THE JOURNAL OF SEX RESEARCH
2022, VOL. 59, NO. 7, 897–910
https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2022.2049188

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

The Roots and Fruits of Masculinity: Social Antecedents and Sexual Relationship Consequences of Young Men's Adherence to Masculine Norms

Matthew G. Nielson[a], L. Monique Ward[b], Rita C. Seabrook[c], and Soraya Giaccardi[d]

[a]Psychology Department, University of Michigan; [b]Department of Psychology, University of Michigan; [c]Program Evaluation Manager, Rush Medical College; [d]Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, University of Southern California

ABSTRACT

On a longitudinal sample of 181 emerging adult men (M_{age} = 19.36, SD_{age} = 1.48), we analyzed how diverse socializing agents (fathers, male peers, magazines, music videos, TV dramas, and TV sitcoms) related to adherence to masculine norms, and how norm adherence related to men's interpersonal sexual cognitions and behaviors (romantic relationship self-efficacy, sexual self-esteem, and alcohol-primed sexual encounters). We found that male peers, magazines, and music videos related to masculine norm adherence one year later, and that norm adherence predicted increased alcohol-primed sexual encounters. We followed this up with analyses investigating the role of specific masculine norms and found unique socialization and outcome paths for different masculine norms. For example, analyses indicated that male peers were positively related to norms of winning, power over women, playboy attitudes, and risk-taking, and that playboy attitudes, risk-taking, emotional control, and self-reliance predicted lower levels of romantic relationship self-efficacy. Interestingly, sitcom viewing related to lower adherence to masculine norms including heterosexual presentation and having power over women. Findings identify the unique influence of male peers, magazines, and music videos on young men's sexual cognitions and behaviors and highlight how combining different socialization agents in one model is key to identifying these unique patterns of socialization and their consequences.

KEYWORDS

fathers; gender identity; gender stereotypes; longitudinal; media; peers

Traditional masculine norms are cultural expectations for how men should think and behave. In the US, some masculine norms reflect expectations for personal behavior, such as the importance of winning, emotional stoicism, and prioritizing work; others reflect more interpersonal norms, such as dominating others, controlling women, performing heterosexuality, and sexual prowess (Mahalik et al., 2017). A large body of literature illustrates that adherence to these masculine norms affects men's sexual interactions (reviewed in Addis et al., 2016), but the developmental process linking social antecedents of masculine norm adherence and interpersonal sexual cognitions and behaviors is under-developed. For example, the bulk of literature on masculine norm socialization investigates the isolated influence of a single socialization agent (e.g., Cole et al., 2020; Hegarty et al., 2018; Klann et al., 2018; Scharrer & Blackburn, 2018). However, simultaneously studying the effect of multiple socializing agents would provide a more complete understanding of the socialization process by showing whether certain socialization agents have unique effects on interpersonal sexual cognitions and behavior.

The developmental nature of masculinity is also highly understudied. Currently, much of masculinity research is composed of cross-sectional studies, and this dominance limits what is known about the long-term sexual consequences of masculinity adherence. Findings across several studies indicate that adherence to traditional masculine norms such as emotional stoicism and controlling women are associated with more limited coping skills in relationships (Karakis & Levant, 2007), self-centered approaches to relationships (Doull et al., 2013), and dangerously high alcohol consumption (Gerdes & Levant, 2017). But understanding is lacking concerning the potential long-term effects on young men's relationships of adhering to masculine norms. The aim of this paper, therefore, was to document how the effects of specific socializing agents, in context with other socializing agents, may uniquely affect young men's adherence to masculine norms, and to track subsequent relationship consequences.

Masculinity Norms and Consequences for Emerging Adult Men's Sexual Relationships

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (Mahalik et al., 2017; Parent & Moradi, 1998) is a popular measure of masculine norms that depicts nine masculine norms: *winning*, *dominance*, *emotional control*, *being a playboy*, *risk-taking*, *self-reliance*, *violence*, *primacy of work*, *power over women*, *pursuit of status*, and *heterosexual self-presentation*. Although adherence to these norms is associated with some positive outcomes (e.g., courage, vocational pursuits), it is often associated with negative physical and psychological outcomes such as abuse of drugs and alcohol, disdain toward women and minoritized populations, and dislike of seeking help (reviewed in Addis et al., 2016). A peculiar complexity is that although men might not strongly subscribe to masculine norms themselves (Bridges & Pascoe, 2014; Casey et al., 2016), they usually believe other men view these norms as important and will judge them

CONTACT Matthew G. Nielson mglade@umich.edu Psychology Department, University of Michigan, 3428 East Hall, 530 Church Street, Ann Arbor, MI, 48109

accordingly (Iacoviello et al., 2021); thus, these norms are perpetuated. Even those men who reject traditional cultural ideals of masculinity may still be negatively impacted by the existence of these norms because not conforming can evoke heavy social sanctions (Bosson et al., 2012; Hoskin, 1999; Jewell & Morrison, 2010). Thus, men may feel pressured to subscribe to masculine norms even if they do not want to (Edwards & Jones, 2009).

Moreover, norms and related socialization experiences are not static. Most emerging adult men in the U.S. experience a masculinity milieu that is markedly different from that which they experienced as adolescents (Marcell et al., 2011; Van Doorn et al., 2021). Delays in beginning careers and families have created an extended period of exploration (Arnett, 2000; Kimmel, 2018) in which men are focused on enjoying their life of relatively few responsibilities (this is likely truer of middle/upper class young men compared to those from lower SES backgrounds; see Landberg et al., 2020). Emerging adulthood is often marked by more autonomy than adolescence (Arnett, 2000). Parental influences wane and peer influences increase throughout adolescence (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011), and this trajectory seems to be maintained during emerging adulthood (Van Doorn et al., 2021). It is common for emerging adults to move out of their parents' homes (Settersten & Ray, 1989), and prior research shows that men who move away from their father's home as emerging adults, become significantly less traditionally masculine than men who continue to live with their fathers (Marcell et al., 2011).

Emerging adults also significantly increase their sexual encounters compared to when they were adolescents (for a review, see Halpern & Kaestle, 2018). Although approximately half of U.S. boys report that their first sexual intercourse experience happened between ages 16 and 18, regular sexual intercourse is not common until they are several years older (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). This delay is explained, in part, by the fact that many emerging adults begin participating in more stable, long-lasting relationships (including cohabitation) compared to those experienced by adolescents (Arnett, 2000; Halpern & Kaestle, 2018). Given these developmental patterns, we focused on sexual relationship skills and health, asking: how might adhering to traditional masculine norms, which include expectations for sexual prowess, emotional stoicism, and risk-taking (such as alcohol use), affect young men's confidence in their ability to have healthy and intimate romantic/sexual relationships? We examined possible contributions in three relationship domains: romantic relationship self-efficacy, sexual self-esteem, and use of alcohol for sexual encounters.

First, adherence to traditional masculine norms might diminish men's romantic relationship self-efficacy – their perceptions of their ability to have intimate romantic/sexual relationships. As noted, masculinity expectations concerning men's sexual behavior center on the playboy ideal and an encouragement of non-relational sex, measured via items such as "It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time" and "If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners." As such, having sex outside of relationships – casual sex – is often viewed as increasing masculinity status (Doull et al., 2013; Edwards & Jones, 2009), and may be perpetuated and enacted in the way some men brag about their sexual activities with their peers (Fair, 2011; Lamb et al., 2018; McDiarmid et al., 2015). However, findings indicate that young men who endorse masculine norms of casual sex and playboy lifestyles report higher levels of sexual aggression and less relationship satisfaction (Burn & Ward, 2019). These men may have low belief in the importance of working through relationship difficulties or in their ability to do so (Edwards & Jones, 2009). In other words, men who subscribe to masculine norms endorsing casual sex may experience lower romantic relationship self-efficacy than other men.

Second, masculine norm adherence may affect young men's sexual self-esteem. Sexual self-esteem is believed to be an amalgam of competency, subjectivity, and self-efficacy related to sexual performance (Maas & Lefkowitz, 2011). We are not aware of work that assesses the effect of masculine norm conformity on young men's sexual self-esteem, but there are established links between masculine norm adherence and self-esteem in general (Chu et al., 2005; Fisher et al., 2021), and between this link and interpersonal relationships (Gerdes & Levant, 2017). Chu et al. (2005) argued that adherence to masculine norms is a double-edged sword for self-esteem: "masculine" personality characteristics (e.g., assertiveness, leadership) positively associate with self-esteem, likely because they are agentic and affirming; masculine norms (e.g., *heterosexual presentation*, *winning*) negatively associate with self-esteem, likely because they are limiting and produce anxiety. Given the normative expectations and potential insecurities that accompany masculine sexual performance, there is unlikely to be a positive relation between adherence to traditional masculine norms and sexual self-esteem.

Finally, alcohol is heavily implicated in the relation between young men's masculine norm adherence and relationship choices. Alcohol use and binge drinking have been found to directly relate to the masculine norm regarding the importance of winning (Iwamoto & Smiler, 2013), and norms about winning (and playboy-esque casual sex) are related, in turn, to young men's illicit drug use and drinking to intoxication (Liu & Iwamoto, 2003). In qualitative work, young men describe how alcohol use directly relates to a playboy approach to casual sex. One young man described: 'Waking up next to a girl and having no idea or you know, "Why in the world did I do this?" or "What did I do?" Um, drinking far too much' (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 217). Thus, adhering to traditional masculinity norms can be expected to contribute to expectations that drinking and sexual experiences are linked.

The Unique Effect of Specific Socializers

The behaviors and ideologies encapsulated in masculine norms shape and are shaped by interpersonal relationships (Chu et al., 2005; Rogers et al., 2021). Young men live within an interconnected system of socialization influences that simultaneously and reciprocally affect their development Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006). Among the many forces shaping their norms and expectations are the ideas of their peers (e.g., Van Doorn et al., 2021), parents (e.g., Marcell et al., 2011), and media models (e.g., Coyne et al., 2019). Masculine norms are often homosocial – men perform masculinity because of other men

and for other men (Carter et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2018; Tolman et al., 2016). This reality is explained by intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998) in which people are more likely to conform to norms set by their in-group in order to avoid prejudice and rejection from those in-group members. Girls and women (such as mothers and female peers) are certainly involved in the socialization of men (e.g., Quayle et al., 2018), but fathers (Kane, 2006; Marcell et al., 2011; Solebello & Elliott, 2016) and male peers (Lamb et al., 2018; Michael, 2009) seem uniquely invested in the heterosexual masculine performance of their sons and friends. For these reasons, we focused on a set of specific socialization agents that heavily include men and male models: fathers, male friends, men's magazines, music videos, and television dramas and comedies.

We also grounded our study in Bronfenbrenner and Morris's (2006) contextual perspective wherein individuals are uniquely impacted by different socialization agents. As such, we expected that a certain source of socialization (e.g., fathers) may yield different outcomes from those produced by other sources of socialization (e.g., male peers). Different socializers likely prioritize different messages and have different methods of transmitting those messages. Below we summarize what is known about the ways in which fathers, peers, media content, and the individuals themselves socialize masculinity.

Fathers

Though there is considerable research on the role of fathers in the gender socialization of their children (for a review, see Pleck, 2010), much less is known about the effect of fathers on the masculinity of their emerging adult sons. Many studies find that fathers are strongly invested in the masculine development of their sons (Kane, 2006; Klann et al., 2018; Solebello & Elliott, 2016), and a few studies have tracked this investment into their adulthood (Marcell et al., 2011; Van Doorn et al., 2021). Many fathers seem to feel that their sons' sexual orientation and sexual activity is a reflection on themselves. As such, they likely feel pressure to police their son's sexuality and presentation of traditional heterosexual masculinity (Klann et al., 2018; Solebello & Elliott, 2016). Marcell et al. (2011) analyzed the masculinity development of 845 men as they transitioned into adulthood and found that young adult men who continue to live with their fathers after adolescence were much more likely to retain traditional gender attitudes than sons who move away from home. Fathers are not monolithic, of course, and this effect was lessened for fathers who spoke more frequently with their sons about sexuality.

Male Peers

Peers form an important part of a man's life in emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Kimmel, 2018). Though there is much research on the way peers socialize masculinity in their schools and friend groups during childhood and adolescence (for reviews, see Farkas & Leaper, 2016; Rogers et al., 2021), less is known about the influence of peers on the masculine development of emerging adult men. Among adolescents, much of the masculinity socialization centers on policing gender nonconformity (e.g., Jewell & Morrison, 2010; McDiarmid et al., 2015), but peers do not equally enforce gender norms, and young men describe an increased ability to find accepting peers as they move into adulthood (Nielson et al., 2022). As such, pressures to conform to masculine norms may diminish in intensity and frequency as men progress from adolescent insecurities (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005). These potential declines do not mean that pressure decreases entirely after adolescence, and men describe in interviews how masculinity norms, such as bragging about sexual prowess, dictate much of their peer social interactions (Edwards & Jones, 2009; McDiarmid et al., 2015).

Media

Media are an important socializing influence on the masculinity attitudes and behavior of young men. Mainstream media often depict a highly sexualized masculinity as normative (Hegarty et al., 2018; Kim et al., 2007; Krassas et al., 2018). Not surprisingly, heavier media use has therefore been linked with greater support of traditional masculine norms, including greater acceptance of nonrelational sex. For example, a meta-analysis (Coyne et al., 2019) reported that exposure to sexualized media affected men's sexual attitudes and behaviors, including increased acceptance of rape myths and heightened engagement in risky sexual behavior. These contributions also vary by media format and genre. In their analysis of undergraduate men's exposure to four media, Ward et al. (2011) found that heavier exposure to movies and to men's magazines was each associated with increased beliefs that behaviors such as getting drunk and engaging in regrettable sexual behavior were normative among their peers. Heavier exposure to music videos was uniquely associated with increased subscription to the masculine norm that "men are driven by sex," which related, in turn, to inconsistent use of contraceptives. Similarly, in their cross-sectional study of emerging adults' exposure to four television genres, Scharrer and Blackburn (2018) found that heavier exposure to TV dramas (e.g., shows that have revolving character casts and plots focused on depicting dramatic events; cop/detective shows) was associated with increased restrictive emotionality and toughness for men, whereas exposure to situation comedies (sitcoms; e.g., shows that involve continuing casts of characters in a succession of comedic circumstances) was unrelated to adherence to masculine norms. The sitcom finding was somewhat surprising given that previous researchers posited the potential for sitcoms to counter traditional masculinity by portraying egalitarian, progressive, or emotionally sensitive masculine characters (Feasey, 2008; Zimdars, 2018). Drawing on these bodies of literature, it is likely that fathers, friends, and specific media types including magazines, music videos, TV dramas, and TV sitcoms, may each uniquely contribute to masculinity socialization.

Including Multiple Socializers in the Same Model

Socialization into masculinity is complex and multidimensional, with contributions from several socialization forces. Although the effects of fathers, peers, and media

consumption are usually studied individually, they are all parts of an interconnected network of systems that reciprocally interact to socialize young men. When research compares the effects of different socializers on male gender norm adherence, different socializers yield some shared effects and some unique effects. For example, in a cross-sectional study of undergraduate men, Tylka (2011) investigated how the appearance-related pressure from friends, family members, media, and romantic partners significantly relate to men's adherence to traditional male appearance norms and subsequent problematic behavior. She found that pressure from friends alone related to muscularity dissatisfaction, pressure from family members and the media related to internalization of masculine appearance norms, and pressure from romantic partners alone related to eating disorders. Cross-sectional research by Van Doorn et al. (2021) analyzed several potential sources of socialization for adult men (ages 18–65) including father-son relationship quality, mother-son relationship quality, and support from friends. In their model, only support from friends significantly related to traditional masculine norm adherence.

The Current Study

In this work, we sought to build on the unique effect of different masculinity socializers and extend it to sexual cognitions and behavior. Our aim was to provide a quantitative view of the long-term effect of adhering to masculine norms by mapping masculine norm conformity from its roots (socialization of masculinity) to potential fruits (interpersonal sexual cognitions and behavior). In doing so, we fill several important gaps in the literature. First, we explored the potentially unique impact of different socialization agents in men's lives: pressure felt from fathers and male peers to conform to masculine norms, as well as exposure to various types of media including magazines, music videos, and TV dramas and sitcoms. Second, we tested consequences of adherence to these norms. Although adhering to these norms is linked to several personal consequences for young men, such as greater risk-taking (e.g., Giaccardi et al., 2018), more research is needed to see how it connects to interpersonal sexual behaviors in emerging adulthood – a time of increased sexual activity and exploration (Halpern & Kaestle, 2018). Finally, we examined the effect of adhering to masculine norms over time, addressing calls from masculinity scholars for more longitudinal research on masculinity (Wong & Horn, 2015).

In general, we expected that more pressure from fathers and male peers and heavier exposure to magazines, music videos, and TV dramas would positively relate to masculine norm adherence (Hypothesis 1). However, based on data suggesting that TV sitcoms depict a more diverse array of masculine performances (Scharrer et al., 2021; Zimdars, 2018), we expected that exposure to sitcoms might *negatively* relate to masculine norm adherence (Hypothesis 2). Next, we explored the long-term effects of masculine norm adherence on interpersonal sexual cognition and behaviors. We expected that masculine norm conformity would predict decreased romantic relationship self-efficacy over time (Hypothesis 3) because several masculine norms are oriented more toward hooking up and less toward commitment (Edwards & Jones, 2009). Conversely, we expected masculine norm conformity to predict an increased sexual self-esteem and more use of alcohol to ease sexual encounters over time (Hypothesis 4), given masculine norms of sexual conquest, prowess, and risk-taking (Doull et al., 2013; Gerdes & Levant, 2017).

Finally, though we used an aggregated, mean-scale score for masculine norms in our investigations above, there is evidence that individual masculine norms (e.g., winning, playboy) relate differentially to other constructs (e.g., Gerdes & Levant, 2017). As such, exploring the longitudinal connection between specific socialization agents and sexual outcomes for *specific* masculine norms over time would further understanding of the potentially unique impact of certain masculine norms in young men's lives. Accordingly, we followed up our main analysis by exploring the unique socialization and effect of nine masculine norms: *winning*, *heterosexual presentation, violence*, *power over women*, *playboy*, *emotional control*, *risk taking*, *self-reliance*, and *primacy of work*. Because masculine norms are generally studied in aggregate, there is little precedence for predicting the directions of paths between specific socialization agents and adherence to masculine norms. However, we expected that exposure to most socialization agents would positively relate with adherence to masculine norms. Again, we expected the opposite for TV sitcoms: more exposure to TV sitcoms would relate to decreased adherence to masculine norms. Also similar to the aggregate model, we expected that adherence to masculine norms would relate to lower romantic relationship efficacy and increased sexual self-esteem and alcohol-primed sexual encounters.

Methods

Procedure

Time 1 data were collected in September of 2014 as part of a larger project investigating men's personal development and relationships with other men at a large U.S. Midwest university. E-mails describing the study and inviting participation were sent out to a random sample of 1,973 first, second, and third-year undergraduate men via the university's office of the registrar. At T1, students were invited to complete a 45-minute online survey concerning "men's experiences with media use, dating, and sexual health at college" and were offered a $10 gift card for compensation. Complete and clean data were received from 399 men. One year later, in September of 2015, the men were re-contacted via e-mail and invited to participate in a follow-up survey in exchange for a $15 gift card. There were 205 participants at T2. The study and methods were approved by the University IRB.

Participants

Included in these analyses were 181 undergraduate men attending a large midwestern university, who ranged in age from 18–22 ($M = 19.27$, $SD = 1.13$). We excluded from our initial pool of 216 any participants who did not have data on the dependent variables at each time point ($n = 13$), who were younger than 18 ($n = 2$) or older than 22 ($n = 3$), and who failed all 3 attention checks (e.g., "if you are paying attention, mark

strongly disagree") at T2 ($n = 6$). The sample had some ethnic diversity, with 71% self-identifying as White/European-American, 17% as Asian/Asian American, 4% as Middle Eastern, 3% as Latinx, 3% as Black/African American, and less than one percent as multiracial, Native American, or "other." Concerning sexual orientation, 79% of participants identified as exclusively straight, 11% as predominantly straight, 1% as bisexual, 4% as predominantly gay, and 6% as exclusively gay; a little over half of the men, 58%, identified as single/not in a relationship. Levels of maternal education, our proxy for socioeconomic status, were quite high, such that 39.5% of participants' mothers had completed college, 30.1% had a post-graduate degree (i.e., Masters, MBA, JD, PhD), and 13.8% had some college. The men ranged in religiosity with 34% identifying as not religious at all, 21% identifying as somewhat religious, and 10% identifying as very religious.

Measures

All measures and items used in this study were identical from T1 to T2. See the Supplementary Materials for the full measures used to assess exposure to the different media types.

Demographic Variables

Participant ethnicity was assessed using the free-response item "Please write your ethnic group background/identification". Ethnicity was dichotomized (Minoritized ethnic groups, White) for inclusion in the correlation analysis. Sexual orientation was assessed with the item "In terms of my sexual orientation, I identify myself as (please select one)". Response options included "exclusively heterosexual", "predominantly heterosexual", "bisexual", "predominantly homosexual", "exclusively homosexual", and "not sure". Sexual orientation was dichotomized (Exclusively heterosexual, Not exclusively heterosexual) for inclusion in the correlation analysis. Dating relationship status was assessed by asking participants whether they were currently in a relationship or not. Maternal education was assessed by asking participants to identify their mother's highest level of education from a list with options spanning "A few years of high school or less" to "Ph.D." Religiosity was determined by asking participants, "How religious are you?"; responses were recorded on a Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very*).

Socialization Agents

A 30-item Pressure to Conform to Masculine Stereotypes Scale (PCMS; Epstein, 2011) was used to assess the degree of pressure felt from fathers and peers to adhere to traditional masculine norms centered on performances of toughness, risk-taking, strength, and sexual prowess. This measure was chosen because it was created based on the norms represented in the CMNI, which was also used in this study. Further, it has shown strong validity evidence in work on young adults (Seabrook et al., 2018). Using a scale anchored by 1 (*none*) and 4 (*a lot*), participants indicated how much pressure they felt to engage in 30 specific actions such as "Have a lot of sexual partners" and "Hold my liquor." Participants responded to each item twice – once about fathers and once about male peers. Mean scores were calculated across the 30 items assessed at T1 such that higher scores indicated more pressure; fathers α = .90 ; peers α = .95. The original scale (Epstein, 2011) was developed and validated on a sample of 300 emerging adult men aged 18–27 (M = 19.06, SD = 1.247), 75.9% White, and reported strong internal consistency: Fathers α = .94 ; peers α = .89.

Exposure to magazines was assessed by providing the names of the top 10 popular monthly men's magazines (e.g., *Esquire, GQ*; Alliance for Audited Media, 2010; authors blinded for review). Participants were asked to write the number of magazine issues (0–12) that they read (i.e., browsed through and checked out at least a few articles) in a typical year of these ten magazines T1 α = .63. Mean monthly issues read was computed across the ten magazines, with higher scores indicating greater exposure. Exposure to music videos was assessed by asking participants, "How often do you watch music videos?" Participants responded three times, concerning exposure (in hours) on a typical weekday, Saturday, and Sunday. Response scales ranged from 0 to 10+ hours, and responses were computed to create a weekly exposure score, T1 α = .93.

To assess exposure to popular TV sitcoms and dramas, we provided participants a list of 50 popular TV programs, including broadcast and cable programs, that had been assembled using pilot data, online television ratings sites, and recent published papers (authors blinded for review). Included in this list were 17 shows classified as dramas (e.g., *Dexter, The Blacklist*) and 15 shows classified as sitcoms (e.g., *Family Guy, The Big Bang Theory*) according to their IMDB descriptions. Participants indicated their exposure to each program using the following 1–4 scale: *1=none at all; 2=a little/a few episodes; 3=some episodes; 4=a lot/almost all episodes*. Mean responses were computed for exposure to dramas T1 α = .62 and to sitcoms T1 α = .72.

Conformity to Masculine Norms

Adherence to traditional masculine norms and expectations was assessed via the widely used 46-item version of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (Parent & Moradi, 1998). The CMNI-46 contains 46 total items representing 9 subscales: *winning*, *heterosexual presentation, violence*, *power over women*, *playboy*, *emotional control*, *risk taking*, *self-reliance*, and *primacy of work*. Cronbach's alphas for CMNI subscale items ranged from .72 to .91, and it was .92 for all items. Participants rated their agreement with each statement using a 6-point scale anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include, "If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners" and "I enjoy taking risks." Mean scores were computed for the entire measure (T1 α = .89 , T2 α = .89) and across the 9 subscales (T1 αs ranged from .81 to .91; T2 αs ranged from .80 to .92). Higher scores indicate more support for masculine norms.

Interpersonal Sexual cognition and behaviors

Three scales were used to assess participants' interpersonal sexual cognitions and behaviors. First, we examined participants' romantic relationship self-efficacy – their beliefs about their capabilities for having a successful relationship – via the 12-item Self-Efficacy in Romantic Relationships Scale (SERRS; Riggio et al., 2018). The SERRS has proven reliability and validity across several studies on young adult samples (see Beckmeyer & Jamison, 2020; Weisskirch, 2018). Participants

used a 1 (*very strongly disagree*) to 9 (*very strongly agree*) scale to indicate agreement with statements such as, "If I can't do something successfully in a romantic relationship the first time, I keep trying until I can." Mean scores were computed such that higher scores indicated more efficacy; α = .86.

To measure sexual self-esteem, we used the 5-item Sexual Esteem subscale of the short-form version of Snell and Papini's Sexuality Scale (1989). Using a 1 (*disagree*) to 5 (*agree*) scale, participants indicated their support of each of five items, including, "I am a good sexual partner." Mean scores were computed (α=.92), and higher scores reflected greater sexual esteem.

Finally, to measure the frequency of alcohol-primed sexual encounters, we used the item: "What percentage of your sexual experiences (e.g., making out, oral sex, vaginal sex, anal sex) involve prior drinking," scored on a scale of 0% to 100%. Following guidelines for measuring alcohol consumption (Dawson, 2017), this item was created for this study as an effort to capture the use of alcohol to ease stress of sexual and romantic interactions.

Planned Analyses

To map the process of masculine norm socialization, conformity, and sexual behavior while accounting for specific socialization agents, we conducted a structural equation model (SEM) in which T1 socialization agents (pressure from fathers and male peers, magazines, music videos, TV dramas, and TV sitcoms) were regressed on T1 conformity to male norms which were regressed, in turn, on T2 interpersonal sexual behaviors (romantic relationship self-efficacy, sexual self-esteem, and alcohol-primed sexual encounters), controlling for T1 interpersonal sexual behaviors (see Figure 1). We also controlled for sexual orientation (heterosexual, sexual minority), ethnic background (White, ethnic minority), religiosity, and current relationship status by regressing them on the outcome variables (romantic relationship self-efficacy, sexual self-esteem, and alcohol-primed sexual encounters). As such, this model enabled us to determine the unique relation between specific socialization agents on young adult conformity to masculine norms, and to use conformity to masculine norms to predict change in interpersonal sexual behaviors and cognitions over time. Acceptable model fit was determined with a comparative fit index (CFI) score above .95, a Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) above .95, a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) score below .06, and a standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR) of .08 or lower (Hu & Bentler, 2021).

In our follow-up analyses, we investigated our model of norm socialization, norm adherence, and sexual behaviors/cognitions for all nine of the specific masculine norms identified in the CMNI (*winning*, *heterosexual presentation, violence*, *power over women*, *playboy*, *emotional control*, *risk taking*, *self-reliance*, and *primacy of work*). To do so, we replicated the SEM model described above nine different times; one for each of the nine masculine norms.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Variable descriptive statistics are available in Table 1. Men, on average, reported feeling low to moderate pressure to conform to masculine norms from fathers ($M = 1.56$, $SD = .38$) and peers ($M = 2.14$, SD=.66). They reported reading less than one issue from our list of men's magazines ($M = .24$, SD=.53); watching roughly 3 hours of music videos per week ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 4.94$); and watching between "a few" and "some" episodes of TV dramas ($M = 1.52$, $SD = .35$) and TV sitcoms ($M = 1.77$, $SD = .44$). On the one to six scale, adherence to the total and nine individual masculine norms ranged from 2.06 (*power over women*) to 3.95 (*winning*), indicating moderate adherence to each norm. Finally, men reported the following mean levels of romantic relationship efficacy (T1 $M = 6.04$, $SD = 1.31$; T2 $M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.38$), sexual self-esteem (T1 $M = 3.46$, $SD = .95$; T2 $M = 3.60$, $SD = .96$), and alcohol-primed sexual encounters (T1 $M = 19.71$, $SD = 26.73$; T2 $M = 23.02$, $SD = 28.07$).

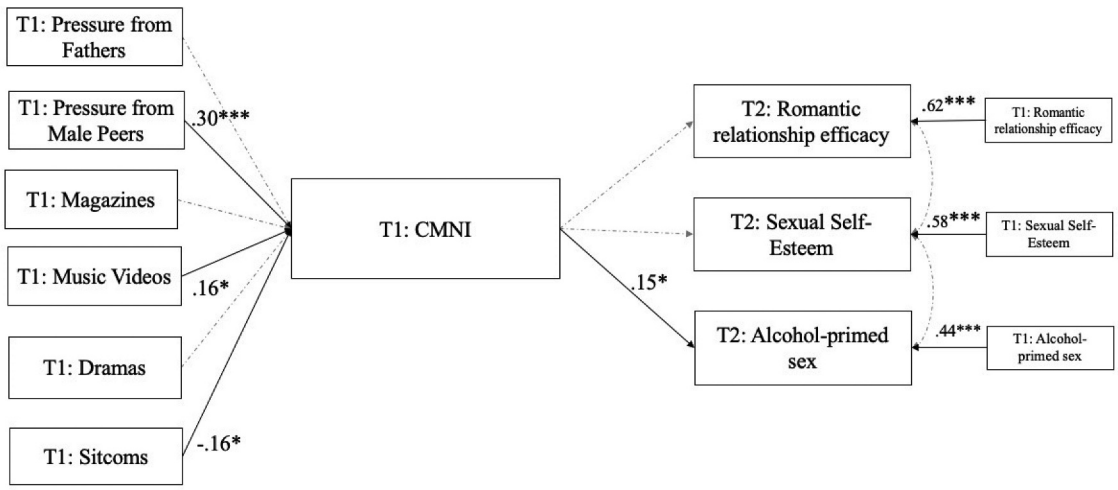

Figure 1. Model 1 results.

Table 1. Sample descriptive statistics.

Time 1 Variables	*N*	*Possible Range*	*Actual Range*	*M*	*SD*
Religiosity	205	1.00–5.00	1.00–5.00	3.00	1.38
Pressure from fathers	203	1.00–4.00	1.00–3.07	1.56	0.38
Pressure from peers	201	1.00–4.00	1.07–3.90	2.14	66
Magazines	203	00–12.00	00–4.00	0.24	0.53
Music videos	205	00–168.00	00–26.00	2.98	4.94
TV dramas	203	1.00–4.00	1.00–2.47	1.52	0.35
TV sitcoms	203	1.00–4.00	1.00–3.00	1.77	0.44
CMNI: total	205	1.00–6.00	1.93–5.15	3.30	0.53
CMNI: winning	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–6.00	3.95	0.99
CMNI: heterosexual presentation	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–6.00	3.27	1.20
CMNI: violence	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–6.00	3.88	1.12
CMNI: power over women	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–5.75	2.06	0.91
CMNI: playboy	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–6.00	2.75	1.16
CMNI: emotional control	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–5.67	3.19	0.95
CMNI: risk taking	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–6.00	3.49	0.85
CMNI: self-reliance	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–5.40	3.14	0.90
CMNI: primacy of work	205	1.00–6.00	1.00–6.00	3.39	1.00
Romantic relationship efficacy	204	1.00–9.00	2.50–8.92	6.04	1.31
Sexual self-esteem	202	1.00–5.00	1.00–5.00	3.46	0.95
Alcohol-primed sex	205	0.00-100	0.00-100	19.71	26.73
Time 2 Variables	***N***	***Possible Range***	***Actual Range***	***M***	***SD***
Romantic relationship efficacy	205	1.00–9.00	2.83–9.00	5.97	1.38
Sexual self-esteem	200	1.00–5.00	1.20–5.00	3.60	96
Alcohol-primed sex	205	0.00-100	0.00-100	23.02	28.07

Correlations between sample variables are listed in Table 2. Correlation analyses indicated T1 socialization agents were all significantly related with T1 masculine norms (*r*s >.16, *p*s<.05) with the exception of sitcoms (r= −.04, p = .585). T1 masculine norms were significantly related to sexual self-esteem (r = .15 , p = .033) and alcohol-primed sex (r = .25 , p < .001) but not to romantic relationship self-efficacy (r=-.08, p = .234). Correlation analysis with control variables indicated that ethnicity was significantly related to alcohol-primed sexual encounters with White men reporting higher levels than ethnic minority men (r = .21 , p = .02); sexual orientation was significantly related to romantic relationship efficacy with straight men reporting more than sexual minority men (r = .21 , p = .001), and dating relationship status significantly related to both romantic relationship efficacy (r = .44 , p = .002) and alcohol-primed sexual encounters with men in relationships reporting more than single men (r = .43 , p = .008).

To gain a better understanding of the relative importance of specific masculine norms in the lives of young men, we conducted a repeated measures ANOVA on the nine CMNI norms to determine whether men adhered to certain masculine norms more than others. The ANOVA indicated that there was a significant difference in the masculine norms to which emerging adult men adhered ($F(197) = 123.83$, $p < .001$, partial η^2=.83). Pairwise comparisons determined that men indicated significantly lower levels of *power over women* than they did for other norms (*p*s<.001). The *playboy* and *self-reliance* norms were significantly lower than all norms but *power over* women (*p*s<.01), and the *winning* and *violence* norms were significantly higher than all other norms (*p*s<.001).

Socialization agents and norm Adherence Outcomes

Our main model tested paths from norm socialization to norm adherence and interpersonal sexual outcomes. Regarding the control variables, ethnicity, sexual orientation, dating relationship status, and religiosity were not significantly related to the outcome variables and they did not improve the model fit, thus they were removed from the subsequent models. The final version of the main model revealed good fit $\chi^2(50) = 424.602$, $p < .001$, CFI=.953, TLI=.919 RMSEA=.058(.023, .088), and SRMR=.037). A post-hoc power analysis to test the power of SEM models based on RMSEA scores (Jak et al., 2020; Preacher & Coffman, 2006) was conducted. It revealed that the model achieved 99% power (80% power or higher is ideal; Cohen, 1992); thus our risk of committing a Type II error (e.g., failing to reject null hypotheses) was slight. Several paths were significant, as hypothesized (see Figure 1). In partial support of Hypothesis 1, pressure from male peers and time spent watching music videos positively related to subscription to masculine norms (*β*s>.16, *p*s<.019); pressure from fathers, number of issues of magazines read, and episodes of TV dramas did not significantly relate to masculine norms (*β*s<.012, *p*s>.135). In support of Hypothesis 2, number of episodes of TV sitcoms watched negatively related to adherence to masculine norms (β=-.16, p = .030). Hypothesis 3, that adherence to masculine norms would predict change in romantic relationship self-efficacy, was not supported (β=-.05, p = .289). In partial support of Hypothesis 4, endorsing masculine norms was positively related to alcohol-primed sexual encounters (β=.15, p = .014) but was not significantly related to sexual self-esteem (β=.06, p = .285).

The Effect of Specific Socialization Agents

To test how specific socialization agents positively related to change in adherence to specific masculine norms, we tested nine different SEM models that each analyzed the socialization and effect of adherence to one specific masculine norm. These models were almost identical to our main model described above, but rather than a composite CMNI variable, these models each had one specific CMNI norm (e.g., *winning)*. The models generally showed good model fit (e.g., CFIs greater than .943 and RMSEAs <.05), but those for *violence*, *emotional control*, *playboy*, and *risk-taking* indicated adequate/poor fit (e.g., TLIs between .759 and .883; RMSEAs between .069 and .103) (see Table 3 for complete fit indices for each model). Patterns of socialization influence and outcomes varied for each of the different masculine norms, and we describe the significant effects below (see Table 4 for a full description of the outcomes for each model). *Winning* was positively related to pressure from male peers (ß = .18, p = .042), but no sexual outcomes. *Heterosexual presentation* was negatively related to sitcoms (ß = -.18, p = .018), and predicted more alcohol-primed sex (ß = .20, p = .001). *Violence* was positively related to TV dramas (ß = .17, p = .048), but no sexual outcomes. *Power over women* was positively related to two different socialization agents, pressure from male peers (ß = .19, p = .03) and music videos (ß = .22, p = .002), and negatively related

Table 2. Correlations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Time 1																							
1 Ethnicity	-																						
2 SexOrient	04	-																					
3 Cur Rel	06	14*	-																				
4 Religious	−.05	15*	03	-																			
5 DadPress	−.02	−.10	−.07	01	-																		
6 PeerPress	02	07	03	−.02	51*	-																	
7 Mag	04	05	09	04	11	24*	-																
8 MVideos	−.21*	00	−.03	07	12	−.02	06	-															
9 Dramas	06	06	04	−.11	12	26*	19*	−.17*	-														
10 Sitcoms	−.01	−.06	01	−.12	07	08	01	−.04	38*	-													
11 CMNI	04	25**	14	04	22*	32*	23*	16*	17*	−.04	-												
12 Win	03	10	07	02	25*	24*	18*	11	14	03	65*	-											
13 EmoCon	04	−.01	17*	−.03	−.01	09	10	04	00	−.02	48*	14	-										
14 Risk	02	02	12	−.06	17*	27*	11	07	07	−.17*	46*	27*	04	-									
15 Violence	11	30**	16*	01	03	10	15*	05	20*	07	63*	31*	17*	30*	-								
16 Power	−.08	28**	13	25*	16*	19*	16*	19*	00	−.14	55*	29*	09	15*	22*	-							
17 Playboy	01	−.08	−.23**	−.50*	14*	28*	05	−.02	22*	08	36*	19*	12	16*	14	01	-						
18 SelfRel	02	−.08	22**	−.04	02	08	17*	05	04	−.02	48*	19*	45*	09	16*	22*	16*	-					
19 Work	−.02	01	−.11	−.07	08	13	07	12	04	03	40*	23*	16*	10	07	13	24*	06	-				
20 Het Sex	−.02	42**	06	44*	20*	14	09	17*	02	−.09	55*	30*	04	12	27*	50*	−.14	03	09	-			
Time 2																							
21 Efficacy	07	21**	45**	10	−.06	−.05	−.05	−.07	−.06	−.05	−.08	03	−.18*	04	13	−.07	−.31*	11	−.04	06	-		
22 Esteem	05	08	43**	−.11	−.01	15*	09	−.06	11	−.03	15*	15*	−.04	24**	19*	01	08	02	03	02	37*	-	
23 Alcohol	21*	06	−.14	−.15*	19*	30*	08	−.07	25*	−.02	24*	11	−.01	11	10	14*	37**	01	14*	20*	−.14*	05	-

SexOrient =sexual orientation, Cur Rel =current relationship status, DadPress=pressure from fathers, PeerPress=pressure from peers, Mag=magazines read, MVideos=music videos watched, CMNI=CMNI aggregated score, Win=CMNI winning, EmoCon=CMNI emotional control, Risk=CMNI Risk taking, Power=CMNI power over women, SelfRes=CMNI self-reliance, Work=CMNI primacy of work, Het Sex=CMNI heterosexual presentation, Power=CMNI power over women, Efficacy=romantic relationship efficacy, Self-esteem=sexual self-esteem, Alcohol=alcohol primed sexual encounters.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$.

Table 3. Model fit for models with specific masculine norms predicting sexual outcomes.

	χ^2	df	p	CFI	TLI	RMSEA (CI)	SRMR
1. Winning	404.07	50	<.001	972	950	042 (.000, .075)	034
2. Heterosexual Presentation	399.89	50	<.001	967	943	047 (.000, .079)	036
3. Violence	400.759	50	<.001	926	867	069 (.040, .097)	048
4. Power over Women	429.566	50	<.001	965	939	049 (.000, .080)	034
5. Playboy	450.783	50	<.001	860	759	103 (.078, .129)	063
6. Emotional Control	399.54	50	<.001	923	868	071 (.042, .099)	046
7. Risk-Taking	416.993	50	<.001	932	883	069 (.039, .133)	046
9. Self-Reliance	384.318	50	<.001	965	939	047 (.000, .079)	038
10. Primacy of Work	388.23	50	<.001	971	950	043 (.000, .076)	035

to TV sitcoms (ß = -.18, $p = .021$). It also predicted more alcohol-primed sex (ß = .19, $p = .002$). *Playboy attitudes* was positively related to pressure from male peers (ß = .28, $p < .001$) and predicted increased sexual self-esteem (ß = .10, $p < .049$) and more alcohol-primed sexual encounters (ß = .22, $p < .001$). *Emotional control* was not directly related to any socialization agents, but it predicted decreased romantic relationship self-efficacy one year later (ß = -.11, $p = .033$). *Risk-taking* was positively related to pressure from male peers (ß = .18, $p = .05$) and predicted increased sexual self-esteem (ß = .11, $p = .040$). *Self-reliance* was positively related to watching music videos (ß = .16, $p = .037$), and it predicted decreased romantic relationship self-efficacy (ß = -.12, $p = .022$). *Primacy of work* was not directly related to any socialization agent, but it predicted an increase in sexual self-esteem (ß = .14, $p = .008$).

Discussion

This is the first study of which we are aware that maps the process of masculinity socialization and behavioral outcomes over time. In doing so, we were able to describe more clearly how specific masculinity socializers positively relate to norm adherence which were then used to predict increases in interpersonal sexual cognitions and behaviors. We found that some socializers related to young men's adherence to masculine norms while others did not. Further, in partial support of our expectations, adherence to global masculine norms predicted increases in alcohol-primed sexual encounters but not romantic relationship self-efficacy or sexual self-esteem. However, follow-up analyses showed that, when considered independently, adherence to specific norms including *emotional control* and *self-reliance* predicted decreased romantic relationship self-efficacy, and *playboy attitudes*, *risk-taking*, and *primacy of work* predicted increased sexual self-esteem. As such, our analyses revealed developmental patterns not hitherto revealed.

Unique paths from socializers to outcomes

We found that pressure from male peers related to stronger adherence to masculinity norms, in general, and was uniquely associated with stronger adherence to masculine norms of *playboy*, *winning*, *power over women*, and *risk-taking*. Qualitative research indicates that young men construct and perpetuate masculinity norms in interactions with their male peers (Pascoe, 2007), and some posit that one reason young men might engage in sexual activity is to fit in with their peers (Ward, 2015). We enriched this research by showing that male peers exert influence *above and beyond* that which men experience from the media or their fathers. Further, we showed how the masculine norms that were particularly related to pressure from male peers then directly influenced change in sexual cognitions and behavior over time. Specifically, adherence to *playboy attitudes*, *heterosexual presentation*, and *power over women*, predicted heavier use of alcohol in sexual activities one year later; adherence to *playboy attitudes* and *risk-taking* predicted increased sexual self-esteem one year later.

Next, we found that pressure from fathers to conform to masculine norms did not directly relate to their son's adherence to masculine norms. This finding tallies with other recent research indicating the low impact of pressure from fathers on the masculinity of their emerging adult sons (Van Doorn et al., 2021). Yet we also acknowledge that these weak or strong associations might vary by context. For example, young adult men who live with their fathers are more strongly impacted by them than are men who move away from home during emerging adulthood (Marcell et al., 2011). Accordingly, we expect that person-centered analysis might yield different outcomes

Table 4. Results for models with specific masculine norms predicting sexual outcomes.

	Fathers	Male Peers	Magazines	Music Videos	TV Drama	TV Sitcom	Efficacy	Esteem	Alcohol Sex
	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*	ß, *p*
1. Winning	14, .091	**18, .042**	10, 175	10, .168	08, .337	−.05, .471	−.04, .441	05, .393	08, .218
2. Heterosexual Pres.	12, .178	07, .440	02, .836	13, .068	09, .306	**-.18, .018**	−.02, .754	02, .656	**20, .001**
3. Violence	−.09, .297	11, .252	06, .451	05, .528	**165, .048**	−.04, .614	−.01, .947	01, .904	05, .432
4. Power over Women	02, .831	**19, .030**	09, .236	**22, .002**	03, .713	**-.17, .021**	−.07, .168	−.03, .580	**19, .002**
5. Playboy	−.01, .994	**28, .002**	−.05, .492	01, .872	12, .159	−.02, .801	−.05, .349	**10, .049**	**22, <.001**
6. Emotional Control	−.12, .172	12, .200	08, .292	06, .452	−.04, .688	−.01, .941	**-.11, .033**	01, .862	−.07, .289
7. Risk-Taking	09, .312	**18, .05**	05, .590	06, .452	−.06, .514	−.13, .088	−.07, .158	**11, .040**	04, .581
9. Self-Reliance	−.06, .497	−.01, .934	12, .136	**16, .037**	061, .473	07, .397	**-.12, .022**	−.04, .393	01, .829
10. Primacy of Work	10, .921	09, .314	05, .487	12, .129	00, .998	02, .849	06, .232	07, .160	08, .227

Pres = Presentation; bolded figures represent statistically significant pathways.

for different kinds of fathers and father-son relationships. Fathers who strongly endorse traditional masculine norms, along with fathers who more zealously pressure their sons to conform to masculine norms, may have more influence over their young adult sons than fathers who do not.

We also want to draw attention to the fact that pressure from fathers correlated with adherence to masculine norms in the zero-order correlations; it was only when accounting for the variance of other socializers that father pressure lost significance. Thus, although fathers may have some influence when considered in isolation (Pleck, 2010), their influence may be overshadowed by other socialization agents. This finding highlights the need for following Tylka's (2011) example of including multiple socialization agents in the same model to obtain an accurate view of the interconnected nature of socialization.

Different media genres also yielded unique relations with the masculine norm adherence of young men. In line with our expectations, heavier exposure to music videos – which are rife with sexual themes and traditional masculine scripts (Krassas et al., 2018; Ward, 2003) – was linked to stronger adherence to masculine norms, in general. When individual norms were considered, music videos were uniquely related to adhering to norms of *power over women* and *self-reliance* which were related, in turn, to romantic relationship self-efficacy and alcohol-primed sexual encounters. This outcome is consistent with research that reports both correlational and experimental connections between music video consumption and men's gender and sexual beliefs (e.g., Coyne et al., 2019). We also shed light on the mechanism of this process by illuminating how exposure to specific media formats, such as magazines and TV dramas, predicted specific beliefs including that women should be subservient to men or that men should have multiple sexual partners (note that most participants read less than one men's magazine each year). Adherence to these norms has been shown to relate, in turn, to indices of substance abuse, sexually aggressive behavior, and decreased relationship satisfaction (for a review, see Gerdes & Levant, 2017).

The contributions of sitcoms stood out from that of other media formats because sitcoms seemed to socialize men away from traditional masculine norms. Specifically, exposure to sitcoms negatively related with adherence to norms of *power over women* and *heterosexual presentation*. When men watched series such as *The Big Bang Theory* or *How I Met Your Mother*, they reported less belief that men should control women and that their masculinity depended on their ability to win. Sitcoms are comedies and are therefore purposefully humorous and sometimes even absurd by nature. It is possible that these humorous efforts to present, make fun of, or even critique common norms and scripts may contribute to viewers being less accepting of them. Dhoest (2013) noted that comedies often transgress and question norms and expectations for humor and can in some ways be subversive. Yet even as these programs potentially combat the masculine norms focused on dominance/prestige, they may do so by portraying men as incompetent – bumbling yet well-intentioned (Scharrer et al., 2020). Therefore, although we found that exposure to sitcoms negatively related to adherence to misogynistic and homophobic masculine norms, further research is needed to determine whether these norms have simply been replaced by male stereotypes that depict men as incompetent.

Resisting Masculine Norms

The effect sizes of the paths from socialization to traditional masculinity, and from traditional masculinity to relationship consequences, were relatively small. It may well be that a majority of men do not subscribe to these more harmful aspects of masculinity (e.g., *violence*, *power over women*), nor experience the deleterious outcomes with which they are associated (e.g., rape myth acceptance, depression; for a meta-analysis, see Gerdes & Levant, 2017). Rather, consistent with prior work (Casey et al., 2016), we suspect that many young men are distancing themselves from these playboy expectations (Smiler, 2013). The majority of men in our sample did not appear to be overly concerned with asserting their dominance through adherence to norms such as *power over women*. Indeed, the men we sampled reported significantly less adherence to the *power over women* norm than to the other norms. This pattern is consistent with a growing literature on how young men actively resist misogynistic masculine norms (Duckworth & Trautner, 2009). Our data also point to the potential utility of a person-centered approach when studying masculinity; like other work (Casey et al., 2016), perhaps only a small percentage of men in our study adhered to the specific masculine norms that connect to negative interpersonal cognitions and behavior. More person-centered work is needed to better understand whether certain young men are more likely than others to internalize the traditional masculine discourse of their peers.

Implications for Research and Practice

Much of the work conducted on adherence to masculine norms aggregates the norms into a single scale score (for a review, see Gerdes & Levant, 2017). Our work adds to the growing body of literature that illuminates the unique effects of certain socializers and the unique outcomes related to certain masculine norms (Gerdes & Levant, 2017; Thompson et al., 1999; Tylka, 2011). Analyzing the unique properties of socialization agents, and better yet, studying the unique properties of these agents in the context of other agents as we did in this work, illuminates the mechanisms of social development heretofore masked by studying agents in isolation or aggregation.

The current work also has several practical implications, foremost of which is the fact that adherence to masculine norms of *emotional control* and *self-reliance* predict less romantic relationship efficacy. Previous work has also connected men's adherence to masculine norms of emotional control to alexithymia, difficulty recognizing and expressing emotions, and lower likelihoods of speaking to mental health providers (for a review, see Gerdes & Levant, 2017). Way and Rogers (2017) found that late childhood – early adolescence may be a period in which boys are particularly open to resisting emotionally restrictive masculine norms. The Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Boys and Men (American Psychological Association [APA], 2018) recommend that psychologists help parents teach their sons about the importance of emotional intimacy through parental modeling of close

bonds and nurturing parent-child relationships. Additionally, we found that male peers are particularly influential on young men's thoughts and behaviors. These strong relationships can be a source of strength and emotional connection for boys (Way, 2011), and the APA suggests that psychologists work to increase the positive tenor of these male-male relationships by helping their clients recognize and challenge masculine norms of competition and aggression through the use of group therapy for men, self-help books, and educational videos (APA, 2018).

Finally, our assumptions about the relation between adherence to masculine norms and alcohol use in sexual activities had been drawn from previous research and theory arguing that traditional masculinity norms represent an unrealistic ideal, and that striving to reach this ideal results in internalizing and externalizing problems (Addis et al., 2016; Pleck, 1981). We thought that young men who subscribe to the importance of living up to these masculine ideals may need alcohol to feel comfortable either with their sexuality, sexual expectations of them, or to alleviate their concerns about their sexual performance (i.e., liquid courage). Our findings can certainly be interpreted to support this outcome: young men might be using alcohol to cope with their potentially impaired ability to feel fully engaged in the moment. Another interpretation, however, is that the alcohol use of the young men in our sample may be more indicative of normative emerging adult social drinking rather than using alcohol to cope with the strain of unrealistic masculine ideals. Future research is needed to understand more clearly the effect of alcohol use on the sexual behaviors and relationships of young men.

Limitations and Future Directions

We acknowledge several limitations in the current work. First, our longitudinal models would have been stronger with three time points which could have been leveraged to test the predictive power of T1 socialization variables on T2 adherence to masculine norms and then T3 interpersonal sexual outcomes. We accommodated for this limitation by simply analyzing the relation between T1 socialization variables and T1 adherence to masculine norms without making any claims about cause and effect.

Second, our socialization variables were focused on the transmission of traditionally masculine norms. In the measures that assessed pressure from fathers and male peers, the focus on traditionality was explicit (e.g., men responded to how strongly they felt pressure from their fathers to hide their emotions). However, the traditionality of messages in media was assumed. There is strong evidence showing a link between masculinity ideologies and exposure to traditional media such as magazines and TV programming, particularly from the timeframe of this data (see Feasey, 2008; Giaccardi et al., 2018; Hegarty et al., 2018), but an important future direction would be to analyze current traditional media, as well as social media platforms, for counter-stereotypical messages, or messages that reflect more flexible masculinities. Relatedly, we did not assess aspects of the father-son relationship, and it is likely that value transmission may be affected by relationship quality. This is another important direction to test.

Third, a larger sample would have enabled us to avoid monolithic interpretations that ignore potential variance from ethnic-racial groups or sexual orientation. Future research that accounts for person-specific variance arising from ethnic-racial identity or specific types of father-son relationships (e.g., warm vs. distant, gender-traditional vs. gender-progessive) could account for important nuance in this process.

Finally, we did not test the potential bidirectionality of the relation between media exposure and masculine norm adherence. This research built on prior work suggesting the influence of media on men's adherence to traditional masculinity (meta-analysis: Coyne et al., 2019), but it is very possible that the relation is bidirectional: men's adherence to traditional masculine norms may influence the type of media which they choose to consume. Research that tests this path might reveal a self-perpetuating cycle of media consumption and traditional masculinity. It also has the potential to show a different path for men who are less gender-conforming: men who adhere to norms less rigidly than others may be more likely to watch TV sitcoms than men who more strongly adhere to traditional masculine norms.

Conclusion

Our research bridges two bodies of work by connecting some roots of masculine norm adherence (e.g., sources of masculine socialization) with the fruits of adhering to masculine norms (e.g., interpersonal cognitions and behaviors). In doing so, we show how exposure to masculinity socialization from male peers, music videos, and magazines are significantly related to masculine norm adherence, and we further show that masculine norm adherence increases alcohol use in sexual activities. This usage could be problematic via the possible clouding of men's judgments concerning sexual choices or interference with their ability to connect on an emotional level. We also show that specific masculine norms, such as *playboy attitudes*, are particularly relevant for men's relational cognitions, and are linked to greater sexual self-esteem yet more frequent alcohol-primed sexual encounters. By including multiple socialization agents in one model, our study highlights the unique impact of certain socialization agents and the reduced impact for others. Together, these results offer an important foundation for continued exploration of the diversity of sources and consequences of men's masculine norm adherence.

Acknowledgements

Matthew G. Nielson: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Writing - original draft.
L. Monique Ward: Project administration, Supervision, Writing -review & editing.
Rita Seabrook: Data collection, Data curation, Writing - review & editing.
Soraya Giaccardi: Data collection, Data curation, Writing - review & editing.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

The authors reported there is no funding associated with the work featured in this article.

ORCID

Matthew G. Nielson http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4795-0903

References

Addis, M. E., Reigeluth, C. S., & Schwab, J. R. (2016). Social norms, social construction, and the psychology of men and masculinity. In Y. J. Wong and S. R. Wester (Eds.), *APA handbook of men and masculinities* (pp. 81–104). American Psychological Association.

Alliance for Audited Media. (2010). *Consumer magazines*. https://archive.md/20170123200306/http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com/ecirc/magtitlesearch.asp

American Psychological Association. (2018). *APA guidelines for psychological practice with boys and men*. http://dx.doi.org/10.3149/thy.0701.79

Anderson, E. (2013). Adolescent masculinity in an age of decreased homohysteria. *Boyhood Studies*, *7*(1), 79–93. https://doi.org/10.3149/thy.0701.79

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *The American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469–480. https://doi.org/10.1037//0003-066X.55.5.469

Beckmeyer, J. J., & Jamison, T. B. (2020). Is breaking up hard to do? Exploring emerging adults' perceived abilities to end romantic relationships. *Family Relations*, *69*(5), 1028–1040. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12404

Bosson, J. K., Weaver, J. R., Caswell, T. A., & Burnaford, R. M. (2012). Gender threats and men's antigay behaviors: The harmful effects of asserting heterosexuality. *Group processes and intergroup Relations*, *15*(4), 471–486. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211432893

Brechwald, W. A., & Prinstein, M. J. (2011). Beyond homophily: A decade of advances in understanding peer influence processes. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*(1), 166–179. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00721.x

Bridges, T., & Pascoe, C. J. (2014). Hybrid masculinities: New directions in the sociology of men and masculinities. *Sociology Compass*, *8*(3), 246–258. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12134

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In W. Damon and R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 793–828). Wiley.

Burn, S. M., & Ward, A. Z. (2005). Men's conformity to traditional masculinity and relationship satisfaction. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *6*(4), 254–263. https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.6.4.254

Carter, M. F., Franz, T. M., Gruschow J. L., & Vanryne, A. M. (2019). The gender conformity conundrum: The effects of irrelevant gender norms on public conformity. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *159*(6), 761–765. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2019.1586636

Casey, E. A., Masters, N. T., Beadnell, B., Wells, E. A., Morrison, D. M., & Hoppe, M. J. (2016). A latentlatent class analysis of heterosexual young men's masculinities. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *45*(5), 1039–1050. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0616-z

Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020). *Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS) from 2019*. https://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/data/yrbs/index.htm

Chu, J. Y., Porche, M. V., & Tolman, D. L. (2005). The adolescent masculinity ideology in relationships scale: Development and validation of a new measure for boys. *Men and Masculinities*, *8*(1), 93–115. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X03257453

Cohen, J. (1992). A powerpower primer. *Psychological Bulletin*, *112*(1), 155–159. https://doi.org/10.1037/14805-018

Cole, B. P., Brennan, M., Tyler, E., & Willard, R. (2020). Predicting men's acceptance of sexual violence myths through conformity to masculine norms, sexism, and "locker room talk. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *21*(4), 508–517. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000248

Coyne, S. M., Ward, L. M., Kroff, S. L., Davis, E. J., Holmgren, H. G., Jensen, A. C., Erickson, S. E., & Essig, L. W. (2019). Contributions of mainstream sexual media exposure to sexual attitudes, perceived peer norms, and sexual behavior: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *64*(4), 430–436. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2018.11.016

Crouter, A. C., Whiteman, S. D., McHale, S. M., & Osgood, D. W. (2007). Development of gender attitude traditionality across middle childhood and adolescence. *Child Development*, *78*(3), 911–926. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.01040.x

Dawson, D. A. (2003). Methodological issues in measuring alcohol use. *Alcohol Research & Health: The Journal of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism*, *27*(1), 18–29. http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com/ecirc/magtitlesearch.asp

Dhoest, A. (2017). Genre. In P. Rössler; C. A. Hoffner, & L. van Zoonen (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of media effects* (pp. 1–8). Wiley Blackwell.

Doull, M., Oliffe, J., Knight, R., & Shoveller, J. A. (2013). Sex and straight young men: Challenging and endorsing hegemonic masculinities and gender regimes. *Men and Masculinities*, *16*(3), 329–346. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X13494837

Duckworth, K. D., & Trautner, M. N. (2019). Gender goals: Defining masculinity and navigating peer pressure to engage in sexual activity. *Gender and Society*, *33*(5), 795–817. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243219863031

Edwards, K. E., & Jones, S. R. (2009). "Putting my man face on": A grounded theory of college men's gender identity development. *Journal of College Student Development*, *50*(2), 210–228. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.0.0063

Epstein, M. (2009). *"Do it like a man": Young men's experience with pressure to perform masculinity* [Paper presentation]. Conference on Emerging Adulthood, Atlanta, GA

Fair, B. (2011). Constructing masculinity through penetration discourse: The intersection of misogyny and homophobia in high school wrestling. *Men and Masculinities*, *14*(4), 491–504. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10375936

Farkas, T., & Leaper, C. (2016). The psychology of boys. In Y. J. Wong and S. R. Wester (Eds.), *APA handbook of men and masculinities* (pp. 357–387). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14594-017

Feasey, R. (2008). *Masculinity and popular television*. Edinburgh University Press. https://doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748627974.001.0001

Fisher, M. I., Burgess, T. C., & Hammond, M. D. (2021). Men who endorse hostile sexism feel vulnerable and exploited when seeking support in close relationships. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000357

Gardner, M., & Steinberg, L. (2005). Peer influence on risk taking, risk preference, and risky decision making in adolescence and adulthood: An experimental study. *Developmental Psychology*, *41*(4), 625–635. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.41.4.625

Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation. (2020). *Where we are on TV report – 2019-2020*. https://www.glaad.org/wherewareontv19

Gerdes, Z. T., & Levant, R. F. (2017). Complex relationships among masculine norms and health/well-being outcomes: Correlation patterns of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory subscales. *American journal of men's Health*, 155798831774591. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988317745910

Giaccardi, S., Ward, L. M., Seabrook, R., Manago, A., & Lippman, J. (2017). Media use and men's risk behavior: Examining the role of masculinity ideology. *Sex Roles*, *77*(9–10), 581–592. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0754-y

Girard, M., Chabrol, H., & Rodgers, R. F. (2018). Support for a modified tripartite dual pathway model of body image concerns and risky body change behaviors in French young men. *Sex Roles*, *78*(11–12), 799–809. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0850-z

Halpern, C. T., & Kaestle, C. E. (2014). Sexuality in emerging adulthood. In D. L. Tolman and L. M. Diamond (Eds.), *APA handbook of sexuality and psychology* (pp. 487–522). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14193-016

Hegarty, P., Stewart, A. L., Blockmans, I. G. E., & Horvath, M. A. H. (2018). The influence of magazines on men: Influence of magazines on men: Normalizing and challenging young men's prejudice with "lads' mags. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *19*(1), 131–144. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000075

Hoskin, R. A. (2019). Femmephobia: The role of antirole of anti-femininity and gender policing in LGBTQ+ people's experiences of discrimination. *Sex Roles*, *81*(11–12), 686–703. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01021-3

Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *6*(1), 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

Iacoviello, V., Valsecchi, G., Berent, J., Borinca, I., & Falomir-Pichastor, J. M. (2021). Is traditional masculinity still valued? Men's perceptions of how different reference groups value traditional masculinity norms. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 106082652110188. https://doi.org/10.1177/10608265211018803

Iwamoto, D. K., & Smiler, A. P. (2013). Alcohol makes you macho and helps you make friends: The role of masculine norms and peer pressure in adolescent boys' and girls' alcohol use. *Substance Use & Misuse*, *48*(5), 371–378. https://doi.org/10.3109/10826084.2013.765479

Jak, S., Jorgensen, T. D., Verdam, M. G. E., Oort, F. J., & Elffers, L. (2020). Analytical power calculations for structural equation modeling: A tutorial and shiny app. *Behavior Research Methods*, *53*(4), 1385–1406. https://doi.org/10.3758/S13428-020-01479-0

Jewell, L. M., & Morrison, M. A. (2010). "But there's a million jokes about everybody . . . ": Prevalence of, and reasons for, directing negative behaviors toward gay men on a canadian university campus. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *25*(11), 2094–2112. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260509354499

Kane, E. W. (2006). No way my boys are going to be like that! *Gender & Society*, *20*(2), 149–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205284276

Karakis, E. N., & Levant, R. F. (2012). Is normative male alexithymia associated with relationship satisfaction, fear of intimacy and communication quality among men in relationships? *Journal of Men's Studies*, *20*(3), 179–186. https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.2003.179

Kim, J. L., Sorsoli, C. L., Collins, K., Zylbergold, B. A., Schooler, D., & Tolman, D. L. (2007). From sex to sexuality: Exposing the heterosexual script on primetime network television. *Journal of Sex Research*, *44*(2), 145–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490701263660

Kimmel, M. S. (2008). *Guyland: The perilous world where boys become men*. Harper.

Klann, E. M., Joel Wong, Y., & Rydell, R. J. (2018). Firm father figures: A moderated mediation model of perceived authoritarianism and the intergenerational transmission of gender messages from fathers to sons. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *65*(4), 500–511. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000296

Krassas, N. R., Blauwkamp, J. M., & Wesselink, P. (2003). "Master your Johnson": Sexual rhetoric in maxim and stuff magazines. *Sexuality & Culture*, *7*(3), 98–119. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-003-1005-7

Lamb, S., Kosterina, E. V., Roberts, T., Brodt, M., Maroney, M., & Dangler, L. (2018). Voices of the mind: Hegemonic masculinity and others in mind during young men's sexual encounters. *Men and Masculinities*, *21*(2), 254–275. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17695038

Landberg, M., Lee, B., & Noack, P. (2019). What alters the experience of emerging adulthood? How the experience of emerging adulthood differs according to socioeconomic status and critical life events. *Emerging Adulthood*, *7*(3), 208–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696819831793

Levant, R. F., McDermott, R., Parent, M. C., Alshabani, N., Mahalik, J. R., & Hammer, J. H. (2020). Development and evaluation of a new short form of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI-30). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *67*(5), 622–636. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000414

Liu, W. M., & Iwamoto, D. K. (2007). Conformity to masculine norms, Asian values, coping strategies, peer group influences and substance use among Asian American men. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *8*(1), 25–39. https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.8.1.25

Maas, M. K., & Lefkowitz, E. S. (2015). Sexual esteem in emerging adulthood: Associations with sexual behavior, contraception use, and romantic relationships. *Journal of Sex Research*, *52*(7), 795–806. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2014.945112

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P. J., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, *4*(1), 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3

Marcell, A. V., Eftim, S. E., Sonenstein, F. L., & Pleck, J. H. (2011). Associations of family and peerfamily and peer experiences with masculinity attitude trajectories at the individual and group level in adolescent and young adult males. *Men and Masculinities*, *14*(5), 565–587. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X11409363

McDiarmid, E., Gill, P. R., McLachlan, A., & Ali, L. (2017). "That whole macho male persona thing": The role of insults in young Australian male friendships. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *18*(4), 352–360. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000065

Mescher, K., & Rudman, L. A. (2014). Men in the mirror: The role of men's body shame in sexual aggression. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, *40*(8), 1063–1075. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167214535641

Michael, B. (2015). "Just don't hit on me and I'm fine": Mapping high school wrestlers' relationship to inclusive masculinity and heterosexual recuperation. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *50*(8), 912–928. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690213501168

Nielson, M. G., Martin, C. L., Rogers, L. O., Lindstrom Johnson, S., Miller, C. F., & Berendzen, H. (2022). Exploring young men's experience of resistance to masculine norms. *Emerging Adulthood*. https://doi.org/10.1177/21676968211072933

Nielson, M. G., Schroeder, K. M., Martin, C. L., & Cook, R. E. (2020). Investigating the relation between gender typicality and pressure to conform to gender norms. *Sex Roles*, *83*(9–10), 523–535. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01136-y

Parent, M. C., & Moradi, B. (2009). Confirmatory factor analysis of the Conformity to Masculine Norms inventory and development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *10*(3), 175–189. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015481

Pascoe, C. J. (2007). *Dude, you're a fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *49*, 65–85. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65

Pleck, J. H. (1981). *The myth of masculinity*. MIT Press.

Pleck, J. H. (2010). Fatherhood and masculinity. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 27–57). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Preacher, K. J., & Coffman, D. L. (2006). *Computing power and minimum sample size for RMSEA [Computer Software]*. http://quantpsy.org/rmsea/rmsea.htm

Quayle, M., Lindegger, G., Brittain, K., Nabee, N., & Cole, C. (2018). Women's ideals for masculinity across social contexts: Patriarchal agentic masculinity is valued in work, family, and romance but communal masculinity in friendship. *Sex Roles*, *78*(1–2), 52–66. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0772-9

Riggio, H. R., Weiser, D., Valenzuela, A., Lui, P., Montes, R., & Heuer, J. (2011). Initial validation of a measure of self-efficacy in romantic relationships. *Personality and individual Differences*, *51*(5), 601–606. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2011.05.026

Rogers, A. A., Nielson, M. G., & Santos, C. E. (2021). Manning up while growing up: A developmental-contextual perspective on masculine gender-role socialization in adolescence. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, *22*(2), 354–364. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000296

Scharrer, E., & Blackburn, G. (2018). Cultivating conceptions of masculinity: Television and perceptions of masculine gender role norms. *Mass Communication and Society*, *21*(2), 149–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2017.1406118

Scharrer, E., Warren, S., Grimshaw, E., Kamau, G., Cho, S., Reijven, M., & Zhang, C. (2021). Disparaged dads? A content analysis of depictions of fathers in U.S. sitcoms over time. *Psychology of Popular Media*, *10*(2), 275–287. https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000289

Seabrook, R. C., Ward, L. M., & Giaccardi, S. (2018). Why is fraternity membership associated with sexual assault? Exploring the roles of conformity to masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculinity, and objectification of women. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *19*(1), 3–13. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000076

Settersten, R. A., & Ray, B. (2010). What's going on with young people today? The long and twisting path to adulthood. *Future of Children*, *20* (1), 19–41. https://doi.org/10.1353/foc.0.0044

Smiler, A. P. (2013). *Challenging Casanova: Beyond the stereotype of the promiscuous young male*. Jossey-Bass.

Snell, W. E., & Papini, D. R. (1989). The Sexuality Scale: An instrument to measure sexual-esteem, sexual-depression, and sexual-preoccupation. *Journal of Sex Research*, *26*(2), 256–263. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224498909551510

Solebello, N., & Elliott, S. (2011). "We want them to be as heterosexual as possible": Fathers talk about their teen children's sexuality. *Gender & Society*, *25*(3), 293–315. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243211403926

Thompson, J. K., Heinberg, L. J., & Altabe, M. (1999). *Exacting beauty: Theory, assessment, and treatment of body image disturbance*. American Psychological Association.

Tolman, D. L., Davis, B. R., & Bowman, C. P. (2016). "That's just how it is": A gendered analysis of masculinity and femininity ideologies in adolescent girls' and boys' heterosexual relationships. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *31*(1), 3–31. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558415587325

Tylka, T. L. (2011). Refinement of the tripartite influence model for men: Dual body image pathways to body change behaviors. *Body Image*, *8*(3), 199–207. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.BODYIM.2011.04.008

Van Doorn, G., Dye, J., & de Gracia, M. R. (2021). Daddy issues: Friends rather than fathers influence adult men's hegemonic masculinity. *Personality and individual Differences*, *171*, 110467. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110467

Ward, L. M. (2003). Understanding the role of entertainment media in the sexual socialization of american youth: A review of empirical research. *Developmental Review*, *23*(3), 347–388. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0273-2297(03)00013-3

Ward, J. (2015). *Not gay: Sex between straight white men*. NYU Press.

Ward, L. M., Epstein, M., Caruthers, A., & Merriwether, A. (2011). Men's media use, sexual cognitions, and sexual risk behavior: testing a mediational model. Developmental Psychology, 47(2), 592–602. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022669

Way, N. (2011). Deep secrets: Boys' friendships and the crisis of connection. Harvard University Press https://doi.org/10.1086/674714.

Way, N., & Rogers, L. O. (2017). Resistance to dehumanization during childhood and adolescence: A developmental and contextual process. In N. Budwig; E. Turiel, and P. D. Zelazo (Eds.), *New perspectives on human development* (pp. 229–257). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316282755.014

Weisskirch, R. S. (2018). Psychosocial intimacy, relationships with parents, and well-being among emerging adults. Journal of Child and Family Studies, 27(11), 3497–3505. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1171-8

Wong, Y. J., & Horn, A. J. (2015). Enhancing and diversifying research methods in the psychology of men and masculinities. In Y. J. Wong & S. R. Wester (Eds.), APA handbook of men and masculinities. (pp. 231–255 https://doi.org/10.1037/14594-011). American Psychological Association.

Zimdars, M. (2018). Having it both ways: Two and a Half Men, Entourage, and televising post-feminist masculinity. Feminist Media Studies, 18(2), 278–293. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1308411