IRSTI 15.41.35

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INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON PSYCHOLOGICAL GENDER DIFFERENCES

This article is devoted to the study of the influence of culture on psychological gender differences. In defining the very concept of "gender", we proceeded from the generally accepted understanding that gender is primarily a social and biological characteristic, thanks to which the whole world is divided into the world of men and women. Consequently, in modern cross-cultural psychology, gender is viewed as a complex sociocultural construct that determines differences in roles, behavior, mental and emotional characteristics of men and women.

The article presents the basic concepts of gender studies, theories and methods of gender studies in a cross-cultural context, and also studies psychological gender differences in different cultures. Also described are the theoretical and methodological aspects of conducting applied gender studies ö D. Matsumoto, J. Berry, G. Triandis, and others, the focus of which is the study of the main attributes of masculinity and femininity. An analysis of the results of these studies allowed J. Berry and his colleagues to conclude that a high degree of agreement on male and female stereotypes proved the effect of psychological universals that determine gender characteristics.

Thus, studying the influence of culture on psychological gender differences gave us the opportunity to formulate the conclusion that any type of culture contributes to the manifestation of certain differences in behavior between men and women, as well as differences related to their role, responsibilities and responsibilities in society, what appears to be true for one culture may not be for another. In this regard, we need to further explore the role that culture plays in creating and maintaining gender and gender differences.

Key words: culture, gender, masculinity, femininity, gender stereotypes, gender prejudices, etc.

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Психологиялық гендерлік айырмашылыққа мәдениеттің әсері

Бұл мақала психологиялық гендерлік айырмашылықтарға мәдениеттің әсерін зерттеуге арналған. «Гендер» деген түсінікті анықтауда біз жалпыға бірдей түсінікке сүйендік, гендер бұл алдымен әлеуметтік-биологиялық сипаттама, соның арқасында бүкіл әлем ерлер мен әйелдердің әлеміне бөлінеді. Демек, қазіргі кросс-мәдени психологияда гендер кешенді әлеуметтік-мәдени құрылыс, рөлдердегі айырмашылықтарды анықтау, жүріс-тұрыс, ерлер мен әйелдердің ақылойы мен эмоциялық сипаттамаларын қарастырады.

Мақалада гендерлік зерттеулердің негізгі ұғымдары, мәдениетаралық контексте гендерлік зерттеулердің теориялары мен әдістері, сондай-ақ әртүрлі мәдениеттердің гендерлік айырмашылықтары зерттеледі. Сондай-ақ, қолданбалы гендерлік зерттеулерді теориялық және әдіснамалық аспектілер сипатталады – Д. Мацумото, Дж. Берри, Г. Триандисом және басқалар, бастысы ерлер мен әйелдіктің негізгі белгілерін зерттеу болып табылады. Осы зерттеулердің нәтижелерін талдау Дж.Берри мен оның әріптестеріне ерлер мен әйелдердің стереотиптеріне қатысты жоғары дәрежелі келісім гендерлік сипаттамаларды анықтайтын психологиялық әмбебаптардың әсерін дәлелдеді деген қорытынды жасауға мүмкіндік берді.

Осылайша, мәдениеттің гендерлік айырмашылықтарға әсерін зерттеу бізге мәдениеттің кез келген түрінің ерлер мен әйелдердің мінез-құлқындағы белгілі бір айырмашылықтардың пайда болуына, сондай-ақ олардың қоғамдағы рөліне, міндеттеріне және жауапкершілігіне қатысты айырмашылықтардың пайда болуына, бір мәдениеттің шынайылығы басқаша болуы мүмкін. Осыған байланысты біз гендерлік және гендерлік айырмашылықтарды қалыптастыру мен сақтауда мәдениеттің рөлін одан әрі зерттеуіміз керек.

Түйін сөздер: мәдениет, гендер, маскулиндік, феминистік, гендерлік стереотиптер, гендерлік нанымдар және т.б.

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Влияние культуры на психологические гендерные различия

Данная статья посвящена изучению влияния культуры на психологические гендерные различия. При определении самого понятия «гендер» мы исходили из общепринятого понимания, что гендер – это, прежде всего, социально-биологическая характеристика, благодаря которой весь мир делится на мир мужчин и женщин. Вследствие этого, в современной кросс-культурной психологии гендер рассматривается как сложный социокультурный конструкт, детерминирующий различия в ролях, поведении, ментальных и эмоциональных характеристиках мужчин и женщин.

В статье представлены основные понятия гендерных исследований, теории и методы тендерных исследований в кросс-культурном контексте, а также изучаются психологические гендерные различия в разных культурах. Также описаны теоретико-методологические аспекты проведения прикладных гендерных исследований – Д. Мацумото, Дж. Берри, Г. Триандисом и др., в центре внимания которых находится изучение основных атрибутов маскулинности и феминнности. Анализ полученных результатов этих исследований позволили Дж.Берри и его коллегам сделать вывод, что высокая степень согласия относительно мужских и женских стереотипов доказала действие психологических универсалий, определяющих гендерные особенности.

Таким образом, изучение влияния культуры на психологические гендерные различия дало нам возможность сформулировать вывод, что любой тип культуры способствует проявлению тех или иных различий в поведении между мужчинами и женщинами, а также различий, связанных с их ролью, обязанностями и ответственностью в обществе, то, что представляется верным в отношении одной культуры, может не соответствовать – в другой. В связи с этим, мы должны глубже изучать роль, которую играет культура в создании и поддержании гендера и гендерных различий.

Ключевые слова: культура, гендер, маскулинность, фемининость, гендерные стереотипы, гендерные предубеждения и др.

Introduction

Recently, cross-cultural studies have become very popular with studies that focus on problems related to the study of gender behavior. Today, gender is regarded as a social and biological characteristic that makes it possible to divide the whole world into the world of men and women.

Consequently, in modern cross-cultural psychology, gender is defined as a complex sociocultural construct that determines differences in roles, behavior, mental and emotional characteristics of men and women.

In the context of the study of gender today, it is customary to distinguish two concepts – "sex" and gender and their derivatives.

The term "gender" (biological sex) refers to biological and physiological differences between men and women, manifested in anatomical, physiological, hormonal and biochemical sex differences (Kozlov, 2010).

The concept of "sex roles", defining roles associated with biological functions, is used to describe the forms and patterns of behavior peculiar to men or women. Based on these differences, all available collective images come into play, including values, cultural beliefs and expectations, which leads to male and female differences in socialization and differentiation of roles (Kozlov, 2010).

The concept of "gender identity" reveals the degree of awareness and acceptance by an individual of his gender and corresponding sex roles. The sexual identity of men is characterized by the awareness that they are, above all, men and identification with the masculine gender. Female gender identity is determined by the awareness of the woman herself as a woman who is able to realize herself in certain forms of behavior peculiar only to the identification of women with the female gender (Kozlov, 2010).

The emotional-cognitive component of the gender identity is determined by the influence of ecological, socio – political contexts, which in turn are determined by the type of economy aimed at providing food, and by the ever-increasing influence of acculturation to which most cultures, mainly from external media, Internet and other means of telecommunications, which lead to a significant change in stereotypes, ideologies and practices in other cultures.



Figure - The relationship between contextual variables and gender differences in behavior

As for the concept of "psychological gender", it is most often used to characterize those forms and patterns of behavior that are generally accepted for men or for women in the context of this particular society or culture.

The term "gender roles" shows how much a person accepts and follows the behaviors inherent in a particular culture.

The concept of "gender identity" reveals the extent to which a person is aware of or acknowledges the fact that he accepts certain gender roles.

The term "gender stereotypes" is used to describe typical psychological and behavioral characteristics

traditionally attributed to men and women in certain cultures.

However, today there are significant individual and psychological differences regarding these roles and stereotypes due to the fact that not all people fit into the stereotypes defined by traditional gender and gender roles accepted in society. These are, for example, women or men with non-traditional sexual orientation.

In the context of cross-cultural of gender, the study of the influence of culture and its characteristics on gender becomes more relevant.

These studies began in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s with the women's rights movement, which led society to take a fresh look at their role in society (Matsumoto, 2010:174). At that time, almost all studies devoted to the study of the problems of women were conducted mainly by male scientists. As a result, research was one –sided and understanding that there are so many differences between men and women, that women's psychology differs from that of men.

Today, similar studies are being carried out by scientists, both men and women, and studies are carried out on two samples, which makes it possible to expand the approaches, leading to numerous discussions and criticism.

Thus, in the end of twentieth century and in the beginning of twenty first century Gender Studies firmly occupied an important place among the topics addressed in the context of crosscultural research (Matsumoto, 2010:175).

At the same time, there was a revision of generally accepted views and in relation to cultural norms that determine the characteristics of male and female stereotypes and behavior. However, today, despite numerous studies and the results obtained in this field, modern psychology still cannot unambiguously answer whether the behaviors of men and women, typical of many cultures, are absolute for others.

Main part

The basis of the theoretical and methodological aspects of conducting gender studies is modern multi– factorial theories (Matsumoto, 2010; Berry, 2007; Triandis, 2010), whose focus is on studying the basic attributes of masculinity and femininity. N umerous experimental and empirical studies based on this approach confirm its objectivity and reliability.

Today, cross-cultural psychology uses new methods of personality assessment, contributing to the study of gender representations in different cultural groups. For example, recently, a five-factor personality model (McCrae & Costa) has been widely used, aimed at studying the five main characteristics – extroversion, consent, consciousness, emotional stability and openness (Matsumoto, 2010: 325).

In addition, in the modern period, many new methods are widely used, the focus of which is the study of various aspects and manifestations of gender behavior of men and women from different cultures and living in different countries.

The starting point for modern cross – cultural studies of gender characteristics is the conclusion, formulated by D. Matsumoto, that gender features in the cross – cultural aspect need

to be studied in four areas – the study of gender stereotypes; gender roles and self – concept; G. Hofstede researches, as well as the study of psychological gender differences, including features related to the abilities in the field of perception, solving spatial and cognitive tasks, conformity and subordination, aggression and other psychological constructs (Hofstede, 1984).

In modern societies, gender stereotypes based on traditional forms of gender differentiation still persist: a man must be strong, independent, self – determined, emotionally restrained, whereas a woman must be dependent, weak, caring, emotional.

The most known in the field of gender stereotypes in the cross-cultural aspect received a study of American psychologists R. Williams and Best, who with the help of "Adjective check list" (ACL), conducted a survey of 3,000 residents of 30 various countries (Berry, 2010: 90).

In the course of the study, the subjects were asked to mark those adjectives that more commonly used for characteristic of the women, and those that are specific to men. At the same time, they should have noted those adjectives that, from their point of view, are peculiar of typical ideas about men or women accepted in their culture.

Systematizing and summarizing the answers, Williams and Best came to the conclusion that if more than two-thirds of respondents from a particular country indicated the same adjective as associated with a characteristic of a particular gender, this characteristic was considered generally accepted in the relevant culture. Then, by comparing the received data corresponding to the culture as a whole, the researchers decided that if this or that characteristic is accepted by more than two-thirds of the studied cultures, we can assume that there is a cross - cultural consensus on this characteristic to describe men or women. The results obtained revealed a high level of cultural commonality in the views on characteristics that are attributed to both men and women.

The degree of coincidence of typical descriptions of men and women, obtained from representatives of different cultures, was very high. For each country, adjectives associated with stereotypical ideas about men and women, for which a high level of consensus was manifested, were assessed using the *Affective m eaning scoring system*.

All participants in the study, regardless of cultural affiliation, showed the same result as the adjectives they use, the men who are consistently associated with the stereotype, carried more action and power than the adjectives associated with the stereotype of the woman. However, in countries such as Japan, South Africa, Nigeria, the pancultural influence of the preference of the male stereotype was not observed, and in Italy, Peru, Australia – female.

In general, the analysis of the results of these studies have allowed J. Berry and his colleagues conclude that the high degree of consensus on the male and female stereotypes has proven the effect of psychological universals defining gender.

Consequently, the presence of universally prevalent gender stereotypes makes it possible to assume that there are evolutionary conditioned cultural parallels defined by the division of labor between men and women, and the commonality of these psychological characteristics is a consequence of the universal form of the division of labor.

Simultaneously, R. Williams and Best conducted another type of analysis of the results obtained. To find out how these adjectives are distributed by their affective or emotional meaning, for each country, they evaluated adjectives by such indicators as preference, strength and activity. At this time, they also saw a striking similarity with respect to male and female stereotypes. For example, in all the countries studied, characteristics that are traditionally associated with men were attributed to greater strength and activity compared to characteristics associated with women.

Thus, the study showed that the division of labor associated with the difference in the reproducing functions of men and women caused differences in behaviors, which, in turn, led to differences in psychological characteristics.

Studies conducted by Williams and his colleagues on the study of gender stereotypes, have been further developed. In particular, they analyzed data from previous studies, collected in 25 countries using the "ACL" questionnaire and based on the five-factor model of personality, consisting of five basic personality dimensions, also known as the "Big Five" (Berry, 2010).

Analyzing the results of the study, psychologists have found that men in all studied cultures are characterized by higher rates in all dimensions, except for "social conformity"; at the same time, among women, regardless of cultural background, indicators for this dimension are much higher than among men.

In addition, the study showed that differences regarding gender stereotypes are most profound in those countries that are characterized by a more traditional, hierarchically organized type of society, which are characterized by a lower level of social and economic development, a low percentage of women receiving education in higher education institutions.

Williams and his colleagues have deepened their research, re-evaluating the results obtained by them earlier in 27 countries using the "ACL" questionnaire on the measuring scales of the fivefactor model. Then they analyzed the identified differences between men and women for each country separately. Scientists have discovered that the results they obtained earlier were generally confirmed for all countries. In addition, they compared data on gender differences on these scales with estimates on cultural scales, taken from two major works devoted to the study of values, as well as a number of demographic indicators and earlier estimates concerning gender ideology.

Based on the analysis and systematization of the results of the study, R. Williams and his colleagues concluded that differences in gender stereotypes are higher in those countries that are characterized by a more traditional, hierarchically organized type of society, lower levels of social, economic development, and a small percentage of women enrolled in higher education (Berry, 2010).

In countries that are characterized by the desire for equality of men and women, the differentiation between male and female gender stereotypes was less pronounced for all five factors.

Thus, analyzing the results of these studies, we can conclude that, in general, gender stereotypes are fairly stable in all cultures. In accordance with the typical image, generally accepted in all studied cultures, men are perceived as active, strong, independent and critical; prone to dominance, independence, showing such psychological traits as aggressivene ss, demonstrativeness and perseverance. From the point of view of the five – factor model, the image of a man is associated with such personality traits as extraversion, neuroticism, and openness.

Women are perceived as more passive, weak, caring, and adaptive, and are characterized by the need for submission, adherence to authority, custody, belonging, and heterosexuality. They are characterized by the highest rates on the "social compliance" scale according to the five main personal factors,

Analyzing gender differences in the self – concept , D. Matsumoto cites the results of studies conducted by R. Williams and Best, who asked students from 14 countries to evaluate 300 adjectives of the ACL questionnaire in terms of whether these adjectives describe their real or ideal "I". In addition to such indicators as preference, strength and activity, the responses received were

also evaluated on a scale of masculinity – femininity (Matsumoto, 2010).

The study showed that the ratings of men corresponding to both their real and ideal "I" were higher in terms of masculinity, respectively, the ratings of women were higher on the feminine scale. However, the presentation of both men and women about their ideal "I" were higher on a scale of masculinity than the actual description of themselves, that is, women would like to see themselves having psychological traits traditionally associated with men.

According to estimates of measurements related to emotional factors (preference, strength, activity), the "I – concept ", characteristic of men, was distinguished by higher ratings on the scale of power. In some countries, there was a relative similarity between the estimates of men and women in all three dimensions, while in other countries there were significant discrepancies. R. Williams and Best suggested that the level of discrepancy is related to such variables as socioeconomic status, religion and the percentage of women working outside the home.

Thus, the results of the study showed crosscultural stability of gender differences, characterized by a number of universal psychological constructs.

If we talk about the researches of G. Hofstede, who conducted a large – scale survey of employees of a large transnational corporation, they were primarily devoted to the study of professional values. Based on the results obtained, Hofstede identified four dimensions that describe cultural differences. One of the most important measurements was the scale – masculinity (MA), which reflected the degree to which a particular culture forms, encourages and preserves value differences between men and women. The high rates of masculinity among representatives of a certain culture showed that the accepted in this culture ideas about professional activity and work in enterprises are associated with the male sex (Hofstede, 1984).

The study showed that the highest masculinity scores were found in Japan, Austria, Venezuela and Italy. Conversely, low marks on the MA scale are typical for countries such as Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, which differ in minimizing sex and gender differences associated with work.

Thus, a study conducted by G. Hofstede showed that cultural norms describing the types of behavior characteristic of men and women have different psychological effects on representatives of these cultures and results directly affect their behavior in everyday life (Hofstede, 1984). Almost all studies of gender behavior, conducted in a cross-cultural context, prove that typical behavioral patterns for men and women resulting from biological and physiological differences are a source of differences in the areas of psychology and mentality.

An analysis of the literature has shown that a number of researchers (Matsumoto, 2010; Berry, 2007; Purtinga, 2010) distinguish three areas of their manifestation – perceptual / spatial / cognitive abilities; conformance and submission; aggressiveness. The results of the study of these areas led researchers to conclude that, despite the existence of gender differences characteristic of all cultures, in each of these areas, differences between men and women appear differently depending on the culture.

For example, many psychologists say that men have better developed mathematical abilities and spatial imagination than women, who are distinguished by more developed linguistic abilities. The analysis of test results carried out in European countries using standardized methods confirms the validity of this point of view. The Russian psychologist A. Anastasi also wrote about this at one time, that adolescent boys have better developed mathematical abilities, and girls have better linguistic ones.

At the same time, studies conducted by J. Berry showed that men and women of the Inuit Eskimo men living in Canada have no such differences. Canadian psychologist suggested that the superiority of men in spatial thinking is typical for cultures that are characterized by "compactness" (relative homogeneity), sedentary lifestyle and agricultural forms based on agriculture, while the superiority of women is characteristic of nomadic cultures of more open type living mainly through hunting and gathering (Berry, 2010).

Psychological gender differences are also realized in gender role stereotypes, according to which women are more conformal and prone to submission than men. This stereotype is due to the fact that, according to traditional notions, a man is "the head of the family", therefore he has power and authority. Women involved in housekeeping are obliged to obey the man.

However, studies of the conformity index in representatives of 17 cultures conducted by J. Berry showed that the extent to which this stereotype corresponds to reality varies greatly from culture to culture. According to this psychological characteristic, between the studied cultures, obvious differences were found, connected, in the opinion of the researchers, with the cultural concept of compactness, as in the case of the level of development of spatial abilities.

One of the stereotypes of gender differences in behavior is the conclusion that men are more aggressive than women. Indeed, as practice shows, men commit more crimes related to the manifestation of aggressiveness and violence.

Studies aimed at studying the biological correlates of aggression have shown that in men the development of aggressiveness occurs due to an increase in testosterone levels. However, studies conducted by J. Berry, M. Sigall revealed that the hormonal factor only to some extent can influence the level of aggressiveness growth, when the human body is "ready for sex differences, the culture can drown out or strengthen them". On this basis, they came to the conclusion that it is culture and social environment that can contribute to the development of aggressive tendencies or, conversely, restrain them (Berry, 2010).

A number of researchers do not agree with this view. They believe that male aggression, which is a compensatory mechanism, helps the growing boy to resolve the conflict between identification with his mother and other people of the opposite sex, raising him in childhood, and the need to enter adulthood as a man, who is most acute in the period of sexual ripening. According to this model, aggressiveness is a "gender-marking" form of behavior.

Regardless of which specific mechanisms are responsible for the formation of gender differences associated with aggressive behavior, it is clear that gender stereotypes are determined by crosscultural differences.

differences When studying gender in different cultures of particular interest are studies of preferences choosing a partner. One of the interesting studies of preferences in choosing a partner in the cross-cultural aspect is a study conducted by Bass and his colleagues, who collected data from 37 samples with a total number of 10,000 respondents from 33 countries. Subjects were asked to mark their preferences in two lists of potential partner characteristics, putting down ratings in order of preference. As the study showed, the men and women participating in the survey put on the first place such characteristics as "kind and understanding", on the second - "smart", on the third - "interesting person", on the fourth - "healthy" and "religious" on the last. The study also showed that, regardless of the cultural affiliation, the interviewed women evaluated their partners' ability to earn well higher than men. At the same time, men, regardless

of cultural affiliation, evaluated the physique of a partner higher than women (Matsumoto, 2010).

The study also showed that there are cultural differences in the matter of assessing chastity. For example, if this characteristic of a bride turned out to be unimportant for representatives of North European cultures, then for men living in China, India, Iran it is very important that the bride is chaste.

Culture also has a great influence not only on preferences when choosing a partner, but also on such a feeling as love. Studies of crosscultural psychologists have shown that romantic love is more appreciated in those cultures in which kinship is not so strong and less so in cultures where relationships between partners in marriage are supported by strong kinship ties. For example, Japanese youth value romantic love less than student from West Germany does, and American student's grades are intermediate between the first and second. At the same time, American students, in comparison with young Swedes, draw a sharper border between love and sex.

In 1993, the researcher Dion conducted a study of the understanding of love and intimacy in Canada and the United States, which traditionally belong to individualistic societies, as well as in China, India, and Japan, which traditionally belong to collectivist cultures. The study showed that in indi vidualistic cultures people emphasize on romantic love and personal fulfillment in marriage. However, individualism makes the achievement of these results problematic. Collectivist cultures, on the contrary, favor the strengthening of intimacy, but it, as a rule, is wasted on many kinship ties.

In 1993, Kauppinen – Toropainen and Gruber conducted a cross cultural study of the hostile behavior of men towards women in a study of gender. The study involved women residing in the United States, Scandinavia, and the former Soviet Union. The study showed that the majority of information about the hostile behavior towards women was noted by residents of the United States. Women from Scandinavia had fewer psychological problems and were in more favorable work environment than American women. As for women from the former Soviet Union, the study showed that they were subjected to less sexual harassment than respondents from other countries (Matsumoto, 2010).

A cross-cultural study conducted in 2010 in Kazakhstan by Z.M. Balgimbaeva gender bias showed that men have gender bias towards women. And among the Uighurs, they are more pronounced than among the male Kazakhs, and especially the male Russians (Balgimbaeva, 2012).

A cross-cultural study of attitudes towards rape victims was conducted in 15 countries by a psychologist from Singapore Ward. The study showed that representatives of the UK, Germany and New Zealand showed a favorable attitude towards rape victims. At that time, students from Turkey, Mexico, Zimbabwe, India, and especially Malaysia expressed disapproval of them. So, we know there are quite a few examples when rape victims in India are killed or expelled from communities. As it happened quite recently in 2016 in Malaysia, when the raped girl was just beaten to death with stones (Lebedeva, 2012).

Analyzing such attitudes towards women, it can be concluded that attitudes towards rape victims reflect a common attitudes toward women who are generally more favorable in countries with more modern gender – role ideology and less favorable in countries where the percentage of women working outside the home is low and the level of literacy is low.

Conclusion

Today, in the twenty first century this problem has become particularly relevant in view of the fact that the modern woman begins to take a more active role in society. For example, in a number of developed countries, women become heads of state (England, Brazil, Nicaragua, Latvia, etc.). In the United States today, a woman is running for president but in countries with traditionally masculine culture, changes in attitudes toward women are gradually taking place.

Therefore, in the context of studying the influence of culture on gender you can see new aspects of the development of society, to involve deeper into the essence of the processes. Socio-economic, political and cultural changes taking place in modern society, the emergence of new values lead to a rethinking of sex-role behavior of different cultures therefore, it is very important today to conduct cross 32 – cultural research (Lebedeva, 2012).

Men and women will always have specific gender roles in any society and in any culture. Any type of culture contributes to the manifestation of certain differences in behavior between men and women, as well as differences related to their role, duties and responsibility in society. What appears to be true for one culture may not correspond to the state of affairs in another. The specific mechanisms underlying these differences should be the subject of further research, which should take into account the complex nature of the interaction between biological, cultural and psychological factors.

Thus, cross-cultural research on gender is a relatively new area of psychological research that will allow us to further explore the role that culture plays in creating and maintaining gender and gender differences.

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