

The paradoxes of masculine socialization: from patriarchy to gender-role conflict

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Abstract. The article deals with the causes and problems of masculine socialization and the transformation of gender roles in the society. These processes are analyzed in the interaction of men and women. The authors point out that the gender culture of the society is also being changed. They emphasize the necessity of gender analysis of family, education, employment, political institutions, and the identification of changes in the gender order in the country. This analysis is determined by new trends in the system of life strategies and value orientations of women.

1 Introduction

In the past, prior to the industrialization processes, gender roles and stereotypes in the society and culture were clearly regulated. In the course of historical development, the content of gender roles has undergone a radical change. Nowadays the formation and transformation of gender roles are influenced by social and cultural contexts and processes, in other words, by the corresponding ideas about the essence of the analyzed concept. In the course of the development of the society, due to the instability in the regulation, social roles are transformed. We can observe clear asymmetry in gender roles.

The purpose of the article is:

- to identify the factors of masculine socialization, and the reasons for the transformation of gender roles in the society;

- to analyze these processes in the interactions of men and women and in social practices.

Many researchers have been studying the gender determining it not only by sex differences, but by the fact that it is formed by the society. Numerous interpretations of the term “gender identity” lead to the definition of the latter as the result of a complex interaction of the natural inclinations of the personality and the processes of its socialization.

According to E. Zdravomyslova, gender transformations are carried out most vividly in the following areas: family (behavior stereotypes), social relations (professional sphere), individual behavior stereotypes [1]. We agree with the researcher that it is important to analyze the gender of family institutions, education, employment, politics, and to identify the changes in the gender order in

the country, which is determined by completely new trends in the system of life strategies and value orientations of women.

Concerning the results of a number of serious researches (D. Gromova, I. Kletsina, I. Tartakovskaya, L. Popova, D. Pravnik, N. Radina, L. Semenova, L. Shtyleva, E. Yarskaya-Smirnova and others), we can say that the problem of gender socialization is still to be studied.

E. Belinskaya argues that gender socialization can be determined as the assimilation, reproduction and creative transformation of gender culture of the society by a personality [2]. At the same time, we can distinguish between an individual level, in which gender socialization is the most important process for the formation of gender identity, and group level, in which gender socialization is a component of gender culture of the society expressed in tangible and intangible “carriers” (clothes, jewelry, stereotypes, behavior norms inherent to a gender group). It should be noted that in the course of transformations of gender roles, men and women try to adapt to the most difficult conditions of the society.

We analyzed family relationships and agreements about family leadership and home responsibilities. The Russian society and culture are well known for the stereotype of the role of a man in the family as a breadwinner, which is identified with an important gender boundary and determines the image of a “real man”. At the same time, gender boundaries in the modern society are flexible and blurred, since the function of the breadwinner is determined by the self-identification of a man in the family, and his interaction with a woman.

Here we can speak about various models of interaction of family members, which corresponds to the concepts of an

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egalitarian family, as well as a family where there is an agreement between a husband and a wife that defines norms, rights and obligations. Gender socialization occurs in different spheres (family, kindergarten, school, social groups, media, etc.). L. Vygotsky and G. Sullivan prove that friends, parents, peer groups, teachers, (micro-level agents), and language and media (macro level agents) can become “agents of socialization”, i.e. important “cultural guides” [3].

2 Materials and Methods

The impact of the agents of macro-and micro-level socialization determines the stereotypes and requirements of gender culture of the society. In modern gender studies we can see the differentiation between the traditional (patriarchal) and non-traditional (alternative / egalitarian) types of gender culture. According to H. Hartmann, patriarchy is a system of social relations in which men as a social group own material resources and define the hierarchy of interdependence and solidarity of men in order to dominate women as a gender group [4]. As a rule, parents, educators, and teachers use one of the variants of gender culture.

The traditional patriarchal system of socialization is characterized by the subordination of women's social status and roles to men's status and roles; strict control over the implementation of social norms; neglect or complete disregard for individuality; strengthening of gender stereotypes; upbringing children with the regard of gender [5].

The alternative variant of gender socialization considers individual abilities, equality between men and women; rejection of the separation of education according to gender; implementation of ideas of gender equality in various spheres of life; promotion of individual interests and personal preferences; upbringing children regardless of gender [6].

Let us consider the influence of micro-level agents in the process of gender socialization of boys. The family is the most important social institution, where parental influence is the determining factor of socialization. This problem has been studied by different researchers, such as Y. Aleshina, S. Bem, A. Volovich, T. Vinogradova, V. Kagan, I. Kon, I. Kletsina, N. Radina, V. Semenov, L. Semenova, E. Tershenkova and so on. According to the studies of Y. Aleshina, A. Volovich, T. Vinogradova, V. Semenov, the process of socialization of boys from a gender perspective is harder than that of girls. The idea is that the identification of boys with the mother in the future changes to male identification, due to the existence of cultural standards of masculinity and patterns of behavior of men in the society [7].

According to classical psychoanalysis, the role of the father in the socialization of the boy is presented through the Oedipus Complex [6]. One of the representatives of modern psychoanalysis, Nancy Chodorow, draws attention to the fact that the mother perceives her son as her opposite, which means that the boy, identifying himself with a man, separates from his mother. As a consequence, in the process of growing up, boys build

their relationships with other people, defining masculinity as autonomy and perceiving close relationships with others as a threat to the gender identity of a man [8].

3 Results

I. Kletsina concludes that the main problem of gender socialization of men is in popularization of the myth about the social significance of men in the society, which causes pressure from adults, who have higher expectations from boys [5]. It is interesting to note that parents admit the discrepancy between the gender norms of the society and the manifestations of their child's behavior, since parents themselves value their child's individuality more than the society does. On the contrary, the society enforces the standardization of gender socialization. Vivid examples of gender socialization at school are the stereotypes of male teachers' behavior and the content of the textbooks. Teachers form the "male" behavior of boys, correlating ideas about masculinity in the society. The results of various researches show that teachers pay more attention to boys at school. For example, T. Vinogradova and V. Semenov point out that teachers pay 20% more time to boys than girls. Boys are expected to get better results and, in general, are given a higher rating [9]. In addition, teachers contribute to the activity of boys, forming a high level of claims, achievements and wish to struggle. Unfortunately, the consequences of “school pressure” on boys are practically not described in social and psychological studies. High self-esteem and expectations, which are not realized in the future life, can become the basis for neurotic rather than productive behavior of men that will lead to "gender-role conflict".

It is generally accepted that at youth age the most reputable agents of gender socialization are peer groups and friends. In accordance with the theory of E. Erikson, this is the stage of psychosocial development, which implies the integration of social roles acceptable in the future life into the consciousness. The final results of the study of adolescence show the decrease of the authority of peers [10, 11]. Thus, the most important indicator of gender identity at this age is the relationship with the representatives of peer groups when a boy is identified with children of the same sex [12]. Consequently, peers, children of the same age, become a kind of “public regulator” that influences a boy's behavior, making it gender-appropriate, and avoiding inappropriate behavior patterns, forming patterns and types of “male” behavior. In addition, masculine patterns of behavior can form both an open and a hidden competition [11].

The forms of negative behavior are also well known: aggressiveness, alcoholism and drug addiction, unjustified risk and deviations in attempts to lead and represent masculinity. Thus, we can talk about accepting and reproducing the “traditional male culture”.

Macro-level agents (textbooks, fiction, media, etc.) also determine the reproduction of gender culture in the society. The content of school textbooks confirms a differentiated approach to boys and girls at schools. The main character of the textbooks is a man manifesting himself actively in the society, while a woman is often a

housewife and a mother, which confirms the thesis about a greater social significance of men and the passivity of women. Any deviation from the stereotype can lead to misunderstanding and negative reaction in the society. In other studies, we can also find evidence that school textbooks transmit patriarchal stereotypes. T. Vinogradov and V. Semenov, for example, noted that even those world-known and recognized female scientists are practically not represented in textbooks [9].

It is difficult to overestimate the role of the media as an agent of gender socialization, as they present stereotypes of men and women. A. Bandura, one of the authors of the theory of social learning, pointed out the rivalry between television that has the patterns to follow and parents, teachers [13]. At the end of the 20th century technical gadgets began to influence culture. Modern culture is certainly a culture of media space. Sociocultural "redefining" of everyday life and its transformation take place under the influence of the visual context, the dominance of visual images that do not exist outside their media. Accessibility to visual media space is becoming a good for a modern man [14].

In our research we also used television commercials of the First Channel content to study the processes of the formation and demonstration of gender stereotypes. Using the observation method during the weekend in October 2018, we studied the commercials to understand the gender roles of the heroes. We also analyzed the films about a certain type of a hero that did not reflect the traditional, patriarchal image of a man.

Various psychologists and sociologists investigated media products (films, cartoons, magazines, etc. and the effects of promotional products on the formation of gender roles before [15]. In our research we tried to study the gender characteristics of the commercials heroes. In the following table you can see the results of our research.

Table 1. Formation of gender stereotypes in commercials.

Product	Men	Women
Advertising of cars		
Ford Cuga	a family man	-
Nissan Qashqai	a successful, sexy man	-
Cosmetics Advertising		
Shampoo TREsemme	-	a beautiful, successful woman
Deodorant NIVEA		a successful, self-confident girl with an active lifestyle
Shampoo H & S	a self-sufficient man / a football player	-
Shower Gel Palmolive	-	a girl singing in the shower
perfume Chanel	-	a confident, beautiful girl

		who enchants men
Perfume Kenzo	-	a confident girl who dances as she likes
Perfume Paco Rabanne Pure XS	a sexy man who enchants all women around	-
Banking advertising		
Bank VTB	a successful career oriented man / hunter -	-
Bank Otkritie	a confident man who started his business from scratch	-
Drug advertising		
Drug Omnikus	-	a good, caring mom
Drug Teraflue Extra	a man who loves football	a caring mom
Food Advertising		
Biscuits Balvita	-	Good housewife, successful business woman, well-groomed beautiful woman
Coffee Jockey	Men working on an icebreaker	-
Juice Dobriy	-	a caring mother who creates comfort in the house
Nutella	-	a housewife cooking breakfast
Restaurants advertising		
Burger King	a severe Russian man	-
Macdonald's	football fans	-
Online stores and Internet communications		
Joom	-	a shopaholic
Google	a loving, caring father	-
Others		
Orion	-	a pregnant woman, creating comfort

The results of the study confirm that the content of the mass market for advertising reflects the prevailing trend of patriarchy in our culture. Advertising transmits a

familiar, traditional pattern of the “right” family relations in patriarchy: primacy and superiority of men, who lead quiet and gentle women and children. “Real men” in the media are shown as creators, professionals. “Real women” in this context are more dependent on men, express tenderness and care, think about the family [16].

4 Discussion

However, it should be taken into account that there is another trend now. We all can observe changes in the “message” content of some media. The content of TV channels, fashion magazines for young people represent the updated “glamorous” images of masculinity, which absolutely do not agree with the canons of patriarchy. So, we analyzed the content of Hollywood films in which the protagonist is a pronounced metrosexual. Take, for instance, “The Game Plan” (a film made in 2007, directed by Andy Fikmen). The main hero of this film is Joe Kingman played by Dwayne Johnson. A series of films about Batman shows a millionaire Bruce Wayne, who is a vivid example of the metrosexual. The film “Iron Man”, made in 2008, tells us about Tony Stark played by Robert J. Downey. Other good examples are “The Gorgeous” (1999, directed by V.Kok, starring J. Chan and Shu Qi); “The Lincoln Lawyer” (a film of 2011, directed by Brad Furman, the hero is a successful lawyer Mickey Haller); “Tango and Cash” (a comedy thriller of 1989, directed by Andrei Konchalovsky, the main hero is a wealthy intellectual policeman, played by Sylvester Stallone). We also can add to the list “American Psycho” (a criminal drama of 2000), the hero is Patrick Bateman, played by Christian Bale, who does everything to be the first: he cares for his skin, face and body, but at night, his passion for perfectionism is transformed into a craving for violence), and “Cosmopolis” (director D. Cronenberg, 2003). The main hero played by Robert Pattinson is rich, handsome, well-groomed, but absolutely shallow without any goal in life).

Thus, due to the media, for example, articles in glossy magazines for men and cinema products, the stereotypes and roles of gender mix with the content of new forms of marketing. Absolutely different male images (for example, metrosexual) become an ideal for the modern man. Another trend is a clear increase in the number of families where, as a result of social transformations, the modern man-father becomes egalitarian, for example, can go on maternity leave.

5 Conclusion

Thus, it can be assumed that the transformation of the norms of socialization of men, reflected in the influence of agents at the micro and macro levels, helps to overcome the “gender-role conflict” and contributes to a longer life of men (according to statistics, at present a man does not live to retirement age) [12].

It is also necessary to take into account the collisions of the transformation of the social institution of the family, caused by modernization (the transition to the nuclear family, “marriage”). In the new period of the development

of the society, the family is also the subject to change: losing “autonomy” in the society, it becomes more open for transformation in the public sphere and is no longer a “refuge” from the world. It is becoming more and more difficult for modern men and women to follow the “normative requirements of sex” due to the tendency towards individualization. Today, there is no regulatory model of the family.

In conclusion, we can say that the paradigm of new theories in this field of the research supposes the concept of a post-modern family, which is characterized by “vagueness” of norms determining masculine and feminine interaction: the patriarchal subordination disappears, emotional needs and individualization become very important. Stability, solidarity, complementarity of gender roles, and mechanisms for designing life strategies are being transformed. The so-called gender conflicts of a postmodern family arise.

They are often associated with physical and psychological overload. An important role in determining the place of spouses in the family is played by the competition between them. Of course, the challenges of globalization define new problems of the postmodern family, which requires special analysis for their solution.

We share E. Zdravomyslova’s idea about the model the Russian family, which, in the course of modernization, has been changing since the middle of the last century: a “family with two salaries” or a family with “a working mother” has appeared [1]. The crisis of the 90s defined a policy of survival for most families, which negatively affected the institution of the family in general. As a result, it was the family that began to function as a source of support its members. Consequently, social cataclysms dramatically increased the importance of both the economic and psychological functions of this social institution. The imperative of emotional support and trust becomes important and decisive, which leads to the reassessment of values in the modern family. It is connected with the increasing value of the profession in the system of values of women.

As a result of the changes taking place in various spheres of the society, the gender culture of the society changes. This change leads to the changes in the content and the essence of gender socialization.

Thus, it can be concluded that scientific research of changes in the substantive and procedural aspects of gender socialization, their influence on the formation of a personality, remains extremely popular and needs further study.

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