

The Dynamic of Gender Role Conflict of Pastors' Husbands at Batak Karo Protestant Church

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Abstract

Gender inequality often relates more to women, causing gender role conflict in men to be somewhat overlooked. This study aims to describe the dynamic of gender role conflict among pastors' husbands at the Batak Karo Protestant Church. We were encouraged to conduct this research due to the large negative effects of gender role conflicts despite the limited number of studies on the matter. There were three male participants involved, namely TA, SE and BS. These participants fulfilled the sample criteria: 1) Having been married for at least one year; 2) Having at least one daughter or son; 3) A native of Karo tribe; and 4) Having been a congregation at Batak Karo Protestant Church since childhood. We used a qualitative method with a phenomenology approach, in which the interview results were analyzed using the hermeneutic method. The results show that gender role conflict of pastors' husbands are caused by gender role socialization since childhood, patriarchal culture embraced by the Karo tribe, masculine ideology and gender role transition that caused husbands to practice contradictive gender roles. The need for more qualitative studies regarding this topic is highlighted.

Keywords: gender role conflict, Batak culture, and Pastors' husbands

Received 9 January 2018/Accepted 29 March 2018 © JEHCP All rights reserved

Introduction

Problems concerning gender are common daily issues in many fields of study. Psychology, sociology, anthropology, communication, education, health, religion, sports and economics are only a few examples of fields that discuss gender (Lindsey, 2016; Chrisler & McCreary, 2010). Nevertheless, the continuous development of gender studies has attracted the interest of many, particularly those in Indonesia, where people have not fully embraced the matter (Rahminawati, 2001). Hence, these practical gender issues often lead to gender inequality.

Gender problems have always been linked to the struggle of women to gain equal rights with men in society (Lindsey, 2016), causing gender problems in men to be somewhat overlooked. For men, these often come in the form of gender role conflict due to the rigid and sexist gender role socialization (O'Neil, 2007).

Pastors' husbands also experience these problems. Husbands of female pastors often have to face activities or tasks that are contradictive to their classic gender role on a daily basis. As a companion to someone who serves God, a pastor's husband must also support his wife. *Naras*, a term used to describe husbands of female pastors, is expected to show his concerns and attention to the congregations, church environment and surrounding community. Moreover, these husbands are expected to support their wives' service according to their gift or talent. They are expected to equip themselves in the spiritual field, remind their wife to devote her best service to the congregation and stay clear of meddling or becoming a barrier to their wives' service (PPWG GBKP, 2014).

One of the interviewees reported that the moral responsibility of a pastor's husband is due to the immense workload of a pastor's service (as a Shepherd, Teacher and Leader) and their constant mobile service duties. The duty of having to prioritize the needs of the congregation tends to leave these husbands feeling ignored. Additionally, female pastors often could not actively perform their role as a housewife (i.e., cooking, completing house chores, parenting) due to the many services they must perform. Therefore, husbands (*naras*) are expected to perform these domestic tasks whether voluntarily or not.

Next, we found that *naras* are often confronted with the difficult choice to quit their jobs and join their wives' service due to the demand of performing many conflicting gender roles. This is also largely due to how highly mobile pastors must be. They are expected to be ready to be transferred by the central office at any given moment. These conditions tend to make it difficult for husbands to maintain a permanent job, causing most of them to participate in their wives' service full-time. Some of them also choose to be entrepreneurs (i.e., open workshop, farming). Husbands who are inhibited from actualizing themselves through their work of interest often face unpleasant situation and dilemma. This unbalanced tendency, where the wife has a very busy schedule and the husband is expected to continually assist his

wife, often triggers an internal conflict within the husband.

In this case, husbands are required to set aside their pride to assist their wives by taking care of their children while she works, helping with housework (i.e., cooking, doing laundry, ironing clothes) and driving their wives to work. According to O'Neil (2008), having to perform roles that are contradictive to their gender role demand as men, can cause gender role conflict in one's self and bring negative consequence, both to the husband and others.

Statement of the Problem

Issues on gender role are not only felt by women, but also seems to apply to men, particularly husbands of female pastors at the Batak Karo Protestant Church. Having wives with immense duties and responsibilities often causes them to perform daily tasks that are not in line with their gender role. A few examples are parenting and housework (i.e., cooking, washing). These conditions tend to lead to an internal gender role conflict. According to O'Neil, several factors could trigger gender role conflict: (1) life transition such as entering work-life, getting married or having children; (2) gender role socialization since childhood by family and community. The limited number of studies on men's gender role conflict in Indonesia implies that only a few people are aware of such problem. Therefore, we raised the following issue:

How is the dynamic of gender role conflict of pastors' husbands at Batak Karo Protestant Church?

Research Purpose

This research aims to investigate the dynamic of gender role conflict of pastors' husbands at Batak Karo Protestant Church.

Literature Review

The History of Gender Role Conflict Theory

The emergence of male gender role conflict theory started in 1979. At that time, the University of Kansas sought to explore the dynamic of why men are sexist, dysfunctional, conflicted and unhappy about their masculine roles. In 1980, O'Neil sought to discover the

underlying problems that elicit such behaviors. He exchanged views with several experts of gender role conflict from the United States, such as Warren Farrell, Herb Goldberg, Joe Pleck, Punky Heppner, Murry Scher, Tom Skovholt and Bob Brannon. These discussions were then developed into a study. Based on this study, O'Neil established a concept on why men experience violence, are interpersonally rigid, sexist, homophobic, emotional and unhappy (O'Neil, 2007).

In 1981, the gender role conflict theory began to echo through the emerging issues of counseling for men. For the first time at that time, O'Neil published a portrayal of male gender role conflict in the *Journal of Counseling & Development* (Scher in O'Neil, 2013). His findings suggested that restricted gender roles will result in negative psychological consequences in men. In one article, O'Neil showed that the form of gender role conflict and stress is seen from the fear of having a feminine side in men (O'Neil, 1981b).

Gender Role Conflict Theory

According to O'Neil (2008), gender role conflict is a men's psychological condition, caused by gender role socialization that negatively implicates themselves and others. It occurs when gender roles are perceived as rigid and limiting, or as a form of harassment to self and others (O'Neil 1981b). The outcome of this conflict is a limitation of one's potential or of others'. Gender role conflict is a multidimensional and complex concept. It starts with gender roles that have been taught and internalized since childhood, causing it to be complex, distinctive and individualized. Overall, gender role conflict is an implication of cognitive, emotional, unconscious or behavioral problems, caused by gender role socialization that was learned in a sexist and patriarchal society (Naully, 2002).

O'Neil (2008) argued that gender role conflict tends to limit men's capacity or ability to actualize their potential and discourage others'. Therefore, rigid, limiting and sexist attitudes toward gender roles could lead to negative consequences for men and others. This research indicated that men who experience gender role conflict eventually acts as a traditional gender role upholder. This is done by punishing and demeaning people who refuse to do things in accordance with gender role expectations. People are constantly subjected to

punishment and feeling humiliated for performing their gender-incompatible roles, leading them to emotionally suffer from fear, low self-esteem and depression (O'Neil, 1981b).

The concept of gender role conflict is determined based on four psychological domains, namely cognitive, affective, behavioral and unconsciousness (O'Neil *et al.*, 1986). This concept described how men think and feel about their gender role conflict. The dynamics occur outside of their consciousness, affecting the way they behave, respond and interact with both themselves (intrapersonal) and others (interpersonal).

Gender role conflicts are notably present for men in several situations (O'Neil 2008). Firstly, men experience gender role conflict during their developmental transition period. Secondly, conflict may also arise when men violate gender roles or deviate from masculine gender norms. Thirdly, conflicts could be triggered when men attempt and/or fail to meet the norms of their gender roles. Fourthly, there is an internal conflicts due to differences between actual self-concept and ideal self-concept based on stereotypes or masculinity. Fifthly, conflicts may also arise when men are violated, degraded and restricted by others or perform similar things to others that defies the norms of masculine roles. Finally, conflict arises when men experience personal devaluation due to failure to meet norms of masculine role (O'Neil 2008).

Self-devaluation is a negative criticism towards self or others when a person violates gender role stereotypes. Self-devaluation leads to loss of self-power, status and other positive values (O'Neil 2008). Restrictions occur when behavior is controlled, potential is limited or freedom is reduced. Violations involving victims and torture can come from both yourself and others. Violations may cause physical and psychological for yourself and others (O'Neil 2008). The devaluation of gender roles, restrictions and violations directly affects men's lives in terms of health, career, interpersonal and family relations. Gender role conflict has been empirically shown to be related to anxiety, communication problems, depression, health, homophobia (fear or hatred of homosexuals and homosexuality), problems in intimacy, marital conflicts, emotional disturbances, self-esteem, substance abuse and violence against women (O'Neil, 2008).

Major principal of masculine socialization, view and gender role norms arises due to fear of feminine concept (O'Neil, 2008). Theoretically, the fear of femininity is the result of gender roles conflicts (David & Brannon, 1976; O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b; O'Neil et al., 1986). Some reviews on the masculinity study (Levant & Richmond, 2007; O'Neil & Crapser, 2011) indicate that limitations of thinking about masculinity norms are significantly related to men's psychological problems and interpersonal conflicts. Two reviews have shown that more than 70 men's psychological problems correlate with masculinity (O'Neil, 2015).

O'Neil *et al.* (2015) found four patterns to measure men's gender role conflicts. Restricted Emotion (RE) describes men's fear and limitations to express, discover and use words to express feelings. Next is Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM), which is defined as limitations to express feelings and thoughts to others as well as physical contact difficulties with men. The third pattern is Success/Power/Competition (SPC), a reflection of personal attitude towards roles in relation to competition and power to achieve success. The fourth pattern, Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR), describes men's difficulties in balancing working/school commitment in relation to family and friends. CBWFR often reduces spare time or relaxation that subsequently poses health problems, stress and work compulsion. These four patterns were arranged and used as a tool to measure gender role conflict, namely Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS). This scale allows the quantification of men's gender role conflicts.

Method

Qualitative Approach

Langdrige (2007) argued that research perspectives in psychology are generally dominated by quantitative approach and positivists/post-positivists perspective. The approach focuses on quantifying data by reducing psychological phenomena to scores on variables. They believe that there are some truths that can be seen through the research object, whether in the form of a behavior or "state of mind." In fact, not all questions can be answered through a quantitative approach. Therefore, it requires qualitative approach.

Qualitative study is a process of gaining an understanding on social or human issues organized in a natural research setting, based on a complex and comprehensive view,

expressed by informants in detail (Creswell, 1994). Referring to qualitative paradigm, quantitative study is a suitable approach for explorative, descriptive and explanative research (Santoso & Royanto, 2017). Several types of qualitative approach include grounded theory, ethnography, case study and phenomenology. In this study, we used phenomenology.

Phenomenology (derived from the Greek word *phainomenon* and *logos*) is the study of human experience and the way in which something is perceived by them as being conscious. More broadly, phenomenology is a name given to the philosophical movement by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and later developed by Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) and his followers.

Phenomenological methods involve the collection of a number of people's naturalistic experience to be further analyzed. It relates to the understanding of people's life experiences in the world. In other words, the phenomenological goal is to learn the lived-experience and perspective from the people's point of view (Langdrige, 2007).

The phenomenological approach offers a radical alternative to the traditional understanding of what we believe we can know about the world, so the implications of what we believe we can know about human nature (Langdrige, 2007). The phenomenological approach in psychological research is generally similar to other qualitative perspectives, but is different from quantitative positivist's perspective (Langdrige, 2007). Phenomenological approaches generally require the following factors: focus on human experience as a separate topic; a concern for the meaning and the way in which it comes from experience; focus on description and relationship rather than interpretation and causality; recognition of the role of the researcher in constructing the topic under investigation and building on an understanding of the way in which all experiences must be understood in context (history, culture and personality) (Langdrige, 2007). Therefore, phenomenology is a complete description of human's experiences where we can understand them in a new and different way, and then use that new knowledge to make a difference in our lives and others (Langdrige, 2007).

Sampling Technique

In qualitative research, research subjects are generally referred to as participant (Santoso & Royanto, 2017). Participant is the primary source of information for researchers. Participants need to be formulated clearly in accordance with the criteria set by the researcher. Participants in the study are selected based on specific criteria and met the appropriate criteria to describe the targeted participants. Process of selecting participant is a very important part in a study because participants will provide data or information that answers the issues raised in the research.

In this study, the researcher used purposive sampling, in which the process of selecting participants was performed by considering certain things based on research objectives. In this study, the participants were husbands of pastors at the Batak Karo Protestant Church with the following characteristics:

- a. Having been married at least 1 year
- b. Having at least one child
- c. A native of the Karo tribe
- d. Having become a congregation at the Karo Batak Protestant Church since childhood

The researcher selected three participants because who fulfills the above characteristics. The three participants are TA, SE and BS. The participants have all been married for more than a year, came from the Karo tribe, and have worshipped at the Batak Karo Protestant Church since childhood.

Data Collection Technique

Phenomenological research uses in-depth interviews, or in other words, obtaining deep information from individuals to explore the participants' responses to the phenomenon.

Data Analysis Technique

The interviews in this phenomenological research were analyzed using Hermeneutic method, also known as interpretive phenomenology. It is a method that focuses on understanding the meaning of one's experience (by searching for themes), by involving a larger interpretive of available data and moving away from core search (Langdrige, 2007).

Result

Based on the interview with three participants, we found several common patterns or themes that describe the causes of gender role conflict on pastors' husbands. These are divided into four themes: (1) gender role socialization, (2) patriarchy culture in the Karo tribe, (3) masculine ideology and (4) gender role transition. The four themes are discussed in detail below:

Gender role socialization

It could be inferred from the interviews that men have been taught and disciplined into their gender role by their respective parents since childhood, causing it to be deeply internalized. Gender role socialization requires men to be brave, strong, robust, protective and responsible, becoming the leader for his wife and children. Consequently, men are not taught to perform domestic work, such as performing house chores or raising children. According to Farrel (1975), these domestic roles are deemed negative for men.

Negative effects emerge as an impact of a restrictive and sexist gender roles socialization. When men does something that does not reflect on the qualities of role he must submit, the feeling of discomfort and incapability will lead towards many negative outcomes. This can be inferred from the clip of the interview:

“Since I was a kid, I was taught by my parents that kitchen business is only for women. I never do anything like cooking, washing the clothes, or raising my kids...”

Our culture makes the man to be on top. It is forbidden (for men) to do women's job...”

Patriarchy Culture in Karo Tribe

Adler stated that the value practiced within a culture plays a significant role for men's inner conflicts (O'Neil, 2015). This is supported by Arthur Schopenhauer, a philosopher who believes that men face many difficulties in their life as a result of a patriarchy culture that has unconsciously haunted and confined them for many generations (O'Neil, 2015).

Karo tribe is one of the Batak tribes in Northern Sumatra that practices patriarchy culture and values. They believe that men must become leaders and occupy the highest social position. As a tribe valuing patriarchy, it is common to find Karo tribe segregating the two sexes, not only due to biological differences, but also the daily role of men and women in their community (Bangun, 1981). The differences between men and women can clearly be seen for generations. For example, only men are allowed to do construction works and only women are allowed to cook. In Karo's culture, men hold an important role. They are in charge of decision making, evident through their traditional ceremonies where men are seen discussing while women must silently serve them. Women are considered second-class human, while men are free to claw their way to the top (Tarigan, 2009).

In Karo's culture, someone is considered abnormal or disgraced when he/she does something out of their respective gender roles. For example, if a man is seen caring for his children in the middle of a traditional ceremony, his dignity will be considered crushed. Men who perform women's job are called *pa diberu*, meaning that he is scared of his wife. Hence, he seen as weak because of the effemination (Bangun, 1981). As a result, men will generally feel ashamed and uncomfortable with themselves when they perform task that do not conform to their gender role. This uneasiness can trigger an internal conflict or even conflict with others. This is experienced by pastors' husbands (*naras*) at Batak Karo Protestant Church. The task that their wives perform often takes a lot of her time on a daily basis. Hence, she cannot actively perform her role as a wife and mother, such as cooking, cleaning the house, raising children and other domestic chores. These tasks must be done by *naras*, either voluntary or not. The story above is supported by the interview clip below:

"I am ashamed if the congregation sees me. A man should not bathe or carry his kids. It is women's job. I feel very little. As a man, I am supposed to be the leader of the family; women should be the one to perform these (chores). But, since my wife is transferred as a pastor, I must quit my job. Now I am jobless. What became of me? I don't have any engineering skills to open a workshop. I feel so ashamed. A man is supposed to work, but my wife does it instead. I am such a low-life."

"In Karo, who teaches things like this? It is women who should be washing and scrubbing, not men."

Masculine Ideology

In addition to performing contradictive gender role tasks, *naras* often have to quitt heir jobs and participate in their wives' service. This is because pastors are constantly mobile. Hence, they must be ready to be transferred by the central office. As an implication, husbands often have difficulties maintaining a permanent job. They generally decide to participate in their wives' service without having other jobs, or become entrepreneurs (i.e., farming).

Husbands who are not able to optimally actualize and develop themselves through their work, often finds unpleasant situations and dilemmas. This unbalanced tendency where the wife is very busy, and the husband is expected to provide constant assistance often creates an internal conflict among men. In this case, the husband is expected to set aside his dignity to help his wife's service, a complete contradiction to their perception of masculinity in which men are supposed to be breadwinners in their families. This can be inferred from the clip of the interview:

"I used to work in an education institute. I used to have a position there. But because the pastor was transferred, I had to resign. Now I don't have a job anymore. What can I do? I want to open a workshop, but I don't have any mechanical skill. I am so ashamed".

"Men are supposed to be breadwinners, instead of the wife. I feel inferior. Do I need to ask some money to my wife if I want to buy a cigarette? It's like I have no self-esteem. It has been my problem until today. I don't have money and depends from my wife's allowance. I feel ashamed as a man.

Relation with other people can also be disturbed if a man finds that his ideology is not in accordance with the reality. This case is in line with a phenomenon faced by the pastor's husband, where the internalized principle of masculinity that they had since childhood does not exist after marriage. The inability to become breadwinners and the necessity to help in domestic affair contradicts with men's ideology.

Gender Role Transition

Gender role transition occurs during the developmental stages of men's gender roles. The

changing or opposing assumptions related to their gender roles would eventually results in the emergence of either gender role conflict or positive life changes (O'Neal & Egan, 1992b; O'Neil et al., 1987; O'Neil & Fishman, 1992). Examples of situations relating to the transition of gender roles are entering school, puberty, marriage, becoming a father, or losing loved ones. Pastors' husbands also experience these transitional conditions and gender role changes. After marriage, their gender role task gradually changes.

Taking care of children, doing household chores (i.e., cooking, doing laundry), and deciding to quit jobs are consequences from the transition faced by the pastor's husband. The roles they have never done before eventually have to be performed after getting married and having children. From the interview clip above, it could be inferred that the roles of pastors' husbands contradict with themselves. This is because they have internalized the values from their family or cultures since childhood, namely that men should take masculine roles. This argument is supported by the following interview clip:

"I have never done any house chores like cooking, doing laundry or babysitting. Once I got married, I also help those chores. Pastor has many services. Sometimes, I have to help even when I don't want to. If I don't, who else will do it? At first, I felt ashamed. When I was drying clothes, suddenly my neighbors passed. From her face, she looked shocked seeing me drying clothes. Then, she asked where my wife was and why I was the one the drying clothes. I was so ashamed but I had to cope with it. I never expected that I would have to do this after getting married".

"At the beginning of marriage, there was no big problem in our household. But when our child was born, a lot of problems began to emerge. The pastor was doing more service outside, so I had to take care of the child. It's quite odd. I felt ashamed when the congregation saw me. How could men bathe the child, hold the child. Those are women's duty. I felt ashamed".

"Before marriage, I was told that marrying a pastor was not easy. There are a lot of pastor's duties, so they must be willing to help. But I did not think that it would be like this. I regretted it, but because this marriage was already blessed, I would have to bear with it."

Discussion

From the interview with three participants, it could be inferred that the conflicts faced by the participants were caused by unfulfilled gender role demands. Essentially, when an individual is born, they cannot choose to be born as a female or male. Being born with a particular sex also means having to follow a set of rules, roles and norms for each sex. Those roles have commonly been set by the culture and community where the individual is raised. It affects each individual up to the actions that they take. Hence, it becomes burdening and challenging when the roles inflicted upon them do not reflect their true self.

To bargain with the condition, these people try to be blend into the society by concealing their true self. Nevertheless, some people do not have the strength to constraint themselves to live in a pressured norm that they must follow. Additionally, conflicts with others tend to occur, causing more distress over not being able to express themselves or do what they desire. According to Deutsch (in Cox, 2003), conflicts are defined as a collision or struggle when reality is perceived as a threat or a discrepancy against a thought, desire, feeling or attitude from others. Sigmund Freud (Aronson *et al.*, 2016) stated that conflict arises as a result of society or culture, when the necessity of an individual collided with the other individual's needs. Gillin and Gillin (in Ahmadi, 2007) pointed out that conflict is a part of social interaction that happens when there are differences in physical and emotional value that individuals bring up in the society. Based on the definition, it can be concluded that conflict is a condition where there are differences in demand, goal and purpose between one individual or community to another.

In an intrapersonal level, Kurt Lewin (in Cox, 2003) stated that conflict happens due to conflicting needs that cause internal pressure and stress. A person deems himself to be incompetent or incapable of doing the task he was assigned to because of the discomfort they feel when doing things they do not enjoy. Conflicts can occur when the role an individual expects to perform is not in line with what they are supposed to be doing, whether in a personal or professional context. The condition is called gender role conflict. Gender role conflict is a condition when a woman or a man cannot fulfill what the society has set for them to follow (O'Neil, 2015), or some call sex role conflict (Chusmir & Koberg, 1986).

According to O'Neil (2008), gender role conflict is a psychological condition caused by negative consequences of gender role socialization for self and others. Pleck (1991) stated that a rigid male gender role socialization commonly creates traumatic experience and adverse effects, particularly on men or boys during the socialization process. Gender role conflict occurs when gender role is viewed as rigid and constrictive (O'Neil 1981b), limiting one's potential or others'. O'Neil (2008) pointed out that gender role conflict is an effect of a rigid and limiting gender role socialization. When an individual performs an unexpected role according to the family and society, self-conflict related to his gender role will arise. Farrel (1975) argued that gender role socialization that requires men not to show fear, weakness or sensitivity but instead must act strong, face challenges and be a leader in the household, can cause negative impact in reality.

Those negative impacts arise as a result of gender role socialization that tends to be sexist and rigid. When a man performs a different action from his expected gender role, he will feel uneasy (O'Neil, 2015), similar to what a pastor's husband feels. It can be seen in the above interview quotation, in which they generally realize a role or necessity as a man who has been socialized since childhood, but it is not executed properly in adulthood. The feelings of discomfort and the awareness of inappropriate behavior leads to gender role conflict in pastors' husbands.

According to O'Neil (2015), male gender role conflict typically causes negative impact, such as stress, depression, drug abuse, heart attack, alcohol consumption and desire to commit suicide. Gender role conflict commonly leads to self-devaluation, self-limitation and harm for themselves or others (O'Neil 2008). This statement is supported by Englar-Carlson's (in Szymanski & Carr, 2008), who believe that men face gender role conflict when they find an absence of masculine gender role; gender role norm deviation; experience discrepancies between real self-concept and ideal self-concept based on gender role stereotypes, personal limitations, devaluations and disturbing oneself or others due to gender role norms; experiencing personal barriers, devaluations, or interference from others.

Several research can illustrate men's psychological problems related to gender role conflict: (1) men's involvement in the use of illegal drugs and alcohol (Pleck *et al.*, 1993; Mahalik, Logan & Morrison, 2006; Blazina & Watkins, 1996), (2) tolerance of aggressive behavior and rape/sexual harassment (Jakupcak *et al.*, 2005; Good, Heppner *et al.*, 1995; Mahalik, Lagan & Morrison, 2006; Wade & Brittan-Powel, 2001; Cohn & Zeichner, 2006), (3) fear in having same-sex relationship, being feminine, homophobic and unable to express emotions verbally (Wilkinson, 2004; Kimmel & Mahalik, 2005; Jakupcak *et al.*, 2006), (4) tendency to do self-harm (Jakupcak & Green, 2016; Whitlock *et al.*, 2011), (5) feeling depressed, anxious, stress and low self-esteem (Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006; Mahalik, Pierre & Wan, 2006; Blazina & Watkins, 1996), (6) feeling ashamed (Thompkins & Rando, 2003), (7) refusing to accept help from others (Mahalik, Lagan & Morrison, 2006; Blazina & Watkins, 1996) and (8) decreased satisfaction in having relationship and sex (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). These are serious issues because they can negative impact an individual as well as those around him. It could limit individual potential or others' because they feel trapped in living and showing their masculinity.

The cause of gender role conflict is not limited to gender role socialization, but also by patriarchal culture existing in the society (O'Neil, 2015). According to Adler (*ibid.*), patriarchal cultural values significantly contribute to the presence of male gender problems. Adler proposed a theory of masculine protest, which serves as one of the first psychological theories of masculinity. A philosopher named Arthur Schopenhauer (*ibid.*) agreed that the difficulties experienced by men, particularly in the past and present, are caused by gender role conflict due to a patriarchal culture. The demands of patriarchal culture, as influenced by gender role socialization, require men to be tough in every aspect of life (Williams & Best, in Courtenay, 2000).

Thus, conflict rises when men cannot fulfill social expectation. This is in line with Liu(2005) who believe that social acceptance of an ideal masculine values can cause conflict when they fail to meet the expectation. Joseph Pleck in *The Myth of Masculinity* (in O'Neil, 2005) also stated that limiting gender role also serves as a factor that leads to the emergence of psychological dysfunction resulting from the expectation of gender role (gender role strain).

Our finding shows that gender role conflict of pastors' husbands appears to be due to the differences between their understanding of gender and actual role. His inability to be the breadwinner and the necessity to help with household affairs are contradictory to their ideology. Moreover, difference between reality and belief regarding the supposed roles becomes the cause of conflict. Pleck and O'Neil defined this as masculinity ideology.

According to Pleck (1995), masculinity refers to the important belief that predetermined cultural standards should dictate men's behavior and actively support the internalization of a cultural belief system of male masculinity and gender. Masculinity is sexist and patriarchal values that have negative consequences in its interpersonal relation with others. This statement is in line with O'Neil (2008), who stated that masculinity is another factor that causes conflict and tension in male gender role. Masculinity describes how men are socialized with their gender stereotype, which is a belief that men must reach the standard behavior for men in their culture. Masculinity arises because gender role tends to limit and produce negative consequences for men in their interpersonal relationships (O'Neil, 2008; Pleck, 1995). In this case, O'Neil (in Beaglaioich et al., 2013) stated that there are many situational contexts where gender role conflict can occur in men, and one of them is a deviation of gender role norms of the masculinity.

Male gender role conflict usually occurs in situational contexts, particularly in facing complex developmental tasks in their lives (O'Neal & Egan, 1992). Gender role transition is an event in the development of male gender role. It changes or opposes men's assumptions related to their gender roles, resulting in the emergence of either gender role conflict or positive life changes (O'Neal & Egan, 1992b; O'Neil *et al.*, 1987; O'Neil & Fishman, 1992). Some situations related to gender role transition include entering school, adolescence, marriage, becoming a father, or losing loved ones.

Pastors' husbands also experience this transitional condition. The gender role tasks that they never performed before entering marriage and fatherhood eventually changes over time. Parenting, doing chores (i.e., cooking, cleaning) and even deciding to resign from jobs are consequences of such transition. They are obligated to perform these contradictory tasks when they got married and have children.

This finding is in line with Olson and DeFrain (2003), who stated that becoming a parent is both difficult and stressful for many couples. It is also difficult to anticipate. Based on our interviews, it could be inferred that the roles performed by the husbands contradicts with themselves. This is because family and cultural norms dictate men to be the head of the family, fully embracing their masculine role. Consequently, they are seen as bread winners who should not be performing household chores.

Gender role conflicts among husbands are a consequence of how they perceive and perform their supposed roles. Individual belief about performing normal gender role in fulfilling family and work responsibilities is called gender role orientation (Bird et al., 1984). Tang and Tang (2001) defined gender role orientation as a person's trait over the stereotypes of masculine and feminine personality of social expectation. On the other hand, Raguz (1991) pointed out that gender role orientation is a person's perception of masculinity and femininity. Conceptually, gender role orientation is seen as a continuum role of a traditional gender role that perceive the roles of men and women to be distinct. Moreover, this also occurs for non-traditional gender role characterized by flexibility in men and women roles deployment.

Some studies on male gender role orientation regarding household chores found that men who perceive their role in a flexible manner (shift their roles with wives) would take this as an appropriate role. Consequently, they would embrace more responsibility of domestic tasks, such as taking care of children and preparing meals compared to men who support distinct roles between men and women (Bird et al., 1984).

According to O'Neal and Egan (1992), men with a traditional belief discerning their gender role will experience gender role conflict, characterized by self-conflict and inner turmoil. This finding is also consistent with Mintz and Mahalik's (1996) who found that men who openly accept role sharing generally do not have traditional gender role orientation and gender role conflict. On the other hand, men with traditional gender role orientation mostly have the lowest scores in the non-traditional conflict, and the highest scores in terms of gender role conflict.

Conclusion

Four themes emerged from the in-depth interviews, namely gender role socialization, patriarchal culture in the Karo tribe, masculine ideology and gender role transition. This finding is consistent with the study conducted by O'Neil (2008) who found that rigid and sexist gender role socialisation on men generally will cause contradiction, and lead to conflict. Additionally, the patriarchal culture embraced by the Karo tribe also influences the man's view of himself. The position of men as first and foremost in Karo society also influences the pastor's husband's perspective. The demands of men to become household leader and keeping their distance from domestic duties also lead to the emergence of gender role conflict within the pastor's husband when they cannot meet the demands.

Gender role socialization that tends to be rigid and sexist also forms masculine ideology in men, both directly and indirectly. In this case, men are asked to uphold and follow the cultural norms of a men. Therefore, their inability to perform the adopted ideology eventually creates a negative impact that leads to gender role conflict. The conflict experienced by pastors' husbands arise in situational contexts such as gender role transition, or when facing difficult developmental tasks in his life (O'Neal & Egan, 1992). The transition of gender roles involves changing gender role assumptions, which could lead to gender role conflict (O'Neal & Egan, 1992b; O'Neil *et al.*, 1987; O'Neil & Fishman, 1992). In marriage, pastors' husbands are also "forced" to perform other roles that are inconsistent with the demands of their classic gender roles.

Limitation and Direction for Future Research

The absence of respondents outside the pastors' husbands, including wives, families and church representatives, become the limitation of this study. These people could provide critical additional information related to the dynamics of gender role conflict of the husbands. It could be integrated into a more comprehensive result and discussion despite the nature of this research that used phenomenology approach with hermeneutic method (focusing more on the respondents' responses about the phenomena they experienced).

In addition, future studies could employ additional information-gathering technique, including focus group discussion (FGD) to enrich the information. This could be done by obtaining

both verbal and non-verbal information from the respondents' explanation and body language.

Studies on gender role conflict in men have grown rapidly in several countries, particularly in Europe and the U.S. Meanwhile, studies in Indonesia remain to be limited. The strong culture of shame and patriarchy in Indonesian society causes limited exposure to this problem. This is extremely unfortunate, given that most cultures in Indonesia embrace the patrilineal cultural system. Furthermore, studies using qualitative approach are also encouraged (O'Neil, 2008). The more qualitative studies on gender role conflict in men, the deeper information can be retrieved regarding this topic.

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