Toxic Masculinity Practice Portrayed in Children’s Growth at Senior High School in Malang

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Received: 4th January 2022 | Revised: 27th September 2022 | Accepted: 11th January 2023
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Abstract
In Indonesia, there are a lot of parents who still perpetuate the patriarchal system in parenting methods to raise their children, especially for boys. Moreover, East Java Province is one of the provinces that still present this parenting method because most parents believe males are superior to females. The researcher used male students in Senior High Schools as the respondents due to the patriarchal system in that environment. Social Practice was selected to analyze how the patriarchal system influenced the male students' characters. Those bad habits from the patriarchal system could establish toxic masculinity for most male students because the elders can not give space on how to differentiate what is masculinity and what is the good and the harmful impacts to them.

Keywords: Children, Patriarchal System, Teenager Age, Toxic Masculinity.

1. INTRODUCTION
A patriarchal system could be found in some countries in the world. Moreover, in each country, the patriarchal system is still perpetuated as a concept to control their children's growth. The patriarchal system is a concept that glorifies the male gender in the social system and becomes a symbol of the leadership system. This concept believes that males are a superior gender and control females and children in a household (Israpil, 2017). In Indonesia, the patriarchal system did not classify as something new because some tribes also perpetuate those parenting methods, and one of those tribes is the Javanese. Javanese culture is very closely related to the patriarchal system. According to the Javanese history in its tradition since the 18th century, it shows that females only exist in household affairs (Uyun, 2002). Females only had to serve meals, clean the house, washcloths, and do everything based on the male's command. Thus, the male was known as the gender with superior power to control everything in household lives. The family became a device in patriarchal power where males act as a patriarch and a leader, which become a society's representation in the middle of the patriarchal system (Setiawan, 2016). Javanese parents inherited this patriarchal system and parenting method from their elders from time to time. Most of them will always perpetuate it now and then if they can not change era development. Some
parents still assumed that the parenting method could produce a capable generation with harsh psychological conditions despite an era of development. Furthermore, based on The Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection in 2019, men have the more significant human development index (IPM), around 75.96, than women numbered around 69.18 (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan anak, 2019). This difference showed that the patriarchal system will always be legal in Indonesia, especially in Javanese society, because of its tradition or for conservative and rigid to face the change in the modern era for some people in society.

The patriarchal system could also be found in almost all aspects, such as economy, politics, education, and even law (Sakina & A., 2017). This image was easily portrayed in a social environment that has a conservative parenting method. Conservative parenting method, which perpetuated patriarchal system can influence the children's psychological in their growing process become a teenager. The patriarchal system is a social construction that assumes that parents, especially male parents, are more dominant than female parents. Hence, it brought an understanding that portrayed the vast gender gap between males and females and showed that males have the primary control over females who have weaker physical (Jufanny & Girsang, 2020). Those habits could influence the children, especially the boys, that their gender is stronger and more exclusive than girls.

The teenagers' characters development was influenced by this patriarchal parenting method. Thus, they received their parents' treatments, which assume that boys become more rigid and firm than girls. They used to act oppositely from girls because they think girls tend to show their feelings freely without hesitation, even in public areas. Furthermore, most of the society also used to discriminate this gender difference unconsciously, whether in physical or psychological aspects. In a society, there are values and comprehension which appeared and perpetuated, became guidance for the society (Omara, 2004). Those social habits which discriminated against gender and male supremacy could negatively impact teenagers, especially boys. Thus, society's habit of indiscriminating female gender over girls could create toxic masculinity, especially boys. Toxic masculinity was a concept to criticize such an assumption that shows the stern gaze towards masculinized gender norms and discrimination over another gender (de Boise, 2019). Toxic masculinity was a negative concept which also influenced by parenting methods and society. The teenagers, especially boys, will be regarded as strong, powerful, and justify that boys should not show their emotion in public, such as crying, oppressed, intimidated, and other emotions that show their gender's weakness.

After reading the previous research on the same topic, the researcher decided to bring up this toxic masculinity in teenagers' growth, but in a different material object. Those previous research entitled
Toxic Masculinity Dalam Sistem Patriarki were conducted by Desvira Juvanny and Lasmerly RM Girsang in 2020. In previous research, the researchers used Posesif as their primary material object, which portrayed the patriarchal system in the middle of society. It was said that men in that film are shown as the sole authority behind the patriarchal system. Thus, men have infinite power over females and could do anything to protect their identities, even with coercion, harming females (Jufanny & Girsang, 2020). This situation showed that toxic masculinity has already spread and perpetuated in the middle of society, especially men. Moreover, toxic masculinity brought people to adore only the most vital gender, men.

Those previous studies brought an idea, which is showing that toxic masculinity also happens in reality. Thus, this article is fascinated by this toxic masculinity over teenagers' growth in the middle of the patriarchal parenting method and managed to conduct research and do the random sampling towards senior high school students in Malang as the respondents. The researcher used social practice theory from Pierre Bourdieu as the tool to analyze how toxic masculinity influenced teenagers' growth in the middle of the patriarchal parenting method. The research attention from social practice theory directs the practical accomplishment or everyday activities (Hargreaves, 2011). From now on, toxic masculinity could influence the habit and psychological condition of teenagers who have already used to experience the treatment they receive from their parents and society.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

According to this social phenomenon which brought the patriarchal system over the parenting method, the researcher used social practice theory from Pierre Bourdieu to analyze how the patriarchal system influences the toxic masculinity in teenagers' growth and how random sampling was used to gather the data. This theory is applied because the researcher presumes that this theory is suitable if used to analyze how men's power is so influential in society.

Pierre Bourdieu was a France post-structuralist figure who found a way to observe and analyze the conflict or social phenomenon and break in the power domination in a society (Haryatmoko, 2015). Bourdieu said that this theory emphasizes the society's involvement as a cultural agent or subject in a cultural construction establishment process as a social practice. In a society, it produced the cultural classification in various ways (Adib, 2012). Furthermore, in social practice, there were agents, habitus, field, and capital. Those fourth classifications in social practice could show the society's position.

Social practice theory found and produced a way to create and formulate more sustainable patterns of consumption. It was no longer focused on the agents' attitudes, behaviors, and choices but instead on how they are reproduced, maintained, stabilized, and challenged (Hargreaves, 2011).
2.1 Agent

An agent is an individual who becomes a social subject (Karnanta, 2013). An agent is equipped with comprehending and controlling each other's actions based on a particular condition where the individual lives. Moreover, an agent also refers to its' capabilities with the relation towards the social structure. In social structure, two dimensions differentiate it; objective and subjective structures (Karnanta, 2013; Muhid & Ningsih, 2021). Objective structure discussed a structure that emerged in the middle of social structure, while subjective structure discussed a structure that emerged and worked inside an individual's life.

An agent could strengthen their position and place in a society based on capital ownership. An agent or human behavior was emphasized subconsciously through some patterns of acting, and it has already inherited and entrenched schemata to transform the social reality (Karfaki & Adamides, 2016). Agents' power was determined by how much capital they had, how much entire field they got, and how habitus could form their identities in society.

Hereinafter, individual actions and agents only could be identified as parts or components of a larger culture or society (Joseph, 2007). In a society, people determine each other's identities through the classifications they make. For example, an agent with significant capital, an individual in a higher social position, will always get a great field and form of habitus in a society. Therefore, agent, habitus, field, and capital will always correlate and support each other in all aspects and activities in cultural construction.

2.2 Habitus

Jenkins assumed that habitus is rooted in the agents' bodies and manifested by the agents' senses. Later on, those gazes built up how the agents' images were symbolized (Jenkins, 2004; Muhid, 2018). Habitus was related to the habit and how the agents assess something, take action, and think in the middle of society's life. It also becomes the agents' personality basis. Moreover, habitus was formed following the condition of habitus' first appearance in social class configuration.

The social class configuration had a critical role in bringing up particular habitus in a society. Moreover, habitus could combine the social structure and agents, which means that the social structure formed in society and agents could take action in a habitus construction. Habitus could modify the agents' behaviors which are driven by instinct. The instinct appeared, similarly with the new structure developed during the cultural transition, from the traditional to modern society (Zalewska, 2019).

Habitus contained the agents' mental strategies, such as rationality, planning, flexibility, openness, and spontaneity (Zalewska, 2019). In other words, the psychological condition of those agents could influence the habitus establishment in society. Habitus also influenced the agents to explain more about
production and reproduction in a cultural construction in society. Thus, Bourdieu could surmount the legacy of intentionality and self-agency (Karfaki & Adamides, 2016).

Habitus could shape the social world; otherwise, the social world could shape the individual habitus (Karfaki & Adamides, 2016). Those bidirectional, known as a social structure, are internalized and embodied in agents' behaviors to produce the social structures. The social structure appeared in society to differentiate their class classification. Class classification had a relation towards field and capital, which the agents' have. Furthermore, the establishment and functioning of habitus were very considered and calculate the results of behavior regularity in its practice modalities which depend on the improvisation, not in obedience to regulation (Wuriyani, 2020).

2.3 Field

The field is an inseparable concept from the habitus and becomes a receptacle for connecting habitus and capital. The field indicated concern in forces, intensities, dynamics, and processes in a space that contains static sociology of variables, categories, and social groups (Savage & Silva, 2013). Moreover, the field was considered as a network and relation in a social position or class. The social position was determined by economic, social, and cultural distribution (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). In a society, economic, social, and cultural aspects were easily discovered because all of those social activities occur in that social place among people.

In brief, the field became where agents struggle to achieve a higher position in a social position or class (Karfaki & Adamides, 2016). The agents should show their ability and power to mobilize the economic, social, and cultural resources to rebuild the new forms of social position (Nowicka, 2015). The enormous power and the higher social position the agents have, the better the field they can get. Otherwise, the weaker power and lower social position, the worse field which the agents can get. That is why habitus and capital could control the form of the field in society.

Society could achieve power and position in a field. It means that those societies can have more than one power as a form in a field of power (Thomson, 2010). A field could be a place where society interacts with each other, even though they have some differences in that field. Those differences, later on, became a boundary of a social position configuration.

Social position configuration in society was marked by the change of those agents in habitus, field, and capital. The agents should know that social position is shifted in a vertical way and a horizontal. If the social position shifted vertically, the agents could transmigrate into the higher field in society. Otherwise, if the social position shifted horizontally, the agents could not transmigrate into the higher field. The
agents only could change the habitus or capital they already had with the field stagnant condition of social position.

2.4 Capital

The capital that the agents had shown the power they have achieved in a society. Capital can be divided into economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Thomson, 2010). Economic capital could be received from money and asset. Cultural capital could be received from science and language. Social capital could be received from affiliation, family, religion, and also cultural heritage. At the same time, the agent could receive symbolic capital from honor degree, prestige, and legitimation.

Those fourth aspects in the capital had an essential role in establishing the social class configuration. Moreover, according to Bonnewitz (Haryatmoko, 2015), capital could strengthen the agents’ power. Consequently, between one capital, is tied to each other. As a result, those capitals could not be subsumed under a single generic aspect.

There lay a deeper structure of the social world in the capital (Tittenbrun, 2016). In a society, almost the entire social order of life represents the particular capital portrayed from a social phenomenon. The agents have had capital, showing their position in a social class configuration into the lower, middle, and higher positions. The magnitude of capital ownership also gave them the power which they could use effectively in a society. For example, the agent in a higher position in the social class configuration tends to have a high culture because of their significant economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. While the agent in a lower position in the social class configuration tends to have a low culture because of the less economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital they have in society.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Patriarchal parenting systems are always legitimated in the middle of our society, perhaps from before, today, and later. We as a society would never know what will happen next if we cannot change those wrong things. Our society has been used to perpetuate the tradition from the elders as a way to cherish and accept the cultural heritage they have, despite the value from that cultural heritage.

3.1 Patriarchal System Supremacy in Javanese Parenting Method

Children are weak and innocent human beings who still need their parents as their role models and proponent when they are not growing up yet, moreover in teenage age. In teenage age, children just like a mire which can be shaped like whatever the elders want. Children's personalities still could be shaped and controlled by parents through the parenting method they use.
An agent is an individual who can move freely based on their desire without any command, like a machine (Siregar, 2016). Children in teenage age became the agents of the social practice in society, who experienced the parents' parenting method during their childhood. The way parents raise those children always shows that parents have some rights to manage and restrict their behavior through habitus, field, and capital aspects that emerge in their environment. Thus, the parents give those children a habit of being obedient children at a young age or even a teenage age. Moreover, an agent is an attached individual into a structure or collective/social (Siregar, 2016). Children as an agent are always related to the rules in a society. In a society, there are customs and norms which become basic and boundary in socialization. Those customs and norms restrict how societies interact with each other.

Hereinafter, in Malang city, where the research was conducted, there is the Javanese tribe which became the most oppressive tribes among others. Furthermore, in Javanese, the patriarchal system is ordinary and has become a heritage from the ancestors. Children received the patriarchal parenting method a long time ago, and that system is still perpetuated into its tradition until nowadays. Those traditions and habits became the habitus that appears in the Javanese parenting method through the patriarchal system. Most children from Javanese parents thought that Javanese people favored men as the patriarch and obliged all family members to obey whatever the men said, especially for children.

Habitus produced and was produced in social life (Krisdinanto, 2016). It is said that habitus occurred and was formed when humans were born and interacted with each other in a particular space and time. Moreover, habitus is not a natural congenital, but it is a form of nurturing and socializing in a society. This allows the habitus which occurred in a Javanese parenting method to become the tradition since the ancestors perpetuate and bequeath it to their children. Consequently, those children they have raised think it is customary to bring up the patriarchal system in their parenting method when they have their children later. Habitus emerged as a disposition system that produces different lifestyles and practices based on the experiences and agents' internalization process when they interact (Karnanta, 2013). Despite the cultural development in this globalization era, parents who still assume that the patriarchal system is the best way to nurture their children will always defend their ideology. Children in teenage age who are raised in an extreme patriarchal system tend to act differently. Those raised in a patriarchal system sometimes think that there are so many differences between men and women, even in their personalities, power, activities, and so much more. Indeed, some children could have the stereotype that men are more dominant and powerful than women.

The habitus from the patriarchal system also emerged in children's daily life. For example, male students always stand in front of the lines whenever the ceremony is held in school, while female students...
will be behind those male students. Besides that, other situations showed that in government instituted, and society is used to notice men always have the critical role, just like being the head of the institution. While for women, society still has a stereotype that women lack the skills and power to lead an institution. The stereotypes over women emerged as a consequence of the patriarchal system in Javanese parents' parenting method. For example, a long time ago, Javanese parents thought men had to work harder than women because men have a robust physical condition and more significant responsibility. This phenomenon was always occurred in our society until nowadays, which confirms the patriarchal system is the correct answer for their worries all the time.

Furthermore, the field in the middle of that habitus could strengthen the patriarchal system in Javanese parents' parenting method. The patriarchal system, which can make a particular habitus condition, could also bring out the field. A field became the most potential space in a society where the change is still mooted and implemented (Tomlinson, 2004). In a field, people could change their class configuration in power, gender, age, and education they have already had. While in this situation, the patriarchal system supported power and gender as the tools to change the field from the first place in society.

In a society as a field in a patriarchal system, power and gender became the most unbeatable aspects of men. Thus, a field could resemble a negative space where the agents try their best to gain power and control in society (Karfaki & Adamides, 2016). Without power and glorifying men as a superior gender, the patriarchal system would be nonsense and unprovable. Nevertheless, Javanese parents' parenting method always glorified the patriarchal system as the right system to control social life. They thought that the patriarchal system could control and keep the regularity and constancy towards customs and norms applicable in society. Men tended to be more realistic and act according to the facts, while women were more sensitive and prioritize their feelings. Hence, the patriarchal system was considered the correct answer in the parenting method to nurture children as the next generation in society. Javanese parents wanted to make the tougher of their children's psychological through the firm parenting method. Thus, they assume that the patriarchal system can be the correct answer to their hesitancies.

3. 2 Toxic Masculinity which Occurred in Children's Growth

Children nurtured in an extreme patriarchal system grow as teenagers who always have stereotypes over women in many aspects of life. Most Javanese parents' habit assumes that the stronger gender will become the superior ones, and in this case, men. This condition showed that there has been gender inequality in our society since a long time ago. Gender inequality became a consequence of society's customs and norms which restrict the women's movement and role in decision making, leadership, and
higher position in society (Rahminawati, 2001). Gender inequality happens almost in all regions in Indonesia. For example, in Java, most Javanese legalize this situation because not all Javanese have the modern thought that women also have the same right and responsibilities as men. The patriarchal system influenced this action, so it is more arduous to change the habit in the middle of globalization.

In the globalization era, almost all aspects will face economic, political, educational, health, and cultural changes. Those changes and progress could change society's lives to be better ones. In the cultural aspect, although it has already had gender equality, gender inequality is still perpetuated in social life. Moreover, in Javanese tribes, most of them still believe that the patriarchal system in parenting method is the best way to nurture and educate the children to be better individuals, especially for boys. The supremacy of the patriarchal system that emerged in Javanese parents' parenting method can negatively influence most children, which is toxic masculinity. Women were consistently associated with acting and behaving femininely, while in contrast, men were associated with acting and behaving in a masculine way (Uyun, 2002).

Those perspectives in seeing the gender role and gender inequality brought toxic masculinity in the middle of children's growth. Children in teenager age who were used to regard that male gender is more superior than female gender, always think if there is a male who acted more feminine. Most boys were taught that if they should not cry in public, they should be gentle, show their expression, and tend to confide their feelings because they will be seen as weak individuals. Moreover, they also thought that masculinity should have been shown by showing masculine things, such as smoking, not doing anything related to girls or women's works in a household, wearing some masculine colors, and even doing violence to show their superiority. Sometimes, the complaint about the boys' problematic behavior, which they have already done, assumes it as a compliment (Wikström, 2019). They thought the more they showed the superiority of their gender in a good or even in a wrong way, the more compliments they could get from society.

In children's growth, their psychological condition was more susceptible because, in emotional development, they tend to inquire about their identities and assume that their thoughts are better than others (Nayana, 2013). This perspective showed that toxic masculinity is also influenced by the children's capital ownership, which the parents support. The necessary form of capital, which is economic capital, could be exchanged into cultural capital (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). Economic capital was related to money and wealth. In contrast, cultural capital was related to higher education or social class configuration as a family inheritance in society, as economic and cultural capital accumulation. Parents
who have already had qualified economic capital tend to pamper their children by negatively perpetuating their behavior. The negative way which has been assumed is toxic masculinity.

Moreover, Javanese parents who have used the patriarchal system in their parenting method always favor the male gender. Thus, they normalized the children's mischief because they assume that children, especially boys, are proper to act mischievous as proof that their gender is superior to girls. At the same time, girls should be obedient and gentle in showing their femininity. The agents have already had social capital in relationships with the other individuals who have the power. Ultimately, all the power, prestige, authority, and legitimation have been accumulated as symbolic capital (Karnanta, 2013).

In a society that perpetuates the patriarchal system in Javanese parents' parenting method, toxic masculinity tends to be assumed as normal behavior. That action could be assumed to be expected because parents have already had enough economic and cultural capital to support their ideology and perspective. Hence, society also gets used to it because they do not have any power to refute the ideology spread and inherited from the elders. Children unconsciously accept their parents' ideology in the patriarchal system because it has been attached tightly to their parents' minds and souls since they are born. They did not have any chance and power to find out and refuse the patriarchal system they experienced from their parents' parenting method so far.

3. 3 How Toxic Masculinity Influenced the Children's Behavior in a Society

Toxic masculinity could influence those children's behavior in various ways. Parents with their patriarchal system in parenting method and society had the same role and position in spreading the toxic masculinity towards children's personalities in teenage age. Furthermore, at teenage age, children have already had a self-concept to control their emotions. Self-concept was related to emotional experience, which can be seen in social groups or individuals. That kind of self-concept is determined as a stable personality orientation (Wang, 2015). Personality orientation could be established from social and personal orientation. In social orientation, children could be influenced by society and socio-cultural aspects. In this situation is a patriarchal system in Javanese parents' parenting method which causes toxic masculinity in their environment. While in personal orientation, children's psychological was the most crucial aspect because it can influence them to experience toxic masculinity through their subconscious. Even directly or indirectly, children's subconscious could be influenced by parents' parenting method in glorifying the male gender, which later on can cause toxic masculinity.

Some influences of toxic masculinity that emerged from children's behavior in society are shown from the children's reaction if they are facing their different gender. Boys tended to be ambitious to show their strength in physical and psychological over girls, which is toxic. This toxic masculinity has been
tagged the men's violence against women through the emergence of greater awareness (Waling, 2019). Gender supremacy towards men brought terrible habits for the children, especially boys. They will not show their emotional experience in front of girls and public because they are afraid if girls and other people assume they have a weak personality orientation. They also assumed that boys are more suitable to wear clothes in masculine colors, such as black, grey, and the other dark colors, because pink, yellow, and the other bright colors are only suitable for girls.

Furthermore, most boys assumed that cooking, sweeping, washing clothes and kitchen equipment, and even mopping the floor were girls' and women's responsibilities to manage household affairs. If boys were willing to do some household affairs, they were assumed as weak individuals just like girls. Hence, showing their weakness was not easy for boys because of their masculinity supremacy (Reeser & Gottzén, 2018). Masculinity supremacy was a form of cruel optimism which emerged in children's obstacles in their progress and development for their personality orientation (Allan, 2018). This situation occurs when toxic masculinity can interfere with the progress and development of children's personality orientation in society. Consequently, children who were not used to face this situation will lose control over their emotional experiences, which justifies the cruel optimism. By showing their emotional experiences, most children, especially boys who glorify toxic masculinity, will deal with their failure to maintain their masculinity in public.

Meanwhile, parents who have already used to bringing the patriarchal system in their parenting method will face difficulties if someone wants to change those traditions in society and eliminate toxic masculinity. It was because those traditions have already ingrained, legalized, and accepted by the next generation. Moreover, it was like a chain that will always revolve and happen in every generation in the middle of society.

4. CONCLUSION

Toxic masculinity mainly was emerged and perpetuated in the middle of children's growth in a family that uses the patriarchal system in their parenting method. Furthermore, this perspective negatively influenced the children's personality orientation, which always glorifies the male gender over females. Hereinafter, toxic masculinity assumed that men should behave in a strong physical and psychological, also think that men should show their masculinity through some behavior, for example like showing their emotional expression in public, such as crying, assuming that smoking men are more masculine, and also
doing some household affairs which are related to women's responsibility. Consequently, the supremacy of this patriarchal system could bring the stereotype that assumes that men are always superior to women.

This research was conducted by spreading random sampling into high school students in Malang to analyze how the patriarchal system can influence the toxic masculinity that emerges in their personality orientation. Furthermore, the researcher suggested the next research in toxic masculinity. The next researcher can conduct the deep analysis and research in the patriarchal system in the Javanese parenting method with a complex data collection. Ultimately, the next researcher could get more concrete data collection through random sampling.

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