most common salvos are "On the shield", "Honor" and "In the line [of duty]", the first one being the most common. The roots of this salvo are rather heavily gender-coded (according to the legend, the Spartan mothers told their sons to come back from the battle

"with the shield or on the shield", meaning with the victory or dying for the cause – and the Spartan society being extremely patriarchal), but it is used to honor the fallen of both sexes and to indicate their courage and valiance, with no additional gendered connotations.

In the private narratives of grief over the fallen female soldier or volunteer, especially accompanied by the pictures, the traditionally feminine features are sometimes invoked as well: usually youth, beauty and delicacy of the fallen soldier is juxtaposed to the brutal realities of war. Nevertheless, the purely traditionally feminine messages are relatively rare and are typically invoked in the comments or replies rather than in the obituaries themselves.

3.3. The Theme of a Failure to Protect

While both men and women are described as those who defend as a part of the Armed Forces, the theme of the *failure to protect* surfaces in the private online materials, dedicated to the deceased of both sexes. The idea of the "failure to protect" in the analyzed materials is hardly gender-specific, but it is mostly limited to family members and combat comrades. Interestingly, the common word to describe the fellow soldier, "pobratym" or "posestra" implies a familial relationship. In other words, mothers, fathers, and siblings (by blood or in arms) express this sentiment. Some do it overtly, others express this failure to protect in terms of regrets and apologies for "not having done enough". Interestingly, in this narrative surviving women do not appear as "mere props", as they traditionally do in the representation of the soldier's death (see e. g. (Millar, 2017, p. 548)), but, if the sentiment is expressed by a woman, despite "having failed" in protecting, the agency of a mother, a sister or a "posestra" is still being claimed. Sometimes the expression of a failure to protect is accompanied with a pledge to revenge the deceased, which usually comes from the brothers and sisters in arms.

3.4. Who Remains?

Another common thread, present in the narratives of grief for fallen men and women is the theme of the remaining relatives, mostly parents and children, sometimes — siblings and a spouse. The labor in Ukraine remains gendered with most of the childcare and household responsibilities falling onto the women (Klemparskyi et al., 2022; Tirbakh, & Chaban, 2021; Tsymbaliuk, & Volkovska, 2021). Nevertheless, the inequality on the labor market, where oftentimes it is still the man, who makes more money (for various reasons ranging from the glass ceiling to the gendered choice of the occupation) creates a gendered discrepancy between the ways the loss is being presented. While women are expected to assure the care for the children and the elderly in the family, the men are expected to provide. Therefore the stories of a loss of a male soldier are sometimes accompanied by requests for a material support for the family.

3.5. Representations of Masculinity

Even though the considerable attention in this text so far was dedicated to the women in the military, the image of masculinity presented by the private narratives of grief disseminated by the social media merits as much, if not more, attention. Millar notes, that most of the official war monuments are dedicated to men, and they are oftentimes depicted as young and beautiful Homeric heroes (Millar, 2017). The private narratives of grief made public challenge this image, since instead of a young and distant muscular soldier; the observer is presented with a picture of a son, brother, husband, father, student, worker, writer, athlete, party animal or a nerd, a friend and a classmate. In other words, this way of presentation allows for a story, specific to a person with all their social roles.

The expressions of grief of the friends and relatives of the deceased male soldiers are adding the stories and memories of tenderness and kindness that are contrasting with a traditional hypermasculine picture of a soldier as a body that belongs to the public and a state. The memories usually concern the generosity, good humor and kindness of the deceased, while at the same time their courage is underlined as well.

3.6. The Grief of a Man

As had been mentioned before, a traditional figure of a mourner belongs to a woman. Nevertheless, the new media had opened an opportunity for men to express private grief publicly and give their bereavement a voice. The men gain the opportunity to mourn their friends, family members and comrades, and support each other in their bereavement. Even though the research on gender as a predictor of an outcome of a prolonged grief and/or pathological bereavement have been mixed, suggesting that there might be more similarity than differences between genders, this might be used in the future to promote the networks of support and solidarity among men (Maccallum et al., 2023). In any case, this symbolic shift, where men freely discuss their grief may signify a turn towards a more inclusive and accepting social norms around

bereavement and mourning and could potentially destigmatize various emotions (e. g. deeply and visibly grieving) and behaviors (e. g. crying) that are marked as "not manly".

CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVES

It is worth noting, that grief, both personal and collective, transforms over time. It is entirely possible that with the passing of time and development of the robust, standardized and state-supervised commemoration techniques, the shift in the themes observed in the narratives of grief would develop. Moreover, some changes are inevitable, as the time passes and the nature of the warfare and social conditions changes.

While individual grief could morph into the pathological bereavement in the fringe of cases in ordinary circumstances, the context of collective grief and trauma might exacerbate as well as mitigate the process of mourning. Even though COVID-19 pandemics had given a momentum both to the introduction of the technology into the grieving process and to the studies in that realm, interrelation between the individual and collective grief requires further research by psychologists and sociologists and remains understudied. In the context of an active warfare, the process is being further complicated by an ongoing trauma and deprivation. In any case, the further research is due both because of the dynamic nature of grief and the need to develop a more robust empirical base on the interrelation between personal and collective grief.

Overall, the results of this study indicate that even though there are some gender discrepancies in the private depictions of grief that are becoming public, the grassroot memory shows the tendency to be rather inclusive. The deceased soldier tends to be portrayed as an individual person rather than being depicted within an expected gendered image. This continues an earlier commemorative trend to get "acquainted" with the deceased, that emerged during the previous stage of the full-scale invasion.

The technology that allows for the dissemination of the private narratives of grief shows a significant potential to serve as a tool to commemorate the fallen soldiers, and defy traditional gender roles that prescribe certain ways to grieve and to remember and could prove itself as a tool in the process of bereavement and voicing ones grief.

REFERENCES

Al Oraimi, S., & Antwi-Boateng, O. (2023). Surviving Patriarchy: Ukrainian Women and the Russia-Ukraine War. *Journal of international women's studies, 25*(6), 8. Retrieved November 14, 2023 from https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol25/iss6/8

Alexander, J. C. (2013). *Trauma: A social theory*: John Wiley & Sons.

Bosticco, C., & Thompson, T. L. (2005). Narratives and Story Telling in Coping with Grief and Bereavement. *OMEGA – Journal of Death and Dying, 51*(1), 1–16. DOI: 10.2190/8tnx-leby-5ejy-b0h6

Bridgwater, T. J. (2012). Talking tombstones: thanks to QR code technology, gravestones can say a lot more than they used to, *13*(8), 6. Retrieved November 10, 2023 from https://go.exlibris.link/0T3Snygg

Butler, S. (2016). The Circulation of Grief in English Women's WWII Correspondence'. *Life Writing as Empathy. Spec. issue of Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies, 42*(2), 45–63. DOI: 10.6240/concentric.lit.2016.42.2.04

Cardozo, M. (2018). "You are the hero who will never die…" The Unknown Soldier: politics and memory of the Great War in Italy. *Avances del Cesor, 15*(18), 83–107.

De Fina, A., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2015). *Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (1 ed.). Somerset: Wiley.

Grabovska, I. (2022). Equal Opportunities for Women and Men versus the Crisis of Masculinity (Ukrainian Specificity). *Sociological Studios*, 2(21), 6–13. https://doi.org/10.29038/2306-3971-2022-02-06-13

Jones, H. (2013). The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Modern Mourning, and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body . By Laura Wittman. Toronto Italian Studies.Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011. Pp. xii+439. *The Journal of modern history, 85*(3), 704–706. https://doi.org/10.1086/670851

Klemparskyi, M. M., Pavlichenko, H. V., Prokopiev, R. Y., Mohilevskyi, L. V., & Burniagina, Y. M. (2022). Gender inequality in the labour market of Ukraine: Challenges for the future. *Work Organisation, Labour & Globalisation, 16*(2), 140–157. DOI: 10.13169/workorgalaboglob.16.2.0140

Kuzmenko, Y. (2023, October 16). Ukraine has 40% more female military personnel than in 2021. *Suspilne.Media*. Retrieved October 23, 2023 from https://suspilne.media/595405-v-ukraini-stalo-na-40-bilse-vijskovosluzbovic-niz-u-2021-roci/

Maccallum, F., Lundorff, M., Johannsen, M., Farver-Vestergaard, I., & O'Connor, M. (2023). An exploration of gender and prolonged grief symptoms using network analysis. *Psychological medicine, 53*(5), 1770–1777. DOI: 10.1017/S0033291721003391

Martsenyuk, T., Grytsenko, G., & Kvit, A. (2016). *The «Invisible Battalion»: Women in ATO Military Operations in Ukraine*. UN Women.

Matiyash, T. (2023, November 15). At least 30,000 Ukrainian defenders died in the war – «Book of Memory». *LB.ua*. Retrieved November 15, 2023 from https://lb.ua/society/2023/11/15/584342_viyni_zaginuli_shchonaymenshe_30_tisyach.html

McDermott, V., & Anderson, L. B. (2022). "A symbol of service and sacrifice, mourning and memory": Public relations and public memory the 100th year commemoration of the tomb of the unknown soldier. *Public relations review,* 48(5), 102257. DOI: 10.1016/j.pubrev.2022.102257

Millar, K. M. (2015). Death does not become her: An examination of the public construction of female American soldiers as liminal figures. *Review of International Studies,* 41(4), 757–779. DOI: 10.1017/S0260210514000424.

Millar, K. M. (2017). Gendered representations of soldier deaths. *The Palgrave international handbook of gender and the military*, 543–559.

Morozov, E. (2013). *To save everything, click here: technology, solutionism, and the urge to fix problems that don't exist*. London: Allen Lane.

Myers, F., & Donley, S. (2022). "COVID-19, I Hate You!": Framing Death and Dying in COVID-19 Online Memorials. *Omega: Journal of Death and Dying*, 302228221107978-302228221107978. DOI: 10.1177/00302228221107978

O'Neil, C. (2016). *Weapons of math destruction: how big data increases inequality and threatens democracy*. London: Allen Lane.

Phillips, S. D., & Martsenyuk, T. (2023). Women's agency and resistance in Russia's war on Ukraine: From victim of the war to prominent force. *Women's studies international forum, 98*, 102731. DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2023.102731

Rating Group (2023). *Twenty-Fourth Nationwide Survey «Ukraine in the Conditions of War». The Image of Veterans in Ukrainian Society (September 5–7, 2023)*. Retrieved October 23, 2023 from https://ratinggroup.ua/en/research/ukraine/dvadcyat_chetverte_zagalnonac_onalne_opituvanny_ukra_na_v_umovah_v_yni_obraz_veteran_v_v_ukra_nskomu.html

Tirbakh, L., & Chaban, G. (2021). Occupational inequality and gender features in the labor market. *Ekonomìčnij vìsnik unìversitetu,* 49, 120–126. DOI: 10.31470/2306-546X-2021-49-120-126

Tsymbaliuk, S., & Volkovska, A. (2021). Analysis of institutional factors that cause gender pay gaps in Ukraine. *Social and labour relations: theory and practice,* 11(1), 1–13. DOI: 10.21511/slrtp.11(1).2021.01

Ummel, D., Vachon, M., & Guité-Verret, A. (2022). Acknowledging bereavement, strengthening communities: Introducing an online compassionate community initiative for the recognition of pandemic grief. *American Journal of Community Psychology,* 69(3–4), 369–379. DOI: 10.1002/ajcp.12576

Verdery, K. (1999). *The political lives of dead bodies: Reburial and postsocialist change*: Columbia University Press.

Wanner, C. (2022). *Everyday religiosity and the politics of belonging in Ukraine*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.