Intersectionality Assessment of Political and Electoral Participation in Ukraine

July 2020

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About IFES

An informed and empowered citizenry is a crucial component of a healthy and resilient democracy. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) works to strengthen the participation, influence and representation of citizens in political processes and governance structures.

A key focus of IFES' work is inclusion of traditionally underrepresented groups, such as women, persons with disabilities, youth, indigenous groups, LGBTQ people, and ethnic and religious minorities. IFES uses an intersectional approach to its inclusion work, ensuring that individuals with multiple social identities have a voice in the way they are governed. IFES works to strengthen political inclusion by:

- Providing technical assistance to election management bodies on how to implement international standards such as the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities (CRPD) and the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW);
- Empowering civil society organizations (CSOs) and traditionally underrepresented groups, such as women, persons with disabilities, youth, indigenous groups, LGBTQ people and ethnic and religious minorities to advocate for equal rights; and
- Assisting citizen-led efforts to define best practices through the development of global tools such as the *Violence Against Women in Elections* framework and tools, the manual *Equal Access: How to Include Persons with Disabilities in Elections* and Political Processes and the online resource ElectionAccess.org.

Since 1994, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) has played a key role in the emergence and modernization of democratic electoral processes and institutions in Ukraine. During this period, IFES has developed a reputation as a reliable source for impartial analysis and high-quality technical assistance in the fields of electoral and political finance reform, social inclusion and gender equality, election administration, civil society capacity-building, civic education and public opinion research. Currently, IFES is implementing the following projects in Ukraine:

- "Ukraine Responsive and Accountable Politics Program" (U-RAP), funded by the United States Agency for International Development
- "Ensuring Meaningful Engagement Through Reform for Gender Equality (EMERGE), funded by Global Affairs Canada
- "Electoral and Legal Enhancements Through Civic Engagement and Technical Assistance Program" (ELECT), funded by UK aid

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Abbreviations

CEC	Central Election Commission
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DEC	District Election Commission
DPO	Disabled People's Organization
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civic and Political Rights
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MP	Member of Parliament
NACP	National Agency on Corruption Prevention
NAPD	National Assembly of People with Disabilities
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PEC	Precinct Election Commission
UN	United Nations

Executive Summary

Historically excluded groups in Ukraine, such as women, people with disabilities, the internally displaced and the LGBTQ community, experience multiple types of barriers and discrimination to participation in political life. People who identify with one or more of these identities, such as women with disabilities or young people who are displaced, have unique experiences that are often not considered in the design and implementation of electoral and political activities. Intersectionality, or the interconnected nature of different social identities, is fundamentally about power and thus has a profound impact on understanding the dynamics of political inclusion and exclusion.

This intersectionality assessment seeks to identify both opportunities for CSOs to build coalitions and vulnerabilities that might impact the political participation of specific groups. Research for this assessment, conducted by IFES in late 2019, included a desk review, key informant interviews with government, media and civil society leaders, focus group discussions, and feedback loops with key stakeholders. Findings and recommendations stemming from this assessment will provide decision-makers at all levels of government, national CSOs and international organizations, with insight into intersectional discrimination in political life, as well as suggestions on how to mitigate its impact.

An intersectional lens is not yet actively applied to civil society's internal practices and external programming in Ukraine. CSOs representing different identity groups are generally not yet coordinating or building coalitions to advocate for joint causes and still treat their constituencies as monolithic groups. For example, a majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women, but women's CSOs do not necessarily include displaced women in leadership roles or target their programming to address unique issues encountered by displaced women. Similarly, Roma people with disabilities encounter stigma and discrimination based on both their ethnicity and disability, but disabled people's organizations (DPOs) largely do not include Roma members and Roma organizations do not include people with disabilities.

Ukrainians have high levels of political indifference and mistrust in politics. For IDPs with disabilities, this frustration with political life is exasperated as they experience multiple forms of barriers, including logistical hurdles to securing the appropriate documentation to vote and inaccessible polling stations. Women with disabilities and the LGBTQ community have concerns surrounding personal safety and protection while participating in political life but are not yet jointly advocating for improved conditions. Regional geopolitics complicate domestic politics, with people belonging to non-Orthodox religions facing prosecution in the occupied territories of the Crimea and uncontrolled territories of the Donbas region.

Despite the barriers at the organizational and individual level, there are significant opportunities that can be leveraged to strengthen diversity and inclusion in Ukrainian civic and political life. Ukraine has a vast number of dedicated CSOs and activists who work diligently to push for equality and access to political life. Ukraine has ratified international treaties that protect the rights of women and people with disabilities and has national legislation that prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, gender identity, ethnicity and nationality. The new election code includes protections for women, people with disabilities and IDPs and the Central Election Commission has identified inclusion as a key priority. Ukraine has high levels of internet penetration, making access to political information online accessible to youth and IDPs, no matter where they are currently based.

This assessment was designed to be as inclusive as possible, but IFES recognizes that it does not capture all experiences and perspectives. The recommendations generated by this assessment have been reviewed by CSOs, activists and community organizers. These recommendations seek to make conversations about electoral and political rights more deliberately inclusive of all Ukrainians.

Background

Ensuring inclusion throughout the electoral process is a crucial pillar of democracy around the world. Yet many countries face challenges protecting the political and electoral rights of groups facing discrimination. People with multiple social identities, including women, people with disabilities, IDPs, national minorities (e.g., Roma) and LGBTQ people, experience compounding discrimination in political and civic life. As a result, these individuals are often excluded from political and policymaking processes. To make their voices heard, it is crucial to identify, assess and develop contextualized solutions to remove barriers to meaningful participation.

Ukraine has taken some positive steps to protect the rights of historically excluded groups and ensure equal opportunities for all citizens in all aspects of public life. Although some progress has been made with the adoption of international agreements to counter discrimination and domestic laws and regulations to protect these groups, there are persistent gaps in the anti-discrimination legal framework in Ukraine and comprehensive legal reform is required to ensure that effective domestic protections are in place. Key provisions on the equality of rights and freedoms for all Ukrainian citizens are enshrined in Article 24 of the Constitution of Ukraine: "*Citizens shall have equal constitutional rights and freedoms and shall be equal before the law. There shall be no privileges or restrictions based on race, skin color, political, religious, and other beliefs, gender, ethnic and social origin, property status, place of residence, linguistic or other characteristics.*"

However, the list of protected grounds stipulated above is not exhaustive and does not cover age, disability, sexual orientation or other identities, making it difficult to ensure protection against discrimination on all grounds. In 2005, Ukraine made significant progress by defining and prohibiting other types of discrimination through the adoption of the Law on Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities of Women and Men. The law laid the foundation to counter gender-based discrimination and eliminate inequalities in opportunities for men and women to exercise equal rights.

To guarantee women's access to the political process, Ukraine ratified a number of international and regional agreements, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)[1] in 1981. Article 7 of the convention commits the government of Ukraine to take measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political and public life and guarantees women and men the equal right to vote, run for office, participate in the formation of government policy, and become members of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Ukraine is also committed to the International Covenant on Civic and Political Rights (ICCPR), which protects the voting rights of all citizens. During its gender policy reform process in the early 2000s, the government of Ukraine

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[1] Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, December 1979. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx

successfully introduced a gender quota for women representatives in the Parliament as set out in the 2001 Law on Political Parties. However, the Parliamentary Election Law did not include a similar provision, allowing political parties to bypass this requirement; there were also no sanctions for non-compliance. After the passage of a new election code in December 2019, a significantly more effective new gender quota system was introduced for all levels of elections, including a provision that a party list will be rejected if it does not satisfy quota requirements.

Ukraine's legal framework against discrimination on the grounds of disability saw some improvement with the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities (CRPD) in 2009. By ratifying the CRPD, the government of Ukraine committed to harmonize domestic legislation and policies with CRPD provisions to secure the rights of persons with disabilities,[2] including electoral rights as outlined in Article 29. In particular, the UN CRPD Committee has welcomed Ukraine's efforts to include sign language as an official means of communication, appoint a presidential commissioner for the rights of persons with disabilities, and adopt a *National Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* by 2020. The new election code encouragingly requires polling stations to be audited for accessibility, with all polling stations fully accessible by 2025. However, while there has been progress in rights for people with some types of disabilities, people with psychosocial and intellectual disabilities still face legal obstacles to participation. The Constitution of Ukraine prohibits people who have been deemed "incapable" by a court to vote or to run for office, which violates Article 12 of the CRPD on ensuring the right of people with disabilities to equal recognition before the law. The term "incapable," as used in the Constitution of Ukraine to justify these decisions, is also broadly viewed as unacceptable, able-ist language by the disability community.

Following the outbreak of armed conflict in 2014, Ukraine struggled to enfranchise IDPs who were forced to leave their homes in Crimea and the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. International legal frameworks require the government of Ukraine to undertake all necessary measures to integrate IDPs into their new communities and ensure their political participation and full enjoyment of electoral rights. *Principle 22 of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement[3]* affirms the right of IDPs to vote and to participate in public life irrespective of their location in the country.

Previously, IDPs were unable to vote in local elections and were only allowed to vote on one of the two ballots used during parliamentary elections. The new election code will enfranchise IDPs and labor migrants in future elections, including local elections scheduled for October 2020. The election code amends the Law on the State Register of Voters that alters the definition of the term "electoral address." It is now possible for voters, on a permanent basis, to register an "electoral address" that differs from their registered places of residence (propiska). A new section has been introduced to Article 8 of the law that authorizes the State Register of Voters, on voters requests, to register their electoral addresses permanently based on their factual residence addresses. To change the electoral address, voters must provide one of the following documents proving their place of residence: an IDP certificate; a rental or ownership agreement; certificates confirming business activities or home

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[2] Concluding Observations in relation to the initial report of Ukraine. United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons With Disabilities, September 2015. https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CRPD,,UKR,55eedacd4,0.html

[3] Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Principle 22. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, July 1998. https://www.refworld.org/docid/3c3da07f7.html

ownership; or documents certifying their state of matrimony, family relations or care of a person whose place of residence is registered at that location in accordance with the Law on Freedom of Movement and Free Choice of Residence.[4]

Although the legal framework protecting the rights of national minorities remains fragmented and outdated, Ukraine has demonstrated a commitment to ensure protection of national minorities against discrimination and improve the situation of the Roma community by adopting the Strategy on the Protection and Integration of the Roma Minority Into Ukrainian society through 2020. The Strategy was complemented by a corresponding national action plan, including regional action plans, and aims to implement specific policies to address the access to rights of Roma in Ukraine. However, according to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) report on Roma in Ukraine,[5] Ukraine has failed to integrate a strong anti-discrimination approach in these policy documents or to respond to the specific needs of Roma women. In addition, the documents do not provide strategic objectives, clear indicators, a budget or effective mechanism for their implementation and evaluation to ensure the effective participation of Roma. Roma were also not involved or consulted in the drafting the Strategy or the national action plan.

In 2015, after significant advocacy efforts by the European Union and local CSOs, Ukraine introduced sexual orientation and gender identity to the list of protected grounds from discrimination to the Labor Code (Article 2), aligning this list with the minimum standards of EU's Employment Equality Directive 2000/78. However, continued monitoring is required to ensure sexual orientation and gender identity remain included on the list of protected grounds.

Ukraine's commitment to the Visa Liberalization Action Plan[6] culminated in the adoption of the first comprehensive anti-discrimination framework Law on the Principles of Prevention and Combating Discrimination in Ukraine.[7] This document, adopted in 2012 and amended in 2014, guided the development of Ukraine's all-inclusive anti-discrimination policy reform. The law outlines legal principles to prevent and combat discrimination, and aims to ensure equal access to rights. Ukraine's 2015 National Human Rights Strategy also commits the government to prevent and prohibit discrimination.

Ukraine's ongoing economic crisis, Russian aggression, major political shifts and social insecurity have exacerbated political turbulence in the country, further complicating the situation of people with multiple social identities. Ukraine's 2019 presidential and early parliamentary elections demonstrated the need to ensure equal access to rights for marginalized groups and to strengthen inclusion throughout the electoral process.

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[4] Election Bulletin #100. International Foundation for Electoral Systems, January 2020. https://ifesukraine.org/ifes-ukraine-election-bulletin-100-december-16-2019-january-12-2020/?lang=en

[5] "Situation Assessment Report on Roma in Ukraine and the Impact of the Current Crisis." Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, August 2014. https://www.osce.org/odihr/124494?download=true

[6] Visa Liberalisation with Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia. The European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/eastern-partnership/visa-liberalisation-moldova-ukraine-and-georgia_en

[7] The Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of Prevention and Counteracting Discrimination in Ukraine." Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, October 2012. https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/anot/en/5207–17

Ukraine's July 2019 parliamentary elections witnessed an increased number of women candidates running for the office. Of the 22 parties that ran for Parliament, 13 had at least 30 percent women on their lists. However, in many cases women were not placed in positions where they could win. For example, there were no women candidates in 24 of the 199 single mandate districts.[8] As a result, 21 percent[9] of candidates elected were women, which is the highest level of women's representation in the Rada since independence in 1991. Although it is still behind major European countries, the Ukrainian Parliament moved up 54 ranks on the IPU database in terms of women's representation. Findings from IFES' recent post-parliamentary survey[10] show increased support for the adoption of special measures to promote the participation of women in politics, with 65 percent of Ukrainians supporting such measures.

Recent polling[11] shows that 62 percent of Ukrainians believe men and women should be more equally represented in the government. However, widespread stereotypes and paternalistic attitudes about the role of women as guardians of family values in Ukrainian society limit their participation in political life. Societal stigma and discrimination are especially acute for Roma women since traditional Roma communities often comprise of multimember families where women or young girls are considered to be caregivers and responsible for chores.

Women who reside in the conflict-affected region of Eastern Ukraine face even greater difficulties accessing their rights since they must care for their families in a hostile environment and often lack access to basic resources including healthcare. Migrants from Eastern Ukraine are often stigmatized due to their national origin and those who also identify with another traditionally underrepresented groups, such as Roma or LGBTQ, are particularly at risk of discrimination and denial of their political rights. Women who were forced to move to other parts of the country have experienced difficulty securing employment, housing and registration as IDPs.

People with disabilities in Ukraine face numerous barriers accessing the electoral process including attitudinal, communication, environmental and institutional barriers. Women with disabilities, who constitute a majority of people with disabilities in Ukraine,[12] face compounded discrimination due to their gender and disability status. According to OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report on the 2019 Early Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine,[13] 62 percent of polling stations were not accessible to persons with physical disabilities, though DPOs estimate this number to be much higher. In addition, people with disabilities are often included in the at-home voting database and are not

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[8] "Statement of the NDI Election Observation Mission to Ukraine's July 21, 2019 Snap Parliamentary Elections. National Democratic Institute, July 2019. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI%20Ukraine%20-%20July%2021%202019%20Parliamentary%20Election%20Observation%20Statment%20-%20ENG%20vf.pdf

[9] Ukraine. Inter-Parliamentary Union. https://www.ipu.org/parliament/UA

[10] "Ukraine Post-Parliamentary Election Survey - Key Findings." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, October 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/key-findings-ukraine-post-parliamentary-election-survey-october-2019/?lang=en

[11] Poll "Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine's Democratic Transition." National Democratic Institute, June 2019. https://www.ndi.org/publications/ndi-poll-opportunities-and-challenges-facing-ukraine-s-democratic-transition

[12] Factsheet on Persons with Disabilities. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/resources/factsheet-on-persons-with-disabilities.html

[13] "Ukraine Early Parliamentary Elections, Final Report." Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, July 2019. https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine/439634?download=true

given an alternative to voting at their polling station, which contradicts Ukraine's commitment to the UN CRPD. According to IFES' post-parliamentary survey, 95 percent of Ukrainians widely agree that it is important for persons with disabilities to have the same electoral rights as other citizens.[14]

As of November 2019, Ukraine has registered over 1.4 million IDPs,[15] including 58 percent women.[16] This constitutes four percent of Ukraine's population. IFES post-parliamentary survey,[17] conducted in fall 2019, found widespread support for the political participation of IDPs in Ukrainian politics, with 88 percent of Ukrainians agreeing that IDPs should have the same electoral rights as other citizens.

IDPs were eligible to vote in the recent 2019 presidential elections and on the national ballot list in the 2019 parliamentary elections. However, IDPs, the majority of whom are women, could not vote in single-mandate constituencies and those who do not officially change their permanent registration are disproportionally disenfranchised in local elections. Overall, 55 percent of IDPs knew how to change their voting place for the parliamentary elections according to an IFES survey of IDPs[18] conducted in April 2019. Despite this, OSCE/ODIHR's preliminary findings on the 2019 early parliamentary elections show that outreach and voter education activities to explain this process were limited, resulting in only 47,000 IDPs changing their addresses.[19] While the new election code, adopted by the *Verkhovna Rada* of Ukraine and signed by the president in December 2019, enfranchises IDPs and labor migrants in elections, there is a need to raise awareness among voters of the registration process.

The 2001 census in Ukraine is outdated and shows that there are approximately 50,000 Roma people living in the country. However, unofficial data suggests the number of Roma is likely much higher, around 300,000,[20] half of whom are women. According to a study by UN Women,[21] Roma women, including Roma IDPs, experience multiple forms of discrimination based on their gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status and displacement status. This group is often excluded from the electoral process due to a lack of personal identification documents, such as passports and registration at the place of residence. Approximately 56 percent of Roma IDPs interviewed in the UN study did not register

[14] "Ukraine Post-Parliamentary Election Survey - Key Findings." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, October 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/key-findings-ukraine-post-parliamentary-election-survey-october-2019/?lang=en

[15] Registered IDPs. Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, November 11, 2019. https://www.msp.gov.ua/news/17844.html

[16] "National Monitoring System Report on the Situation of Internally Displaced Persons." International Organization for Migration, March 2019. http://ukraine.iom.int/sites/default/files/nms_round_13_eng.pdf

[17] "Ukraine Post-Parliamentary Election Survey - Key Findings." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, October 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/key-findings-ukraine-post-parliamentary-election-survey-october-2019/?lang=en

[18] "Survey of IDPs in Ukraine." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, March 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/presentation-political-attitudes-of-internally-displaced-people/?lang=en

[19] "Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions: Ukraine — Early Parliamentary Elections. International Election Observation Mission." North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentary Assembly, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Parliamentary Assembly, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, European Parliament, July 21, 2019. https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine/426257?download=true

[20] "The Rights of Roma Women in Ukraine." United Nations Women, 2018. https://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eca/attachments/publications/country/ukraine/roma_eng_final-compressed.pdf?la=en&vs=3401

[21] "The Rights of Roma Women in Ukraine." United Nations Women, 2018. https://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eca/attachments/publications/country/ukraine/roma_eng_final-compressed.pdf?la=en&vs=3401

as IDPs due to fear that this would result in the confiscation of their property by the police or other authorities. Based on data collected in three communities in the Odesa region, 30 to 40 percent of Roma reported that they did not have at least one of the identification documents required to access a range of services, including the education system, healthcare system and other essential services.[22]

Homophobic sentiments remain pervasive in Ukrainian society. According to the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) *Parliamentary Election Observation Statement*, Russian disinformation efforts have sought to link support for LGBTQ rights to an alleged European-generated rejection of "traditional Ukrainian values" and numerous parties and candidates reported to the National Democratic Institute a reluctance to counter that message head-on.[23] LGBTQ people residing in areas not controlled by the government cannot freely express their political views and talk openly about their sexual orientation in the self-proclaimed Luhansk People's Republic and Donetsk People's Republic since they are often subject to prosecution and violent attacks.

Each year a growing number of Ukrainian activists participate in Kyiv Pride marches to promote equality of human rights and demonstrate their respect for and acceptance of the LGBTQ community. However, the LGBTQ activists' security remains a major issue of concern due to numerous assaults that are poorly investigated by law-enforcement. This results from the lack of a proper legal framework for the protection of LGBTQ rights.

This assessment examines the status, opportunities and challenges of those with intersectional identities, particularly women, people with disabilities, IDPs, LGBTQ people, youth and ethnic and national minorities. It includes key findings on political barriers faced by traditionally underrepresented Ukrainians and recommendations on how to address discrimination and inequality experienced by these groups as they participate in public life. The assessment provides targeted recommendations for coalition-building between CSOs representing different underrepresented groups to raise awareness among a broader range of stakeholders and improve coordination of future efforts.

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[22] "Monitoring the human rights situation of Roma in Ukraine." Roma Women Fund Chiricli, September 2014. http://chirikli.com.ua/index.php/en/library/item/93-monitoring-the-human-rights-situation-of-roma-in-ukraine

[23] "Statement of the NDI Election Observation Mission to Ukraine's July 21, 2019 Snap Parliamentary Elections." National Democratic Institute, July 2019. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI%20Ukraine%20-%20 July%2021%202019%20Parliamentary%20Election%20Observation%20Statment%20-%20ENG%20vf.pdf

Figure 1

INFOGRAPHIC
STATS FOR UKRAINE
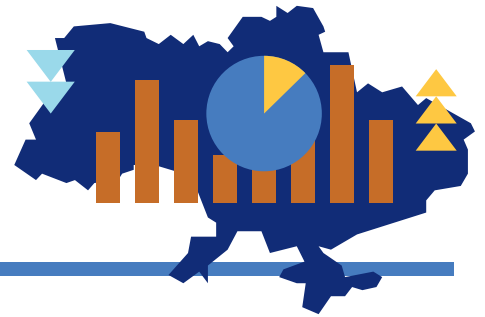
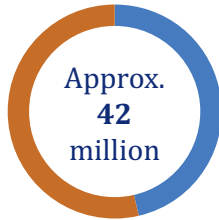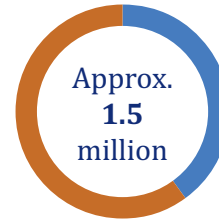## Population of Ukraine[1]
(as of 2019)

WOMEN

MEN

53.7%

Approx. **42** million

46.3%

[1] Population of Ukraine as of January 01, 2019, page 5. State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2019.
http://database.ukrcensus.gov.ua/PXWEB2007/ukr/publ_new1/2019/zb_chnn2019.pdf

Registered IDPs[2]

WOMEN

MEN

over **60%**

Approx. **1.5** million

less than **40%**

[2] Registered IDPs. Ministry of Social Policy. December 23, 2019.
https://www.msp.gov.ua/news/18074.html

Number of People With Disabilities
based on global estimates by the World Health Organization

Around 15% of the whole population[3]

Approx. **6.3** million
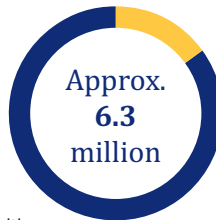
*2.5 million are officially registered with the government[4]

[3] Disability and Health. World Health Organization. January 16, 2018.
https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/disability-and-health

[4] Social protection of the population of Ukraine, page 66.
State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2019.
https://ukrstat.org/uk/druk/publicat/kat_u/2019/zb/07/zb_szn_2018.pdf

Demographic Data by Age and Gender[5]

21% **29%**

Women
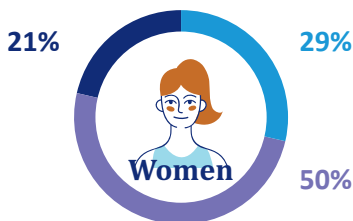
50%

Age
- 0-29 years
- 30-64 years
- 65-99 years

13% **35%**

Men

52%

Total: 23,438,000
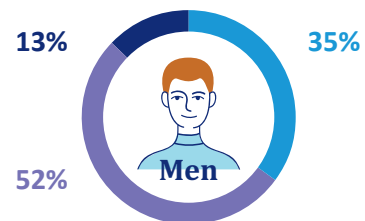
Total: 20,183,000

[5] Demographic dividend, Ukraine, projected data, year 2020. United Nations Population Fund.
https://www.unfpa.org/data/demographic-dividend/UA

Around 8,000 people Participated in Kyiv PRIDE 2019[6]

Since 2016, participation has increased by 300%

Around 100 National Minorities[7]

14

[6] Kyiv Pride March. Wikipedia. https://bit.ly/36n0Mij
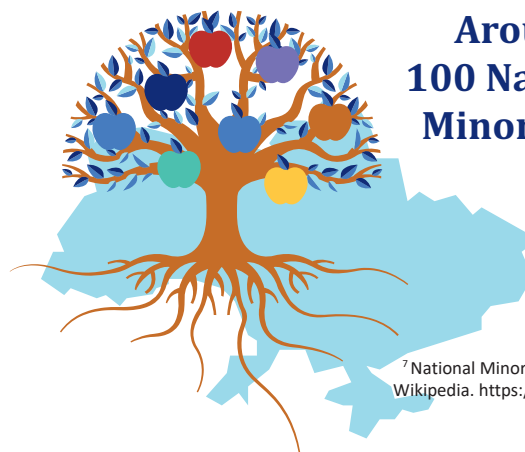
[7] National Minorities in Ukraine.
Wikipedia. https://bit.ly/2Pu9gND

Status of Women in Ukraine

While the number of women in elected office in Ukraine has increased significantly since its independence in 1991, women still face significant obstacles to accessing their full political and civic rights, particularly for women facing compounded discrimination such as women IDPs; women with disabilities; women from ethnic, religious or sexual minority groups; and women from lower socio-economic backgrounds. This discrimination has structural, cultural and economic implications that undermine women's ability to participate in elections, particularly as candidates and leaders.

In general, Ukrainians express support for measures to increase the number of women in politics, such as gender quotas, with 65 percent in favor based on a post-election survey conducted by IFES in 2019.[24] Sixty percent of respondents in the October 2019 post-parliamentary survey do not consider gender an important factor in their voting choice, with 22 percent preferring a woman to a man and only 13 percent preferring a man.[25] Despite this public support, Ukrainian women tend to be poorly represented at all levels of politics due to gender-based stereotypes, male-dominated political party leadership and an opaque candidate selection process that excludes women from nomination and leadership. Election to public office is even more difficult for women who tend to lack resources — e.g. women from lower socio-economic backgrounds — as campaigns are generally self-funded and the business community is overwhelmingly male-dominated. The role of money in politics and the necessity of self-funding impacts women outside of the labor force and women with disabilities, who are less likely to be employed than women without disabilities. The concentration of power in informal business networks, where most businesses are controlled by men, often influences decisions made by formal political institutions, resulting in the political exclusion of women.[26] Notably, the gender pay gap in monthly earnings was approximately 21 percent in 2019.[27]

After the July 2019 parliamentary elections, women's representation in the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's Parliament, grew significantly to 20 percent. Before the July 2019 elections, women made up only about 12 percent of the outgoing Rada. In local office, women make up between 15 and 18 percent of local councils, depending on the level, with no women serving as mayors of key regional cities or cities with a population of over 1 million. Interviews with women members of Parliament in the outgoing Rada highlighted issues such as sexual harassment both online and in person, gender-based stereotyping in the media and by their colleagues, and heightened pressure to demonstrate their capabilities.[28] Ukrainian women politicians regularly face criticism related to their professional competence and intelligence.[29]

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[24] "Ukraine Post-Parliamentary National Survey." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, October 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/IFES-Ukraine-Post-Parliamentary-Survey-Presentation-2019-11-15-d3-Eng.pdf?

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Integrity and Inclusiveness of the Democratic Process in Ukraine: Analysis of Interim Research Findings in the Regions." United Nations Development Programme, February 2019. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/library/democratic_governance/integrity-and-inclusiveness-of-the-democratic-process-in-Ukraine.html

[27] "Comparative Gender Profile of Ukraine 2018–2019." United Nations Development Programme, 2019. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/ en/home/gender-equality/comparative-gender-profile-of-ukraine-.html

[28] "Gender Analysis of Ukraine's Electoral and Political Process." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, September 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/IFES-Gender-Assessment-Ukraine-v1-2019-09-30-Eng.pdf

[29] "Online Violence Against Women in Politics in Ukraine: An IFES Assessment." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, November 2019. https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/online_violence_against_women_in_politics_in_ukraine.pdf

Women who reside outside of major cities may be more likely to face obstacles in freely exercising their right to vote on Election Day. In villages and small towns, where the pressure of patriarchal culture may be strong, family members sometimes influence women's voting choices.[30] Regardless of location, many women find themselves in traditional household or family roles, which restricts their time to participate in broader civic engagement. This is particularly relevant for women IDPs, who often must assume additional family responsibilities to integrate into their new community. According to the Ukrainian Women's Fund, there are 295 organizations across all regions of Ukraine working on women's rights,[31] which demonstrates widespread civic engagement among women. However, there is also a vocal "anti-gender" movement that perpetuates and promotes "traditional" family values, organizes counter-protests at the Women's March and Pride events and distributes and promotes anti-feminist agendas, such as the "kill the feminist (inside you)" campaign.

Status of People With Disabilities in Ukraine

In 2017, over 2.5 million people registered their disability status with the government of Ukraine, although disability rights groups maintain that this figure is likely much higher today due to Ukraine's ongoing conflict in Donbas. According to a survey conducted by the National Assembly of People With Disabilities (NAPD), the majority of people with disabilities are interested in the political and electoral process; only 4.9 percent of respondents stated that they have never been interested in participating in elections.[32] However, attitudinal, communication, environmental and institutional barriers often prevent people with disabilities from accessing their political rights on an equal basis as others.

The overwhelming majority of polling stations in Ukraine are not accessible; an accessibility audit in Poltava revealed a lack of access in over 90 percent of the polling stations.[33] While the new election code mandates that all polling stations across the country be accessible by 2025, most people with disabilities currently are not able to access their polling station, restricting them to either vote from home or at a polling station with the help of an assistant, which limits their ability to vote independently and secretly. Voting from home

Participant with disability takes part in a BRIDGE training voter simulation, Kyiv 2019.

requires that polling station workers enter a voter's home with a mobile ballot box, along with any observers or political party agents who want to accompany them, after which they provide the voter with a ballot to cast their vote. For voters who have small or shared accommodation, this can cause distress or impede upon their ability to vote in private. For women with disabilities in particular, there may be

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30 "Gender Analysis of Ukraine's Electoral and Political Process." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, September 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/IFES-Gender-Assessment-Ukraine-v1-2019-09-30-Eng.pdf

31 Database of Women's Organizations. Ukrainian Women's Fund. http://portal.uwf.org.ua/index.php?page=base1

32 "Assessment of the Situation on Access of Persons with Disabilities to Electoral and Political Processes in Ukraine." National Assembly of People with Disabilities, 2015. https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/ukraine_napd_disability_access_report.pdf

33 "Gender Analysis of Ukraine's Electoral and Political Process." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, September 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/IFES-Gender-Assessment-Ukraine-v1-2019-09-30-Eng.pdf

discomfort in having strangers, including men, enter their homes. Electoral and political information, particularly political advertisements and campaign materials, are often inac- cessible, lack captions or sign language interpretation, and are unavailable in large-font, easy-to-read or braille formats.[34]

People with disabilities generally are not represented in public office, with a few exceptions. Ukraine has traditionally followed the charity-based model of disability, which views people with disabilities as requiring assistance and charity, rather than a rights-based model, which views people with disabil- ities as leaders and agents of change. People with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities not only face societal stigma, but also legislative barriers to their full participation — the Ukrainian Constitu- tion bans people who have been deemed "mentally incapable" by the courts from voting or running for office, despite the fact that Ukraine ratified the CRPD. As noted earlier, the term "mentally incapa- ble" is not in line with acceptable terminology and is broadly viewed as ableist.

While both women and men with disabilities are underrepresented in elected and appointed govern- ment positions, fewer women with disabilities hold elected and appointed positions, despite the fact that there are more women with disabilities than men with disabilities. In addition to facing discrim- ination based on their disability, women also must contend with often deeply ingrained patriarchal attitudes as well, which can be internalized and impact motivation and self-worth. According to Fight for Right, a Ukrainian NGO supporting the rights of young people with visual disabilities, 60 percent of young women with disabilities were not interested in political life and 85 percent did not plan to participate in political life.

Status of Internally Displaced Persons in Ukraine

According to Ukraine's Unified Information Database of IDPs, 1,427,211 IDPs were registered by the state as of December 2, 2019.[35] Prior to the passage of a new election code in December 2019, many IDPs were not able to participate in all levels of elections in Ukraine. Before the passage of the code, IDPs were not able to vote for single-member constituencies in parliamentary elections or in local elections without first changing their place of residence in the official registry, which many of them are reluctant or unable to do as it impacts property ownership as well as for reasons related to personal identity.[36] As IDPs were not able to vote in local elections, local authorities were less likely to prioritize their interests and needs, unless they faced pressure from the central government, international actors or the general public.[37] Although IDPs could vote in presidential elections and for the proportional party list in parliamentary elections, they had to temporarily change their voting place, which often requires traveling to the relevant registry office and waiting in long queues. The new election code aims to resolve this issue, although as of early 2020 it still needs by-laws and regulations that would bring the

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[34] "Integrity and Inclusiveness of the Democratic Process in Ukraine: Analysis of Interim Research Findings in the Regions." United Nations Development Programme, February 2019. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/library/democratic_governance/integrity-and-inclusiveness-of-the-democratic-process-in-Ukraine.html

[35] "Rights of Persons with Disability in the Armed Conflict in the East of Ukraine: Analytical Report." The Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union, 2016. https://helsinki.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Persons-with-disabilities-in-armed-conflict-eng-1.pdf

[36] "Gender Analysis of Ukraine's Electoral and Political Process." International Foundation for Electoral Systems, September 2019. https://ifesukraine.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/IFES-Gender-Assessment-Ukraine-v1-2019-09-30-Eng.pdf

[37] "Integrity and Inclusiveness of the Democratic Process in Ukraine: Analysis of Interim Research Findings in the Regions." United Nations Development Programme, February 2019. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/library/democratic_governance/integrity-and-inclusiveness-of-the-democratic-process-in-Ukraine.html

code fully into force. IDPs also often face discrimination in their new communities and their exclusion has increased since the conflict in Donbas and illegal annexation of Crimea began.

IDPs who belong to other traditionally disenfranchised groups, such as IDPs with disabilities, often face compounding obstacles to accessing their civic and political rights. As women make up approximately 58 percent[38] of the IDP population in Ukraine, measures that restrict IDP political rights disproportionately disenfranchise women compared to men. Women who have been internally displaced and taken on the role of primary caregivers to family members, have fewer opportunities to change their place of voting, run as candidates or vote due to time limitations. IDPs also have less access to employment or resources required to run as a candidate. According to the International Organization for Migration, 48 percent of IDPs are employed compared to 56 percent of non-displaced persons in Ukraine as of March 2018. IDP-related statistical data in Ukraine is hard to collect and at times rather complicated to verify, but evidence suggests that 72 percent of IDPs are also children, older people or people with disabilities, who may face additional barriers to participating in public life.[39] Internally displaced children and adults with disabilities are often deprived of equal access to evacuation and relocation support services due to a lack of accessible information and inaccessible shelters and food distribution outlets.[40] Even if they manage to relocate safely, their political and civic engagement is often affected by the absence of political and election information in accessible and easy-to-read formats, as well as access to housing and employment, which is already unequal for IDPs due to social stigma and stereotypes. Despite these barriers, many IDPs are active participants in civic life, as demonstrated by the more than 50 national and international organizations working on the issues of IDPs' rights.

Status of LGBTQ People in Ukraine

According to a LGBTQ rights groups, the Ukrainian LGBTQ community includes up to 10 percent of the total population.[41] The main obstacle and, at the same time, motivation for civic and political participation of LGBTQ people of Ukraine remains homophobia and associated hate crimes. The growth in the number of violent attacks on LGBTQ activists is linked to the recent increase in participation in LGBTQ organizations, awareness-raising activities and advocacy efforts. Activists and open members of the LGBTQ community are often attacked by groups of men, mostly from far-right organizations and groups. For example, between January and August 2019, there were 279 cases of human rights violations, including

IFES' Ukraine team during the Kyiv Pride March, 2019.

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[38] "Comparative Gender Profile of Ukraine 2018–2019." United Nations Development Programme, 2019. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/gender-equality/comparative-gender-profile-of-ukraine-.html

[39] "Rights of Persons with Disability in the Armed Conflict in the East of Ukraine: Analytical Report." The Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union, 2016. https://helsinki.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Persons-with-disabilities-in-armed-conflict-eng-1.pdf

[40] Ibid.

[41] "5% виборців, про яких ви могли забути: рекомендації для політичних партій про роботу з ЛГБТІ-спільнотою." Fulcrum, 2019. https://issuu.com/fulcrumua/docs/politlgbt_fulcrum_mf_final__1_

hate crimes, reported against LGBTQ people.[42] Apart from right-wing violence, the LGBTQ community also faces discrimination from some local government bodies that aggressively promote rhetoric of traditional family values. In 2018, about 50 local councils called on central authorities to protect Ukraine from LGBTQ propaganda.[43] Currently, there are approximately 50 organizations working on the advancement of the rights of LGBTQ people, some of which focus exclusively on LGBTQ issues, while others also work on women's rights, public health issues and as combating hate crimes.

While these challenges are commonly experienced by most LGBTQ people in Ukraine, transgender people face additional, intersectional barriers to their political and civic participation due to difficulties in obtaining or altering official documents, including obtaining a new ID, replacing an ID photo, and receiving an IDP status certificate or pension card.[44] One of the main barriers to the political participation of transgender people is voting since poll workers might not accept identification documents if the current appearance of a voter does not match either an older photo, name or sex indicated in their ID.

Status of Youth in Ukraine

Youth in Ukraine face several challenges that limit their political participation, especially when viewed through an intersectional lens. Only 7 percent of Ukrainian youth believe that their interests are well or very well represented in Ukrainian politics, and 65 percent agree that youth should have more opportunities to be heard in politics.[45] Ninety-four percent of young men believe that they have never been discriminated against on the grounds of their gender, while for young women, this figure drops to 86 percent,[46] demonstrating the compounded effects of age- and gender-based discrimination on young women. Although more than half of young people are employed,[47] women, young people, and youth in rural areas show lower employment rates than men, non-youth and young people living in urban areas.[48]

Youth participants in IFES' civic education course "Democracy: From Theory to Practice" learn about activism and citizen duty.

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42 "LGBTQ situation in Ukraine in 2019 (January – August)." Nash Mir Center, 2019. https://gay.org.ua/en/blog/2019/09/04/lgbt-situation-in-ukraine-in-2019-january-august/

43 "Місцеві Ради — На Захисті Сім'ї і Свободи | Всі Разом!," n. d. https://vsirazom.ua/council

44 "Трансгендерні люди в Україні: соціальні бар'єри та дискримінація." Insight, 2016. https://www.insight-ukraine.org/uploads/files/broshura_transgender_ukr_ok_full.pdf

45 "Молодь України 2017: Результати репрезентативного соціологічного дослідження." Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2017. http://www.dsmsu.gov.ua/media/2017/11/16/7/Socdoslidjennya_2017.pdf

46 "Nationwide opinion poll results Ukrainian Generation Z: Attitudes and Values." New Europe Center, 2017. http://neweurope.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Ukr_Generation_eng_inet-3.pdf

47 Ibid.

48 "The State of Youth in Ukraine: Analytical Report." United Nations Working Group on Youth, 2019. http://www.un.org.ua/images/documents/4743/THE%20STATE%20OF%20YOUTH%20IN%20UKRAINE%20report.pdf

Emigration continues to be a serious concern in Ukraine, with young people searching for employment and education opportunities abroad.[49] A high number of young Ukrainians who attend university abroad do not plan to return to Ukraine. Within Ukraine, a high number of rural youth who move to larger cities to attend university do not return to their home communities. Young people who identify as LGBTQ, particularly outside of major cities that have LGBTQ networks or organizations, often face bullying, discrimination and even violence. Young IDPs often face discrimination in their new communities in addition to bureaucratic obstacles, particularly if they do not have the necessary identification to prove their original place of residence. Roma youth, in addition to facing stereotypes and societal stigma, often have less access to education opportunities and employment.

Status of Ethnic and National Minorities in Ukraine

In Ukraine, several significant ethnic, national, and religious minority groups exist, including Russians, Roma, and Crimean Tatars. Due to a combination of factors, such as the armed conflict in Donbas and increasing Ukrainian nationalism, Ukraine has witnessed a rise in xenophobia. This political climate has fostered exclusion and human rights violations, including discrimination and hate crimes on the grounds of ethnicity. Hate crimes are often underreported and poorly investigated by the local police.[50] These issues are compounded for women who belong to minority groups, whose intersectional identities multiply the variety of threats they face. Young people, for example, may be more hesitant to report crimes to the police.

Russians, who constitute approximately 17 percent of Ukraine's population,[51] have faced new forms of discrimination especially in the years following the armed conflict in the East. Conflict is rarely ethnic or linguistic in nature, but rather political.[52] The Ukrainian Crimean Tatar population faces difficulties in access to housing, employment, social services and education, as well as preservation of their language, culture and identity.[53] The Russian annexation of their traditional homeland in Crimea has exacerbated this situation, resulting in the expulsion of many Crimean Tatars, who are now IDPs. Tatars experience unique integration challenges; unlike other IDPs, Crimean Tatars have a different cultural and religious identity — Sunni Islam — than the majority of Ukrainians who identify as Christian.

The Roma community is excluded socially, economically and politically, even in places with large Roma populations. They often face discrimination and biased treatment from authorities and law-enforcement bodies, as well as violent attacks, often perpetrated by far-right groups.[54] In particular,

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[49] Kiryukhin, Denys. "Losing Brains and Brawn: Outmigration from Ukraine." A blog of the Kennan Institute, May 14, 2019. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/losing-brains-and-brawn-outmigration-ukraine-0

[50] Ukraine. World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples. https://minorityrights.org/country/ukraine/

[51] "Основні засади та шляхи формування спільної ідентичності громадян України." Інформаційно-аналітичні матеріали до Круглого столу, Центр Разумкова, April 12, 2017. http://razumkov.org.ua/images/Material_Conference/2017_04_12_ident/2017-Identi-3.pdf

[52] "Russophone identity in Ukraine in the context of the armed conflict in the east of the country." International Alert and Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research, March 2017. https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Ukraine_RussophoneIdentity_EN_2017_0.pdf

[53] "Concluding observations on the twenty-second and twenty third periodic reports of Ukraine." United Nations CERD, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, October 4, 2016. https://www.refworld.org/docid/57d68ed34.html

[54] "Integrity and Inclusiveness of the Democratic Process in Ukraine: Analysis of Interim Research Findings in the Regions." United Nations Development Programme, February 2019. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/library/democratic_governance/integrity-and-inclusiveness-of-the-democratic-process-in-Ukraine.html

Roma women face multiple forms of discrimination based on their gender and ethnicity. One of the biggest challenges is education, due to their higher school dropout rate and irregular school attendance, often related to early marriages, low expectations in their community or families regarding the education of girls and sometimes even prohibition from attending school. Roma boys usually finish secondary education, and some go onto higher education.[55] Out of 120 Roma organizations registered in Ukraine, only three are Roma women's organizations and only five are headed by Roma women.[56]

Methodology

IFES' intersectionality assessment methodology seeks to identify opportunities for CSOs representing specific groups to build coalitions as well as vulnerabilities that might impact the political participation of specific groups. Assessments include a desk review, key informant interviews with government, media and civil society leaders, focus group discussions and feedback loops with key stakeholders. It is tailored to unique country contexts and allows for focus on either one discrete identity, such as young IDPs, or multiple groups, such as women, people with disabilities and ethnic minorities, within a standardized framework. Intersectionality assessment reports offer programming options that allow that allow technical findings to be used by government, civil society and international NGO implementers.

This Ukraine assessment focuses on intersections between gender, displacement, disability, and race with age and socioeconomic status as cross-cutting considerations. A dozen key informant interviews were conducted, along with seven focus group discussions. Key informant interviews were conducted with the following:

- Association of Ukrainian Press
- Central Election Commission disability rights commissioner
- Central Election Commission gender equality commissioner
- Fight for Right, a youth-focused DPO
- Group of Influence, an IDP NGO
- League of Interns NGO
- National Assembly of Persons with Disabilities
- Roma Human Rights Defense Center
- Roma Women's Fund
- Ukrainian Women's Fund
- UN Special Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine
- Women's Consortium of Ukraine

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[55] Written Comments of the European Roma Rights Centre and the International Charitable Organization Roma Women Fund "Chiricli" Concerning Ukraine For Consideration by the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Kiev-Budapest, 2016. https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/UKR/INT_CEDAW_NGO_UKR_26221_E.pdf

[56] "The Rights of Roma Women in Ukraine: Overview on the Situation of Roma Women in Ukraine in The Context of the Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." International Charitable Organization Roma Women's Fund "Chiricli", 2018. https://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eca/attachments/publications/country/ukraine/roma_eng_final-compressed.pdf?la=en&vs=3401

IFES hired a local research firm to identify random individuals from varied geographic locations and age ranges for the focus groups. Given the potential risks around identifying as LGBTQ in Ukraine, IFES worked with local LGBTQ CSOs to identify focus group participants. Therefore, LGBTQ participants were more likely to be civically and politically engaged, compared to a randomly selected LGBTQ cross-section of society. For focus group discussions with men and women with disabilities, the firm was not able to identify a sufficient number of randomly selected

A participant marks her choice on ways she is civically active during an interactive exercise during a focus group, Kyiv, October 2019.

Ukrainians with disabilities. As a result, the men and women with disabilities focus groups also contained a limited number of randomly selected individuals from DPOs.

IFES had planned to hold a workshop with key stakeholders to discuss preliminary findings and recommendations from the assessment. However, due to concerns associated with COVID-19, the workshop shifted to virtual consultations. CSOs representing women, people with disabilities, youth, Roma and IDPs were invited to provide input via a consolidated Google Doc file and telephone consultations. Most of the participants noted that the "Recommendations" section of the intersectionality assessment report was well structured and comprehensive. According to their opinion, distribution of suggested areas of responsibilities between the Parliament, different governmental agencies, civil society and political parties seems reasonable and feasible to implement. Participants praised the integration of considerations to counteract hate crimes committed against sexual and national minorities and violence against women in electoral processes.

For more details on why IFES chose a participatory methodology, some common critiques of intersectional research frameworks and how IFES has addressed them, please see Annex 1.

What Is Intersectionality?

Gender, disability, age, race, ethnicity, sexual identity and other identity markers all impact an individual's experiences participating in political and public life. Depending on the context, these identities can provide access and agency or can contribute to barriers and exclusion. Traditionally excluded populations — including women, persons with disabilities, young people, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous people and LGBTI

> *Intersectionality, n. — the interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage.*
>
> *Oxford Dictionary*

persons — often experience personal and systemic discrimination at the individual, community and institutional levels, as well as inequitable access to and control over resources. The intersection of inequalities caused by different social identities can lead to barriers that prevent meaningful participation in elections and political processes, including, in some cases, physical or psychological violence. The compounding nature of these barriers is often referred to as *intersectionality*, or the idea that

individuals face unique experiences of discrimination resulting from the interconnected nature of multiple social identities.

> *"Intersectional theory asserts that people are often disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression: their race, class, gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, and other identity markers. Intersectionality recognizes that identity markers (e.g. 'woman' and 'black') do not exist independently of each other, and that each informs the others, often creating a complex convergence of oppression."* [57]

Figure 2. Examples of Intersecting Social Identities
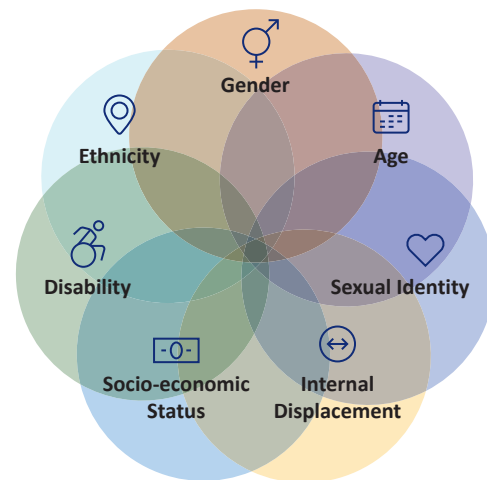
In 1989, Black feminist scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term *intersectionality* to explain how the experience of being a Black woman in the United States is more than the sum of being Black and being a woman. [58] Intersectionality recognizes the unique experience of discrimination that comes with the intersection of multiple social identities. Since that time, the term has been used to describe the experience of many other social identities — class, sexuality, disability, age — and scholars and development practitioners have continued to discuss and use the concept. This approach recognizes that intersectional oppression can be experienced at both the individual and at the community level "the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions" as part of a "matrix of domination."[59] As a research approach and a theory, intersectionality is not only an account of personal identity but one of power, or, as Black feminist scholar Brittney Cooper argues, "the intersectionality framework provides a lens to think about identity and its relationship to power."[60]

Governments and international organizations have also contributed to the development of an intersectional framework. In 2000, the Beijing Platform for Action outlined the importance of examining women's issues using an intersectional approach and similar pronouncements have been made at subsequent meetings of the UN Commission on the Status of Women.[61] The government of Canada uses a gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) approach to explore the changing realities and inequalities of diverse groups of people and how these realities affect how individuals experience the impact of

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[57] "What is intersectionality, and what does it have to do with me?" YW Boston Blog, March 29, 2017. https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is-intersectionality-and-what-does-it-have-to-do-with-me/

[58] Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8. http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8

[59] Hill Collins, Patricia. "Black Feminist Thought in the Matrix of Domination." Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, pp. 221–238. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

[60] Cooper, Brittney. "Intersectionality." The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory, edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth. Oxford University Press, 2015. http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199328581.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199328581-e-20?fbclid=IwAR3c7w55HGB09QsP8i1g5Uf6wP_60J6gY-EgXFJ-CSczQcenR_PDACwg45k#oxfordhb-9780199328581-e-20-bibItem-22

[61] Manuel, Tiffany. "Envisioning the Possibilities for a Good Life: Exploring the Public Policy Implications of Intersectionality Theory." Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, 28:3-4, pp. 173-203. The Haworth Press, Inc., 2006. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1300/J501v28n03_08

government policies, programs and initiatives.[62] This approach recognizes that groups of people are not homogeneous and "examines how sex and gender intersect with other identities such as: race, ethnicity, religion, age and mental or physical disability."[63] The Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) emphasizes the need for an intersectional approach to development, arguing that "if our baseline analysis and project planning do not begin with a complete picture of the economic, social, political and cultural situation, then our interventions and programs cannot possibly achieve their full potential."[64] Likewise, in their guidelines on Gender Integration Into Democracy, Human Rights and Governance Programming, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) recognizes that interventions aimed at reducing vulnerability and inequality must account for these intersections of multiple identities to be effective.[65]

An intersectional lens can provide important insight into how overlapping barriers from a broad range of identities manifest at the individual and group levels. For example, refugees with disabilities in Kenya, Nepal and Uganda have noted that a lack of accessibility leads to decreased overall safety.[66] The Disabled Women's Network of Canada submitted a Parliamentary Brief to the government highlighting the challenges faced by older women, including the fact that there are disproportionately low rates of prosecution and conviction in cases of sexual assault that target older women in institutional settings.[67] The UN special rapporteur on the rights of indigenous people has noted that

> *"When feminism does not explicitly oppose racism, and when antiracism does not incorporate opposition to patriarchy, race and gender politics often end up being antagonistic to each other and both interests lose."* — Kimberlé Crenshaw
>
> Ted Talk, October 2016

> *"There is a need for a better integration of indigenous persons with disabilities in society. However, the integration must respect the cultural background of indigenous peoples. Often, legislation and policies designed to include persons with disabilities in mainstream society leads to cultural assimilation when applied to indigenous persons with disabilities, threatening their languages, ways of life and identities."* — Summary Report of the Expert Group Meeting on indigenous persons with disabilities
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> https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Disability/SRDisabilities/Pages/IPDisabilities.aspx

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[62] "Gender-based Analysis Plus: What is GBA+?" The Government of Canada, 2018. https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acs/index-en.html

[63] "Gender-based Analysis Plus: Government of Canada Approach." The Government of Canada, 2018. https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acs/approach-approche-en.html

[64] "Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice." Women's Rights and Economic Change, no. 9. Association for Women's Rights in Development, August 2004. https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/intersectionality_a_tool_for_gender_and_economic_justice.pdf

[65] "Gender Integration in Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG). Programming Toolkit." United States Agency for International Development, June 2016. https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/Gender%20Toolkit.pdf

[66] "The Intersection of Reproductive Health and Disability: A Summary Report." Women's Refugee Commission, 2015. https://www.womensrefugeecommission.org/images/zdocs/Reproductive-Health-and-Disability-Summary-Report.pdf

[67] "Parliamentary Brief. Challenges faced by senior women with a focus on the factors contributing to their poverty & vulnerability." DisAbled Women's Network of Canada, March 29, 2019. https://dawncanada.net/media/uploads/page_data/page-63/dawn_canada_brief_to_fewo_on_challenges_faced_by_senior_women_march_29_2019.pdf

indigenous peoples with disabilities are disproportionately impacted in situations of armed conflict, disaster and climate change. In Honduras, indigenous persons are often not officially registered at birth for many reasons, including living in remote communities that are far from government offices. As a result, indigenous deep-sea divers have no access to health services if they acquire a disability.[68] A study on suicide risk found that in the United States, African American women had a lower suicide risk than European American women in part because African American women had a strong sense of identity and heritage.[69] These examples demonstrate how, in a wide variety of contexts, intersectional approaches lead to a more nuanced understanding of barriers, reach populations otherwise invisible to programming and point to potential solutions.

How Is Intersectionality Relevant to Political Participation?

While intersectional approaches have so far had the most visible impacts in the fields of social discrimination, equality and related state policies and services, intersectionality is fundamentally about power relations and thus has a profound impact on understanding the dynamics of political inclusion and exclusion. For example, using an intersectional lens, research on women's political ambition in the United States showed that white and Asian women reacted to media narratives around political ambition attributing lack of representation in political institutions to external causes, while Black women had a completely opposite response.[70] If women were treated as one homogeneous group, this finding may not have come to light, and thus interventions might not have addressedthe distinct causes for demotivation, perpetuating underrepresentation of Black women. Similarly,a team of scholars from the School of Oriental and African Studies and organizations based in the Middle East and North Africa looked at how intersections of gender, generation, sexuality, class and race affect youth political participation,[71] and found that, in Tunisia in particular, the intersectionof religion and gender affects how young people engage in public life. Young conservative womenwere excluded from political life because human rights organizations focused on "modernists,"including young women who do not wear veils. In Armenia, IFES collaborated with DPOs across thecountry to develop a strategy for influencing public policy.

Women's rights organizations were invited to the sessions for drafting policy platforms, where DPOs learned about a draft gender-based violence law that did not include any reference to women with disabilities, who are ten times more likely to experience violence compared to women without disabilities.[72] The DPOs and women's rights organizations realized they would all benefit if the law was adopted and developed a joint advocacy plan that resulted in the adoption of the law, with specific clauses included to address the different experiences of women with disabilities.

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[68] Summary report: Expert Meeting on indigenous persons with disabilities. United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, July 7-8, 2016. https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Disability/SRDisabilities/Pages/IPDisabilities.aspx

[69] Borum, Valerie. "African American women's perceptions of depression and suicide risk and protection: A womanist exploration." Affilia, 27(3), pp. 316-327, 2012.

[70] Holman, Mirya R., Schneider, Monica C. "Gender, race, and politcal ambiton: how intersectionality frames and influences interest in political office." Politics, Groups and Identities, pp. 264-280, 2016. https://www.tandfonline.com doi/abs/10_1080/21565503_2016_1208105?journalCode=rpgi20

[71] Salih, Ruba, Welchman, Lynn, Zambelli, Elena. "Gender, Intersectionality and Youth Civic and Political Engagement. An Analysis of the Meso-Level Factors of Youth Exclusion/Inclusion in the South and East Mediterranean (SEM) Region." School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Working Paper No. 24, February 2017. http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/p2y_24.pdf

[72] "Young Persons with Disabilities: global study on ending gender-based violence, and realizing sexual and reproductive health and rights." United Nations Population Fund, July 2018. https://www.unfpa.org/publications/young-persons-disabilities

While using an intersectional lens is important in academic work on political participation and inclusion, it is also critical that it be practically integrated into international development actions. Oxfam International has emphasized the importance of focusing on the political dimension of intersectionality, calling on practitioners to "use an intersectional perspective not just to 'quantify' the structural discrimination that different groups are subjected to but to understand how that discrimination shapes their political action — and ultimately, how [they] can support such action."[73]

"More inclusive development will be fostered best by integrated programming that reaches people from all marginalized groups (e.g., women and girls, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities, LGBT persons) and that recognizes individuals may experience multiple intersecting vulnerabilities." — LGBT Vision for Action, USAID

https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1874/LGBT_Vision.pdf

Like intersectionality, politics, too, is about power and those who hold it. It is therefore insufficient to discuss political and electoral participation without discussing intersectionality and understanding how various social identities — and the intersection of those identities — affect that participation. Despite growing conversations around intersectionality, many civil society organizations and NGOs focus on working with individuals facing discrimination from the perspective of only one social identity. For example, there are numerous women's rights organizations and organizations working for the rights of persons with disabilities, but far fewer organizations focused on empowering women with disabilities. Women's leadership initiatives may focus on women who are perceived as the most "electable," further excluding women with less access to resources due to class, age, race or other social identities and reinforcing some of the same patriarchal structures that led to limited representation of women in the first place. In addition, organizations representing groups from one social identity may share common goals but rarely work as allies within the broader human rights movement, often because of competition for resources or the perception that the rights of all groups cannot be advanced together — a view of rights as a zero-sum game. This lack of coordination results in missed opportunities for impactful advocacy and collaboration. Further, if individuals and organizations do not have a strong understanding of intersectionality and how it manifests in activism and advocacy, they run the risk of working to solve inequalities for one group while unconsciously perpetuating them for another.

What Is IFES' Intersectionality Assessment Framework?

IFES' Intersectionality Assessment Framework is an evidence-based tool used in individual countries to:

- Identify how different social identities impact political access; and
- Encourage coalition-building among diverse organizations.

By focusing on how identities such as gender, disability, age, sexual orientation and religion intersect, the assessment provides a nuanced examination of how political and social exclusion is expressed in the exercise of political rights and in public life and identifies ways for CSOs to address discrimination through coordinated action. IFES seeks to use assessment findings to develop programs that identify

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[73] "Re-Politicising Intersectionality. How an Intersectional Perspective Can Help Ingos Be Better Allies to Women's Rights Movements". Oxfam America, 2015. https://s3.amazonaws.com/oxfam-us/www/static/media/files/Repoliticising_Intersectionality_-_Enarsson__fmkAQFP.pdf

and break down silos between CSOs representing different groups to respond to existing forms of exclusion and prevent further discrimination. The assessment and recommendations can also be used to inform the international donor community of ways to enhance the inclusivity and impact of their existing or future programs. The assessment also includes recommendations for decision-makers to better foster inclusive politics in their countries.

The Intersectionality Assessment is conducted by IFES global inclusion experts in collaboration with IFES field teams and local CSOs — such as DPOs, women's rights organizations or youth organizations — with an emphasis on using the assessment's results to empower CSO partners as advocacy leaders. The participatory evaluation approaches used in the framework to gather evidence privilege the experiences and views of historically excluded groups to identify programmatic strategies that can support their increased participation in political life. The assessment methodology is adapted to each country context based on the key demographics in the country and needs identified by national actors. Findings are used to develop easy-to-understand, actionable recommendations to increase access to political life and to promote collaboration between organizations representing different social groups.

To identify intersectional barriers and opportunities, the assessment uses the following approaches:

- **Desk Review**
  A desk review of relevant laws — such as election laws, anti-discrimination laws and laws that target specific identity groups — policies, election observer reports and media is used to contextualize the assessment methodology. This includes any assessments or publications from local or international NGOs and a comprehensive review and analysis of UN treaty committee reports and other relevant global or regional reports.

- **Key Informant Interviews**
  The assessment includes key informant interviews with a variety of stakeholders involved in the political process, including government officials and political, religious, community and CSO leaders. Recommendations for interviews are provided by IFES field staff and local CSOs. An illustrative question guide is contextualized for each country report. Data collected during interviews sheds light on stakeholder perspectives on the impact of intersectionality in political life and how stakeholder are or are not addressing it in their respective roles. Interviews with government officials and political parties help identify opportunities to integrate CSO priorities with government initiatives and interviews with civil society leaders can help determine opportunities for collaboration with each other. Participation in the assessment is often the first time government and CSO stakeholders are exposed to the concept of intersectionality and begin to think about how they can better target their policies or programs to ensure they are inclusive of all people.

- **Interactive Focus Group Discussions**
  The assessment generates broader qualitative data through collaborative focus group discussions and participant-led analysis with the assessment's target populations on access, voice, and leadership. IFES' participatory focus group methodology centers the voices and deliberations of participants to ensure their meaningful participation. Moderators give space to participants to share, interpret and examine their experiences through group and individual exercises.

While IFES has a standardized approach to each focus group, participants drive the conversation.

- **Intersectionality Assessment Report**
  Data collected through the desk review, key informant interviews and interactive focus group discussions is presented in a detailed report. Key findings related to barriers and opportunities for political engagement included in the Intersectional-

Intersectionality assessment focus group discussion, Kyiv, October 2019.

ity Assessment Report are then used to develop easy-to-understand, actionable recommendations for evidence-based programming.

- **Feedback Loops**
  In collaboration with local partner organizations, IFES organizes socialization workshops as a platform for participants to provide feedback on a draft version of the Intersectionality Assessment Report. These feedback loops ensure the assessment process is collaborative by empowering participants to take a lead role in the design and implementation of intersectional programming.

Opportunities and Vulnerabilities

There are significant opportunities that can be leveraged to strengthen diversity and inclusion in Ukrainian political and civic life. In order to do so, however, vulnerabilities limiting the political participation of traditionally underrepresented groups must also be addressed.

Table 1. Intersectionality Assessment Summary of Findings

Opportunities	Vulnerabilities
• Ukraine has a flourishing network of CSOs across the country representing groups that face discrimination. • Ukraine has ratified international agreements, such as CEDAW and the CRPD, to counter discrimination on all grounds. The Constitution and other national legislation guarantee women's rights to equal participation in public life, with some intersectional protections. Ukraine is working toward harmonizing its	• While some examples of strong coalitions exist, CSOs focused on specific identity-based rights often do not work in partnership to achieve common goals. • Stereotypes disempower and disenfranchise underrepresented groups in Ukraine, with compounded negative effects on people with intersectional identities, such as women with disabilities and Roma IDPs.

| Opportunities	Vulnerabilities
national legislation to fulfill its international obligations under the CRPD. Ukrainian legislation prohibits discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity or nationality. • There is strong societal support for gender quotas, with 65 percent of IFES' survey participants supporting this measure, and the new electoral code introduces sanctions for non-compliance. • Activism by national and international organizations contributed to recent increases in women's representation in Parliament. CSOs representing groups facing discrimination, such as DPOs and LGBTQ organizations, support measures for inclusion of other underrepresented groups. • Increased visibility of people with disabilities in political life has reduced stigma and can strengthen support for disability-inclusive elections. • Upholding the rights of people with disabilities is viewed as uncontroversial and receives widespread support among Ukrainians. • The new election code introduces positive changes for several groups facing discrimination, including women, IDPs, and people with disabilities. • Several international and national organizations offer trainings, capacity building and outreach for groups facing discrimination. • As indicated by growing attendance at Pride events, a greater number of Ukrainians support the LGBTQ community, distancing themselves from the far-right anti-gender movement. • Ukrainian legislation prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity. • With many national and international organizations supporting formal and informal education, young people have more	• The candidate nomination and appointment process is often influenced by business interests, which are male-dominated. Despite some progress, women are still largely underrepresented as candidates, elected representatives and government officials. • Although there are many women's rights organizations in Ukraine, they are not united around the same agenda and tend to pursue different objectives. They are often unaware of their members' multiple social identities, and generational differences among women's rights activists make cooperation more challenging. • The term "gender" has a negative connotation in Ukrainian society, which fuels an "anti-gender" movement targeting LGBTQ and gender equality activists. • Patriarchal cultural norms limit women's opportunities to participate in political and public life, often restricting them to manage care responsibilities inside the home. Traditional gender norms are particularly restrictive for women with multiple social identities, such as women IDPs or young women with disabilities. • Ukraine's current legislation disenfranchises people with intellectual or psychosocial disabilities by restricting electoral rights through court decisions. • The election code introduces positive changes for people with disabilities, IDPs and women. However, these changes need to be effectively enshrined in relevant bylaws and regulations prior to elections. • Women IDPs confront compounded barriers participating in public life due to pervasive gender stereotypes. • High levels of hate crimes against LGBTQ people negatively impact their political participation. The lack of a clear definition

Opportunities	Vulnerabilities
opportunities to make informed political decisions. Access to political information online facilitates young people's awareness of political developments. • All focus group participants indicated that Ukrainians should be able to participate equally in political life, regardless of their nationality or religion. • While mild tensions remain, Ukrainian society demonstrates relative levels of religious tolerance.	in the legal framework of what constitutes a hate crime makes it nearly impossible to accurately monitor or prosecute cases. Also, as some police unofficially support the anti-LGBTQ movement, these crimes are often perpetuated with impunity. • Due to high levels of political indifference and distrust in politics, as well as barriers to access, young people and IDPs often have a passive role in political life. • Given the current economic crisis, many young people have moved abroad to seek better employment opportunities and quality of life. • Most online political information remains inaccessible for people with disabilities and can sometimes reinforce stereotypes. • Some ethnic minorities, in particular Roma, experience discrimination accessing education, employment, housing, social services, and civic and political rights due to pervasive stereotypes and stigma. These issues are exacerbated by challenges obtaining personal identification documents. • Hate crimes against certain groups, including the LGBTQ and Roma communities, are common, with many crimes remaining underreported or lacking proper investigation and prosecution. • People belonging to non-Orthodox (Moscow Patriarchate) religions face illegal prosecution on the occupied territories of the Crimea, as well as the uncontrolled territories of the Donbas region.

Key Findings

The vast majority of focus groups participants irrespective of their gender, sexual identity, age, disability, displacement or socio-economic status displayed a relatively high level of knowledge of both civic and political engagement. There was general understanding across focus group discussions of ways for citizens to be politically and civically active. In addition, **the majority of participants in all groups were likely to perceive themselves as leaders. However, women and those who have been internally displaced were slightly less likely to "strongly" feel as though they are leaders.** Across groups there is also a demonstrated mistrust toward state authorities and public institutions, and a strong disbelief that elected officials represent their interests.

Despite high levels of knowledge of how to civically engage, all participants noted significant barriers to their participation. Two commonly cited barriers were a lack of sufficient time and insecure socio-economic standing as factors negatively influencing civic and political engagement of Ukrainian citizens; however, this appears to impact women and men with different social identities in different ways. **Women were much more likely to cite household or family duties as a time constraint limiting their civic engagement, particularly women who have been internally displaced. These women noted, in particular, the bureaucratic burdens that they must take on to fulfill their family or childcare duties, such as school registration.** In contrast, men were much more likely to cite employment as a restriction on their civic engagement, with men from the IDP community noting both economic hardship and feelings of financial responsibility for their families. Men from the IDP community,

Figure 3. Degree to which participants agree or disagree with the statement, "I believe my interests are represented by elected officials." %
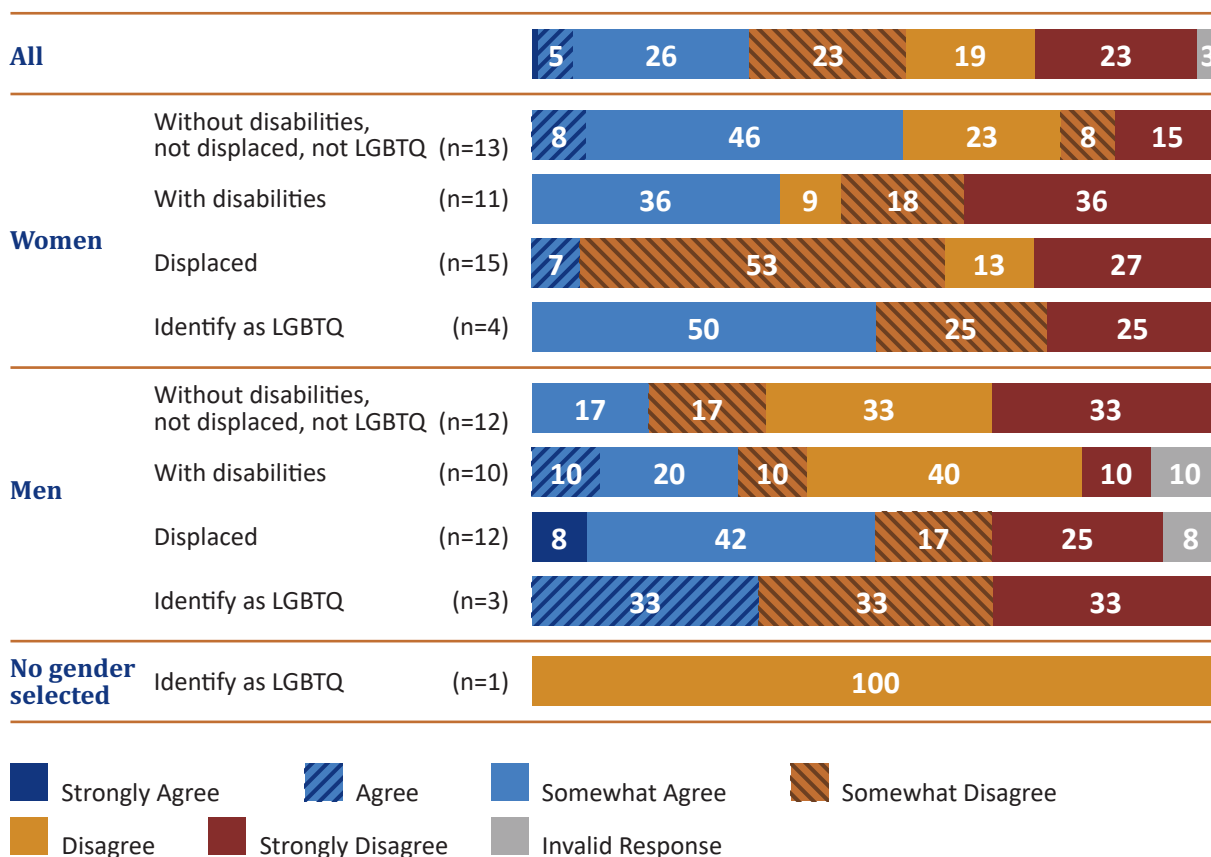
unlike the women, were significantly less likely to speak about the administrative burdens that came with relocation and settling their families. They also had lower rates of employment than any other group except women with disabilities. Women with disabilities, while they did not necessarily raise financial burdens as an obstacle, were much less likely to be actively employed.

In terms of running for office, there are gendered differences in the approach and perception of becoming a political or civic leader. **Men were much more likely to note material or financial factors as motivation, while women viewed this engagement as an opportunity to build a career and realize their own potential**. Women, across groups, were also more likely to be driven by ideological motifs like "helping to build strong society" or "patriotism."

While most of the respondents were particularly interested and ready to participate in civic or community initiatives connected to their social identity — particularly if already engaged in a CSO — **they are at the same time open and receptive to advocating for a wider cause or protecting rights of societal groups they don't belong to. This does, however, have some limitations; one male respondent in particular noted an unwillingness to support the rights of the LGBTQ community and, in fact, was a counter-protester during the Kyiv Pride March.**

The highest levels of civic and political participation were seen among representatives of DPOs and the LGBTQ community, regardless of gender. This could be due to the high number of participants in these groups who were already active in CSOs. **There was a significant gender discrepancy in civic and political engagement with the internally displaced community; women were much more likely to be civically engaged than men IDPs.** In particular, they were more likely to engage in community and local initiatives, engage with government and act as an election observer or poll worker. **Men and women from the IDP community voted at the same rate as each other, but less than other communities.** This could be due to bureaucratic burdens in terms of temporarily changing their voting place after relocation or due to the legal restriction that prevented IDPs from voting in local elections until the passage of the new electoral code in 2019.

Tetyana Durnyeva, executive director of Group of Influence, advocates for wider political rights for the IDP community in Ukraine during an Invisible Voters public action in front of the Verkhovna Rada, Kyiv, 2018.

There appeared to be a high level of voting, with some caution in interpreting the statistics due to the social desirability effect. And, **while there was distrust of government institutions across the board, those who had served as observers or worked at polling stations generally had positive impressions of the election process in Ukraine**, viewing elections as properly administered, fair and transparent, with poll workers adequately prepared and trained for the job.

When asked why civic and political participation is important, all respondents irrespective of their gender, sexual identity, age, disability, displacement or socio-economic status named optimism, a sense of civic duty or social responsibility and hope for a better future as strong motivational

Figure 4. Degree to which participants agree or disagree with the statement, "I want to participate in political life." %

Group			Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Invalid Response
All			25	36	26	5		5	4
Women	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ	(n=13)	23	15	54	8			
	With disabilities	(n=11)	18	36	46				
	Displaced	(n=15)	20	66		7		7	
	Identify as LGBTQ	(n=4)	20	25	25				
Men	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ	(n=12)	25	25	42	8			
	With disabilities	(n=10)	30	40	10			10	10
	Displaced	(n=12)	17	33	17	8		8	17
	Identify as LGBTQ	(n=3)	67	33					
No gender selected	Identify as LGBTQ	(n=1)						100	

Legend:
- **Strongly Agree**
- **Agree**
- **Somewhat Agree**
- **Somewhat Disagree**
- **Disagree**
- **Strongly Disagree**
- **Invalid Response**

factors. **Across groups, but particularly with groups facing compounding discrimination, finding people who are like-minded and building strong coalitions was cited as being extremely important.**

Hindering and Motivating Factors for Active Civic Engagement and Political Participation

The vast majority of focus groups participants irrespective of their gender, sexual identity, age, disability, displacement or socio-economic status perceive themselves to a certain degree as leaders in their own communities. Most are generally interested in engaging in civic and political processes, yet certain factors discourage them from doing so.

Concerns surrounding personal safety and protection in particular were raised by women with disabilities and those from the LGBTQ community. While a high number of participants from both of these groups participated in public rallies, marches or protests, there were a number of participants who questioned the efficacy of public safety measures, and stated that this was a factor that dissuaded them from participating in these public forums in the future. The LGBTQ community, in particular, noted the absence of hate crimes legislation and a lack of trust in the police to investigate crimes based on sexual identity.

While a lack of time was cited as an obstacle by most groups, women and men qualified the definition of this time differently, with **women much more likely to cite family and domestic**

responsibilities as opposed to men, who cited economic and financial responsibilities. Women who had been internally displaced particularly stressed this as a barrier to their participation, citing numerous bureaucratic and administrative processes that they must overcome to settle their families in addition to domestic care work. Men who had been internally displaced also noted time as a hindering factor but spent this time differently than women IDPs. In contrast, they noted financial responsibilities or looking for employment as hindering their participation. **Men IDPs, in particular, noted financial hardship as an obstacle, and also reported one of the lowest employment rates of any group.**

> *"You should set priorities and for me, as for a mother of many children, family is more important because children are our future. A woman always bears more responsibility when it comes to the daily routine and thus somehow limits her self-development."* — Internally displaced woman

A number of participants also raised discomfort at participation in certain aspects of civic and public life. **Both people with disabilities and IDPs noted feeling uncomfortable, disadvantaged or even, at times, humiliated while changing their voting place, checking the voter list for their names and even during voting.** Both groups, notably, referenced the additional bureaucratic procedures they have to undertake to be able to vote. For IDPs, this relates to the temporary change of voting place as they cannot vote where they are officially registered. For voters with disabilities, this relates to either the choice to vote at the polling station or at home. Once a person is registered by the state as having a disability, they are automatically added to the "vote from home" voting list and must then change this to be able to vote in person. **Women with disabilities noted particular discomfort at having strangers enter their home so that they can vote if their polling station is not accessible.**

Men and women with disabilities similarly noted nearly universal problems related to access to political and electoral processes, including a lack of training and awareness, as well as a lack of accessible locations, materials and assistive devices. **People with disabilities and IDPs remarked upon discrimination or attitudinal problems from some government or polling station staff they had interacted with due to their status as a person with a disability or an IDP.** A lack of "like-minded" people was also stated as a hindering obstacle by numerous groups, particularly by LGBTQ community representatives, who also reported high levels of discrimination and stigma.

Legislative obstacles — related to both the lack of implementation of required legislation as well as gaps or burdens in the current legal framework — were raised across all groups. For IDPs, there were significant bureaucratic and administrative burdens that were noted that hindered their ability to participate or excluded them from some electoral processes altogether. For the LGBTQ community, a lack of legislation ensuring their protection under the law — or enforcement

> *"From one side, if it was not for my disability, I wouldn't have to defend my rights so much, protecting your own interests is a plus; on the other side, there are a lot of barriers in terms of accessibility, mobility, because to act you have to read, to walk, to communicate more."* — Man with a disability

of existing laws when their rights are violated — was noted as a significant obstacle. For people with disabilities, legal complaints related to accessibility measures are somewhat enshrined in the law but rarely enforced.

Participants from both the IDP and LGBTQ communities noted stress, trauma and psychological pressure as hindering factors. Both men and women who had been internally displaced noted feeling pressure, as well as a lack of counseling and psychological support. **This was particularly noted by men who had been internally displaced, with women commenting that men were much less likely to take advantage of the psychological support that is provided.** Some representatives from the LGBTQ community, in particular those who are HIV-positive, similarly noted a need for emotional and professional counseling and support.

In terms of motivating factors, participants generally expressed feelings of optimism that their engagement can help to build a better future and feelings of civic responsibility. Men were slightly more likely to cite factors such as financial and material benefits, including vote

> *"We took a stand for our voice, which was taken away, to be heard again."* — Woman with a disability

buying as an "encouraging" factor to participation though not admitting to accepting this themselves. Women were slightly more likely to cite factors such as "patriotism" or "building a strong society."
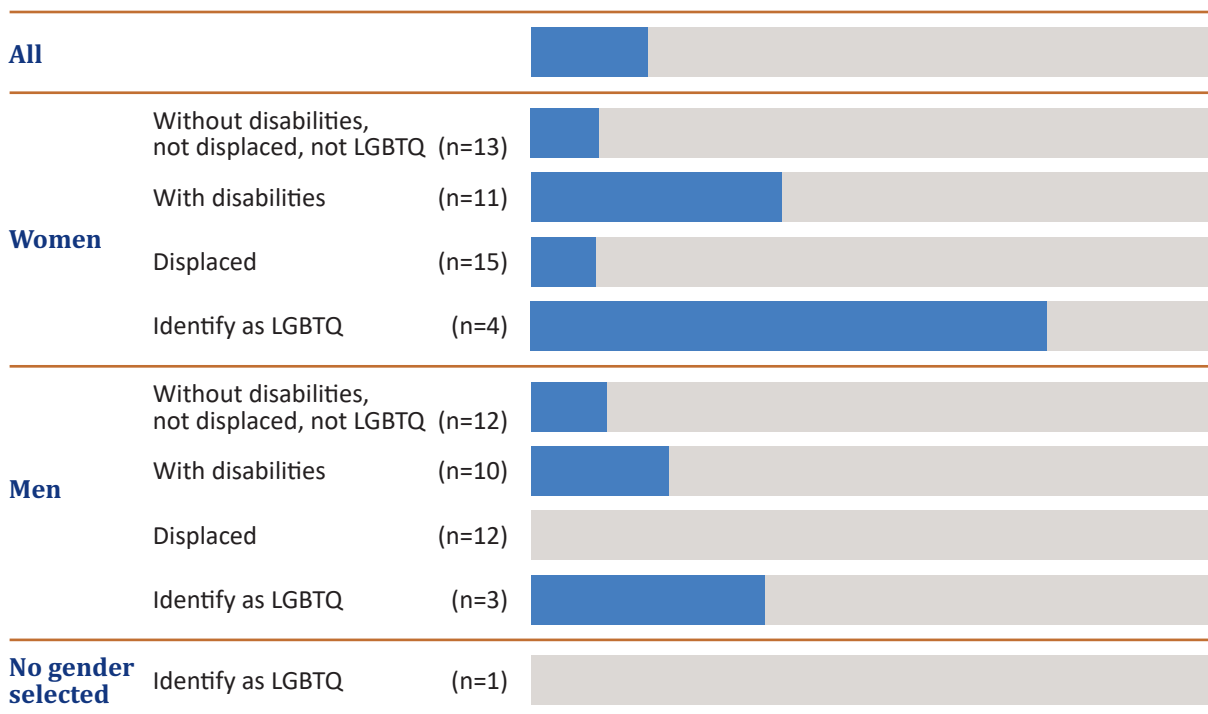
Civic Engagement

Among focus group respondents the highest level of civic engagement was shown by women IDPs, men and women with disabilities and LGBTQ community representatives. Many of these respondents stated that they have either participated in community initiatives or groups, advocated for a cause, are members of a CSO or DPO or participated in a protest or march. Some of the respondents engaged in civic activism in a couple of different ways. ***Generally, men display slightly less civic engagement than women, which is particularly notable when one compares women and men IDPs.*** It should be noted that the participants from the LGBTQ community were selected through their membership in CSOs, which could skew the level of civic participation for this group toward being more civically active than others.

While many of the respondents are particularly interested and ready to participate in civic initiatives connected to their social identity or specific societal status, especially IDP, DPO and LGBTQ community representatives, most appeared open and receptive to the idea of advocating for a wider cause or protecting rights of societal groups to which they themselves do not necessarily belong.

> *"You don't have to belong to a specific social group in order to be active, to protect their rights. I would still protect the rights of a certain group even if I didn't belong to it."* — Man with a disability

Participants from the LGBTQ community, for example, have participated in activities to support women's or disability rights. A number of participants from the disability community took part in the Women's March in Kyiv.

Figure 5. Percentage of participants who selected the statement,
"I have advocated for a cause."

All		
Women	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=13)	
	With disabilities (n=11)	
	Displaced (n=15)	
	Identify as LGBTQ (n=4)	
Men	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=12)	
	With disabilities (n=10)	
	Displaced (n=12)	
	Identify as LGBTQ (n=3)	
No gender selected	Identify as LGBTQ (n=1)	

Quite a few respondents of focus groups irrespective of their gender, sexual identity, age, disability or displacement status participated in the 2013-14 protest activities related to the "of Dignity " (Euromaidan), where they "supported the idea of Ukrainian nation." A number of them explained that it was not necessarily a specific political cause — e.g., supporting certain ideology or leader — that motivated and drove them to join protests, but rather civic belief in democracy and human rights. Much of this civic activism took place in the form of volunteering and supporting the Maidan protest movement, such as by supplying medicine, clothing and food, even if participants didn't directly protest themselves.

While general civic participation is relatively common across groups, there are gendered differences in how it manifests. **Men had a variety of civic and political engagements, while women's civic engagement was more likely to — though not exclusively — focus specifically at the local or community level.** These community initiatives included items such as improving living or housing conditions in the neighborhood and those connected to ensuring the well-being of children and youth.

These differences could be linked to gender norms and societal practices around women's responsibilities at the family level.

Representatives from both the disability and LGBTQ communities stressed the need for visibility and awareness-raising, regardless of gender, socio-economic status or age. Many respondents of both groups had participated in marches and public awareness events

> *"It is not necessary to always show your sexual orientation or identity, just be active citizens on a local level where it all begins. In support of active LGBTQ citizens, for our increased visibility, to show that we care, that we have rights."* — LGBTQ community representative

specifically to advocate for their rights. Both of these groups cited their identities as people with disabilities or members of the LGBTQ community as a highly motivating factor for their civic participation, while also participating in broader human rights initiatives. In particular, the LGBTQ community stressed the importance of positive visibility in the public and in their community.

Participation in Political and Electoral Processes

Most focus group respondents have experienced at least one or two types of political participation in their lives, either as voters, election commission workers or election observers. Very few people have run for an elected office, work in a government institution or state body or are a member of a political party. Respondents generally exercise

> *"We all hope that our candidate will win and will make what he(/she) promised, good for the country and we will live better. We always hope."* — Woman participant

their right to participate in democracy because they believe, at least to a certain extent, that their voice may positively impact their society and their participation may contribute to a better future and systematic socio-economic changes.

Participation as a Voter

Exercising the right to vote appears to be most burdensome and stressful for IDPs and voters with disabilities. Numerous participants who represent the IDP community underlined that they had a negative voting experience due to a cumbersome procedure for changing their voting place, tight deadlines and long lines. Aside from administrative and procedural burdens, many respondents view voting a matter of human dignity and national identity.

> *"Why do I need to prove that I'm a citizen of Ukraine, if I have a passport of the citizen of Ukraine?! For me it seems humiliating when people are divided into Ukrainians and IDPs. That was the only reason why I didn't vote in recent elections."* — Internally displaced woman

Despite these obstacles and negative experiences, **many voters persisted in exercising this right to fulfill their civic duty.** One IPD woman shared: "I voted in 2019 and waited in huge lines in both rounds of elections as it was very important for me. I even took a vacation both times to change my voting place and I met people who did the same. In second round, there was a huge line and it was raining, but people stayed as it was really important for everyone to vote." Other participants mentioned that they always vote in elections when Ukrainian law allows — except for the 2014 presidential election due to the occupation of Donetsk and Luhansk and the illegal annexation of Crimea — and see nothing challenging in changing their voting place and submitting required documents to prevent multiple voting. **Some participants from the IDP community noted that there are bureaucratic necessities that not only impact the internally displaced, but all Ukrainians, particularly those who reside away from their place of official residence, such as economic migrants.** This situation impacts young voters who are internally displaced, as they may not have been able to establish their permanent residency or may not have the documentation necessary to prove that they are able to vote at all.

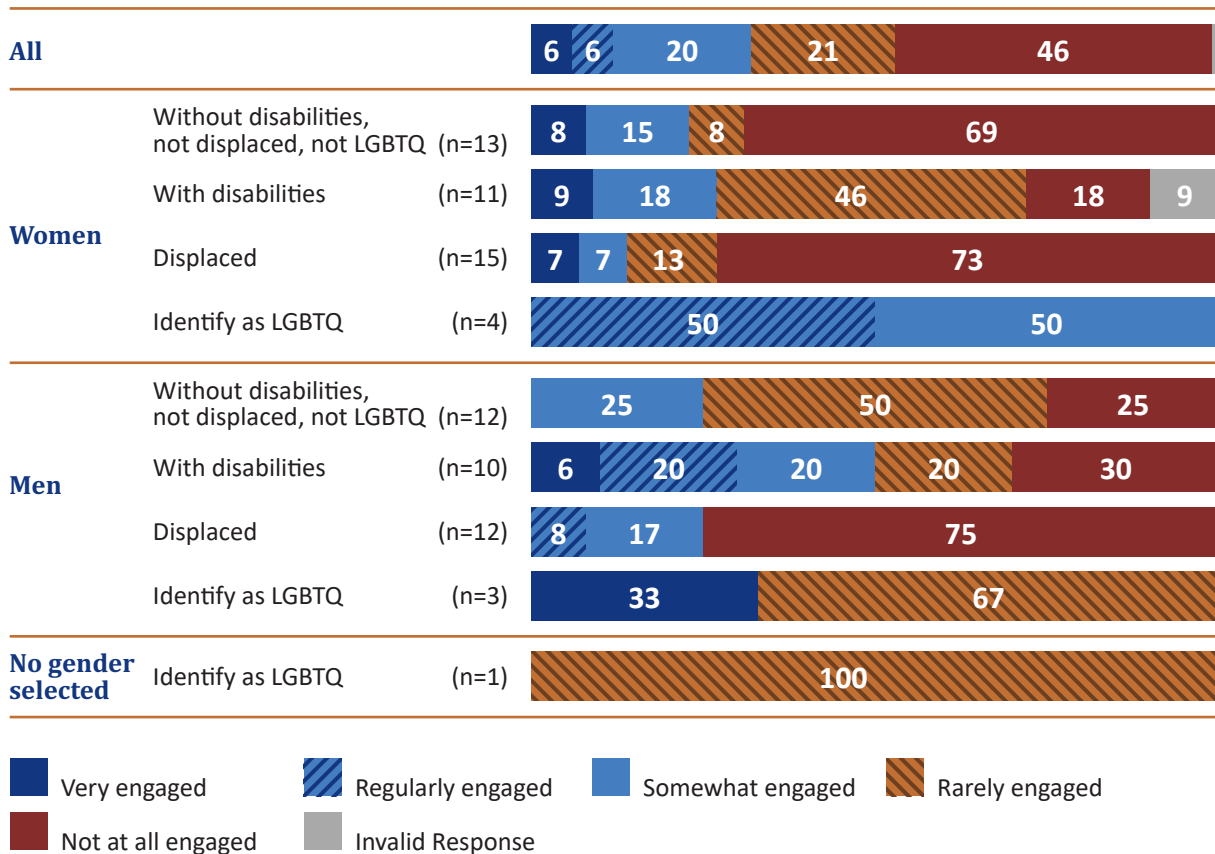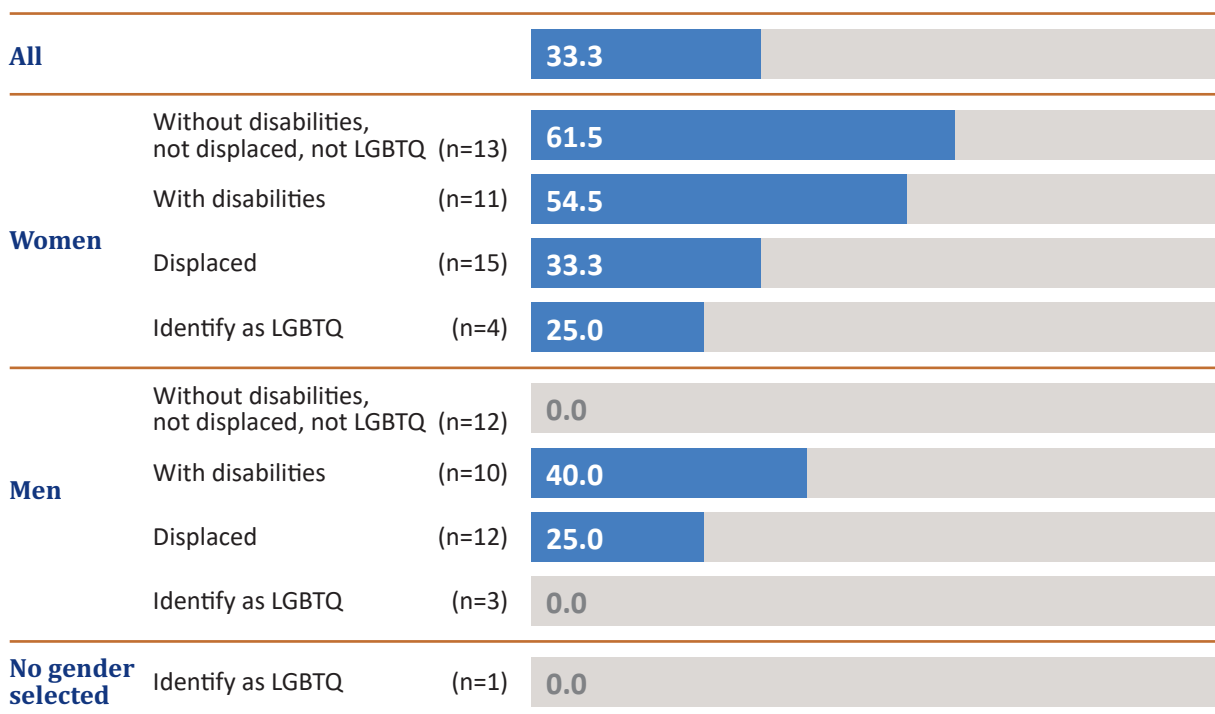**Figure 6. Level of Self-Reported Engagement in the Political Process, %**

		Very engaged	Regularly engaged	Somewhat engaged	Rarely engaged	Not at all engaged	Invalid Response
All		6	6	20	21	46	
Women	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=13)	8		15	8	69	
	With disabilities (n=11)	9		18	46	18	9
	Displaced (n=15)	7	7		13	73	
	Identify as LGBTQ (n=4)		50	50			
Men	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=12)			25	50	25	
	With disabilities (n=10)	6	20	20	20	30	
	Displaced (n=12)		8	17		75	
	Identify as LGBTQ (n=3)	33			67		
No gender selected	Identify as LGBTQ (n=1)				100		

Legend:
- ■ Very engaged
- ▨ Regularly engaged
- ■ Somewhat engaged
- ▨ Rarely engaged
- ■ Not at all engaged
- ■ Invalid Response

Figure 7. Percentage of participants who selected the statement "I have worked as a poll worker."

		%
All		33.3
Women	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=13)	61.5
	With disabilities (n=11)	54.5
	Displaced (n=15)	33.3
	Identify as LGBTQ (n=4)	25.0
Men	Without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=12)	0.0
	With disabilities (n=10)	40.0
	Displaced (n=12)	25.0
	Identify as LGBTQ (n=3)	0.0
No gender selected	Identify as LGBTQ (n=1)	0.0

Both men and women IDPs expressed disappointment with state policies and regulations that effectively disenfranchise them during local elections. Most focus group participants underlined that IDPs are deprived of the right to vote in local elections and disagree with this restriction; notably, this changed after the passage of the electoral code in December 2019**.**

> *"I feel discriminated when it comes to voting in local elections. We have been living in Kyiv for years, why can't we vote for Kyiv mayor?"* — Internally displaced woman

People with disabilities and older people often face various types of barriers as voters including attitudinal, communication, environmental and institutional barriers. For instance, people with physical disabilities including wheelchair users often do not have access to government buildings or polling stations due to a lack of ramps or lifts. Voters with visual, auditory, and intellectual disabilities noted a lack of election-related information in accessible formats. In particular, **young people who have visual or auditory disabilities who reside in boarding schools often lack sufficient access to information about various political processes in Ukraine, so it is much harder for them to make a well-researched choice during elections or referendums**. Proper voter education in such educational institutions is low. One of the key informant interviewees stressed how during both 2019 elections, these young people were not fully aware of certain electoral procedures. An example of this gap in voter education was the relatively widespread belief that a ballot can be acquired on the basis of disability status ID instead of a passport, which resulted in voters being turned away from polling stations on Election Day.

When it comes to ensuring secrecy and independence of the vote, this is often not an option for voters with visual, intellectual or psychosocial disabilities. These voters are often accompanied to the polling station by family members and sometimes require assistance receiving and casting their ballots. For voters with visual disabilities, assistance inside the voter booth is a very sensitive issue. Legislation prohibits commission members from assisting voters inside the voting booth, so voters with disabilities can only receive assistance from family members or other, sometimes randomly volunteered, voters. These forms of assistance can undermine the integrity of the vote by preventing voters with disabilities from being able to cast their ballots secretly and independently.

Several focus group respondents with different types of disabilities stressed the lack of knowledge among commission members on how to professionally interact with voters with disabilities. Some voters with disabilities, like some voters who have been displaced, feel as though the manner in which they are treated during voting lacks dignity and respect. Women with disabilities were slightly more likely to raise issues of dignity or disrespect, compared to men with disabilities and male IDPs.

> *"I don't think that this is an appropriate, polite, tolerant behavior toward me. I know also other cases when friends with visual disabilities were approached by a commission worker who shouted at the entire polling station 'We have a disabled here!' and they subsequently stopped going to elections as they didn't want to vote anymore because of this attitude of the poll workers."* — Woman with a disability

Family members and caregivers of people with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities also pointed to poll workers' disrespectful and at times even hostile attitudes, which hinders their willingness to serve as assistants in future elections, as it is quite often a source of stress and public humiliation. **In general, respondents from different underrepresented groups express concern about the absence of a "service-oriented" approach by commission members, which they view as resulting from a lack experience, confidence and teamwork.**

"They [poll workers] give you an attitude 'It's not allowed', and don't offer any solution to an issue, for example, for people with disabilities or [older] people. There's always people who want to help, but those who can help don't know how, and those who know how are usually not given an opportunity to do so." — Woman with a disability

Participation as a Candidate Running for Elected Office

Very few participants have ever run for office, regardless of gender, sexual orientation, disability, age or displacement status. Women, particularly women who are not from the LGBTQ, disability or internally displaced communities, expressed more hesitance in running for office than men. There was distrust, particularly among women regardless of any intersectional identity, as to whether these competitions would be open, transparent or fair. Women noted the influence of nepotism in both business and family connections, as well as the finances required to run a campaign, as factors that dissuade them from running for office. Women noted that having a "husband, father, uncle or brother" already in elected office helped mitigate some of these barriers.

A number of women who did not report having a disability, being a member of the LGBTQ community or internally displaced supported gendered stereotypes that require women to stay out of political life and leadership positions. A few participants from this group expressed their appreciation and commitment to traditional gender-based roles that portray women as needing support and protection. Even those women who did not necessarily support traditional gender roles expressed hesitation for running for office, due to a lack of self-confidence — a barrier that was not mentioned by any men respondents. These participants expressed hope that over time women will realize their own potential and strength so that they too can be leaders and counteract gender-based stereotypes, but stated that these women cannot accomplish this without support if they are to compete with men. Most participants agree that increasing the number of women in politics requires helping women to acquire the necessary skills and boosting their self-confidence.

"It is pleasant when someone takes care of you, helps you, provides for you. We [women and men] have equal rights, we have certain obligations, at the same time I like that they [men] open doors for me, give me flowers. Maybe we don't need feminism at all!" — Woman participant

"Frankly speaking, in most of Ukrainian families, a man is a head in the house. I think it's right, it doesn't mean we [women] are discriminated, as a man is a head, and a woman is a neck (Ukrainian saying)." — Woman participant

Whereas women cited stereotypes and a lack of confidence, men were much more likely to cite the role of money in politics. In particular, a number of focus group discussion participants emphasized that money and publicity play a major role in winning an election race. This opinion was supported by others: "The more money you have, the [greater] chance you have to be elected. Everything depends on media coverage and it looks like everything depends on money." Another participant stated: "To hold office, you have to establish yourself as a successful leader and set an example for others, so that people would like to follow you and would see a perspective for better future in whatever you do. Otherwise, I see no reason to run for the office."

> *"We need some time for a woman to become stronger in her spirit, to understand that it's not only about men, she can also change something in this world."* — Woman participant

Some participants, particularly representatives of the disability community, raised the issue of tokenism. For example, a participant with a disability noted that there is an ongoing trend of including people with disabilities on party lists. However, according to him, this seems to be more of a public relations stunt than a real intention to ensure inclusiveness of the electoral process. According to some respondents, politicians use veterans — some of whom are now IDPs with disabilities — to their political advantage during campaigns. This strategy is perceived by representatives of the disability community predominantly negatively, as they reject these forms of token participation. At the same time, the disability community strongly believes that interests of people with disabilities are best represented by people with disabilities themselves, so ensuring their visibility and leadership in political life is critical.

Representatives of the LGBTQ community cited exclusion as the key barrier to their political leadership. Generally, political parties are not inclusive and open toward gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender candidates or potential members due to entrenched stereotypes. Therefore, members of the LGBTQ community face significant barriers in running for elected office or becoming a political party member.

> *"I think it is connected to our mentality, it was always like this that a woman is a mother, housekeeper, she looks after children, and a man earns money and builds our future."* — Woman participant

Social Identities and Their Impact on Civic and Political Engagement

Generally, participants across groups initially viewed gender as having no impact — either positive or negative — on political and civic participation.

However, during discussions following this initial assessment, both men and women expressed views that reinforced gender-based stereotypes as men being more "well-suited" to political life. In particular, men noted that, while they do believe that gender matters when it comes to political participation, men tend to be more interested in politics than women, which results in more opportunities for men to succeed

> *"Everything depends on a person. In [a] modern civilized world, and I believe Ukraine is a civilized country, neither gender nor any other factors hinder political and civic participation. Motivation is a key driver to achieve everything."* — Man participant

and take on this responsibility. Participants also noted that politics is a traditionally male-dominated field that is "inconsistent with women's nature."

Women discussed the fact that building a successful career — both within and outside of politics — in Ukraine is difficult, especially due to ongoing discriminatory practices at a workplace connected to their family status and being a mother. They emphasized that most employers are hesitant and even afraid to hire women as they tend to view them as "unreliable and unsustainable workforce" due to long maternity leaves and frequent sick leave related to the need to take care for sick children. **Women with disabilities, in particular, reported extremely low levels of employment.** Respondents also emphasized the gender pay gap — which results in women receiving much lower salaries than their male counterparts — as another barrier to their political participation.

Many women respondents related these beliefs to prevailing societal norms and what they describe as "a question of mentality," as women are taught from childhood that they are primarily future

> *"Politics is not that easy. Men are psychologically more adjusted for politics. And you know, there are times when a man should beat a nail, while a woman needs to cook."* — Man participant

> *"For a woman to build a career in Ukraine, especially if you have children, [and] be politically active is more difficult than it is for men."* — Woman participant

Figure 8. Impact of Gender on Participation
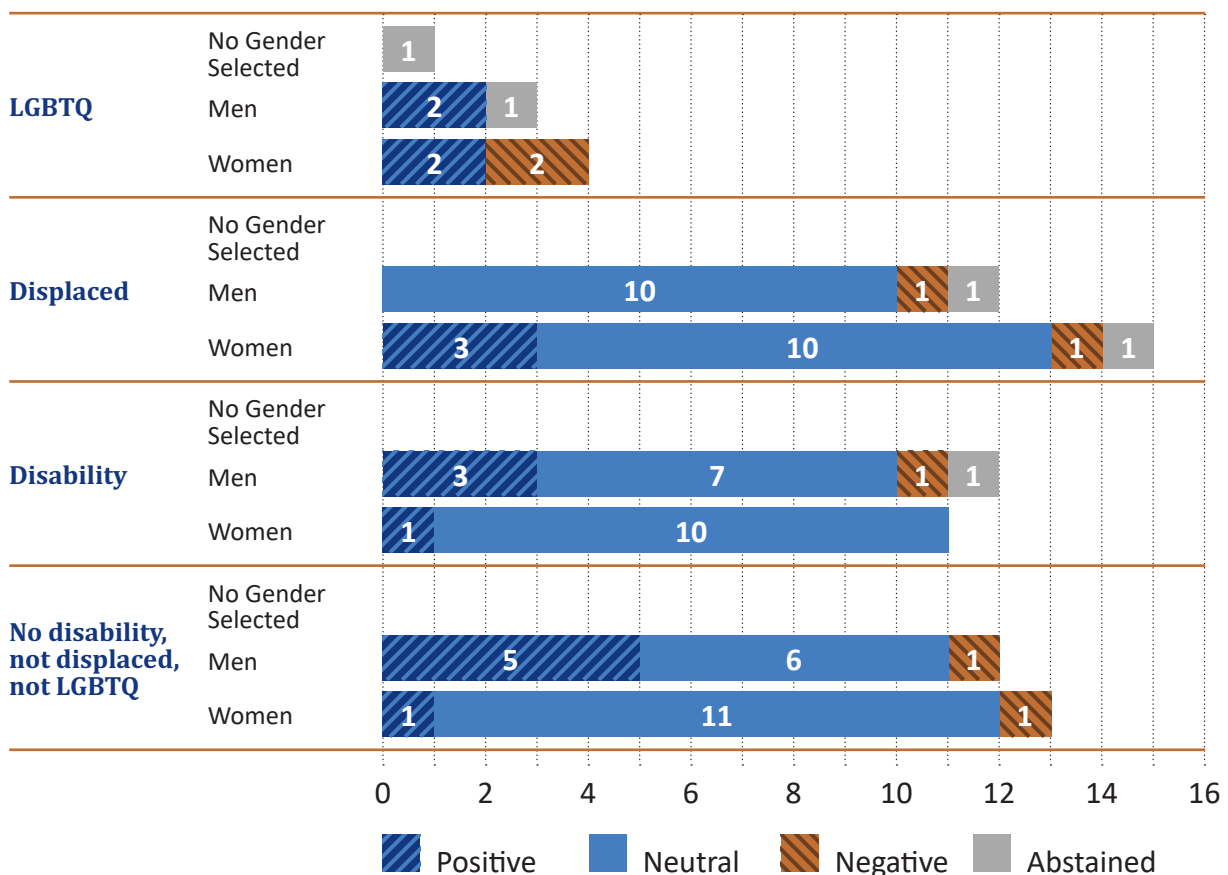
Figure 9. Impact of Age on Participation

Legend:
- Women without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=13)
- Women with disabilities (n=11)
- Women who are displaced (n=15)
- Women who identify as LGBTQ (n=4)
- Men without disabilities, not displaced, not LGBTQ (n=12)
- Men with disabilities (n=10)
- Men who are displaced (n=12)
- Men who identify as LGBTQ (n=3)
- Persons who did not select gender who identify as LGBTQ (n=1)

X-axis categories: Positive, Neutral, Negative, Abstained (each with age groups 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55+)

wives, mothers and care providers, which forces them to suppress their career ambitions. **Roma women respondents emphasized the predominance of gender-based traditional roles within the Roma family structure, which can dissuade women from entering political life and occasionally leads to family voting.**

Most focus group respondents irrespective of their gender, age and socio-economic status agreed that when partners or spouses are like-minded in political and electoral discourse, marriage can positively influence civic engagement, including by increasing the public's perception of a candidate as trustworthy. **However, women respondents noted that when their husbands are not supportive or have dissimilar political views, this serves as an obstacle to their participation; men did not voice this as a potential obstacle.**

"You should first think that your family is not hungry and has something to wear and pay attention to other issues. If one had better financial situation and their head wasn't busy with everyday practicalities, one could be more involved in social and political activities. There is an interconnection between these two."
—Man participant

Socio-economic status particularly impacted men's participation in political and civic life, especially men IDPs. According to some respondents, socio-economic status is also important in terms of their

choice of candidate. Participants noted that they are more meticulous and more considerate about their choice since election of a "wrong candidate" may result in losing their stable and preferential socio-economic standing.

Internally displaced respondents, regardless of gender, see a strong connection between a "settled and well-established life" in their new communities and their ability to actively participate in civic and political life. For them, active participation depends on their ability to invest their scare resources — including time, energy and money — in making this a reality. **Quite a few focus group participants underlined that they feel socially unprotected and insecure in Ukraine.** Most of them stressed that they bear responsibility not only for themselves, but also for their family members. If internally displaced people lose their jobs, experiences health problems or faces any other unexpected circumstances, their families will lose their only source of income and social protection.

Settling various administrative routine issues, such as handling financial and legal status paperwork, visiting state institutions and authorities on a regular basis, is a major and time-consuming burden, which quite often falls on women. Women are also more likely to act as a bridge between their families and their new host community, providing psychological support for their children and spouses.

> *"Quite often when trying to reach out to government institutions you always hear comments like, 'Why did you move here? Kyiv is not made of rubber!'"* — Internally displaced woman

Men predominantly see displacement and aging as a source of compounded discrimination. According to respondents, the older a man is, the harder it is for him to find a well-paid job, establish himself and provide for his family in their new community. The labor market in many large cities is very competitive, especially with well-paid positions. This economic instability, particularly when combined with age, places enormous pressure on men who have been displaced and dissuades them from political participation.

LGBTQ participants expressed their hope to see an increased number of elected LGBTQ politicians and open LGBTQ law enforcement officers who would advocate for their rights and interests. However, political parties in Ukraine have not expressed an interest in inviting open LGBTQ community members to join, largely due to concerns regarding a negative impact on the party's popularity and public image. In addition, LGBTQ-related priorities, such as registration of same-sex marriage, are not present in any political party agendas.

According to focus group respondents, comprehensive reform of anti-discrimination legislation and its effective implementation at all levels would increase public trust of LGBTQ community representatives in state institutions and agencies.

To increase inclusion of the LGBTQ community in public life, participants recommended improving cooperation with public officials and launching awareness programs aimed at various groups to promote trust in civic and political participation as a tool that can make a real difference in personal and public life.

There is no comprehensive and accurate statistical data on the Roma population in Ukraine in general, nor is there gender-disaggregated information. This problem to a larger extent stems from the lack of documentation of many Roma people, which significantly complicates their interaction with local state authorities. This has a large impact on the ability of the Roma population to vote.

Both the Roma community and internally displaced men noted feeling as though society does not trust them and views them as "criminals." There are strong and deeply entrenched prejudices and stereotypes toward the Roma population among Ukrainians.

Recommendations

Law makers	Responsible Actor(s)
• Incorporate all necessary legislative amendments to the election code so that its provisions ensure wider inclusion of traditionally underrepresented groups in political and electoral processes, with strong emphasis on women, people with disabilities and IDPs.	Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine
• Strengthen political and campaign finance regulations to impose stricter rules for noncompliance, to support implementation of existing sanctions, and to clarify which institutions are responsible for enforcing regulations. Improve access to electoral justice.	Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, CEC, NACP, courts, District Election Commissions (DECs), Precinct Election Commissions (PECs)
• Amend public funding stipulations to maintain or increase incentives for parties if multiple parties meet the quota and the total is therefore decreased; require a certain amount of public funding be used to promote political participation of women and underrepresented groups; consider waiving candidate registration fees for underrepresented groups.	Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine
• Enact comprehensive reform of anti-discrimination legislation and its implementation at all levels to increase public trust of LGBTQ community representatives in state institutions and agencies.	Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine
• Create feedback loops to ensure that groups who are impacted by legislation are able to comment on and inform policies that impact them.	Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, CEC, decision-makers at all levels
Election Administration	**Responsible Actor(s)**
• On the basis of the new election code, pass relevant regulation to ensure proper and effective inclusion of traditionally underrepresented groups in electoral processes, with strong emphasis on women candidates, voters with disabilities and IDP communities.	CEC

• Adopt relevant instructions, regulations and other internal directives to ensure implementation of the electoral code's provisions pertaining to gender quota, wider inclusivity of electoral processes for voters with disabilities and those representing the IDP community. • Ensure timely and proper information and communication coverage of all newly adopted procedures and modus operandi targeted at voters. • Ensure transparency and fairness by enforcing campaign finance regulations and regulations regarding campaign media coverage. • Designate an adequate amount of the CEC budget for programming about women's political participation. • Integrate gender and inclusion considerations into the CEC's strategic, communication and operational planning processes, including through the development of a gender policy and action plan. • Institutionalize internal Working Group on Accessibility of Elections for Voters with Disabilities and Working Group on Gender Equality in Electoral Processes in partnership with relevant national DPOs, CSOs and women's groups. • Work with lower-level commissions on raising awareness of accessibility standards and measures regarding polling station location set-up and selection.	CEC
• Allocate sufficient budget for procurement of special technical equipment to enable people with disabilities to vote independently and secretly. • Allocate sufficient budget for the preparation and distribution of voter education and information in easy-to-read and accessible formats.	Ministry of Finances, CEC
• Collect gender-disaggregated data of staff, registered voters, candidate registration and voter turnout, and make it publicly available and easily accessible. • Through IFES-CEC Training Center, continue to further integrate gender equality, accessibility and inclusion with an integrated intersectional approach into all relevant informational and educational materials and training curricula. • With help of international donor community and national civil society institutions, conduct various awareness-raising and sensitization trainings for staff at all levels on the importance of full and equal participation of all citizens in electoral processes, with considerations of integrated intersectional approaches.	CEC, DECs, PECs

• Develop and introduce an improved and simplified mechanism for changing voters' electoral address to make electoral processes more inclusive for the IDP community and labor migrants. • Introduce and ensure accessibility options of the "virtual Cabinet" at the website of the State Register of Voters for people with visual disabilities.	CEC, State Registry of Voters
Executive Bodies	**Responsible Actor(s)**
• Allocate polling station premises that are more accessible for voters with disabilities and those with restricted mobility.	Local state administrations
• Conduct trainings on anti-discrimination, equality and intersectionality for state officials and civil servants at all levels. • Apply intersectional considerations when conducting gender and accessibility audits.	Cabinet of Ministers, local state administrations
• Apply intersectional considerations while conducting gender budgeting exercises.	Cabinet of Ministers, local state administrations
• Develop, adopt and enforce relevant instructions, regulations and other internal modus operandi on how to register, investigate and prosecute hate crimes.	Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Service of Ukraine Secretariat and Prosecutor's General Office
• Conduct trainings on how to properly classify, register and efficiently investigate hate crimes for law enforcement bodies.	SSU, Ministry of Internal Affairs, National Police
• Pass relevant sub-laws to ensure proper and effective enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation. • Apply intersectional approach considerations when carrying out gender expertise of laws and sub-laws.	Ministry of Justice
• Conduct a comprehensive census of the population, with disaggregated data.	State Agency of Statistics
International Community and Civil Society Organizations	**Responsible Actor(s)**
• Conduct trainings for journalists on reporting that is inclusive, gender-sensitive and based in human rights. This should also address ageism and bias against young people.	International organizations, CSOs
• Support the building of strong coalitions and partnerships between different civil society actors representing interests of various social groups — women's groups, youth organizations, IDP and Roma CSOs, DPOs.	International organizations, CSOs

• Support women, young people and representatives of traditionally excluded social groups in building the skills necessary to actively participate in political life.	International organizations, CSOs, political parties
• Conduct inclusive budgeting trainings for local state authorities. • Conduct leadership programs for youth representing community of IDPs, DPOs and LGBTQ, with special emphasis on rural areas.	International organizations, CSOs
Public Information and Civic and Voter Education	**Responsible Actor(s)**
• Develop a comprehensive messaging strategy on the importance and "added value" of political engagement and wider representation of members of traditionally excluded societal groups in elected office.	International organizations, CSOs
• Increase the CEC's capacity to develop and disseminate voter education efforts, especially those targeted at traditionally excluded groups, such as young people and rural residents.	CEC
• Integrate messages on tolerance, social justice and gender equality into civic education curricula in schools and universities.	Ministry of Education
• Ensure that voter education includes simple messages about women's political participation and is distributed in rural areas.	CEC, International organizations, CSOs
Political Parties	**Responsible Actor(s)**
• Engage more candidates and members from diverse backgrounds representing traditionally excluded social groups such as women, IDPS, people with disabilities and sexual and ethnic minorities.	Parties
• Enhance democracy within parties, including around candidate nomination and for party structure and leadership positions.	Parties
• Increase parties' financial support to women candidates and those representing traditionally excluded social groups.	Parties
• Encourage party leadership to ensure that women and representatives from traditionally excluded groups receive equitable campaign resources, airtime and media coverage.	Parties
• Encourage parties to develop gender policies and procedures for addressing sexual harassment.	Parties

Annex 1 — Why Did IFES Choose to Use a Participatory Research Framework?

The framework includes the use of participatory evaluation approaches that privilege the experiences and views of groups facing discrimination, especially those whose views may otherwise be invisible, to identify programmatic strategies that can support their increased participation in political life. Participants are asked to work in groups to identify and present key information on participation in political life that they then analyze, categorize and prioritize in different ways. This methodology emboldens even the quietest of participants to voice their opinions, as opposed to more traditional group interviews where a handful of participants may monopolize the conversation. The result is a rich mix of qualitative, narrative-driven data, and a preliminary, stakeholder-led analysis of the information gathered.

Through its collaborative and participatory approach, the Intersectionality Assessment Framework empowers partners to form cross-sector coalitions and strengthen their advocacy with a united voice. Using the Intersectionality Assessment Report as a guiding document, partners can develop targeted inclusion initiatives and project activities to support intersectional advocacy. The assessment can be used to inform follow-on programs positioning CSOs to recruit and engage male allies, policymakers, political parties, human rights advocates and other strategic partners for reform.

What are some common critiques of an intersectional research framework, and how has IFES addressed those critiques in its methodology?

One of the most common critiques of research involving the concept of intersectionality is "the lack of a clearly defined intersectional methodology."[74] Thus, in developing the methodology for the framework, IFES has sought to address key critiques to common methodological challenges and offer a clear, direct approach to translating our conceptual framework into a research strategy.

Challenge: Data must be analyzed in an *intersectional* way rather than an *additive* way.[75] An intersectional analysis examines how different identity categories intersect to create a unique experience, whereas an additive analysis suggests that one can simply combine inequalities faced by each social identity. An additive approach can be harmful because "it conceptualizes people's experiences as separate, independent, and summative," and it implies that "one's identities and/or discrimination based on these identities can be ranked."[76] It is also problematic as it seeks to define, in broad terms, the experiences of a single social identity without considering the nuance of individual experience. This has historically privileged, for example, cisgender women from a majority ethnic group who do not have disabilities as "the" experience of women, while excluding the experiences of women who face compounding discrimination based on race, class, religion, disability or displacement.

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[74] Nash, Jennifer. "Re-Thinking Intersectionality." Feminist Review 89: pp. 1-15, 2008. https://www.mackenzian.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Nash_RethinkingIntersectionality2008.pdf

[75] Bowleg, Lisa. "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research." Sex Roles 59, no. 5-6: pp. 312-325, 2008. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/225937429_When_Black_Lesbian_Woman_Black_Lesbian_Woman_The_Methodological_Challenges_of_Qualitative_and_Quantitative_Intersectionality_Research

[76] Ibid., page 314.

IFES response: In IFES' framework, focus groups participants are asked to identify the level of impact various identities have on their political engagement from a predefined list, including an "other" category, to allow for open discussion of any other areas identified by participants. A facilitated discussion draws out interactions and causality.

Challenge: Designing interview questions to authentically capture participant experiences without biasing responses, while simultaneously gathering the needed data for specific research questions; or, as one researcher asks, "should the themes of intersectionality be asked directly within the interview or should the research expect them to emerge without specific prompting?"[77]

IFES response: IFES takes a mixed approach to directly and indirectly address intersectionality during the assessment data collection. Focus group discussions are based on experiences from participation in political life, with issues of intersectionality generally surfacing organically in discussions with participants. Key informant interviews are generally a mix of direct and indirect questions related to specific constituent groups.

Challenge: Ensuring research participants are selected randomly and from varied backgrounds.[78] For assessments that seek to analyze multiple social identities, the intersection of only two or three identities can be studied in isolated groups.

IFES response: IFES seeks to address these issues by randomly selecting focus group participants, considering the distribution of urban and rural participants and a mix of individuals who are more or less involved in civic activism. IFES deliberately creates a balance of other identities within each group, including considerations for religion and location. In contexts where randomly selected individuals might be hesitant to self-identify with a specific group, such as in locations where LGBTI identities are criminalized, IFES will note that reflections come from CSO members, rather than a random mix of the general population.

Challenge: Under-represented populations are often the subject of research, without being consulted on the final product or seeing practical changes in their daily lives from the time they spent speaking with analysts.

IFES response: A cross-section of key informant interview and focus group participants are invited to participate in feedback loops with the assessment team to ensure the process is one of meaningful participation rather than extractive or consultative "participation." Recommendations to government, civil society, political parties and media are disseminated widely and IFES seeks to support advocacy and appropriate programmatic interventions based on assessment findings and recommendations.

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[77] Windsong, Elena Ariel. "Incorporating intersectionality into research design: an example using qualitative interviews." International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 21:2, pp. 135-147, 2018. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13645579.2016.126836177 Hunting, Gemma. "Intersectionality-informed Qualitative Research: A Primer." The Institute for Intersectionality Research & Policy, Simon Fraser University, 2014.

[78] Hunting, Gemma. "Intersectionality-informed Qualitative Research: A Primer." The Institute for Intersectionality Research & Policy, Simon Fraser University, 2014. https://www.ifsee.ulaval.ca/sites/ifsee.ulaval.ca/files/b95277db179219c5ee8080a99b0b91276941.pdf

Annex 2 — Biographies of the Authors

Virginia Atkinson, **IFES Senior Global Inclusion Advisor, United States**

Virginia Atkinson has more than a decade of international advocacy and capacity-building experience focused on empowerment of marginalized groups. She is the senior global inclusion advisor at IFES, where she is responsible for providing strategic leadership to IFES' disability rights portfolio and technical assistance and training to civil society organizations and government stakeholders on inclusive democracy and governance. She spearheads IFES' intersectional approach to program design, including initiatives to advance the human rights of women and youth who identify with multiple social identities.

Atkinson is lead author of the manual *Equal Access: How to Include Persons with Disabilities in Elections and Political Processes* and led the development of ElectionAccess.org, a global resource on the political rights of persons with disabilities. Her writing has been published in academic and practitioner journals, including the *Nordic Journal of Human Rights, Journal of African Elections and Elections in Europe*. Atkinson is actively involved in numerous regional and international human rights groups including as an adviser to the General Election Network for Disability Access in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and serves as a member of the Advisory Board for American University's Institute on Disability and Public Policy and the OSCE's Expert Group on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

Prior to joining IFES, she worked for Survivor Corps, an organization that advocated for the rights of conflict survivors. Atkinson holds a master's degree in international relations from the University of Reading, England.

Meredith Applegate, **IFES Program Adviser, Ukraine**

Meredith Applegate is the program adviser for IFES in Ukraine. She brings over 10 years of experience developing, managing and implementing election and democracy programs in headquarters and the field. She is particularly focused on gender equality, civil society advocacy and development, voter and civic education and disability rights. Applegate has held long-term posts in Indonesia, Myanmar and Ukraine. She has also worked on short-term to midterm assignments on election operations, civic and voter education and ending violence against women in elections, including for the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in Sierra Leone, UN Development Programme in Moldova and IFES programs in Cambodia, the Dominican Republic, Nepal and Timor-Leste. Applegate holds a master's degree in gender, development and globalization from the London School of Economics and a bachelor's degree in international relations and English from Northwestern University.

Oleksandra Palagnyuk, **IFES Gender and Inclusion Manager, Ukraine**

Oleksandra Palagnyuk has experience with human rights, gender, migration studies and democracy promotion. She oversees the implementation of all IFES Ukraine's gender and inclusion activities and mainstreams gender and inclusion efforts in close coordination with programmatic teams. Prior to joining IFES in 2019, she worked for nearly four years in the Strategic Civilian Security Sector Reform Component of the European Union Advisory Mission to Ukraine as a human rights and gender officer. Oleksandra holds a master's degree with merit in European and international law from Bremen University, Germany. She also conducted Ph.D. research on migration studies at the Institute of Public Administration and State Policy in Ukraine.

Yulia Kryvinchuk, **IFES Senior Political Finance Project Assistant, Ukraine**

Yuliia Kryvinchuk joined IFES in 2017 as a research assistant and has been involved in numerous activities related to reform of political finance law, strengthening investigative journalism in Ukraine, civic education, and promoting women's participation in Ukrainian politics. Currently, Kryvinchuk works on the "Money in Politics" portfolio, supporting project implementation and contributing to research initiatives, including on political finance and gender equality in Ukrainian elections. Kryvinchuk graduated from Kyiv National Linguistic University in 2016 and worked as a translator and editor for various initiatives in the fields of European integration, good governance, and international relations. She is an alumna of the 2017 Parliamentary Internship Program and the Swedish Institute Summer Academy for Young Professionals 2018.

Zhozefina Daiier, **Former IFES Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Project Assistant, Ukraine**

Zhozefina Daiier holds a master's degree in global politics and societal change from Malmö University, obtained as a recipient of Swedish Institute's Visby Program Scholarship, and a bachelor's degree with distinction in international relations from Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. She interned with Amnesty International Ukraine and the Center for Civil Liberties and worked at Freedom House Ukraine, IFES and the Institute of Innovative Governance. Daiier's main areas of interest are information accessibility, social inclusion and digital innovation.