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Urban Living and Multicultural Cities in Asia: from Colonial Past to Global Future

International Conference on Psychology & Multiculturalism

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URBAN LIVING & MULTICULTURAN CITIES IN ASIA:
FROM COLONIAL PAST TO GLOBAL FUTURE

Important Note:

Scientific Committee did not edit or correct the paper accepted for proceeding. It was assume the paper's grammar, spelling error, and writing style according to APA was the author's responsibility.

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Jakarta, November 2017

Greetings From the Dean

Welcome to the first International Conference on Psychology and Multiculturalism,

In 2017, Faculty of Psychology, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia celebrates its 25th anniversary. On the 8th of June 1992, the faculty was opened with a bachelor degree program and started the academic activities with only about 70 students. Twenty five years passing by, currently we have four study programs at bachelor, master (professional and science), and doctoral level serving about 1500 students. It is a great achievement that this year we finally have a complete level of study program!

As a commemoration of our gratitude and celebration for this achievement, we are convening academicians, students, and practitioners to discuss and learn from each other in an international conference, namely “Urban Living and Multicultural Cities in Asia: From Colonial Past to Global Future”. This is our first international conference and it is a reflection of our academic themes, namely to understand and develop urban dwellers, multicultural, and disadvantaged people. It is relevant with Jakarta, where our campus is located, that the conference covers behaviors and psychological aspects of people within the history of the city, its economic and industrial growth, health, education, and information technology innovations.

Our keynote speaker and panelists are experts in their field. I hope we can learn a lot from them. For presenters and guests, welcome and thank you for joining our conference, I hope you can have wonderful discussions in this conference.

Dr. Angela Oktavia Suryani, M. Si

Dean of Faculty of Psychology, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia

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The Influence Of The Socialization Of Gender Roles On Patriarchal Culture and Masculine Ideology On The Emergence Of Gender Role Conflict In Men Of Karo Tribe

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ABSTRACT

The background of this paper comes from considering the lack of research and article about men and gender role conflict in Indonesia. As we know, the term of gender generally associated with gender injustice conditions experienced by women. Nevertheless, men also experiences gender inequality in their daily life, which led to the emergence of conflict within them that increased the possibilities of problems. Until now, research of gender role conflict experienced by men has been done in Europe and many other countries in Asia. Unfortunately in Indonesia, the research about gender role conflict experienced by men is still limited. Since the late 1970s concern for gender role conflict in men has begun to emerge. The gender role conflict in men rises many problems in man who is not only disturbing himself but also others. The conflict arose from the socialization of rigid gender roles in patriarchal society and masculine ideology. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the importance of research on gender role conflict in men in Indonesia. Author relates this paper to the Karo tribe cultural context which is one of the tribes with patrilineal kinship.

Keywords: gender role conflict, gender role socialization, masculine ideology.

Conflict can arise anytime and anywhere. According to Deutsch (in Cox, 2003), conflict is defined as a clash or struggle that emerges when a reality or something is perceived as a threat or difference to the wishes, thoughts, attitudes, feelings, or behavior of two or more parties. Coser (1956) defined conflict as a struggle over values and demands for limited status, power and resources in order to neutralize, injure or eliminate opponents. In addition, Sigmund Freud (in Aronson et al, 2016) stated that conflict arises as a result of civilization or culture, where individual's goals or needs often conflict with the goals and needs of other individuals. Meanwhile, according to Gillin and Gillin (in Ahmadi, 2007), conflict is part of the process of social interaction that occurs due to differences, whether they are related to physical, emotional, cultural and behavioral. Based on the above definitions, it can be concluded that the conflict is a condition in which there is a difference in desire, goals and needs between individuals or groups and other individuals or groups.

Generally, types of conflicts are varied. Rahim and Bonoma (in Cox, 2003) proposed four types of conflict that may emerge, they are intrapersonal or self-conflict, and interpersonal that includes intra-group, inter-group and intra-organization conflict. Suryanto, et al. (2011) and Ahmadi (2007) also stated that conflict may emerge among individuals (inter-individual), individual with other individuals (intra-individual), inter social group as well as inter organization. Intrapersonal conflict emerges within an individual and involves internal struggle to determine contrary values. According to Zey-Ferrell (in Cox, 2003), intrapersonal conflict occurs in individual cognitive and affective conscious. Those individuals may feel that they have done something in contrary with another organization or individual. Moreover, Price (in Cox, 2003) also emphasized that intrapersonal conflict may cause interpersonal conflict, which is a conflict between individual and other.

In intrapersonal level, Kurt Lewin (in Cox, 2003) argued that such conflict emerges due to reversed situation that results in pressure or power experienced by individual. Common incapability or improper perceptions includes a situation when individual feels that s/he performs something in contrary to her/his interests, determined skills and values. Conflict may occur when significant irrelevant condition emerges between expected roles of individual and another institution. Some experts call it as role conflict.

According to Baron (in Chusmis & Koberg, 1986), role conflict is the outcome of individual experiences, where there is inconsistency between one's and others' expectation. This inconsistency emerges due to socialization process differences within individual, and it is generally initiated by intrapersonal, intra role, or inter role incompatibility. Naylor et al (1980) pointed out that role conflict may arise once individual expects roles on more sources, but s/he cannot satisfy all of those expectations. For instance, an individual is unable to achieve expected roles from family as a father or husband, and as a man expected by society. According to Miles (in Naylor et al, 1980), role conflict commonly leads to dissatisfaction. This persistent negative feeling tends to cause a stressful experience which affects individual's physiological condition and behavior.

Role conflicts that emerge because a man or woman cannot perform the expected role of the community or the norms/rules prevailing in the environment are generally referred to as gender role conflict (O'Neil, 2015). The concepts of gender role conflict among men was initiated in the late 1970s, when research topic was more focused on female rather than male. Women movement in 1970s, or known as women's emancipation was the foundation of the increasing concern for women's rights (O'Neil, 1981b), so men seemed to be neglected. O'Neil (1981b) stated that the late '70s to early '80s was known for an era when men began to realize that they were also the victims of restricted gender role socialization and sexism in society.

In accordance with history, men conflict emerges due to differences between expectations and reality that has been developed since World War II. This condition brought major influences to American masculinity. The phenomenon of job loss and economic crisis at that time led to the decline in men's self-esteem, concerning to their role as predominant individual. The negative impact of this issue caused men to start blaming themselves for their inability to get a proper job. It brought more pain for men as their wives could finally find themselves jobs outside home. Many men felt more alienated from their family, while others decided to cope this situation with their family. Number of alcoholism, mental disease and suicidal ideation increased because of such issues. Finally, this phenomena portrays contrasting condition in which men should be stronger in surviving obstacles (Lindsey, 2016).

According to O'Neil (2008), gender role conflict is one's psychological condition as a result of gender role socialization that brings negative consequences to individual and others. Generally, gender role conflict emerges when gender role is portrayed strictly and restrictedly (O'Neil, 1981b), where the outcome of these conflicts is a limitation of others' or individual's potentials. Corresponds to the definition above, it can be concluded that gender role conflict is psychological incongruity perceived by individual related to the performed gender role and people expectation, in which both factors have negative impact for the individual.

Gender role conflict among men, as O'Neil (2008) suggested, consists of four patterns or factors, including *Success/Power/Competition* (SPC), *Restrictive Emotionality* (RE), *Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men* (RABBM) and *Conflict Between Work and Family Relations* (CBWFR). RE is defined as an individual limitation and anxiety to express idea, feeling, as well as limitation in obtaining words for expressing basic emotion. RABBM is a limitation to expressing one's feelings and thoughts to other men, as well as difficulty of physical contact. Third factor, SPC, is described as a personal attitude about the achieved

success through competition and power. Meanwhile, CBWFR reflects a limitation in balancing work, education and family relationship that leads to health problems, overwork, stress, as well as lack of leisure and relaxation.

Behavior experts have argued that gender role conflict has similar resource to role conflict as it has differences between the expected role socialization process in individual and individual's expected role (Chusmir & Koberg, 1986). The argument is supported by O'Neil's (2008), in which he stated that gender role conflict emerges because of rigid and strict gender role socialization, so when someone runs a role that is not expected by the family or the environment it will arise inner conflicts associated with gender roles. The gender socialization requires men not to show fear, weakness, vulnerability, strong and able to face challenges, able to be leaders, and responsible for their personal and family life, able to control their wives and children and keep the distance between himself and parenting and household duties, in fact according to Farrel (1975) these things can have a negative impact.

Such negative impacts emerge as a consequence of gender role socialization which tends to be sexist and rigid, thus once men perform action different from the expected gender role, the insecure feeling of negative consequences may occur. According to O'Neil (2015), gender role conflict in men generally has a very adverse negative effect, such as stress, depression, drug use, heart attack, alcohol drinking, and suicidal ideation. Gender role conflict commonly causes self-devaluation, self-limitation and threats to self or other (O'Neil, 2008). Englar-Carlson (in Szymanski & Carr, 2008) also argued that generally, men experience gender role conflict as they find or fail to acquire masculine gender role; deviating from gender role norm; experiencing a discrepancy between real self-concept and ideal self-concept which is based on gender role stereotype, personal limitation, devaluation and self-harassment or to others due to gender role norm; experiencing personal barrier, devaluation as well as interference from others.

The followings are some research findings that illustrate psychological problems experienced by men related to gender role conflict, such as (1) men's involvement in drug and alcohol abuse (Pleck, et al, 1993; Mahalik, Logan & Morrison, 2006; Blazina & Watkins, 1996); (2) tolerance of aggressive behavior and sexual abuse (Jakupcak et al., 2005; Good, Heppner et al., 1995; Mahalik, Lagan & Morrison, 2006; Wade & Brittan-Powel, 2001; Cohn & Zeichner, 2006); (3) the emergence of anxiety to interact with people of the same sex and perform femininity, homophobia as well as inability to express emotion verbally (Wilkinson, 2004; Kimmel & Mahalik, 2005; Jakupcak et al., 2006); (4) tendency to self-harm (Jakupcak & Green, 2016; Whitlock et al., 2011); (5) the existence of depression, anxiety, stress and low self-esteem (Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006; Mahalik, Pierre & Wan, 2006; Blazina & Watkins, 1996); (6) anxiety (Thompkins & Rando, 2003); (7) denial to accept others' help (Mahalik, Lagan & Morrison, 2006; Blazina & Watkins, 1996) and; (8) decreased satisfaction in relationship and making love (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). Such difficulties are serious problems and cannot be taken for granted because they often bring negative impact to individual as well as others. In addition, the consequences of such conflicts may limit individual or others' potential needs because they feel trapped in living and showing their masculinity.

Moreover, Adler (in O'Neil, 2015) pointed out that patriarchal values also contribute to every men's problem. He described this case in his well-known theory called theory of masculine protest which becomes one of the first psychological constructs related to masculinity. This is also supported by the statement of philosopher named Arthur Schopenhaur (in O'Neil, 2015), who said that the difficulties faced by a person, especially men in their past and present, are caused by gender role conflict as a result of patriarchal culture. The demands of patriarchal culture as agents in the socialization of gender roles have shaped men to be tougher in performing their activities (William and Best in

Courtenay, 2000). Therefore, conflict emerges when men fail those social expectations. Williams and Best's finding is consistent with Liu's study which suggests that male social perception to ideal masculinity values leads to conflicts. Joseph Pleck in his book entitled *The Myth of Masculinity* (in O'Neil, 2015) asserted that a limiting gender role also becomes a factor causing the emergence of psychological dysfunction due to gender role strain.

As one of Batak tribes in North Sumatera, Karo is a tribe that embraces patriarchal values where the highest authority resides in men. As a tribe which embraces patriarchal culture, the tribe also generally recognizes diversity and classifies humans by sex—not only from physical realities, but also their influence in social life (Bangun, 1981). These diversities are reflected through the rights and responsibilities of each sex. For instance, carpentry is identical to men, while cooking in the kitchen is inherently linked to women's duty. In Karo culture, men have an important role as ruling leaders in making decision, including during traditional ceremonies. In contrast, women traditionally inherit lower-level positions than men (Tarigan, 2009).

Sex in Karo culture also determines position on social coating. Karo people judge men are higher than women. It is the manhood that has put someone in a higher position. The family or in the Karo tribe called *jabu* is never referred to as a female family, but always uses the male name. This is evident from how Karo customs put men or husbands as parties who can only make decisions (Bangun, 1981). In addition, the position of a male or a husband higher than a woman or wife is also seen in the reverence given. For example, in traditional ceremonies or family gatherings, men sit in places considered more honorable (on mats of webbing), in front and served first (eg at mealtimes) than women (Bangun, 1981).

Moreover, in Karo culture, performing improper activities by specified sex may cause decreased or reduced dignity. For example, male parenting in the midst of traditional ceremony can lower his dignity. Men who often perform such activities, or other jobs that are supposed to be women's jobs, are eventually labeled as *pa diberu* (men who are governed by their wives or have womanish nature) (Bangun, 1981). Inner conflict will emerge as a result when men are forced or volunteered to perform tasks or roles contrary to the cultural or environmental demands. The conflict may trigger discomfort and even brings greater impacts such as feeling of shame, anger or disagreement with others.

According to Wiersman and Willis (in Chusmir&Koberg, 1986), gender role conflict is a major problem that has significant increase among men. Therefore, this increment brings fear as findings in previous studies revealed that gender role conflict among men bring serious consequences to both intrapersonal and interpersonal. O'Neil (2008, 2015) argued that gender role conflict among men is also caused by differences or contradictions between men's current roles and what have been taught to them since childhood. Men's inability as breadwinners and their responsibility in administering domestic affairs are in contrast to their perceived ideology. Moreover, differences between reality and belief of men's gender role also become the cause of self-conflict among men, which Pleck and O'Neil called this as masculine ideology.

Masculine ideology as Pleck (1995) proposed is a belief about the importance of implementing predetermined cultural standard of men behavior as well as men's involvement in supporting internalization of cultural belief system about masculinity as well as male sex. Masculine ideology is the main means for boys and men to live up to the sexist and patriarchal values that have negative consequences in their interpersonal relationship with others. This argument is consistent with O'Neil's (2008) statement, in which he argued that masculine ideology triggers conflicts and tensions of gender roles among men. This ideology depicts how a man is associated with masculine stereotype, which is the belief in the importance of men achieving standard of behavior in their culture. Masculine ideology arises because of gender roles that tend to limit and generate negative consequences for men in their

interpersonal relations (O'Neil, 2008; Pleck, 1995).

O'Neil (2016) pointed out that gender role conflict is commonly associated with childhood's gender role socialization as well as masculine ideology possessed by men. On the other hand, Pleck (1995) argued that masculine ideology is a belief about the importance of implementing predetermined cultural standard of men behavior as well as men's involvement in the internalization of cultural belief system about masculinity and male sex. As stated in the preceding paragraph, masculine ideology is the main means for boys and men to live up to the sexist and patriarchal values that have negative consequences in their interpersonal relationship with others. Along with this, O'Neil (in Beaglaioich et al, 2013) asserted that there are situational contexts, in which gender role conflict emerges among men. One of the contexts is deviation or violation of gender role norm from men's masculine ideology.

Interpersonal relationship with others can be disrupted if a man realizes that he has contrary ideology to society's. This statement is in line with a phenomenon experienced by a priest's husband, where he found that his internalized masculinity principal was different from reality he experienced when adults or married. His failure as a breadwinner and his responsibility in administering domestic affairs are in contrast to his perceived ideology that has been embedded since childhood. Furthermore, Baron (2000) argued that masculine ideology is likely to associate with gender role constraint among men. Results of his study confirm that men, who rely heavily on friend's, family's as well as community's view, tend to have higher masculine ideology value.

Discussion

In Karo culture, sex differences are not only regarded as a means of distinguishing between male and female physically, but they also relate to differences in rights and responsibilities of each sex. These rights and responsibilities are reflected through Karo's daily activities or works. For example, carpentry refers to men, while cooking rice at home belongs to women activities. Karo society typically perceives that a man has higher power than woman (Bangun, 1981); therefore, the culture enables a man to occupy higher position. It is also supported by patrilineal system existed in Batak Karo. In this system, tracing family line and using family name is identified through male lineage. Likewise, only men are considered "permanent members" of lineage, while women will become the member of their husbands' lineage. (Bangun, 1981).

In Karo society, decision making is one of men's rights. Therefore, man is the only one who has right to deliver ideas and make a decision in a discussion and traditional events. Socialization of gender-related rights and responsibilities has been occurred since childhood. With the socialization performed by family and society, gender-related ideology is expected to be embedded into men's mind. Ideology or belief about the importance of a man following the standard culture of men behavior is called masculine ideology (Pleck, 1995). Masculine ideology is a main means for boys and men to live up to the sexist and patriarchal values that have negative consequences in their interpersonal relations with others. Such negative consequences may trigger a gender role conflict experienced by men, particularly when they fail to fulfil gender role demands.

In the Karo tribe, doing work deemed less appropriate to the sex is considered to reduce or decrease dignity, especially men. Rearing children in the midst of traditional ceremonies, for example, can reduce the dignity of men. Men who often do such work, or other jobs that are supposed to be women's jobs, are called *pa diberu* (men controlled by their wives or girls). That Called (*pa diberu*) is assumed to cause feelings of shame, worthless, and low self-esteem in Karo men, especially for those who have high masculine ideology.

The statement above is also supported by Adler (in O'Neil, 2015), who stated that

patriarchal values bring significant contribution to men's personal problem. The demands of patriarchal culture as agents in the socialization of gender roles have shaped men to be tougher in performing their activities (William and Best in Courtenay, 2000). Hence, when men fail such social expectation, they will have self-conflict. This argument is consistent with Liu's (2005) statement, in which he stated that men social acceptance of ideal masculine values causes conflict when they try or fail such expectations.

According to O'Neil (2008), gender role conflict is one's psychological condition caused by gender role socialization that brings negative consequences for her-/himself as well as others. Generally, gender role conflict emerges when gender role is portrayed strictly and restrictedly (O'Neil, 1981b), where the outcome of these conflicts is a limitation of others' or individual's potentials. In another study, O'Neil (2015) argued that gender role conflict among men generally brings adverse negative impacts such as stress, depression, drug and alcohol abuse, heart attack, as well as suicidal ideation. In addition, gender role conflict contributes to self-devaluation, self-limitation and threats to self or others (O'Neil, 2008).

In accordance with the statements above, it can be concluded that both gender role socialization in patriarchal culture and masculine ideology may cause gender role conflict among Batak Karo men. This can happen because since childhood children in Karo tribe have socialized their gender role according to their sex not only by parents but also big family and society around. The socialization of rigid gender roles will generally have a serious impact on the future development of boys. Especially when they are faced with situations where it is not possible for them to carry gender roles appropriate to their gender, such as at work or marriage. Given that research on gender role conflict in men in Indonesia and specifically in Karo tribe is still very limited, in the future more researchers who are interested to examine this are needed.

This topic can also be useful for society in general because most of the culture in Indonesia is dominated by patriarchal culture. By knowing the negative consequences of the rigid gender role socialization and sexism, especially in boys, this paper is expected to change the perspective and treatment of parents and extended families in child care.

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