

The Paradox of Masculinity: The Narrative Identities among the Elderly in Yogyakarta

Oktarizal Drianus,^{1*} Elli Nur Hayati²

¹ Faculty of Da'wa and Islamic Communication, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syaikh Abdurrahman Siddik Bangka Belitung, Bangka - Indonesia, ² Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Ahmad Dahlan, Yogyakarta - Indonesia

Abstract

The hegemony of masculinity tends to benefit more on one side, man. It is interesting to observe the change of masculinity in men with time. The dynamics proceeded to pertain to the psychological, economic, social, and symbolic representation. This study aimed to reveal both the narrative identities of elderly masculinity and the psychological dynamics that accompanied the lifespan of an older man. This study used hermeneutic-phenomenological approaches, with critical narrative analysis developed from Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics. Five older men, who live in a geriatric house in Yogyakarta, participated in this study. The results showed that the face of elderly masculinity was paradoxical masculinity. At the ideal level, the older men appropriated hegemonic masculinity but at the level of reality, they were in the marginalized masculinity position. Masculine subjects had experienced the maturation effect of togetherness with their wife. Wife has been an important subject and medium for growing the elderly masculinity and maintaining traditional manhood. The Paradox and their intersection with the complexity of the psychological dynamics made older men offer wiser masculinity and transform into positive masculinity such as gratitude, acceptance of life, sincerity, and caring.

Hegemoni maskulinitas cenderung lebih menguntungkan satu pihak, yaitu laki-laki. Menarik untuk mengamati perubahan maskulinitas pada laki-laki dengan bertambahnya usia. Dinamika yang muncul berkaitan dengan representasi psikologis, ekonomi, sosial, dan simbolik dalam interaksi pria-pria serta pria-wanita. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan wajah maskulinitas pada lansia dan dinamika psikologis yang menyertai perjalanan hidupnya menjadi laki-laki tua. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan hermeneutik-fenomenologis, dengan analisis naratif-kritis yang dikembangkan dari hermeneutika kritis Paul Ricoeur. Partisipan terdiri dari lima orang laki-laki lansia yang tinggal di sebuah rumah pelayanan lanjut usia di Yogyakarta. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa maskulinitas lansia merupakan maskulinitas yang berwajah paradoks. Pada tataran ideal, lansia mengapropriasi maskulinitas hegemonik tetapi pada tataran kenyataan lansia berada pada posisi maskulinitas yang termarjinalkan. Subjek maskulin mengalami efek maturisasi melalui kebersamaan dengan istri. Istri merupakan subjek penting sebagai wahana atau media pendewasaan bagi maskulinitas lansia sekaligus sebagai media untuk mempertahankan kekelakian tradisionalnya. Kondisi paradoks beserta interseksinya dengan kompleksitas dinamika psikologis yang menyertainya membuat laki-laki lansia menawarkan maskulinitas yang lebih arif dan melahirkan nilai-nilai maskulinitas positif seperti rasa syukur, penerimaan akan hidup, keikhlasan, serta kepedulian.

Keywords: elderly masculinity; hegemonic masculinity; marginal masculinity; phenomenological-hermeneutics; paradoxical masculinity

*Corresponding Author: Oktarizal Drianus (oktarizaldrianus@gmail.com) Faculty of Da'wa and Islamic Communication, IAIN Syaikh Abdurrahman Siddik Bangka Belitung, Jl. Petaling No. Km. 13, Petaling, Bangka, Bangka Belitung 33173 Indonesia.

Introduction

The topic of masculinity is usually about domination and hegemony toward the subordinated one. This hegemonic gender relation sacrifices one of the subordinated gender or group that has no asset on economic, social, culture, and symbolic sources (Bourdieu 2001) control on the production, power, emotion (Connell 2005), and normative symbolic representation (Chapman and Rutherford 2014).

The masculine domination and the hegemonic masculinity on the order of patriarchal society's life (Buchbinder 2013; Fakhri 1996) are supported by certain pillars, such as representation of media (Ismail 2014) culture, religion, and social (Asadi 2015; Hasyim, Kurniawan, and Hayati 2011; Hayati, Emmelin, and Eriksson 2014) the rank of social practice for instance division of labor, marital status, parenting role (Haywood and Ghail 2003; Walby 1990). In other words, domination is always indicated by control on specific capital, from the economy, social to symbolic (Bourdieu 2001).

Even the life of the elderly is not immune to hegemonic masculinity. In contemporary society, it can be proven by deciding who is old and even older, seems like the problem of cultural expectation, not biological. For instance, an old male with gray hair and wrinkle symbolizes maturity, whereas a female is considered getting old (Kimmel 2008).

Elderly masculinity represented by media confirms that the expectation of sociocultural plays bigger role. Elderly action movie actors

such as James Bond represent the ageing male as a symbol of maturity, manhood, and expertise, whereas aging symbolizes weakness for females. It is rarely found that old female is apprehended as an old male.

The study of masculinity on elderly is a significant issue because, on the macro level, Indonesian demography structure points to the aging population structure characterized by the increasing life expectancy age. Statistical data shows that Special Region Yogyakarta holds the highest number of elderlies in Indonesia, with elderly men ration is higher than older women (BPS RI 2015). Thus, nationally, Indonesian elderlies will increase year by year. The increasing of elderly in the next few years can be the burdened for Indonesia if it is not well managed.

Second, on the micro practice, the working of hegemonic masculinity shows a negative effect towards the elderly life. The hegemonic masculinity is like a deathly poison because it has socially and psychologically unfavorable impact (Bennett and Davies 2015; Creighton et al. 2017; Oliffe et al. 2017). The poisonous effect of hegemonic masculinity is manifested in the form of ignorance towards the social network and health care, the ignorance on the listening needs for the emotional turmoil they experienced (Pietilä et al. 2013; Robertson et al. 2016)

Hegemonic masculinity impacts not only elderly men but also elderly women. It is shown by the longer life expectancy age of females than males (Atoyebi et al. 2019; BPS RI 2015). One of the factors is elderly men tend to rely on the support of others, especially from their wives.

Furthermore, the number of remarried on elderly women is lower than elderly men (PSKK UGM 2016).

The other fact revealed the relation of elderly households' production and power, especially in Special Region Yogyakarta. The number of elderly men who are the head of household and have huge responsibility towards their family is high. Ironically, the proportion of elderly female labor force is higher. Elderly women are more productive than elderly men, however for males; the burden and the responsibility are on their side (Wang and Zhang 2018).

Reviewed from the daily subjective experience, elderly people experience many incidents such as family and spouse lost, depression because of losing their job and social status, the inability to deal with disease, and the loss of independence till they depend on the help of others (Fernandes et al. 2020; Heuser and Howe 2019; Wulandari et al. 2019).

The context of this study is elderly group who live in elderly nursing house in Yogyakarta. The preliminary research shows that elderly people living there are on the marginal side as they are stranded or economic powerlessness.

The intended meaning of stranded category is living alone in poverty or being neglected by his poor (interview with the caretaker of the geriatric house). A preliminary study shows the dynamic transformation or the shifting view about the masculine superiority of his youth. Thus, there is an intersection between aging and masculinity.

Referring to the gap in the study of masculinity and aging, this study will explore the masculinity among elderly group who lives in one of elderly nursing houses in Yogyakarta.

Masculinity and Elderly

Masculinity is a word that is "slippery" and is considered a critical study of males since the 1970s (Flood 2002). According to classical text about this topic, masculinity defines as the approved way of being an adult male in any given society (Gilmore 1990). Therefore, the definition of masculinity is very contextual depending on the meaning of a particular society (Aboim 2016).

There are three relevant phenomena which are often referred to as meaning of masculinity, among others: 1) Masculinity refers to beliefs, ideas, images, representations and discourses; 2) Masculinity refers to the characteristics that distinguish male and female; 3) Masculinity refers to male ruling strategies or strategies to perpetuate male power (Flood 2002).

Furthermore, this study refers to the concept of hegemonic masculinity proposed by Connell, who examines masculinity by emphasizing social practice (Barrett and Whitehead 2001; Connell 2005; Messerschmidt and Messner 2018). The maps of hegemonic masculinities have three structures of masculinity in a gender relation: 1) production relation; 2) power relation; 3) cathexis. These three dimensions are useful for seeing patterns of relationships interwoven in a gender order (Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) Finally, they can see masculinity's dominant position, which is recognized and trusted in a particular society.

The criteria for chronological age depending on state policies that have different demographic and sociocultural statuses. The requirements of the elderly refer to the World Health

Organization (WHO) definition, which states that the elderly began from the chronological age of sixties (WHO 2015).

In addition to the old contextual definition, aging is a social construct in gender relations (Hearn and Sandberg 2009). Masculinity also changes with experience getting old (Jackson 2016; Kimmel 2008). Masculinity does not stop at a time, but rather dynamic over the course of age and experience. In this perspective, old age is not just a phenomenon of accumulated life journey or the results of biological regression, but as a social structure (age relation as social structure) (Calasanti 2004).

Therefore, to decide who is old, and who is too old, is a matter of cultural expectations, not just biological. In addition to class, ethnicity, sexuality and region, other condition that contribute to gender identity is age (Kimmel 2008).

Aging is a dynamic of subjective experience as well as social and political locations at the structural level (Jackson 2016). In light of this explanation, masculinity in elderly men can be investigated at these two levels; at the subjective level or male agent of the elderly and at the level of their social structure. The condition of elderly men (especially the lower classes) will appear contradictory and see their subordinate

positions and even marginality at the macro level, especially towards hegemonic masculinity characterized by the existence of ageism stereotypes in society. Therefore, this study reveals how the image of elderly masculinity and psychological dynamics helped construct masculinity.

This research was conducted for five months at one of the geriatric houses managed by the government in Yogyakarta City. This location was taken with the consideration that all service house residents were displaced, living alone, and helpless from an economic standpoint.

Purposive sampling was applied in selecting the five elderly participants, including man with age ≥ 70 years old, able to communicate adequately, and who grew up in Javanese culture.

All participants involved in-depth interview was performed to obtain narrative view and subject life experience, and all were contentedly recorded.

The adopted paradigm in this study is phenomenology to deeply understand the human condition manifested in daily life, concretely and meaning in the personal experience (Denzin and Lincoln 2009; Poerwandari 2013). The act of getting meaning will certainly involve interpretation (Frost 2011; Spinelli 2005; Willig and Rogers 2017).

Table 1
Participants

Subject	Age	Prior Occupation	Year of Education	Living Period
1	70	Hodge	Elementary not graduated	1 year 3 months
2	82	Entrepreneur	High School	1 year 7 months
3	72	Ketoprak Actor	SGB	11 years 9 months
4	73	Handyman	9 years	8 years 2 months
5	70	Parking Officer	Elementary not graduated	1 year

This study uses Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) derived from a hermeneutic-phenomenological approach, especially Ricoeur's hermeneutics (Langdrige 2007). Critical Narrative Analysis tends to look critically at the formation of someone's narrative construction that stretches in time, in which the important stages of their life journey become a concern. This analysis combines the hermeneutics of suspicions and back-layers meaning to reassess initial understanding. This analysis also involves critical reflection on the pre-conception of researchers (Langdrige 2007; Willig and Rogers 2017).

In general, there are three stages of analysis in Ricoeur's hermeneutics-phenomenological approach, namely: structural analysis—in this case using Gee's structural analysis (Gee 1991, 1992), reflective analysis, and existential analysis (VanLeeuwen, Guo-Brennan, and Weeks 2017). These three major stages can be translated into six steps of research "which is more regarded as a hermeneutic circle than a hierarchical step" as follows (Langdrige 2007).

The credibility of this study was attained through member check, where researchers reconfirmed the narrative data to the research subject.

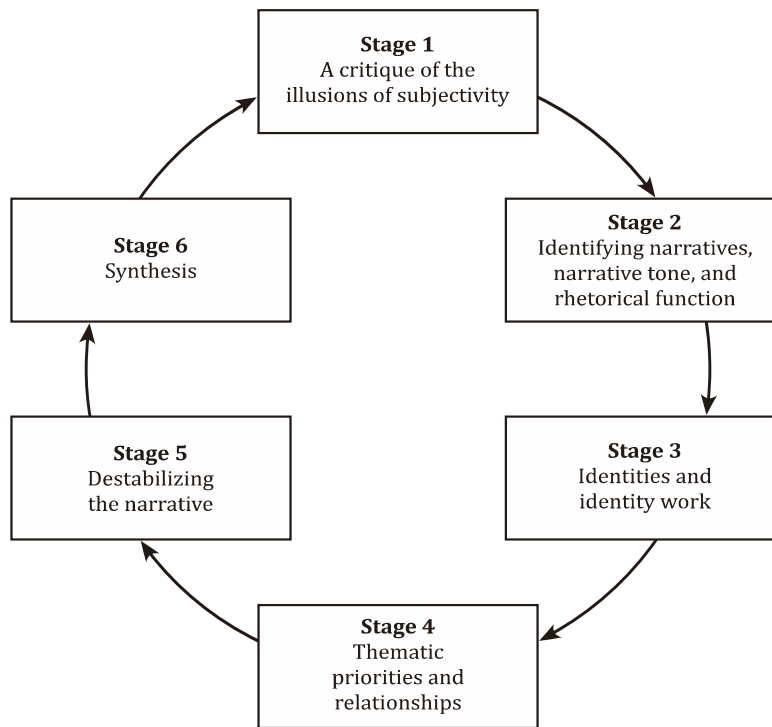


Figure 1
Stages of Critical Narrative Analysis (Langdrige 2007)

The Paradoxical Facet of Elderly Masculinity

Wong lanang kudu nyambut gawe (a man must work)

According to the subject, the ideal view of men rests on the expressions of *wong lanang kuwi kudu nyambut gawe* (A man should work). Narratives about ideal men are always associated with social and cultural expectations; individual subjects appropriate the normative expectations and social norms as ideal standards. The description of *Wong Lanang* (a man), who is seen as the main player in the family, requires that *Wong Lanang* (a man) must earn money to become a breadwinner of his family. *Wong Lanang* (a man) theme is related to a 'must work' activity. The view of elderly men on ideal man is as quoted below:

"Yes... a man must take the responsibility to send his children to high education. As well as provide the needs of his wife and children, to make them happy" (Subject 2).

"Yes, a man is supposed to be responsible, isn't it? If he has a wife, he must love his wife. That's all" (Subject 1).

The discourse of *Wong Lanang* (man) must work, presenting an ideal male figure as a man who is successful in his work, rich and has money. Stability in an economy is a requirement to be an ideal man (Berdahl et al. 2018). This ideal image has negative consequences for men who are not the main breadwinners in their families (Tur-Prats 2021). The traditional ideal image of man makes dying stuff to man, where men experience social burdens (Affleck et al. 2018).

Ironically, all older men who live in the geriatric house are the ones who are marginal

from the discourse of a man must work. They have no job or ability to earn money, not even close to the ideal image of *Wong Lanang* (man) they have.

The economic helplessness of elderly men at the real level also causes older men to feel they have no existence (having no being). Work is a productive activity for human to show their existence (Fromm 2014; Fromm and Bottomore 2004). The absence of work "in the sense of authentic activity" is a form of human alienation from humanity. The action of work as self-activity can explain why elderly men need work as an expression of themselves and their physical and mental strength.

The absence of economic resources places elderly men at a marginal angle. A dismantled dimension is the structure of production relation. Elderly men living in the geriatric house are at the subordinate pole, even marginal in production relation.

Wong lanang (a man)

Wong lanang (a man) who is conceptualized as a family breadwinner, requires certain qualities such as strong and manly. The construction of men focuses more on physical strength as a domination of social perceptions.

So, it makes sense if strong and manly quality is a characteristic of man because *wong lanang* (man) is identical to the role of man as the main breadwinner of his family (Bear and Glick 2017; Hasyim et al. 2011; Hayati et al. 2014; Walby 1990). Here's one of the passages:

"Yes, men must not be whiny, they must be strong. Yooo, must be manly. Well, hehehe ...

if you can't handle ... your wife, you become weak. *Wong lanang* (man) must be strong, manly, and able to support the family" (Subject 4).

Virility in the view of the research subjects is attached to *machismo*. Male virility, besides manifesting himself in a strong, dashing, muscular physical form as shown in action films and popular media (Bruzzi 2019; Clark 2008; Hester 2019) masculinity is also symbolized by strong reproduction organ. One representation of male virility is having a big dick and satisfying women sexually (Andaya 2020; Hermawan 2017; Huysamen 2020; Séguin and Blais 2019). The following excerpt that virility is identical to the function of sexual organs:

"Yoo, this is it (clenching his fists and pointing his arms up), hehehehe ... If that guy doesn't like this (clenching and raising arms) what do you do? Hah? ooo, no, no man. I have already experienced. ... what kind of girls are there, just the same" (Subject 4).

Male is a term that refers to physically macho, aggressive towards women, and independence (autonomy). Virility on the perspective of elderly men is presented from the narrative of his youth experiences. Valor as a young man appears in the narrative when the subject talks about his muscular physique, shaggy beard, and fashionable clothes. Males are also symbolized by the virility of male sexual organs. The research findings also show that manliness means virility by conquering many women sexually. Virility in the perspective of elderly men is phallus-centered masculinity (Wulan 2013).

Besides an effort to attract women's attention, valor is also manifested by fighting, which is considered normal for young men in the elderly. The arrogance attitude shown by

young men is a form of masculinity proof. As if a myth applies, namely: the more courageous to fight, the more virile it will look.

Paradoxes again reveals at the ideal level and the real level. The more elderly men idealize hegemonic virility, the more marginal their position in the relationship of the built structure. The more masculine symbols is closer to the dominant image of masculinity; the more subordinated the position of elderly men. This paradox is increasingly apparent when elderly men talk about the aging body. Aging of the body becomes an antinomy for male virility, as quoted below:

"I am now wrinkled. If I have been wrinkled, what can I do? I am now old, no more (clenching his fist) right? Well, nobody's taking care of me. It is better this way than I bother others" (Subject 4).

Wong lanang kudu iso sawung (a man must be able to mingle)

Men also have to establish good social relation between people. The term that is able to capture all forms of social relation among men often refers to the concept of *sawung* in Javanese ethics. *Sawung* in Indonesian means mingling and socializing, but rather expanding social relation (Handayani and Novianto 2004). *Sawung* is the key to enter Javanese cosmology, the world of Javanese people and even to become Javanese itself must be *sawung*, placing themselves well in social relation (Erlina 2020; Handayani and Novianto 2004; Permanadeli 2015).

In the research findings, *sawung* can take care of themselves naturally and understand the limits of the norms that apply in society. Elderly

men reveal that *srawung* is a form of social flexibility, for example not only associating with limited classmates, but also associating with the wider community, with those lower or higher social status, as quoted below:

“Knowing those poor, *srawung*, iso Srawung, I do not differentiate people. Once, I gathered with great people. Or at least, you know the lieutenant colonel is important ... it's important ...” (Subject 4).

Another contradictory finding in establishing male social relations was found on the experiences of young men in this study. In their youth, drinking and gambling were often used as an adhesive for social relations between friends. In addition, there is a subject's view that smoking is a symbol of closed social relation. Cigarettes can be used as a mean to establish friendship, even when starting an introduction to an unknown person.

The problem that needs to be addressed is not the concept of *srawung* which has been embodied in the social life of Javanese society. Rather, the practical mechanism of these elderly men in their brotherhood. The brotherhood is

manifested in risk-taking behavior which is contrary to the social norms like drinking and gamble. In real conditions, elderly men have taken a critical distance from the hegemonic character of the *srawung* mechanism.

Figure 2 shows the paradox that embodied on the masculinity of elderly men. Three themes which is concerning the masculinity that arise in elderly men, such as: *wong lanang kudu nyambut gawe* (man must work); *wong lanang* (mature man); and *wong lanang kudu iso srawung* (man must be able mingle), expressing the idealization of men according to cultural and social expectations. The ideal masculine image presented by elderly men contains the seeds of hegemonic masculinity.

Ironically, this ideal image is not found in the real condition of elderly men in the context of this study; the elderly lived in the geriatric home. The real condition of elderly men shows the opposite. Their economic helplessness, aging body, and limited social capital as elderly men who live in geriatric houses make the meanings of masculinity as they expressed contradictory.

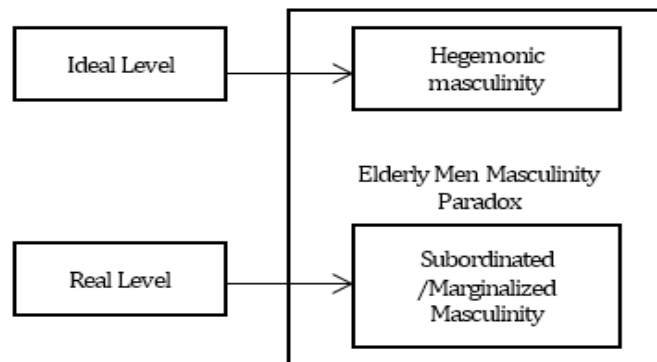


Figure 2
The Face of Elderly Men Masculinity Paradox

Elderly men in the research context are subjects that have no potential to achieve hegemonic masculinity as idealized by society. They have no bargaining power in the configuration of masculinity.

This finding applies to the context of elderly men living in geriatric houses as the main subjects in this study. Therefore, the thesis of paradoxical masculinity is limited to the face of partial masculinity. That is, it cannot be universally enforced.

Psychological Dynamics on Elderly Men Masculinity

Togetherness in Managing Households

The finding in the study shows that there is no explicit division regarding the division of labor in households, for example wives must take care of domestic affairs, while husbands take care of public affairs. In the context of the study, elderly men households send his wife to work to support the family economy. They work together in household production. This not-so-strict division is characteristic of the lower classes of society.

In the research findings, the husband can control the production relation, but the wife can be in control of the power relation. Furthermore, wife has the power to take a decision by herself as long as that is considered good for her family, even without husband's permission. In addition, deliberation is preferred. One subject said that he often talked to his wife about important things in the household.

“Yo, with wife. Yo, we often communicate. Yo, yeah. right for that ... for our good. Right, if

... Bro ... everything is discussed together” (Subject 5).

Regardless of who controls the production relation, based on the results of the study, the wife's figure is a central figure in the household. This certainly challenges some opinions which state that the division of domestic and public space is a form of male domination over women (Hasyim et al. 2011; Pennartz and Niehof 2019; Walby 1990) Indeed, there is an influence from the relation of household production to hegemonic masculinity, but the pattern is very dependent on personal characteristics as found in this study.

At this point, the image of an ideal masculinity that is independent (autonomy) as expressed by the subject in this study seems like only an echo that evaporates when it comes into contact with everyday reality. The narrative of elderly men in research also reveals these contradictions.

Wife as Maturity Medium for Masculinity

Changing the lives of elderly men from the moment they lost their wives proved that women were not only *konco wingking* (supporters), but also *sigaraning nyawa* (soulmates) (Aziz 2017; Handayani and Novianto 2004) Furthermore, the meaning of the *sigaraning nyawa* is more egalitarian when compared to *konco wingking*. It seems to describe that husband and wife have become one. The importance of a wife can be seen from the quote below:

“... 2015, in the seventh month my world was already a gem point, it was final, my wife was sick, seven months. Yes, until August 2015, died, already. After that ... after all, it's eee ...

how come for a long time ... I'm not at home" (Subject 1).

"Important people? what is considered important is ... wife ... Yo, if there is ... yes, that's it. (silent). Yo, imagine, lonely ... dream her ... most ... (5 seconds). Yes, it's still very hard. Yes, just thinking about it ... like not believing it happens" (Subject 5).

This melancholy quote shows how wife is a very important figure in the life of elderly men. In fact, some subjects revealed that since he married his wife, he abandoned any behavior that was considered risky in his youth, such as gambling and drinking. In addition, one of the subjects claimed to stop going to brothel when his wife was gone.

The figure of wife is important and central in Javanese family. The men tend to be somewhat dependent on women, as the result of men's lack ability in doing technical household affairs (Bennett and Davies 2015).

The husband independences toward his wife in Javanese households can explain the reality when the husband seldom lives alone. The men seldom become as a single fighter in a family rather than women. Men always need someone else to do the domestic affairs. Amazingly, women can do it while doing their daily activity.

Masculinity experiences many shifts when the world of men interacts a lot with the world of women. In other words, the world of masculinity becomes more inclusive since mutual peace or reassessment toward his youth masculinity.

Maturing Effects: Toxic Masculinity in the Past

Distinctive findings are present when elderly men reflect on the masculinity of their youth. This reflection shows "distance taking" or distortion. It

is likened to their youth as a text, so elderly men re-read critically the text (Scott-Baumann 2009). The long journey that unfolds experience from time to time makes the masculinity of elderly men has "creative discontinuity" with their youth masculinity (Jackson 2016).

Critical distance taking is apparent when elderly men reassess risk-taking behavior when young people are considered wrong. Some subjects during their youth involved destructive behaviors such as drinking liquor, gambling, going to brothel and being good at fighting. These are common for elderly men in their youth. The destructive masculinity that characterized their youth was opposed by elderly men who judged their mischievous youth to be overly self-uncontrolled and embarrassed them. Elderly men regret the deeds of their youth which are considered inappropriate.

"I used to have everything, success, money, naughty, so I could buy anything. Because of this excess, including finally my marriage which ended hot (4 seconds). It's actually a shame to tell my youth. But, Bro, now I regret it" (Subject 2).

"For now... I am the most coward person... on everything. Yes, I apologize to the Almighty God for all mistakes I did when I was young. I really did it... Bro, eh? You feel wrong or not to God?" (Subject 4).

Masculinity expressed in their heroic-destructive youth is regarded as a mistake, a violation of their honor as a man. Those elderly men considered their youth action as inappropriate because they could not socialize well. An attitude that does not bring honor. A well-known Javanese philosophy reads: "*wong lanang kuwi kudu duwe aji*", a man must have honor.

Aging Bodies

The body image of an ideal man who is macho, manly, virile, and refers to a body which is qualified in terms of sexuality, is contradictory to the body, sexuality ability and physical strength of older men who are increasingly weakened. An aging body and getting away from the ideal image often rises a stereotype namely ageism, both by other parties and internalization by the elderly themselves (Bai 2014; Cordella and Poiani 2021; Stripling 2011).

The research findings revealed that the elderly men felt they were no longer a man because their bodies were wrinkled, the diseases were plagued, and the virility of the sexual organ had decreased.

However, the elderly men do not look at their aging body as helplessness. They do recognize that the reality of their bodies is getting older and weaker so that it is far from the masculine ideal they imagined, but it raises a shift in their views on the image of elderly men. The shift in views referred to when they do not define elderly men merely on the physique, but rather the quality of the experience they have gone through. According to them, younger men may not have many life experiences compared to their life experience. The shift appears in the quote below:

“... even though I am old, but I have a lot of experience, it's true. Well, young people have never been like old people. Yes, Bro, I'm sorry, Bro I'm not bragging, right, I have more experience” (Subject 2).

Inner Male Conflict: Having No Pride and Positive Values

In elderly men, the reality of the social culture also says something else if it is clashed with hegemonic illusion. Elderly men are not immune

to ageism and secretly acknowledge and internalize the stereotype of ageism into identity construction. On the side of the daily meaningful experience (*lebenswelt*), a variety of subjective experiences coincide with incessant destruction of ideal masculinity which is held firm and even becomes a myth for elderly men. As the result, between ideal-self and real-self gaps a wide chasm.

“Yes, already. Yes, right now, now we are living now. Yes, I hope, it's just here. Already think nothing more. I just pray to the Almighty. Already do not think anything you know” (Subject 1).

“Now, yes, accepting the fate that I am alone in old age. But now thankful some take care. What is it, Bro? The past is to apply Wohing Pakarti, the Java language is like that Yes, but fate can't sometimes be detected ... we just follow it. It's better here, there are already people who take care of me” (Subject 2).

The feeling of shame is present when the reality that is being lived today is very far from the idea of the ideal masculinity. Helplessness, weak in terms of production, made them feel they had nothing to be proud of and relied on.

In the marginal position, elderly men do not have pride to return to their original community. The lack of pride in the absence of anything that belongs to them makes elderly men choose to spend their old age in the geriatric house. At the very least, in the geriatric house they have self-esteem and there is no inferiority feeling because they have the same background.

The feeling of indifference (having no pride) often makes them regret and feel miserable when they remember how their youth masculinity is. In the end, there is a form of distance taking, critical reflection on their youth

experiences who were active with an ethical horizon that applies in society, especially Java. What represents the young masculinity turns out to be contrary to the respectful of *wong lanang* (man) in Javanese culture.

Elderly Men's Social Relations: Care

It has been described above that elderly men are far from the ideal picture of man. Elderly men are those who do not have any physical and socio-economic status strength. The entire subject in this study was elderly who were accommodated and cared for by the geriatric house. Therefore, the status of elderly men masculinity is on the contradictory side of hegemonic masculinity.

The research finding shows how elderly men determine the ideal image of men, facing and anticipating the hegemonic masculinity within society context. The strategies they do include shifting some of their views on masculinity through several things such as: body aging, the experience of loss, and becoming a person who prioritizes personality qualities over strength. (Bengtson and Settersten Jr 2016; Jackson 2016).

Social relations are not like hegemonic masculinity which establishes social relation based on competition, fairness, but based on caring (Gilligan 1993, 2018; Gilligan and Snider 2018). The social relation of elderly men at geriatric house prioritizes the concern for others and a sense of attachment as people who have the same fate rather than assert their respective rights and obligations among fellow elderly men. In short, social relation is built beyond the principle of rights and obligations, which are usually masculine ethical characteristics.

The psychological dynamic is more as a process for elderly men to reach maturity in their masculinity on their life journey. The maturation process is a binding thread between themes on the psychological dynamics of elderly men. Therefore, the intertwining of the six themes is referred to as the maturation of masculinity in the elderly.

From the viewpoint of masculinity, the six themes are the maturation of masculinity which its initial point is in paradoxal masculinity, namely the attraction between ideal and real masculinity. his paradoxical condition is interwoven with psychological dynamics. The dynamics are structured by biological and cultural factors, life experiences, reflective awareness existential factors and social relation that prioritizes caring.

The dialectic between ideal masculinity and the real conditions appropriated by elderly men presents complex feelings and views. However, the story of elderly men is not entirely negative. The negative feelings are present in their old age, but do not become a central point determining actions and hopes in their old age. Instead, some values can be offered as a counter to the discourse of hegemonic masculinity such as: sincerity, full acceptance of life, gratitude, and more mature spirituality.

The paradoxical condition of the elderly men's masculinity and the interconnected psychological dynamics can be called the possibility for strengthening positive masculinity values. These values of positive masculinity are a counter-hegemonic or a counter to hegemonic-style masculinity. Thus, the toxic effects that often affect elderly men experience a positive transformation.

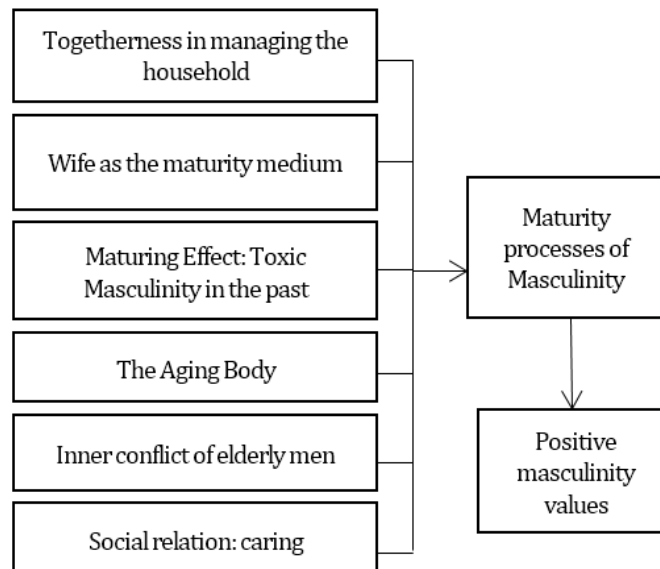


Figure 3
The Socio-psychological Dynamic of Elderly Men Masculinity

This study contributes to describe the face of masculinity among Javanese elderly men. However, this study's limitation was the local references on masculinity studies among Indonesian men. The references we used in discussing this study was mostly from western, white and industrial countries. This might cause bias in understanding the masculinity among these Javanese men.

Conclusion

The elderly masculinity presents a face of masculinity that contains paradox. At the ideal level, the elderly appropriate hegemonic masculinity. At the real level, the elderly including subordinated, even marginalized masculinity who feel powerless, lose resources as capital to achieve hegemonic masculinity. This paradoxical condition gives birth to creative

dialectics in the masculinity of the elderly. It can present negative values as they have been seen with myopic eyes of ageism but present more positive values as counter-hegemonic to the status quo of masculinity. The paradoxical condition and psychological dynamics accompanying the journey lead to a condition of maturity in transformative masculinity.

Masculinity of the elderly experiences the maturity through being life together with their wives. Wife is an important subject that acts as a medium of maturity for the masculinity of the elderly. In addition, the moment of losing a wife, losing resources, and an aging body make older men distance themselves from the masculinity of their youth, which ultimately gives birth to positive values such as gratitude, sincerity, and care.[]

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