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Across childhood and adolescence, fathers have been shown to play an important role in their sons' gender socialization. The current study identified latent profiles that provided insight into how distinctive patterns of men's perceived masculinity expectations from their fathers while they were growing up placed them within distinct groups. Participants were 383 emerging adult men who completed an online survey with questions regarding the masculinity expectations of father figures and participants' own gender-related beliefs and experiences. A latent profile analysis yielded four distinct groups of men who recalled that their fathers' expectations were Normative Masculine (n = 160), Hypermasculine (n = 100), Status and Heteronormativity Focused (n = 76), and Open and Affirming (n = 48). Multinomial logistic regression was used to examine whether demographic factors predicted men's classification within a given profile. Results indicated that men's sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, relation to a father figure, and parent education level differentially predicted the likelihood of profile membership. In general, profiles characterized as having greater perceived masculinity expectations from fathers were associated with greater endorsement of men's traditional gender role attitudes, higher masculine gender role stress, and greater adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships. An examination of the moderating effect of father-son relationship quality indicated that both past and current father-son relationship quality moderated the association between profile membership and men's current gender-related beliefs and experiences. Findings indicate variations between and within fathers' gender socialization that underscore the diverse ways in which emerging adult men come to understand their own masculine identities.

A LATENT PROFILE ANALYSIS OF EMERGING ADULT MEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR FATHERS' MASCULINITY EXPECTATIONS

by

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

As children come to understand gender as a system of categorization, they gain beliefs and attitudes regarding gender roles that influence their perceptions of others as well as their own sense of self (Fagot et al., 2012; Stockard, 2006). These messages about gender start during early childhood and extend into emerging adulthood, ultimately influencing individuals' thoughts, beliefs, interests, and behaviors (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Much of the research on gender socialization has concentrated on children's early socialization experiences, through which children observe nonverbal cues and behaviors of social figures within their environments, with a focus on parents (Epstein & Ward, 2011). Current literature suggests that differences in parent gender and child gender may contribute to varying gender socialization practices among parents. For example, existing literature on parents' gender socialization practices has suggested that parents may be more likely to enforce and monitor their sons' expressions of gender-typed behavior as compared to daughters' (Kane, 2006; Leaper & Farkas, 2015). Furthermore, fathers tend to engage in more differential treatment of their children based on the child's gender and enforce more gendered expectations of their children, as compared to mothers (Witt, 1997; Wood et al., 2002). At the intersection of both parent and child gender, fathers have been posited to be particularly critical in shaping their sons' gender socialization, as they often are the foremost models, teachers, and reinforcers of masculinity for their sons (Harris & Harper, 2015).

Fathers' crucial role in shaping their sons' masculinity has been attributed to their desires to validate their own masculinity, as policing and monitoring their sons' gender is an avenue through which fathers can maintain their own masculine identity (Kane, 2006). Fathers' contributions to their sons' gender socialization include upholding traditional masculinity expectations of their sons' thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. Scholarship on family

communication has highlighted the significance of the father-son relationships for boys and men, as fathers are the primary source through which sons learn about their own masculine performance, male relationships, and ideas about fatherhood and fathering (Strasser, 2016). According to social learning theory, children are more likely to participate in a gendered-typed behavior if the outcome is valued or rewarded within their environment (Bandura, 1977; Culatta, 2018). Thus, sons perceive their fathers as trustworthy figures and observe and model their fathers' gendered expectations. As they approach emerging adulthood, men may begin to think more critically about the gendered messages they have received from their fathers while they were growing up and consider whether these gender values align with their own personal identities and beliefs (Diamond, 2020).

Limitations of Current Literature

The first limitation to note within this literature includes the dearth of research currently available on fathers' gender socialization of their emerging adult sons. Several scholars have posited this developmental period as critical in understanding how boys and men take the gender-related messages and child rearing they received from their fathers throughout childhood and synthesize them into their gender role orientations and beliefs as adolescents and emerging adults (Harris & Harper, 2015; Marcell et al., 2011; McDermott & Schwartz, 2013). As men gain increased autonomy and strengthen their own self-concepts, it is imperative to examine the impacts of fathers' gender socialization beyond early childhood such to further understand how fathers' contributions shape the evolution of men's own gender-related beliefs and experiences as they enter emerging adulthood (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). More research is needed to not only understand emerging adult men's perceptions of their fathers' masculinity expectations while they were growing up, but also the extent to which these perceived expectations may be

associated with gender-related beliefs and experiences for men during emerging adulthood, and whether this relation is influenced father-son relationship quality.

A second limitation is that there is little previous empirical research using a person-centered framework (McDermott & Schwartz, 2013; Wong et al., 2012). Person-centered analyses provide a more holistic account of individuals' responses in a given domain by focusing on combinations of variables as opposed to examining variables on their own. Furthermore, person-centered analyses allow researchers to detect sophisticated, detailed interactions among variables that would otherwise be difficult to determine or investigate through a variable-centered approach (Meyer & Morin, 2016). In a rare exception within literature on men and masculinity, Wong et al. (2012) utilized a person-centered approach to identify groups of men who differed in regards to their conformity to masculine norms. More latent class and/or latent profile analyses would be beneficial to the study of men and masculinities to assess patterns of masculinity within groups of men as well as antecedent and consequent associations with these profiles or classes (Wong & Horn, 2016).

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Fathers' gender socialization of their sons with respect to masculine ideals and expectations has been identified as a prevalent practice within fathers' parenting behaviors (Horan et al., 2007; Pleck, 2010). During emerging adulthood, men's sense of masculinity is often tied to their identity development as they transition into young adulthood and reflect on past gender experiences in relation to their career goals and future family aspirations (Diamond, 2006). However, emerging adult men's perceptions of their fathers' expectations of masculinity have been understudied in the United States (U.S.; Levant et al., 2018b). The current study utilizes both social cognitive theory (Bussey & Bandura, 1999) and the theory of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2014) to frame an investigation into the patterns of masculinity expectations emerging adult sons perceived from their fathers while growing up. Additionally, the study aims to identify demographic predictors of these patterns as well as the associations between patterns of fathers' masculinity expectations and men's own gender-related beliefs and experiences. Finally, the study seeks to determine the extent to which these associations may be moderated by father-son relationship quality.

Social Cognitive Theory

One theory that has been used to frame research on gender socialization is social learning theory, also known as social cognitive theory, which derives from behaviorism within the discipline of psychology (Kunkel et al., 2006; Stockard 2006). Albert Bandura's social learning theory emphasizes the role of imitation and modeling, thus being well-suited to the study of more complex human behavior such as gender development and sex-linked modeling (Blakemore et al., 2009a; Bussey & Bandura, 1984; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). In order to create a more comprehensive and integrative theory, Bussey and Bandura (1999) later revised social learning

theory into *social cognitive theory* in order to include cognitive, biological, and sociocultural components (Martin et al., 2002). Although many scholars and researchers still refer to the theory by its original name, contemporary applications of social learning theory highlight the importance of psychological and cognitive factors (Kunkel et al., 2006). This inclusion of cognitive factors has provided improvements to the theory and provides explanations related to the consistencies in children's behaviors across time and locations (Martin et al., 2002). Although its implementation spans a diverse range of empirical topics, social learning theory has often been used to understand how boys are socialized into dominant masculine role norms within American culture across the lifespan (Levant & Powell, 2017). Three key concepts in social cognitive theory are *reinforcement*, *punishment*, and *observational learning* (Blakemore et al., 2009a).

Positive Reinforcement and Rewards

Reinforcement is defined as positive or negative responses to children's behavior that ultimately shape future behavior. In regard to gendered social learning, boys and girls are reinforced to behave differently based on distinct responses they receive when engaging in gender-typed behaviors. Children can receive external reinforcement, such as the approval of parents or peers, or internal reinforcement, such as increased self-esteem. Because children inherently value approval, their behaviors are reinforced in ways that will earn self-approval or the approval of others (McLeod, 2016). Positive reinforcement from others consists of some form of a reward, such as praise, smiles, or admiration (Blakemore et al., 2009a). For boys, this can include learning that masculine-typed behaviors, such as expressions of assertiveness, toughness, and competitiveness, will result in more positive responses from individuals within their environment. Within the father-son relationship, an example of positive reinforcement of

gendered social learning includes increased intimacy and connection between fathers and sons as a result of the sons' adherence to their fathers' masculinity expectations (DeFranc and Mahalik, 2002; Pleck, 2010; Way et al., 2014).

Negative Reinforcement and Punishments

In contrast, strict punishment or behavioral cues, such as a father's tone of voice, may create negative reinforcement such that boys avoid engaging in certain gender-related behaviors that are looked down upon by their fathers. This negative reinforcement encompasses responses to children's behavior that reflect consequences or punishment (McLeod, 2016). In regard to gendered social learning, fathers may express dismay or disapproval when boys engage in gender-typed behaviors that do not align with dominant gender norms (Blakemore et al., 2009b). For example, from a young age, boys observe and experience the potential repercussions of expressing emotions that are out of alignment with gender norms. Ultimately, this negatively reinforces the display of such emotions in a way that makes them less likely to be displayed in the future. Young boys often learn that if they express vulnerable emotions like sadness (which are stereotyped as more appropriately displayed by girls and women), this expression may result in punishment, bullying, or other negative consequences if they express this behavior while in the presence of their fathers or other boys and men (Addis et al., 2010). This reinforcement of appropriate versus inappropriate expressions of masculinity can become ingrained within boys' and men's behavioral patterns and continue to be perpetuated across generations (Addis et al., 2010).

Observational Learning

Aside from negative and positive reinforcements, boys can also be socialized into masculine gender role norms through observational learning. Bandura proposed that

observational learning occurs through imitating and modeling the behaviors of important figures within a child's environment (Bandura, 1969). Observational learning includes four major processes: attentional, retention, production, and motivational processes (Bandura, 1969; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Attentional processes control what stimuli will be observed and valuable to remember within an environment. Retentional processes determine the organization and storing of information to be represented as a memory. Production processes transform information into appropriate actions or behavior. Finally, motivational processes determine whether an action is worth imitating based on the resulting incentives and desires (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Perry & Bussey, 1979). Through these processes, boys observe their fathers' masculinity behaviors and expectations (e.g., seeing a father refer to another man as "gay" for expressing his emotions) and consider the extent to which this constitutes valuable behaviors for them to imitate.

Regardless of whether sons learn dominant masculine gender role norms from fathers through negative reinforcement, positive reinforcement, or observational learning, social learning theorists assert that the functionality of a particular behavior is more salient than its content. The material, symbolic, or verbal function of a behavior within an individual's environment determines whether it will be valuable to imitate in the future (Addis et al., 2010; Perry & Bussey, 1979). Throughout the lifespan, boys learn, observe, and imitate their fathers' teachings and expectations of their masculinity (Levant & Powell, 2017). The current study utilizes a social cognitive theory framework to understand emerging adult men's recollections of their fathers' expectations of their masculinity while they were growing up.

Theory of Emerging Adulthood

The theory of emerging adulthood defines a unique period of human development between the ages 18 and 29 during which young adults navigate identity exploration and the

transition from adolescence to adulthood (Arnett, 2014). A key characteristic of this period is the questioning and divergence from parental values as emerging adults develop their own sense of self. Emerging adulthood is a unique developmental period within which to study men's gender socialization. This has been attributed to factors unique to this period, such as moving out to live independent from family, taking on adult roles and responsibilities, and enriched identity development experiences (see Gutierrez et al., 2019; Marcell et al., 2011; McDermott & Schwartz, 2013; O'Neil, 1996). As they approach emerging adulthood, boys may begin to think more critically about the gendered social learning they have received from their fathers and consider whether these gender values align with their own personal identity and beliefs (Diamond, 2020).

The identity development that occurs during emerging adulthood makes this a unique period during which men may critically reflect on their own gender socialization in ways that could either alter or further confirm their understanding of gender roles (McDermott & Schwartz, 2013). The transition into emerging adulthood is characterized by becoming more distanced from parents and exposed to new social environments, which may cause young adults to reconsider the beliefs and attitudes learned from their parents (Epstein & Ward, 2011). McDermott and Schwartz (2013) conducted a latent profile analysis of 529 emerging adult men to examine group differences in the gender role journeys of emerging adult men. Results indicated that approximately 70% of these men had gender attitudes that reflected some questioning their own gender roles. This finding confirms that the period of emerging adulthood is a critical time of exploration during which emerging adult men may question the masculinity expectations communicated to them by their fathers while growing up and consider how these expectations may relate to other gendered beliefs and experiences.

Current Study

Given their shared gender status, fathers have been shown to be particularly involved in teaching and reinforcing their sons' masculinity (Harris & Harper, 2015; Pleck, 2010). Levant and Powell (2017) suggest that social learning is a critical element of the father-son relationship that contributes to the perpetuation of traditional masculinity ideologies through reinforcements, punishments, and observational learning. Fathers' contributions to their sons' masculine socialization across the lifespan can contribute to unpleasant or uncomfortable gender-related experiences for their sons during emerging adulthood (Davis, 2002; Harris & Harper, 2015; Klann et al., 2018). The current study applies social cognitive theory and the theory of emerging adulthood to understand (a) how sons' perceptions of their fathers' masculine expectations define distinct subgroups of men, (b) how these subgroups differ in terms of sons' gender-related beliefs and experiences during emerging adulthood, and (c) how such differences may be additionally shaped by the quality of the father-son relationship.

CHAPTER III: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Traditional and Hegemonic Masculinity Ideologies

The term *gender ideology* refers to a system of cultural attitudes and beliefs that determine appropriate roles and behaviors of men and women (Odenweller et al., 2018; Colaner & Warner, 2005). In recent years, research has focused on understanding how gender ideologies are transmitted within families, as well as the ways in which parents' gender ideologies predict their children's own gender ideologies and gender role attitudes (Davis & Wills, 2010; Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2016). Examining gender ideologies during adolescence and young adulthood is particularly pertinent given increased autonomous decision-making related to education, employment, and personal relationships during these developmental periods (Cichy et al., 2007; Davis & Wills, 2010). Thompson and Pleck (1995) suggested the use of the term *masculinity ideology* to describe the construct being assessed in the larger body of research examining beliefs and attitudes of men and masculinity (Levant, 2011). Research in this area has examined the transmission of masculine gender ideologies (including appropriate norms, beliefs, and behaviors) from fathers to their sons (Luddy & Thompson, 1997; Odenweller et al., 2013; Odenweller et al., 2018).

The types of masculinity that are transmitted from fathers to their sons are typically rooted in dominant notions of *traditional masculinity* or *hegemonic masculinity* (Connell & James, 2005; Edwards & Jones, 2009). Despite the fact that these terms are often used interchangeably, these types of masculinity slightly differ. Pleck (1995) suggested the term *traditional masculinity ideology* to describe the dominant views of masculinity that were prevalent in the U.S. up to the late 1960s. However, this type of masculinity did not disappear in 1970, but rather has evolved such that many of these core values remain significant components

of modern notions of masculinity (Hearn & Kimmel, 2006). This traditional definition of masculinity encompasses a masculine role that is characterized by strength and toughness, success, appropriate emotionality (i.e., the avoidance of emotions stereotyped as more appropriately expressed by girls and women, such as sadness or vulnerability), and an opposition to femininity and homosexuality (Edwards & Jones, 2009). Fathers' contributions to their sons' gender socialization are often rooted in conceptualizations of traditional masculinity (Harris & Harper, 2015), and many adolescent and young adult men have reported incongruencies between dominant expectations of traditional masculinity and their authentic selves (Allen, 2016; Davis, 2002; Davis & Wills, 2010; Edwards & Jones, 2009).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, researchers introduced the term *hegemonic masculinity* as research on men and masculinity became an increasing focus within the social sciences and humanities (Connell & James, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is defined as, "the denial of weakness or vulnerability, emotional and physical control, the appearance of being strong and robust, dismissal of any need for help, a ceaseless interest in sex, and the display of aggressive behavior and physical dominance," (Courtenay, 2000, p. 1389). Traditional and hegemonic masculinity similarly exclude and ostracize men who do not fit within dominant identities, as these forms of masculinity value White, heteronormative, and socioeconomically advantaged men (Courtenay, 2000; Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). One of the notable distinctions between traditional masculinity and hegemonic masculinity includes the explicit mention within definitions of hegemonic masculinity of the subordination of women, sexual deviance and violence, and competitive power hierarchies among men, all of which contribute to a patriarchal society (Connell & James, 2005; Courtenay, 2000). Although gender norms and ideologies have evolved in the U.S., current conceptualizations of hegemonic masculinity are defined in terms of

heterosexual, educated, economically advantaged White standards that perpetuate gendered divisions of labor within households and create rigid expectations of fatherhood and paternal parenting practices (Courtenay, 2000; Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005; Petts et al., 2018). Both traditional and hegemonic masculinity ideologies have influenced dominant expectations of masculinity that may be transmitted from fathers to their sons across the lifespan.

Fathers as Unique Agents of Sons' Masculinity Ideologies

Although both fathers and mothers contribute to their sons' gender socialization, some scholars have argued that fathers' influences may be particularly critical given their shared gender status with sons. Harris and Harper (2015) posited that fathers are often their son's primary source of teaching and reinforcing conceptualizations of masculinity; however, others have argued that mothers' influences are equally important (Pleck, 2010; Van Doorn et al., 2021). Regardless, most scholars acknowledge the salience of gender in fathers' parenting practices due to cultural influences that affect fathers' parenting opportunities and beliefs (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). For example, because men are expected within American society to be relatively unemotional and stoic, fathers may be less likely than mothers to comfort children when they are upset or maintain close connections with children while they are growing up (Stephens, 2009). Thus, these culturally influenced characteristics of masculinity can impact fathers' parenting practices, which can then be overtly or covertly transmitted as gender socialization messages to sons. Some of the ways in which fathers shape their son's gender socialization can include selecting masculine-typed toys or games, encouraging masculine-typed sports or other activities, and monitoring their son's gendered behaviors and interactions (Harris & Harper, 2015).

The “essential father” hypothesis asserts that fathers make contributions to their children’s development that are both essential and unique as a result of the distinct relation between men’s gender identity and dominant masculinity ideologies (Pleck, 2010). Due to their shared gender identity and mutual pressures to adhere to dominant masculinity ideologies, fathers can be considered “essential” in regard to providing sons with a first-hand account of how to navigate life as a man through both implicit and explicit messages about the bounds of “appropriate” or “inappropriate” gendered behavior (Lamb, 2010; Levant et al., 2018a). Pleck (2010) asserted that sons with more masculine fathers will be exposed to more modeling of masculine attitudes or behaviors that may strongly impact sons’ gender socialization processes, thus bolstering the influence of these hypermasculine fathers. Thus, fathers’ overall impact on their sons’ gender socialization process may be in part dependent upon the extent to which fathers themselves adhere to dominant masculinity ideologies.

Davis and Willis (2010) investigated mothers’ and fathers’ gender ideologies as predictors of adolescents’ gender ideologies to determine the extent to which each parent’s ideologies were influential. Findings indicated a positive association between mothers’ and adolescents’ gender ideologies that was reduced in strength by nearly one-third when fathers’ ideologies were accounted for. This finding highlights fathers’ important roles in their children’s gender socialization (Davis & Willis, 2010). Using longitudinal data, Lawson et al. (2015) found that sons who spent more time with their fathers were more likely to hold masculine-typed occupations in their young adulthood. Although this study did not explore *why* this link between fathers’ gender socialization and sons’ occupational attainment occurred, the authors suggested this could be attributed to fathers’ tendencies to expose their sons to masculine-typed experiences and skill-building opportunities that can have implications for occupational

aspirations and/or deter sons from participating in feminine-typed interests, skills, and activities that ultimately influence sons' future occupations (Lawson et al., 2015).

Guastello and Guastello (2003) examined similarities between the gender ideologies of 576 college students and their parents. Sons were more androgynous than their fathers; however, sons' gender role ideologies were more consistent with those of their fathers than their mothers. This suggests that although sons may express more androgynous behaviors than their fathers, their gender beliefs and values are fairly consistent with those of their fathers, thus affirming fathers' unique socialization of gender beliefs and values within their young adult sons (Guastello & Guastello, 2003). In a sample of 84 college men and 43 their fathers, Luddy and Thompson (1997) investigated whether fathers and sons perceived rape differently and whether perceptions of rape were associated with men's masculine ideologies. Overall, men who more strongly endorsed a traditional masculine ideology were less likely to interpret a sexual assault as rape. Contrary to the researchers' hypotheses, generational comparisons indicated that sons and fathers did not differ in terms of their masculine ideologies or evaluations of the rape with a single exception. When presented with a specific scenario in which a college-aged man and woman were both intoxicated, fathers were less likely than sons to indicate this situation constituted rape. Due to the fact that sons tended to match their fathers' masculine ideologies regardless of the extent to which these were traditional or nontraditional, the authors concluded support for the intergenerational transmission of gender ideologies from fathers to sons (Luddy & Thompson, 1997).

A consistent criticism of the literature on fathers' gender role socialization of their young adult sons includes the predominant reliance on White, heterosexual, upper-middle class men as research participants (Harris, 2008; Pleck, 2010). This literature has focused predominantly on

gender role socialization of children, yet there is a dearth of research currently available on how fathers' gender socialization during childhood and adolescence is perceived by their emerging adult sons and how such perceptions may relate to men's gender-related beliefs and experiences during emerging adulthood. Scholars have argued that a focus on emerging adulthood as a developmental period is critical to understanding how boys and men take the gender-related messages and child rearing they received from their fathers throughout childhood and synthesize them into their gender role orientation and beliefs as young adults (Harris & Harper, 2015; Marcell et al., 2011; McDermott & Schwartz, 2013). It is imperative to examine fathers' gender socialization beyond early childhood to understand how fathers' contributions shape the evolution of men's own gender role attitudes and beliefs across the lifespan (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005).

Scholars have asserted that the study of fathers' roles with respect to their sons' gender socialization should not be limited to biological/adoptive fathers, but rather should include "social fathers" such as stepfathers, grandfathers, and other men who have taken on significant fatherhood roles (Petts et al., 2018; Pleck, 2010). Despite this, most literature has focused on influences of biological or adoptive fathers. The following review will include literature that focuses primarily on biological/adoptive fathers.

Domains of Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity

Research on fathers' gender socialization of their sons has drawn from broader conceptualizations of traditional and hegemonic masculinity to create measures that can account for domain-specific expectations, such as the Fathers' Expectations about Sons' Masculinity Scale (FEASMS) developed by Levant et al. (2018a). This measure includes five domains of fathers' expectations of their sons' masculinity, including expecting sons to be aggressive and

assert dominance, engage in compulsory heterosexuality, avoid feminine-typed behaviors and activities, maintain high occupational status and work ethic, and restrict their emotions (Levant et al., 2018a). Constellations of gender socialization messages and expectations provided by fathers likely differ across father-son dyads, with such differences having implications for sons' gender-related beliefs and experiences. However, researchers have not yet examined how the content of these messages may group, and this is a critical gap in the literature. The following sections review research that has been conducted focusing on each these domains of fathers' expectations of their sons' masculinity.

Aggression and Dominance

Core components of dominant masculinity ideologies are aggression and dominance, as boys are often expected to not back down from a fight, not be beaten by another male, and not be "like a girl," (Lisak, 1991). Early research on fathers' gender socialization sought to understand the transmission of violence, aggression, and sexual deviance from fathers to their sons. As dominant discourse began to shift from thinking that only insane individuals committed rape and violence against women, feminist and social science researchers became increasingly interested in why men commit violence against women, particularly with respect to the attitudes and norms that foster sexually aggressive behavior. Such attitudes and norms included rape myths, stereotyped sex role beliefs, and cultural misogynist messages that are transmitted from fathers to sons. This transmission occurs through the modeling and reinforcement of "gender-appropriate" behaviors and punishment of "inappropriate" gendered behavior (Lisak, 1991).

Jeanes and Magee (2011) conducted 33 participant observations and 18 interviews with United Kingdom fathers to examine how sports may encourage fathers to perpetuate masculine ideologies of aggression. According to these researchers, football culturally represents idealized

notions of masculinity that value men who are aggressive and dominant, and thus fathers engaged in this sport with their sons may transmit these expectations to their sons. Observations of interactions between fathers and sons, both within their homes and during football events, indicated that fathers often expressed love, support, and encouragement to their sons. However, within the specific context of football, men often displayed aggression and dominance when conveying messages to their sons regarding athletic performance, such as insulting sons in front of their teammates or encouraging sons to play more dominantly on the field. Thus, football served as a source of close bonding and connection within the father-son relationship while simultaneously encouraging seemingly contradictory expressions of aggression and dominance. Interviews with fathers indicated they deemed their displays and endorsements of aggression and dominance to be necessary and normalized within the context of football and men viewed their fathering behaviors on the field as distinct from their fathering behaviors within the home (Jeanes & Magee, 2011). These findings illustrated how fathers may normalize certain expectations of masculinity (such as normalizing aggression in the context of playing sports) and how normalized expectations of masculinity may be observed and learned by their sons.

In a quantitative study of 335 U.S. undergraduate college men, Casselman and Rosenbaum (2014) examined the association between men's perceptions of their fathers' rejection, fathers' endorsement of traditional masculine ideologies, and sons' own self-reported aggression. Results indicated that college men who perceived their fathers as rejecting and hypermasculine were more likely to report high levels of aggression, with this association mediated by college men's traditional masculine ideology endorsement, masculine gender role stress, self-esteem, and anger. In addition, sons were more likely to endorse similar hypermasculine beliefs as their fathers when they perceived fathers as loving and accepting,

suggesting that sons are more likely to model their fathers' gender role behaviors when they feel their fathers accept and care for them. Based on these findings, the authors suggested that sons who perceive their fathers as hypermasculine may be at risk for developing high levels of aggression because they themselves adopt the hypermasculine beliefs they value in their fathers - which may ultimately lead to higher levels of masculine gender role stress, anger, and aggression (Casselman & Rosenbaum, 2014).

Heteronormativity and Homophobia

Within dominant masculinity ideologies, men are expected to refrain from acting "too feminine," or "too gay," to affirm their masculinity. Solebello and Elliott (2011) conducted interviews with 23 fathers of adolescents to understand fathers' conversations with their adolescents about sexuality as well as fathers' perceptions of their adolescents' sexual identities. Findings indicated that fathers preferred that their adolescent children, particularly their sons, identify as heterosexual. Furthermore, fathers indicated that they felt responsible for their sons' sexuality and wished to model and shape conceptualizations of heterosexuality for them (Solebello & Elliott, 2011). In addition to this, boys and men are often expected to engage in a more extreme form of heterosexuality referred to as "compulsory heterosexuality" which emphasizes the extreme sexual needs and desires of men to have sex with women. Through this lens, men's sexual activity with women is a crucial way in which men assert their masculine status with other men and often serves as a source of male bonding (Flood, 2008). The extent to which these messages may be transmitted from fathers to sons is currently not understood.

In a related yet distinct domain, boys are expected to uphold homophobic behaviors as a means of asserting their masculine identity. For example, Frosh et al. (2005) conducted group interviews with 45 adolescent boys in London to examine the ways in which boys learned about

and observed masculinity. Results indicated that boys' knowledge of masculinity were often formed within their relationships with their fathers, and boys frequently mentioned the role of homophobia in their fathers' teachings. Bucher (2014) examined how the father-son relationship is impacted by homophobia through quantitative and open-ended interviews with 50 sons of gay fathers and 25 fathers of gay sons. From the quantitative data, Bucher (2014) found that a higher percentage of fathers of gay sons were homophobic. Fathers who reported that masculinity was more important to society were more likely to endorse homophobic beliefs. Within both groups, there was a positive correlation between masculinity and homophobia, as well as a strong association between the importance of masculinity to participants and their being comfortable telling other people that their father/son was gay. These findings suggest that a father's/son's masculinity is a representation of individuals' own masculinity, as men expressed that it made them appear less masculine when it was known that their son or father was gay. This was further confirmed in the qualitative interviews, which revealed themes related to hegemonic masculinity, external pressures to uphold masculine ideals, and unconditional love despite difficulty accepting a sons' or fathers' gay identity (Bucher, 2014).

Status and Work Ethic

In interviews with Black fathers and their sons, fathers described being a man as involving responsibility, independence, providing for one's family, and being a spiritual leader for one's family. Fathers indicated that they wanted their sons to develop their own identities outside of White, hegemonic ideals and did not want their sons to believe negative Black male stereotypes. Sons were conscious of myths and stereotypes of Black men and wished to construct their own masculine identities in opposition to the dominant ideologies regarding Black men. Despite this, sons still believed that they needed to adhere to White masculine ideals in order to

be successful, yet they wanted to do this without sacrificing their own cultural identities (Allen, 2016). Thus, boys and their fathers were aware of the status they believed they needed to maintain to meet their own ideals of success. Jimenez (2014) explored the intergenerational transmission of working-class masculinities in South Wales. In interviews, men expressed feelings of shame, embarrassment, and bullying because their work was considered feminine following a new postindustrial work environment. Men perceived their fathers as strong, supportive figures that they looked up to, and wished to assimilate their fathers' masculinity into their understanding of their own masculine identities. Despite this, men felt as if their ability to achieve this idealized masculine identity had been threatened due to work changes and felt embarrassed because they could not find gender-appropriate work. Men reported being bullied by their peers, families, and communities for not being able to attain their fathers' generations' understanding of masculinity (Jimenez, 2014).

Avoiding Femininity and Emotional Restriction

From an early age, boys are taught to disconnect from their emotions and do whatever is necessary to protect themselves and others (Pope & Englar-Carlson, 2001). In interviews with ten U.S. college men, participants reported perceiving a masculinity paradox through which they felt conflicted between adhering to societal expectations of masculinity while still being their true selves. As a result, men felt as if navigating life as a man was equivalent to "wearing a mask," or "putting a man face on." They felt they needed to suppress their true emotions or avoid expressing any "feminine" emotions as a means to uphold societal expectations of masculinity. Men reportedly engaged in masculine-typed behaviors such as emotional restriction even though they did not internally align with these masculine ideals. This masking process was reported by men to have negative effects on their relationships with others and their conceptualizations of

their own identities (Edwards & Jones, 2009). Similarly, Davis (2002) conducted qualitative interviews with ten college men to understand the gender role conflict they faced while constructing their masculine identities. Men described feeling frustrated with the narrow bounds of masculinity that were expected of them and explained that self-expression was important to them but caused significant gender role conflict. Men reported wishing to freely express their emotions but were conscious of masculine expectations that others have of them to remain unemotional and disconnected in their communications. Furthermore, men reported feeling comfortable being open and emotionally vulnerable with women, but felt stifled in their communications with other men (Davis, 2002). Pressure to be unaffectionate or appear unemotional towards male friends may be heightened if boys receive more messages regarding traditional masculine expectations from their fathers. Although establishing close friendships may be difficult given rigid masculine expectations within boys' peer group cultures, boys' ability to confide within their friendships is instrumental in supporting boys' positive adjustment during adolescence (Way, 2013). Boys have reported that although they may perceive masculine expectations within their broader peer network, they would be willing to be self-disclose their emotions with friends who they consider to be safe and trustworthy (Randell et al., 2016).

Demographic Differences in Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity

Race and Ethnicity

Scholars from fields of men, masculinity, and gender socialization have noted the importance of incorporating diverse samples within studies of masculinity, as men with minoritized or marginalized identities may adhere to specific aspects of masculinity that are valued within their cultural context (Smiler & Epstein, 2010). Through interviews with seventeen self-identified African American and Black men between ages 18 and 57, Rogers et al. (2015)

examined men's conceptualizations of general masculinity and African American masculinity. Although participants endorsed masculine norms typically associated with White, heteronormative notions of masculinity, they described African American masculinity as being distinct from traditional masculinity as a result of systemic barriers and structural inequality. Within participants' narratives, leadership emerged as the most common theme. Specifically, men frequently mentioned that being a positive role model, provider, or protector were all important components of what it meant to be a man (Rogers et al., 2015).

Through interviews with ten Black fathers and their sons, Allen (2016) sought to understand the role of racial socialization within fathers' gender socialization of manhood and masculinity with respect to their late adolescent sons. Allen (2016) noted that Black fathers discussed wanting their sons to develop their own identities outside of White, hegemonic ideals and wanted their sons to maintain a status that did not reflect negative Black male stereotypes. Sons were conscious of myths and stereotypes of Black men and wished to construct their own masculine identities in opposition to the dominant ideologies regarding Black men. Despite this, sons still believed that they needed to adhere to White masculine ideals in order to be successful, yet they wanted to do this without sacrificing their own cultural identities (Allen, 2016). Similarly, Rodriguez et al. (2021) conducted interviews with 34 Latino men from community colleges and 4-year institutions to understand how men's attitudes and beliefs about masculinity impacted their college transitions. Men frequently mentioned that being leaders and providers for one's family, being financial breadwinners, and being successful were critical components of their conceptions of masculinity, which they primarily learned from the men in their family. Latinx fathers often teach their sons machismo and marianismo, which are culturally rooted expectations of masculinity that value chivalry (Arciniega et al., 2008; Gutierrez et al., 2019).

Ide et al. (2018) conducted interviews with 76 White, Black, and Asian American undergraduate men to investigate racial differences in perceptions of their relationships with fathers, with special consideration of how racial identity influenced fathers' gender socialization. Results indicated that sons' perceptions of their fathers were grounded in their respective cultural meanings and values. For example, Asian American young adults often criticized their fathers' rigid roles related to serving as breadwinners for their family. According to Asian American men, this created emotional distance within the father-son relationship, as they believed their fathers were primarily concerned with their academic or occupational achievements (presumably associated with breadwinner status in the future). Black men often described their fathers as "cool," or "laid-back," a status with which sons respected, and appreciated the values of independence that their fathers imparted upon them. White young adults often reveled in the mentorship and friendship that they had received from their fathers and frequently reported that fathers provided them with financial assistance.

Sexual Orientation

An important component of dominant masculinity ideologies is compulsive heterosexuality, such that men are expected to want, objectify, and have sex with women. Due to this, sexual diverse men are marginalized outside the bounds of these norms of masculinity (Bucher, 2014). Because of this, scholars have theorized on ways in which perceptions of fathers' gender socialization in relation to young adult men's own gender belief and values may appear differently for gay or bisexual men (Fischer, 2007). McDermott and Schwartz (2013) conducted a latent profile analysis of men based on their gender role identity journey and examined differences in profile assignment according to men's sexual orientation, age, relationship status, and race. Profile assignments of men's gender attitudes varied based on

sociodemographic factors, such that men classified in the pro-feminist activist group (PFA) were more likely to be older, attend graduate school, and be in committed relationships. Men classified in the questioning with strong ambivalence group (QWSA) were more likely to identify as Black or Asian as compared to White and Latino men (McDermott & Schwartz, 2013). Thus, these sociodemographic factors influenced men's membership within these respective profiles. Differences also emerged based on sexual orientation, as men who identified themselves as gay or bisexual were more likely be classified within the QWSA group as compared to men who identified themselves as heterosexual. Additionally, men who identified as heterosexual were more likely to be assigned to the not questioning/accepting of traditional gender roles group (NQ/ATGR) or questioning with weak ambivalence group (QWWA) than men who identified as gay or bisexual (McDermott & Schwartz, 2013). Although these studies provide some insight into the role of sexual and gender diversity in further understanding the relation between fathers' gender socialization and emerging adult men's own gender beliefs and values, more research within this area is necessary.

College Student Status

For young adult men who attend college, events unique to the college experience such as participating in campus activities and organizations, developing close interpersonal relationships with others, and reaching out for help are all aspects of healthy psychosocial development while at college. However, due to masculine expectations, these behaviors are often traditionally defined within American culture as feminine, and thus college men may struggle in balancing conflicting desires to engage in these behaviors during their college experience while feeling pressures to adhere to traditional masculine expectations. Interviews and focus groups with 68 undergraduate men (Harris & Harper, 2015) revealed this conflict, with men recalling that

fathers were particularly important social figures who shaped their understanding of appropriate masculine behavior that was communicated to them prior to attending college. Common messages that men received from their fathers regarding their masculine identities included "Being tough and rough," "standing up for women when they entered the room," and "being a hard worker" (Harris & Harper, 2015, p. 54). Specific college-related factors may result in distinct gender-related experiences for college men (e.g., romantic relationships, student living, partying and alcohol use, fraternities, etc.) that may ultimately influence fathers to express distinct expectations of sons' masculinity within the college environment. The extent to which these differences may emerge is currently not well understood.

Fathers, Grandfathers, and Social Fathers

One of the few studies that has incorporated multiple generations of men within research on men's masculinity socialization was conducted by Odenweller et al. (2013), who recruited 125 undergraduate men to assess perceptions of grandfathers', fathers', and sons' family communication patterns and gender ideologies. Family communication patterns were measured by men's reports of conformity and conversation orientations. Conformity orientations are defined in terms of expectations of children to obey parental authority and are assumed to relate to masculine ideals of control and dominance. Conversation orientations are defined in terms of beliefs that children should be allowed and encouraged to openly express themselves. The results of this study did not suggest that the gender ideologies were transmitted consistently across the three generations, but rather that communication from fathers (second generation) to sons (third generation) was associated with fathers' alignment with and endorsement of gender ideologies (Odenweller et al., 2013). Thus, communications between grandfathers (first generation) and fathers as well as between grandfathers and their grandsons were not predictors of men's gender

ideologies in any generation. The lack of such effects among first generation fathers and second generation sons might be attributed to generational differences in father involvement and paternal closeness with children (Shapiro, 2004). The lack of association effects for grandfathers and grandsons may be explained by the fact that boys' decisions to model and enact gender ideologies is partially dependent upon the extent to which they identify with a particular social figure, such that boys may more strongly identify with their fathers as compared to their grandfathers (Floyd & Morman, 2000; Odenweller et al., 2013). These findings provide support for an investigation into variability of masculinity messages according to the relation of father figures to men. For example, men with biological/adoptive father figures may communicate greater masculinity expectations than men with "non-traditional" father figures (e.g., grandfathers, uncles, brothers, etc.).

Parent Education Level

Studies of first-generation college students have indicated that students whose parents have not earned 4-year degrees experience a range of structural disadvantages due to their intersecting marginalized identities including disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, rural upbringing, and racial/ethnic minority identities (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2018). Additionally, existing studies have suggested that parents from disadvantaged economic backgrounds and/or whose parents who do not have college degrees may place more expectations on their children to be successful in the face of adversity (see Mitchall & Jaeger, 2018). Dominant masculinity expectations of maintaining a high status, restricting one's emotions, and portraying a rigid persona may be a part of pressures from parents to be successful. In addition, individuals from more advantaged social backgrounds hold less traditional attitudes regarding gender (Marks et al., 2009). Thus, men with parents who have not received a 4-year degree may be more likely to

receive more masculinity expectations from fathers as compared to men with at least one parent who has completed a 4-year degree.

Consequent Associations of Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity

Gender Beliefs and Stereotypes

Sons' gender ideologies are associated with the gender ideologies of their fathers (Harris & Harper, 2015; Lawson et al., 2015; Guastello & Guastello, 2003). Thus, it is possible that fathers' expectations of their sons' masculinity may influence sons' gender beliefs and stereotypes, as sons may normalize or accept their fathers' implied attitudes regarding the roles of men and women in society. Through self-report questionnaires completed by 291 U.S. undergraduate college students, Epstein and Ward (2011) found that receiving more parental messages during childhood regarding traditional gender roles was associated with greater endorsements of emerging adults' traditional gender beliefs for both male and female students. However, the specific nature of endorsements differed by participants' sex, as college-aged males reported receiving more parental messages about being tough and more parental messages overall about traditional gender roles as compared to females (Epstein & Ward, 2011).

Levant et al. (2018b) recruited 252 men from colleges and local communities to complete open-ended response questions pertaining to their fathers' expectations of them while they were growing up and the resulting influence such expectations had on their lives. Sons reported that their fathers' expectations for them focused on areas including family and career, academics, sports, work ethic, independence, authenticity, and happiness. Many sons' narratives focused on the transmission of fathers' gender beliefs and expectations such that these ideologies had been internalized and endorsed by their sons. For example, one participant wrote, "Must be the best in everything. Can't fail. Going under his expectations could be devastating," while another wrote

"He expected me to play sports and try hard at them. He wanted me to become prepared to earn a living and support a family." These findings support the assertation that sons' perceptions of their fathers' expectations often relate to traditional masculinity ideologies and contribute to son's own gender-related beliefs and values at older ages.

Masculine Gender Role Stress

Pressure from fathers to uphold traditional masculine norms can negatively impact sons in areas that include poor psychological adjustment (Levant et al., 2018b), masculine gender role stress (Casselman & Rosenbaum, 2014), and feelings of shame and guilt for sexual minority men (Jadwin-Cakmak et al., 2015). *Gender role strain*, *gender role conflict*, and *gender role stress* have all been used interchangeably to describe the psychological, behavioral, and cognitive repercussions of men's gender socialization (Addis et al., 2016). DeFranc and Mahalik (2002) surveyed 204 college students to investigate whether men's reports of gender role strain and perceptions of their fathers' gender role strain was related to parental attachment and psychological separation from parents. Results indicated that men who reported themselves as feeling less gender role conflict and perceived fathers as feeling less gender role conflict and stress reported stronger attachments to both of their parents. Additionally, sons' reports of fathers' gender role conflict and stress accounted for a higher proportion of variance in parental attachment than did sons' own levels of gender role conflict and stress, suggesting the influence of fathers' modeling of gender-related behavior (DeFranc & Mahalik, 2002). Fischer and Good (1998) examined the association between young men's reports of their masculine gender role conflict and perceptions of relationships with their parents. Results indicated that when men perceived relationships with their parents as being more positive, secure, and without conflict, they experienced less masculine gender role conflict and stress. Specifically, men who perceived

their fathers offering a sense of security were more likely to report less masculine gender role conflict as it relates to emotional expression, performance failure, and intellectual inadequacy (Fischer & Good, 1998).

Adherence to Masculinity in Relationships

Due to the fact that masculinity is socially constructed and perpetuated, masculinity is a significant component of boys' social relationships throughout childhood and adolescence (Ruble et al., 2006). As boys approach late adolescence, they become more consciously aware of expectations placed on them related to masculinity (Way, 2013). This includes a self-awareness of expectations regarding masculine displays of affection with same sex individuals, such that boys may feel pressure to resist certain displays of affection with their friends, fathers, and other men (i.e., hugging or expressing love and appreciation; Korobov, 2005). The father–son relationship informs adolescent boys' internal working models of interpersonal relationships, such that fathers' patterns of behavior and degree of parental attachment play a significant role in sons' ability to form connections with others (DeFranc and Mahalik, 2002). Thus, fathers' masculine expectations of their sons may influence the extent to which boys and men feel obligated or pressured to adhere to masculinity within their interpersonal relationships.

Research has indicated that adherence to masculine norms plays an important role in relation to adolescent boys' social status within their peer groups (Ruble et al., 2006). When boys violate traditional masculine norms, they risk experiencing physical aggression, mocking and teasing, and being called sexist, homophobic, or classist slurs by other boys (Oransky & Marecek, 2009). Boys' displays of masculinity are policed by their peers as a means to 1) enforce masculine norms, 2) establish a desired social status, and 3) make their friends laugh (Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). In early adolescence, boys openly express appreciation for their

friends and voice their recognition of the importance of close friendships. However, as boys enter late adolescence (spanning approximately ages 15 through 19), they become more consciously aware of cultural expectations surrounding masculinity and may begin to emotionally distance themselves from friends such to not be perceived as too vulnerable (Way, 2013). Fathers play a role in communicating masculinity expectations that contribute to their sons' socioemotional development and interpersonal relationships (Brand & Klimes-Dougan, 2010; Pittman, 1993). Boys who are more emotionally connected with their fathers without the pressures of rigid expectations of masculinity may extend this vulnerability to their friendships by not feeling obligated to adhere to masculine norms during interactions with friends (Way et al., 2014).

Father-Son Relationship Quality as a Moderator of the Relation Between Fathers' Gender Socialization Messages and Sons' Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

The process through which children become attached to their parents is complicated by gender role socialization. For example, when a caregiver rejects or is dismissive of boys' needs for love and protection due to beliefs that boys should be strong and "not cry like a girl," this can negatively impact boys' internal working models and lead them to become distrusting of others (DeFranc & Mahalik, 2002). Parental attachment and separation predict men's reports of masculine gender role stress and conflict, such that poorer parental relationships (defined in terms of low attachment and high separation) are generally associated with higher masculine gender role stress and conflict (DeFranc & Mahalik, 2002; Fischer & Good, 1998; Klann et al., 2018; Mahalik et al., 2003). According to Fischer (2007), this may be attributed to the fact that boys' relationships with their parents contribute to their positive identity development. Parents can foster a strong, secure foundation in which sons feel comfortable expressing themselves

around their parents and feel welcome and accepted by them, including accepting sons' expressions of gender identity (Fischer, 2007). Fischer and Good (1998) examined the association between young men's reports of their masculine gender role conflict and perceptions of relationships with their parents. Results indicated that when men perceived relationships with their parents as being more positive, secure, and without conflict, they experienced less masculine gender role conflict and stress. Specifically, men who perceived their fathers as offering a sense of security reported less masculine gender role conflict as it related to emotional expression, performance failure, and intellectual inadequacy (Fischer & Good, 1998).

Using a sample of 227 young adults, Fellers and Shrodt (2020) examined whether communication behaviors, specifically confirmation (respect and acceptance of another person) and affection (the expression of love and emotional warmth with another person), mediated the relation between father's masculinity and their young adult children's relationship satisfaction and closeness with their fathers. Results indicated that perceptions of fathers' masculinity (particularly hypermasculinity) were negatively associated with children's perceived satisfaction of closeness with their father and indirectly associated with closeness through confirmation. In contrast, children's perceptions of their fathers' non-traditional masculinity were positively associated with satisfaction and closeness, with this association mediated by confirmation and affection. These findings suggest that fathers' masculine identity influences their parenting practices, including gender socialization, which can ultimately impact the parent-child relationship in either positive or negative ways. Although the sample for this study included both sons and daughters, this research indicates that the affection that is received from fathers may be partly due to fathers' gender orientations that they were socialized into (Fellers & Shrodt, 2020).

Using a sample of 170 undergraduate college men, Klann et al. (2018) examined whether father-son relationship quality moderated the associations between fathers' transmission of paternal masculine norms and paternal sexist communication and college men's sexism, gender role conflict, and subjective masculinity stress. Father-son relationship quality was found to moderate the positive association between perceived paternal sexist communication and sons' sexism such that this association was only significant at average and high levels of father-son relationship quality. Father-son relationship quality also moderated the positive association between perceived paternal sexist communication and sons' subjective masculinity stress such that this association was only significant at low levels of father-son relationship quality. Therefore, father-son relationship quality may impact gender socialization processes, such that this may inform sons' perceptions of their fathers' masculine behaviors and beliefs. When sons perceive high-quality relationships with their fathers, they may be more likely to model their fathers' masculine expectations. Alternatively, sons who perceive a low-quality father-son relationship may be less likely to embody their fathers' masculine behaviors.

Social cognitive theory suggests that the saliency and functionality of a given behavior determines whether it is valuable to later imitate, and children's relation to a model figure contributes to this value judgement. In other words, the nature of the relationship between those who are modeling/reinforcing and those who are learning has an impact on the strength and nature of learning (Addis et al., 2010; Bandura, 1969; Perry & Bussey, 1979). Due to fathers' roles in serving as attachment figures for their sons, the quality of the father-son relationship may result in differential associations between fathers' masculine expectations for their sons and gender-related outcomes. Consistent with this premise, the current study considered whether

subgroups of men defined in terms their perceptions of their fathers' masculine expectations varied in the quality of their relationships with fathers.

No research to date has examined profiles of men based on their perceptions of the gender socialization messages received from their fathers. For the purposes of the current study, a retrospective report was used to capture men's perceptions of their fathers' expectations of their masculinity while they were growing up. Importantly, this study incorporated a broader definition of fathers by allowing men to self-identify their significant father figure, inclusive of adoptive or biological fathers, stepfathers, grandparents, uncles, and other significant father figures in men's lives. Unique to this study, contextual factors such as father-son relationship quality, as well as outcomes such as men's own gender experiences and beliefs, were included within a person-centered approach to studying men, masculinity, and gender socialization.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. Do men's perceptions of their fathers' masculine expectations form distinct grouping patterns of emerging adult men?
    a. It is hypothesized that a latent profile analysis will identify profiles of men based on endorsement patterns of perceived masculine expectations from their fathers while growing up. This approach will be primarily exploratory, with general expectations to identify one profile of men with high means across all dimensions, one profile with low means across all dimensions, and additional profiles with varied means across combinations of dimensions.
2. What social and demographic factors predict grouping patterns of men according to their perceived masculine expectations from fathers?

a. Given the exploratory nature of how profiles might emerge, no specific hypothesis is formulated.

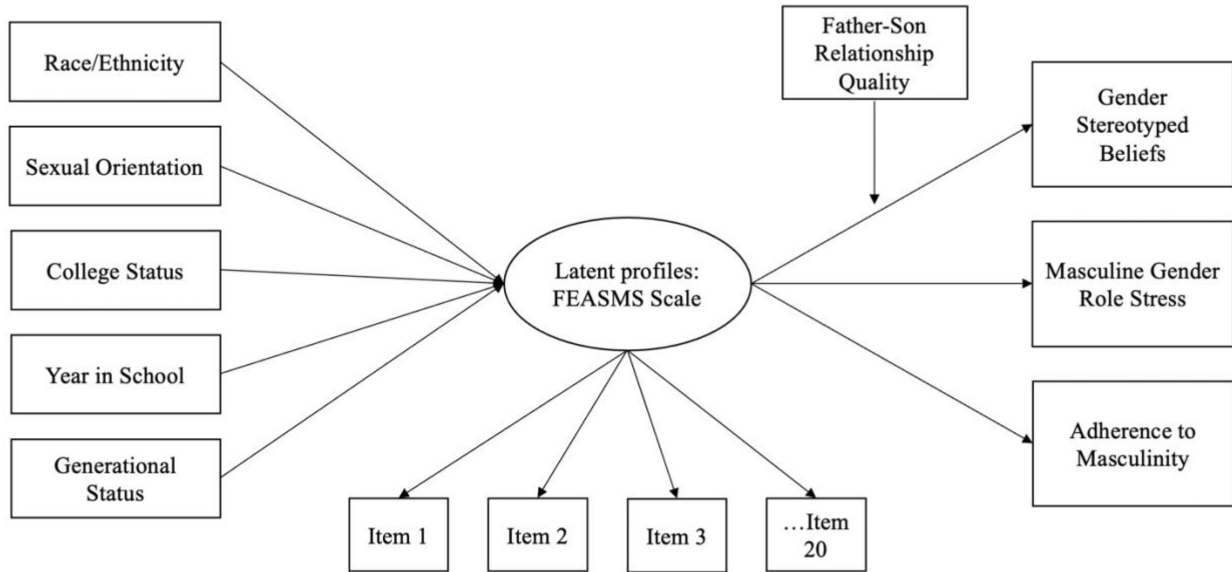
3. Are grouping patterns of men according to their perceived masculine expectations from fathers related to men's own gender-related beliefs and values?

    a. It is hypothesized that profiles characterized by greater masculinity expectations from fathers will be associated with greater endorsements of traditional gender role stereotypes, greater masculine gender role stress, and more adherence to norms of hegemonic masculinity in interpersonal relationships.

4. Is the relation between grouping patterns of men according to perceived masculine expectations from fathers and men's own gender-related beliefs and values moderated by father-son relationship quality?

    a. It is hypothesized that father-son relationship quality will moderate this association such that higher quality father-son relationships will yield stronger associations between fathers' masculinity expectations groupings and men's gender-related beliefs and experiences.

Figure 1. Illustration of Conceptual Model



Note. Model does not show some elements such as covariances among covariates and regressions of distal outcomes on covariates. The association between latent profiles and distal outcomes represent profile-specific means.

CHAPTER IV: METHOD

Sample Selection

To be eligible to participate in the study, men were required be at least 18 years-old, be fluent in English, identify their gender as a man, and have had a significant father figure present throughout a majority of their lives. During the data cleaning process, participants were removed from the sample if they spent less than four minutes completing the questionnaire, resulting in a total of 396 participants. From this sample, 13 additional participants were removed for either indicating they had no father figure or because they selected individuals as their primary father figure that were outside the purpose of the study (e.g., themselves or their mother). The final sample of participants were 383 emerging adult men.

Three hundred and seventy-eight participants identified as men and 5 identified as transgender men. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 26 or older with a median age of 23. Participants identified their race/ethnicity as 161 (42%) White, 121 (32%) Black or African American, 36 (9%) Hispanic or Latinx, 29 (8%) Multiracial, 22 (6%) Asian or Pacific Islander, 7 (2%) American Indian or Alaskan Native, and 7 (2%) other. Participants identified their sexual orientation as 299 (78%) straight, 75 (20%) sexual and gender minority (SGM), 4 (1%) questioning or unsure, 2 (0.5%) other, and 2 (0.5%) prefer not to say. In terms of college student status, 224 participants were not currently enrolled as undergraduate college students while 159 were current undergraduate students. Of these 159 students, there were 25 (16%) first-year students, 30 (19%) sophomores, 21 (13%) juniors, 71 (45%) seniors, and 12 (8%) alternative year undergraduate students. Among these students, 30 (19%) reported that paying for college was not at all stressful, 52 (33%) slightly stressful, 53 (33%) moderately stressful, and 24 (15%) extremely stressful.

When asked to report on fathers, 159 (42%) attained a high school diploma/GED or less, 39 (10%) completed part of college, 31 (8%) had an associate degree, 83 (22%) had a bachelor's degree, 48 (13%) had a graduate degree, and 22 (6%) did not know their fathers' highest education level. For mothers, 171 (45%) attained a high school diploma/GED or less, 48 (13%) completed part of college, 40 (10%) had an associate degree, 73 (19%) had a bachelor's degree, 44 (11%) had a graduate degree, and 7 (2%) did not know their mothers' highest education level. In regards to their primary family household while they were growing up, 206 (54%) of participants lived with married or cohabiting parents, 35 (9%) with a mother and step-parent/romantic partner, 32 (8%) with a father and step-parent/romantic partner, 65 (17%) with grandparents, 16 (4%) with a single father, 19 (5%) with a single mother, and 8 (2%) had other living arrangements. In regard to their current primary family household, 186 (49%) of participants lived with married or cohabiting parents, 46 (12%) with a mother and step-parent/romantic partner, 38 (10%) with a father and step-parent/romantic partner, 58 (15%) with grandparents, 14 (4%) with a single father, 32 (8%) with a single mother, and 7 (2%) had other living arrangements.

When asked to identify who served as their primary father figure while they were growing up, 269 (70%) participants selected a biological or adoptive father, 43 (11%) a stepfather, 28 (7%) a grandfather, 22 (6%) a family friend, 16 (4%) an uncle, and 5 (1%) selected other father figures (e.g., brothers or cousins). When asked to indicate the time they lived with their father figure while they were growing up on a scale from 0 to 100, participants rated an average of 68.27 (SD = 31.93) time spent with their primary father figure. When asked to indicate the time they spent with their father figure while they were growing up on a scale from 0

to 100, participants rated an average of 67.62 (*SD* = 33.69) time spent living with their primary father figure.

Data Collection Procedures

Data were collected through three separate recruitment strategies. Prior to beginning data collection, institutional review board (IRB) approval was received for all recruitment strategies.

For the first recruitment strategy, students enrolled in three sections of two large introductory social science college courses were recruited for the study. During the Fall 2022 semester, students in these courses were offered 4% extra credit towards final grades in their respective courses if they completed the questionnaire for the study. Students who were enrolled in both courses were only able to complete the survey once. Students enrolled in these courses during Fall 2022 received email communications and course announcements in the middle of the semester with information about the study and a link to the Qualtrics survey. Reminder emails were sent to students midway through data collection. Both men and women in these courses were presented with this opportunity, but data from women were not analyzed for the purposes of the current study. Within the sample, 100 men were recruited using this recruitment method.

The second recruitment strategy involved using institutional data on undergraduate college students at the same university to obtain the email addresses of all undergraduate students who identified as male. This resulted in emails for 4,764 students. Recruitment emails containing a link to the Qualtrics survey were sent to 1,000 of these students at a time until sixty of these students completed the questionnaire. These sixty students received a $10 Amazon gift card as compensation for their time completing the survey. Within the sample, 47 men were recruited using this recruitment method.

The third recruitment method involved the use of *CloudResearch* (formerly known as *TurkPrime*), a platform that sources participants for online research and surveys from PrimePanels (Chandler et al., 2019). *CloudResearch* was used to recruit 300 males from the U.S. between the ages of 18 and 29. Participants were financially compensated for their participation in accordance with *CloudResearch* procedures and policies. Within the sample, 236 men were recruited using this recruitment method.

When participants navigated to the link for the online Qualtrics survey, they were first presented with a consent form (customized based on recruitment strategy). After reading through the consent information, participants indicated their agreement to participate in the study. After participants agreed to participate, they self-guided through each section of the questionnaire on the Qualtrics platform. After completing the survey, participants who were recruited from university courses were redirected from the survey to enter their e-mail addresses. This was done to identify students who received extra credit or an Amazon gift card for their participation in the survey while not linking email addresses to questionnaire responses.

Measures

Demographic Control Variables

Five demographic variables were used as covariates in further analyses. The full demographics section of the Qualtrics survey is shown in Appendix A. The five covariates included participants' racial/ethnic identity, sexual orientation, identity of a primary father figure, college student status, and parent education level (as indicated by highest levels of education for mothers and fathers). Given limitations in the size of racial/ethnic groups within the sample, race/ethnicity was coded into two dummy variables with White students as the reference group. The first race/ethnicity variable was coded for Black students with 0 = Other or

White and 1 = Black. The second variable was coded for participants with other racial/ethnic identities with 0 = Black or White and 1 = Other Racial/Ethnic Identities. The Other Racial Identities category included participants who identified as American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino/Latina, Biracial, and other racial or ethnic identities. Sexual orientation also contained limitations in group sizes and was coded dichotomously as 0 = SGM and 1 = Straight. Participants who selected "Questioning or unsure," or "Prefer not to say," were coded as missing data. The identity of a primary father figure was dichotomously coded as 0 = Not a Biological/Adoptive Father and 1 = Biological/Adoptive Father. Non-biological/adoptive fathers included stepfathers, grandfathers, family friends, uncles, brothers, and cousins. College student status was dichotomously coded as 0 = Not an Undergraduate College Student and 1 = Undergraduate College Student. Parent education level was dichotomously coded as 0 = Parent with 4-Year Degree and 1 = No Parent with 4-Year Degree.

Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity

Participants' retrospective reports of their own perceptions of their fathers' expectations of sons' masculinity were assessed using the Fathers' Expectations About Sons' Masculinity Scale – Short Form (FEASMS-SF; Levant et al., 2018a; Appendix B). For this measure, men were prompted to reflect on their experiences while growing up with a significant father figure who had been present throughout a majority of their lives. This measure consisted of 20 items that yielded five subscales, with each subscale containing four items. Subscales included: 1) heteronormativity and avoid femininity, 2) status, 3) importance of sex, 4) rigidity, and 5) restrictive emotionality. Sample items from these subscales included "My father expected me to never compliment or flirt with another male," (heteronormativity and avoid femininity), "My father expected me to never count on someone else to get the job done," (status), "My father

expected me to be very interested in sex," (importance of sex), "My father was tough on me when I was a boy," (rigidity), and "My father expected me to never admit when others hurt my feelings," (restrictive emotionality). Participants indicated their agreement with statements on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Higher scores indicated sons' perceived more masculine expectations from their fathers within that respective domain. Cronbach's alphas indicated strong reliability for heteronormativity and avoid femininity (α = 0.90), status (α = 0.83), importance of sex (α = 0.88), rigidity (α = 0.89), and restrictive emotionality (α = 0.83).

Traditional Gender Role Stereotypes

The degree to which participants endorsed traditional gender role stereotypes was assessed using the Traditional and Egalitarian Sex Role Inventory (TESR; Larsen & Long, 1988; Appendix C). This is a 20-item measure that has men rate rated their agreement with statements on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*Agree strongly*) to 5 (*Disagree strongly*). Sample items included "Women should have just as much sexual freedom as men," "Men who cry have a weak character," and "The man should be more responsible for the economic support of the family than the woman." Negatively worded items were reverse-coded such that higher scores indicated more traditional attitudes towards gender roles. Cronbach's alpha indicated strong reliability for this measure (α = 0.82).

Masculine Gender Role Stress

Participants' perceptions of the psychological, behavioral, and cognitive impacts they faced due to dominant masculine gender roles was measured using the Abbreviated Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRS-A; Swartout et al., 2015; Appendix D). This abbreviated version of the original MGRS scale included15 statements that men responded to on a 6-point

Likert scale ranging from 0 (*Not at all stressful*) to 5 (*Extremely stressful*). The measure consisted of five subscales: 1) physical inadequacy, 2) emotional inexpressiveness, 3) subordination to women, 4) intellectual inferiority, and 5) performance failure. Sample items included "Being perceived by someone as 'gay'," (physical inadequacy), "Admitting that you are afraid of something," (emotional inexpressiveness), "Letting a woman control the situation," (subordination to women), "Having others say that you are too emotional," (intellectual inferiority), and "Getting passed over for a promotion" (performance failure). In the current study, all items across all subscales were combined to reflect a unidimensional construct of men's masculine gender role stress. This approach is consistent with that taken by other researchers in the field (McCreary et al., 1998; McDermott et al., 2017). Higher scores indicated that men experience greater masculine gender role stress. Cronbach's alpha indicated strong reliability for the total MGRS scale ($\alpha = 0.92$).

Adherence to Norms of Hegemonic Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships

Men's adherence to norms of hegemonic masculinity in the context of interpersonal relationships was assessed using the Adolescent Masculinity Ideology in Relationships Scale (AMIRS; Chu et al., 2005; Appendix E). This measure consisted of 12 statements with which participants indicate their agreement on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree strongly*) to 5 (*Agree strongly*). Sample items included "Even when something is bothering me, it's important to act like nothing is wrong around my friends," "I would be friends with a guy who is gay," and "A man cannot gain respect if he backs down from an argument." Negatively worded items were reverse-coded. Higher scores indicated more agreement with hegemonic masculinity norms within the context of interpersonal relationships. Cronbach's alpha for this measure indicated moderate reliability ($\alpha = 0.67$).

Past Father-Son Relationship Quality

Men's perceptions of the relationship quality they had with their fathers while growing up during childhood and adolescence was assessed by the Nurturant Fathering Scale (Finley and Schwartz, 2004; Appendix F). This measure consisted of nine items with which men indicated their agreement using a 5-point scale, with different endpoints of the scale depending on the content of each item. Sample items included "When you needed your father's support, was he there for you?", "Did you feel that you could confide in your father?" and "As you go through your day, how much of a psychological presence does your father have in your daily thoughts and feelings?" Higher scores indicated higher quality father-son relationships in the past. Cronbach's alpha for this measure indicated strong reliability ($\alpha = 0.94$).

Current Father-Son Relationship Quality

Men's perceptions of their current relationship quality with their fathers were assessed through the Parent Adult-Child Questionnaire – Fathers (PACQF; Peisah et al., 1999; Appendix G). This measure included 13 items designed to assess the current relationship between fathers and their adult children. Items were rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not true at all*) to 5 (*Very true*). The PACQF included three factors: regard ("I respect my father's opinion,") responsibility ("Something will happen to my father if I don't take care of him,") and control ("I feel that my father tries to manipulate me,"). The Regard subscale is intended to assess sons' perceptions of the overall closeness and support provided by fathers. The responsibility subscale is intended to measure sons' feelings of guilt, blame, and protectiveness with respect to their fathers. The control subscale is intended to assess the extent to which sons feel their fathers have power and control over them (Peisah et al., 1999). Higher scores indicated greater perceived regard, responsibility, and control within current father-son relationships. Cronbach's alpha for

this measure indicated acceptable reliability for Regard (α = 0.83), Responsibility (α = 0.77), and Control (α = 0.85).

Analytic Strategy

As compared to variable-centered analyses, person-centered analyses provide a more holistic account of individuals' responses in a given domain by focusing on combinations of variables as opposed to examining variables on their own. Person-centered analyses allow researchers to detect sophisticated, detailed interactions among variables that would otherwise be difficult to determine or investigate through a variable-centered approach (Meyer & Morin, 2016). An example of a person-centered approach is latent profile analysis, which is a type of mixture model that can be used to identify groups that are otherwise hidden by calculating the probability that participants belong within a given profile through observed continuous indicators (Ferguson et al., 2020; Lubke & Neale, 2006). In the current study, latent profile analysis was conducted to identify groups of men with similar patterns regarding their perceptions of their fathers' masculine expectations through FEASMS-SF items. Individual items served as indicators of the five dimensions of 1) heteronormativity and avoid femininity, 2) status, 3) importance of sex, 4) rigidity, and 5) restrictive emotionality. Due to limited existing literature to inform specific hypotheses, this approach was exploratory. All items were entered as individual indicators (as opposed to being averaged as subscales) to account for the possibility that the items could supply unique information that distinguished and characterized profiles. Participants' observed scores and parameter estimates on these variables were used to assign each participant to the latent profile to which they most likely belonged (Peugh & Fan, 2013).

Latent profiles were estimated using *Mplus* 8.0 with robust maximum likelihood estimation (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). Full information maximum likelihood (FIML) was used to

handle missing data. A 1-profile model was first estimated and then profiles were subsequently added to identify the number of profiles that best fit the data. An optimal profile solution was determined through evaluation of several indicators of approximate model fit including the Akaike information criterion (AIC), Bayesian information criteria (BIC), and sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion (SABIC), such that lower values on all three of these indicated better fit. The Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test (VLMR-LRT) and the bootstrap likelihood ratio test (BLRT) were also examined to compare a given profile solution (k) with a solution that contained one less profile ($k - 1$). If found to be significant, these tests suggest that the k solution is a significantly better fit than the $k - 1$ solution.

After establishing an optimal number of profiles, auxiliary variables (i.e., covariates and distal outcomes) were used to examine variable associations with profile membership. Auxiliary variables are useful in highlighting individual or contextual factors that are characterized by each class profile. Associations between latent profiles and auxiliary variables were estimated using the manual 3-step BCH approach (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2014). The BCH approach includes individual uncertainty, as opposed to average uncertainty, in profile classification. An advantage of the BCH approach is that profiles are unconditional on desired predictors or outcomes, thus maintaining the formation of the initial profile solution (Clark & Muthén, 2009; Ferguson et al., 2020). During this analysis, a latent profile variable was regressed on the covariates through multinomial logistic regression with each latent profile serving as a reference profile (Ferguson et al., 2020). Five covariates (race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, college student status, relation to father figure, and parent education level) were examined as predictors of the latent profiles. Next, profile-specific means were estimated for each outcome variable related to men's gender-related beliefs and experiences while controlling for sociodemographic covariates. Distal

outcomes included: 1) traditional gender role stereotypes, 2) masculine gender role stress, and 3) adherence to norms of hegemonic masculinity in interpersonal relationships. For this analysis, omnibus Wald tests were conducted to examine whether means differed by profile membership. Given the presence of significant overall Wald tests, further Wald tests and pairwise comparisons were conducted to identify the source of differences among profiles.

Finally, father-son relationship quality was examined as a moderator of the association between profile membership and three distal outcomes of men's own gender-related beliefs and experiences. Father-son relationship quality consisted of four distinct moderator variables: 1) a general assessment of men's perceptions of past father-son relationship quality during childhood and adolescence, 2) men's perceptions of current father-son relationship quality in the regard domain, 3) men's perceptions of current father-son relationship quality in the responsibility domain, and 4) men's perceptions of current father-son relationship quality in the control domain. Moderation analyses were completed by first dummy coding each nominal profile variables such that 1 = member of that profile and 0 = not member of that profile, then creating product terms of the interactions between dummy codes and centered relationship quality variables. Next, outcomes were regressed on the profile variables, centered relationship quality variables, and interaction terms. The presence of significant interaction terms indicated that profile differences (relative to a reference group) were stronger or weaker at higher levels of father-son relationship quality.

CHAPTER V: RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 provides the bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations (SD) for the study variables. Twenty items from the FEASMS-SF measure were used as individual indicators to form the profiles in the latent profile analysis. However, participants' scores on the five subscales included in this measure were averaged for the purposes of providing descriptive statistics for each subscale. The intercorrelations among the latent profile variable subscales (HAF, STA, IOS, RIG, and REMO) were all significant and positively associated (r = .31 to .70). Correlations among the three outcome variables (TESR, MGRS, and AMIRS) were all significant and positively associated (r = .35 to .54). Correlations among the latent profile variable subscales and three outcome variables were all significant and positively correlated (r = .17 to .45), except the correlation between the status subscale of the latent profile variable and the Traditional and Egalitarian Sex Roles scale (nonsignificant with r = .97).

Correlations among the relationship quality moderator variables were significant between PRQ and CRQ – REG (r = .79), PRQ and CRQ – RES (r = .48), CRQ – RES and CRQ – REG (r = .47), and CRQ – RES and CRQ – C (r = .55). The correlations between PRQ and CRQ – C and CRQ – REG and CRQ – C were nonsignificant. Some of the correlations among the latent profile variable subscales and the moderator variables were significant and positively associated (r = .13 to .47). The correlations between RIG and PRQ (r = -.28) and RIG and CRQ – REG (r = -.29) were significant and negatively associated. The correlations between HAF and PRQ (r = .10), IOS and PRQ (r = .02), HAF and CRQ – REG (r = .04), RIG and CRQ – RES (r = .09), IOS and CRQ – REG (r = -.02), and PRQ and REMO (r = -.09) were nonsignificant. Some of the correlations among outcome variables and the moderator variables were significant and

positively associated (r = .12 to .79). The correlations between TESR and PRQ (r = .09) and TESR and CRQ – REG (r = -.02) were nonsignificant.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations Among Latent Profile Variable Subscales, Outcome Variables, and Moderator Variables

	HAF	STA	IOS	RIG	REMO	TESR	MGRS	AMIRS	PRQ	CRQ – C	CRQ –REG	CRQ – RES
HAF	1.00											
STA	0.60***	1.00										
IOS	0.31***	0.34***	1.00									
RIG	0.40***	0.35***	0.44***	1.00								
REMO	0.45***	0.47***	0.50***	0.70***	1.00							
TESR	0.19***	0.97	0.40***	0.17***	0.21***	1.00						
MGRS	0.27***	0.23***	0.38***	0.32***	0.30***	0.49***	1.00					
AMIRS	0.32***	0.33***	0.40***	0.34***	0.45***	0.35***	0.54***	1.00				
PRQ	0.10	0.22***	0.02	-0.28***	-0.09	0.09	0.21***	0.25***	1.00			
CRQ – C	0.21***	0.14**	0.26***	0.47***	0.32***	0.31***	0.48***	0.33***	0.02	1.00		
CRQ – REG	0.04	0.20***	-0.02	-0.29***	-0.11*	-0.02	0.12*	0.15**	0.79***	0.01	1.00	
CRQ – RES	0.13*	0.19***	0.29***	0.09	0.13*	0.35***	0.46***	0.35***	0.48***	0.55***	0.47***	1.00
M	4.76	5.02	3.71	4.02	4.13	3.16	2.51	3.18	3.35	2.03	2.77	2.12
SD	1.67	1.33	1.59	1.58	1.59	0.63	0.91	0.58	1.05	0.83	0.87	0.81

Note. * indicates $p < .05$, ** indicates $p < .01$, *** indicates $p < .001$. All p values are two-tailed. HAF = Heteronormativity and Avoid Femininity; STA = Status; IOS = Importance of Sex; RIG = Rigidity; REMO = Restrictive Emotionality; TESR = Traditional and Egalitarian Sex Roles; MGRS = Masculine Gender Role Stress; AMIRS = Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships; PRQ = Past Father-Son Relationship Quality; CRQ – C = Current

Father-Son Relationship Quality – Control; CRQ – REG = Current Father-Son Relationship Quality – Regard; CRQ – RES = Current Father-Son Relationship Quality – Responsibility. Items for latent profile subscales were entered as individual indicators in model testing

Latent Profile Analysis Based on Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity Items

To address the first research question, latent profile analysis was utilized to develop profiles describing emerging adult men's perceptions of their fathers' masculine expectations while growing up. Profiles were developed using individual items from the heteronormativity and avoiding femininity, status, importance of sex, rigidity, and restrictive emotionality subscales of the Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity Scale as individual indicators to identify an optimal profile solution. The AIC, BIC, and SABIC fit statistics suggested that the 6-profile solution was the best fit (Table 2). These values were then plotted in relation to the number of profile solutions, which suggested declining solutions beyond profiles greater than 4 (Figure 2). The BLRT was not informative, as it indicated that the addition of each subsequent profile was a fit better than the previous profile solution. The VLMR-LRT indicated that a 4-profile model fit better than a 3-profile model and that the 5-profile and 6-profile solutions were not a better fit than that of the previous profile solution. These fit indices were considered together along with the extent to which solutions were parsimonious, interpretable, and supportive of conceptual and theoretical justifications.

The 4-profile model was selected as the optimal profile solution based on the following considerations. The entropy and AvePP values decreased for models that exceeded 4 profiles, which suggested that as more profiles were added, the overall and profile-specific classifications became less accurate and/or distinct. The 4-profile solution had robust profiles that each contained more than 10% of participants, provided a parsimonious and interpretable solution,

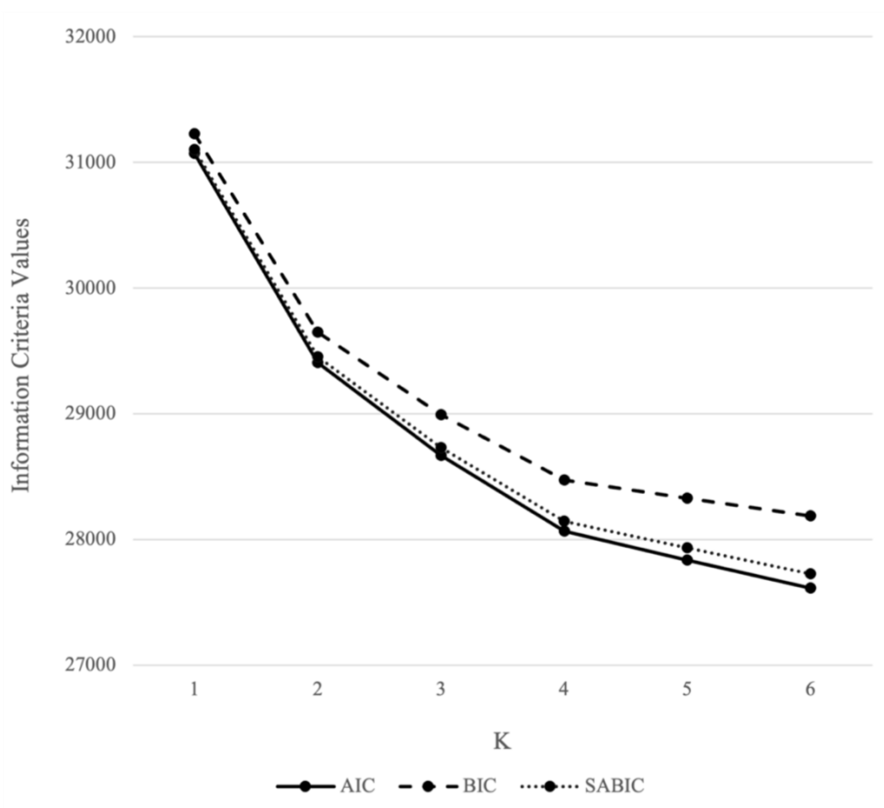
and resulted in an acceptable entropy value of 0.948 with excellent average posterior class probabilities (AvePP) ranging from 0.969 to 0.982 (Clark & Muthén, 2009; Weller et al., 2020).

Table 2. Fit Statistics for Latent Profile Analysis of Fathers' Expectations of their Sons' Masculinity

K	AIC	BIC	SABIC	VLMR-LRT	BLRT	Entropy
1	31069.464	31227.385	31100.471	-	-	-
2	29406.233	29647.063	29453.519	$p = .048$	$p < .001$	0.887
3	28667.902	28991.641	28731.467	$p = .052$	$p < .001$	0.947
4	**28065.488**	**28472.136**	**28145.333**	**$p = .007$**	**$p < .001$**	**0.948**
5	27836.115	28325.671	27932.238	$p = .344$	$p < .001$	0.936
6	27612.802	28185.267	27725.204	$p = .655$	$p < .001$	0.936

Note. "K" = number of profiles. "AIC" = Akaike information criterion. "BIC" = Bayesian information criterion. "SABIC" = Sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion. "VLMR-LRT" = Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test. "BLRT" = Bootstrapped likelihood ratio test.

Figure 2. Information Criteria Plot

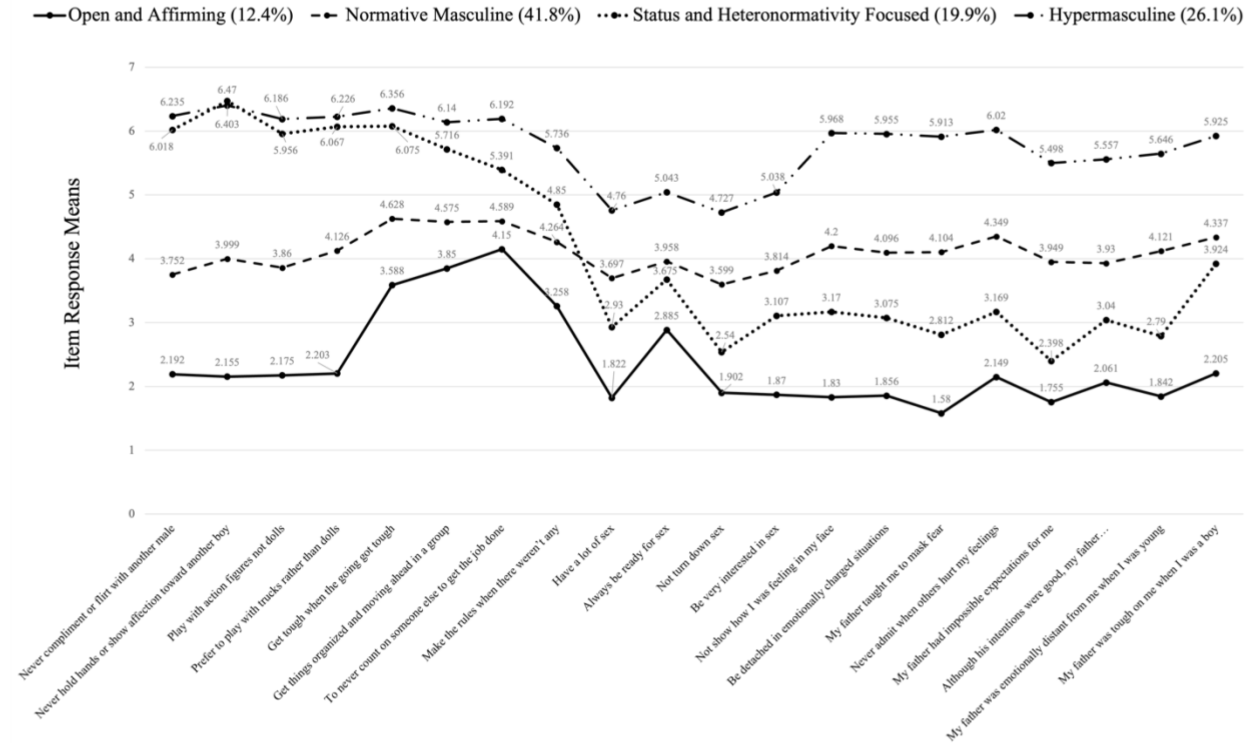


Note. “K” = number of profiles. “AIC” = Akaike information criterion. “BIC” = Bayesian information criterion. “SABIC” = Sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion.

Next, item response means were used to interpret each of the four profiles (Figure 3). Men in the “Normative Masculine” profile (n = 160; 41.8%) reported average scores on items indicating expectations of heteronormativity/avoid femininity, status, importance of sex, rigidity, and restrictive emotionality. Men in the “Hypermasculine” profile (n = 100; 26.1%) reported relatively high scores on items indicating expectations across all domains. In the “Status and Heteronormativity Focused” profile (n = 76; 19.9%), men reported relatively high scores on items indicating expectations of status and heteronormativity/avoid femininity and average scores on items indicating expectations of importance of sex, rigidity, and restrictive emotionality. The “Open and Affirming” profile (n = 48; 12.4%) included men who reported

relatively low scores on items indicating paternal expectations of status, heteronormativity/avoid femininity, importance of sex, rigidity, and restrictive emotionality.

Figure 3. Indicator Items and Means by Profile



Sociodemographic Predictors

The second research question focused on whether social and demographic factors could predict profile membership. This was investigated through multinomial logistic regression. The regression model was estimated using the manual three-step BCH approach with all predictors simultaneously entered. In turn, each of the four profiles was used as a reference profile to determine whether social and demographic factors predicted men's membership in that profile. Estimates and odds ratios from this analysis are shown in Table 3. Black men were significantly more likely than White men to be in the Normative Masculine profile compared to the Open and Affirming profile (OR = 3.04, 95% CI: 1.28 – 7.21, p = .012). SGM men were more likely than

straight men to be in the Open and Affirming profile (OR = 4.20, 95% CI: 1.39 – 12.67, p = .039), Normative Masculine profile (OR = 2.97, 95% CI: 1.78 – 8.27, p = .039), and the Hypermasculine profile (OR = 3.88, 95% CI: 1.40 – 10.72, p = .007) relative to the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile. Men with biological or adoptive father figures were more likely than men with non-traditional father figures to be in the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile relative to the Open and Affirming profile (OR = 3.90, 95% CI: 1.33 – 11.42, p = .039), Normative Masculine profile (OR = 5.30, 95% CI: 2.08 – 13.51, p = .039), and the Hypermasculine profile (OR = 4.59, 95% CI: 1.70 – 12.39, p = .007). Men who did not have a parent who had completed a 4-year college degree were significantly more likely to be in the Open and Affirming profile (OR = 2.85, 95% CI: 1.34 – 6.06, p = .050) and Normative Masculine profile (OR = 1.90, 95% CI: 1.08 – 3.35, p = .050) relative to the Hypermasculine profile. Participants' college student status and other racial identities did not predict profile membership.

Table 3. Covariate Estimates and Odds Ratios of Profile Membership

		Covariates (OR [95% CI])					
		Race or Ethnicity		Sexual Orientation	Relation to Father Figure	College Student Status	Parent Education Level
Reference Profile	**Profile**	Black	Other	SGM	Bio/Adoptive Father	College Student	No Parent with 4-Year Degree
1	2	**3.04 [1.28 7.21]**	1.34 [0.61 2.94]	0.71 [0.32 1.55]	0.74 [0.35 1.36]	1.04 [0.51 2.11]	0.67 [0.33 1.36]
	3	1.51 [0.55 4.10]	0.74 [0.30 1.84]	**0.24 [0.08 0.72]**	**3.90 [1.33 11.42]**	1.30 [0.59 2.83]	0.68 [0.30 1.54]
	4	2.30 [0.91 5.80]	1.20 [0.52 2.78]	0.94 [0.41 2.12]	0.85 [0.39 1.88]	0.70 [0.32 1.53]	**0.35 [0.17 0.75]**
2	1	**0.33 [0.14 0.78]**	0.75 [0.34 1.64]	1.41 [0.65 3.09]	1.36 [0.65 2.84]	0.96 [0.47 1.96]	1.50 [0.73 3.06]
	3	0.50 [0.23 1.05]	0.55 [0.26 1.18]	**0.34 [0.12 0.94]**	**5.30 [2.08 13.51]**	1.25 [0.69 2.27]	1.02 [0.54 1.94]
	4	0.76 [0.40 1.43]	0.89 [0.46 1.75]	1.32 [0.70 2.48]	1.16 [0.65 2.07]	0.68 [0.37 1.22]	**0.53 [0.30 0.93]**
3	1	0.66 [0.24 1.81]	1.35 [0.54 3.37]	**4.20 [1.39 12.67]**	**0.26 [0.09 0.75]**	0.77 [0.35 1.68]	1.46 [0.65 3.30]
	2	2.02 [0.96 4.27]	1.81 [0.85 3.89]	**2.97 [1.78 8.27]**	**0.19 [0.07 0.48]**	0.80 [0.44 1.46]	0.98 [0.52 1.86]
	4	1.53 [0.67 3.46]	1.62 [0.71 3.71]	**3.88 [1.40 10.72]**	**0.22 [0.08 0.59]**	0.54 [0.28 1.06]	0.51 [0.52 1.86]
4	1	0.44 [0.17 1.10]	0.83 [0.36 1.93]	1.07 [0.47 2.42]	1.18 [0.53 2.60]	1.42 [0.65 3.10]	**2.85 [1.34 6.06]**
	2	1.32 [0.70 2.51]	1.12 [0.57 2.18]	0.76 [0.40 1.43]	0.87 [0.48 1.55]	1.48 [0.82 2.67]	**1.90 [1.08 3.35]**
	3	0.66 [0.29 1.49]	0.62 [0.27 1.41]	**0.26 [0.09 0.73]**	**4.59 [1.70 12.39]**	1.84 [0.94 3.61]	1.95 [0.98 3.86]

Note. "1" = Open and Affirming; "2" = Normative Masculine; "3" = Status and Heteronormativity Focused; "4" = Hypermasculine. "OR" = Odds ratio. Bolded values indicate statistical significance at $p < .05$. Reference groups include: "Race or

Ethnicity” = White; “Sexual Orientation” = Straight; “Relation to Father Figure” = Not a Biological/Adoptive Father Figure; “College Student Status” = Not An Undergraduate College Student, “Parent Education Level” = Parent with 4-Year Degree.

Distal Outcomes – Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

The third research question focused on whether profile membership was related to men's gender-related beliefs and outcomes. This was investigated by estimating and comparing profile-specific means for men's reports of traditional gender role stereotypes, masculine gender role stress, and adherence to norms of hegemonic masculinity in interpersonal relationships. Omnibus Wald tests indicated that profile-specific means significantly differed for traditional gender role stereotypes ($\chi^2(3) = 107.24, p < .001$), masculine gender role stress ($\chi^2(3) = 55.26, p < .001$), and adherence to norms of hegemonic masculinity in interpersonal relationships ($\chi^2(3) = 74.56, p < .001$). Further Wald tests were then conducted through the manual BCH approach to compare pairs of profiles and their mean differences for each of the three outcome variables while controlling for five sociodemographic covariates (race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, college student status, father figure, and parent education level; Table 4).

Traditional Gender Role Stereotypes

Men in the Hypermasculine profile (M = 2.84) had the highest average traditional attitudes towards gender roles, followed by those in the Normative Masculine profile (M = 2.63), the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile (M = 2.39), and finally men in the Open and Affirming profile, who had the lowest average traditional attitudes towards gender roles (M = 2.08; levels of significance for all comparisons ranged from $p < .001$ to $p = .03$).

Masculine Gender Role Stress

Men in the Open and Affirming profile (M = 2.01) had significantly lower average masculine gender role stress than all other profiles ($p < .001$ for comparisons between Normative Masculine and Hypermasculine profiles; $p = .02$ for comparison between Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile). Those in the Normative Masculine profile (M = 2.43) and

Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile (*M* = 2.35) had significantly lower average masculine gender role stress than men in the Hypermasculine profile (*M* = 3.01; $p < .001$ for both comparisons). Men in the Normative Masculine profile did not differ from men in the Status & Heteronormativity Focused profile ($p = .53$).

Adherence to Norms of Hegemonic Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships

Men in the Open and Affirming profile (*M* = 2.84) had significantly lower average adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships than men in the Normative Masculine profile (*M* = 3.10; $p = .001$) and Hypermasculine profile (*M* = 3.64; $p < .001$). Men in the Open and Affirming profile did not differ from men in the Status & Heteronormativity Focused profile (*M* = 2.97; $p = .12$). Men in the Normative Masculine profile had significantly higher average adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships than men in the Status & Heteronormativity Focused profile ($p = .048$). Men in the Hypermasculine profile had significantly higher average adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships than men in the Normative Masculine and Status & Heteronormativity Focused profiles ($p < .001$).

Table 4. Mean Differences for Distal Outcomes of FEASMS Latent Profile Analysis

	TESR			MGRS			AMIRS		
	Wald statistic	*p* value	*MD*	Wald statistic	*p* value	*MD*	Wald statistic	*p* value	*MD*
Open and Affirming Profile vs. Normative Masculine Profile	20.07	< .001	.55	13.35	< .001	.42	11.03	< .001	.26
Open and Affirming Profile vs. Status and Heteronormativity Focused Profile	4.65	.03	.31	5.85	.02	.34	2.40	.12	.13
Open and Affirming Profile vs. Hypermasculine Profile	33.72	< .001	.76	46.81	< .001	.999	65.09	< .001	.81
Normative Masculine Profile vs. Status and Heteronormativity Focused Profile	5.96	.01	-.25	.39	.53	-.08	3.92	.04	-.13
Normative Masculine Profile vs. Hypermasculine Profile	6.31	.01	.21	20.74	< .001	.58	43.66	< .001	.54
Status and Heteronormativity Focused Profile vs. Hypermasculine Profile	17.16	< .001	.45	18.88	< .001	.66	53.32	< .001	.67

Note. "TESR" = Traditional and Egalitarian Sex Roles; "MGRS" = Masculine Gender Role Stress; "AMIRS" = Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships.

Moderating Effect of Father-Son Relationship Quality on the Relation Between Profile Membership and Men's Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

The final research question focused on whether four assessments of father-son relationship quality moderated the relation between profile membership and men's gender-related beliefs and experiences. These moderator variables included a general measure of past

father-son relationship quality and three subscales that represented distinct domains of current father-son relationship quality. The following sections describe interaction effects across these four constructs of father-son relationship quality.

Past Father-Son Relationship Quality

Results for the interaction effects between past father-son relationship quality and men's gender-related beliefs and experiences are shown in Table 5.

Traditional Gender Role Attitudes

When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Normative Masculine profile ($\beta = .55$; $p < .001$), the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile ($\beta = .53$; $p < .001$), and the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .80$; $p < .001$) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile. When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .25$; $p = .001$). When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .27$; $p = .005$) as compared to the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile.

Masculine Gender Role Stress

When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile membership and masculine gender role stress was stronger for those in the Normative Masculine profile ($\beta = .31$; $p = .002$), the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile ($\beta = .32$; $p = .005$), and the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .53$; $p < .001$) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile. When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile

membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile (β = .22; p = .049) as compared to the Normative Masculine profile.

Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships

When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile (β = .15; p = .03) as compared to the Normative Masculine profile. When past father-son relationship quality was higher, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile (β = .20; p = .007) as compared to the Status and Heteronormativity profile.

Table 5. Regression Results for Interaction Between Profile Membership and Past Relationship Quality Predicting Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

		Outcomes					
		Traditional Gender Role Attitudes		Masculine Gender Role Stress		Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships	
Reference Profile	**Profile**	*β*	*p* value	*β*	*p* value	*β*	*p* value
1	2	**.55**	**< .001**	**.31**	**.002**	.01	.946
	3	**.53**	**< .001**	**.32**	**.005**	-.04	.607
	4	**.80**	**< .001**	**.53**	**< .001**	.16	.051
2	1	**-.55**	**< .001**	**-.31**	**.002**	-.01	.945
	3	-.02	.846	.01	.940	-.04	.499
	4	**.25**	**.001**	**.22**	**.049**	**.15**	**.030**
3	1	**-.54**	**< .001**	**-.32**	**.005**	.04	.606
	2	.02	.842	-.01	.946	.04	.498
	4	**.27**	**.005**	.21	.083	**.20**	**.007**
4	1	**-.80**	**< .001**	**-.53**	**< .001**	-.16	.051
	2	**-.25**	**.001**	**-.22**	**.049**	**-.15**	**.030**
	3	**-.27**	**.005**	-.21	.084	**-.20**	**.007**

Note. “1” = Open and Affirming; “2” = Normative Masculine; “3” = Status and Heteronormativity Focused; “4” = Hypermasculine. Main effects are not shown in this table.

Current Father-Son Relationship Quality – Regard

Results for the interaction effects between the regard subscale of current father-son relationship quality and men’s gender-related beliefs and experiences are shown in Table 6.

Traditional Gender Role Attitudes

When sons perceived greater current closeness with fathers, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Normative Masculine profile ($\beta = .56$; $p < .001$), the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile ($\beta = .57$; $p < .001$), and the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .78$; $p < .001$) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile. When sons perceived greater current closeness with fathers, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .22$; $p = .02$) as compared to the Normative Masculine profile.

Masculine Gender Role Stress

When sons perceived greater current closeness with fathers, the association between profile membership and masculine gender role stress was stronger for those in the Normative Masculine profile ($\beta = .53$; $p < .001$), the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile ($\beta = .47$; $p = .001$), and the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .42$; $p = .007$) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile.

Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships

No significant differences emerged.

Table 6. Regression Results for Interaction Between Profile Membership and Current Relationship Quality – Regard Predicting Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

		Outcomes					
		Traditional Gender Role Attitudes		Masculine Gender Role Stress		Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships	
Reference Profile	**Profile**	β	*p* value	β	*p* value	β	*p* value
1	2	**.56**	**< .001**	**.47**	**.001**	-.04	.714
	3	**.57**	**< .001**	**.42**	**.007**	-.08	.476
	4	**.78**	**< .001**	**.52**	**< .001**	.10	.40
2	1	**-.56**	**< .001**	**-.47**	**.001**	.04	.716
	3	.02	.883	-.05	.748	-.04	.573
	4	**.22**	**.015**	.06	.67	.13	.107
3	1	**-.57**	**< .001**	**-.42**	**.007**	.08	.476
	2	-.02	.883	.05	.748	.04	.573
	4	.20	.083	.11	.501	.17	.052
4	1	**-.78**	**< .001**	**-.53**	**< .001**	-.10	.40
	2	**-.22**	**.015**	-.06	.670	-.13	.106
	3	-.20	.083	-.11	.501	-.17	.052

Note. “1” = Open and Affirming; “2” = Normative Masculine; “3” = Status and Heteronormativity Focused; “4” = Hypermasculine. Main effects are not shown in this table.

Current Father-Son Relationship Quality – Responsibility

Results for the interaction effects between the responsibility subscale of current father-son relationship quality and men’s gender-related beliefs and experiences are shown in Table 7.

Traditional Gender Role Attitudes

When sons perceived greater current responsibility and guilt with respect to fathers, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Normative Masculine profile (β = .42; p = .008) and the Hypermasculine profile (β = .40; p = .02) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile. When sons perceived greater current responsibility and guilt with respect to fathers, the association between profile membership and traditional gender role attitudes was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile (β = .22; p = .02) as compared to the Normative Masculine profile.

Masculine Gender Role Stress

When sons perceived greater current responsibility and guilt with respect to fathers, the association between profile membership and masculine gender role stress was stronger for those in the Normative Masculine profile (β = .56; $p < .001$), the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile (β = .38; p = .03), and the Hypermasculine profile (β = .49; p = .005) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile.

Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships

When sons perceived greater current responsibility and guilt with respect to fathers, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile (β = .128 $p < .001$) as compared to the Normative Masculine profile.

Table 7. Regression Results for Interaction Between Profile Membership and Current Relationship Quality – Responsibility Predicting Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

		Outcomes					
		Traditional Gender Role Attitudes		Masculine Gender Role Stress		Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships	
Reference Profile	**Profile**	*β*	*p* value	*β*	*p* value	*β*	*p* value
1	2	**.42**	**.008**	**.56**	**< .001**	-.09	.424
	3	.29	.121	**.38**	**.032**	.03	.841
	4	**.40**	**.010**	**.49**	**.005**	.19	.105
2	1	**-.42**	**.008**	**-.56**	**< .001**	.09	.425
	3	-.13	.348	-.18	.164	.12	.226
	4	-.02	.849	-.08	.526	**.28**	**< .001**
3	1	-.29	.121	**-.38**	**.032**	-.03	.840
	2	.13	.347	.18	.164	-.12	.225
	4	.11	.411	.10	.475	.17	.105
4	1	**-.40**	**.010**	**-.49**	**.005**	-.19	.105
	2	.02	.847	.08	.526	**-.28**	**< .001**
	3	-.11	.412	-.10	.475	-.17	.106

Note. “1” = Open and Affirming; “2” = Normative Masculine; “3” = Status and Heteronormativity Focused; “4” = Hypermasculine. Main effects are not shown in this table.

Current Father-Son Relationship Quality – Control

Results for the interaction effects between the control subscale of current father-son relationship quality and men’s gender-related beliefs and experiences are shown in Table 8.

Traditional Gender Role Attitudes

When sons perceived lower current control from fathers, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Status and Heteronormativity profile ($\beta = -.37$; $p = .03$) and the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = -.36$; $p = .02$) as compared to the Open and Affirming profile.

Masculine Gender Role Stress

When sons perceived greater current control from fathers, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .38$; $p = .02$) as compared to the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile.

Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships

When sons perceived greater current control from fathers, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .33$; $p < .001$) as compared to the Normative Masculine profile. When sons perceived greater control from fathers, the association between profile membership and adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships was stronger for those in the Hypermasculine profile ($\beta = .34$; $p = .006$) as compared to the Status and Heteronormativity profile.

Table 8. Regression Results for Interaction Between Profile Membership and Current Relationship Quality – Control Predicting Gender-Related Beliefs and Experiences

		Outcomes					
		Traditional Gender Role Attitudes		Masculine Gender Role Stress		Adherence to Masculinity in Interpersonal Relationships	
Reference Profile	**Profile**	*β*	*p* value	*β*	*p* value	*β*	*p* value
1	2	-.26	.084	.20	.310	-.19	.150
	3	**-.37**	**.027**	-.07	.734	-.19	.206
	4	**-.36**	**.020**	.31	.143	.15	.304
2	1	.26	.084	-.20	.310	.19	.151
	3	-.12	.331	-.27	.059	-.01	.967
	4	-.10	.304	.11	.445	**.33**	**< .001**
3	1	**.37**	**.027**	.07	.733	.19	.206
	2	.12	.331	.27	.059	.004	.968
	4	.02	.883	**.38**	**.018**	**.34**	**.006**
4	1	**.36**	**.020**	-.31	.143	-.15	.304
	2	.10	.304	-.11	.445	**-.33**	**< .001**
	3	-.02	.883	**-.38**	**.018**	**-.34**	**.006**

Note. "1" = Open and Affirming; "2" = Normative Masculine; "3" = Status and Heteronormativity Focused; "4" = Hypermasculine. Main effects are not shown in this table.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

The current study sought to examine profiles of emerging adult men's perceptions of their fathers' masculinity expectations across five domains – heteronormativity and avoid femininity, status, importance of sex, rigidity, and restrictive emotionality – and to relate profiles to demographic covariates and gender-related outcomes. The first research question aimed to distinguish subgroups of men according to their responses on perceptions of their fathers' masculinity expectations. Results suggested the presence of four latent profiles, indicating subgroups of men with "Open and Affirming" fathers, "Normative Masculine" fathers, "Status and Heteronormativity Focused" fathers, and "Hypermasculine" fathers. The majority of men fell into the Normative Masculine profile, followed by the Hypermasculine profile, and the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile. The Open and Affirming profile contained the smallest proportion of men in the sample. This is consistent with previous literature that has suggested the prevalence of masculinity expectations within fathers' parenting practices across the lifespan (e.g., Harris & Harper, 2015; Kane, 2006; Pleck, 2010). More men fell within the Normative Masculine profile than the Hypermasculine profile, suggesting that it may be more likely for sons to have fathers who expect their sons to endorse relatively average levels of masculine norms and behaviors, and less likely for men to have fathers who enforce rigid masculinity expectations.

The second research question investigated whether five social and demographic factors predicted men's profile membership. These factors included men's race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, college student status, relation to father figure, and parent education level. Results indicated that Black men were significantly more likely than White men to be in the Normative Masculine profile compared to the Open and Affirming profile. This confirms the importance of

studying masculinity within the cultural context of men's racial and ethnic identities (Smiler & Epstein, 2010). Rogers et al. (2015) conducted interviews with Black/African American men and found that men often described African American masculinity as being distinct from White masculinity as a result of systemic barriers and structural inequality that enforce different expectations according to men's racial and ethnic identities. Furthermore, interviews with Black fathers and their sons revealed that Black fathers were conscious of White hegemonic ideals of masculinity and encouraged their sons to maintain a masculine status outside of negative Black male stereotypes. Sons felt external pressures to adhere to White masculinity ideals in order to be successful despite desires to uphold their own cultural masculine identities (Allen, 2016). Thus, societal and cultural stereotypes of Black/African American men may place barriers on Black fathers' abilities to transmit open and affirming masculinity expectations of their sons, which is not the case for White fathers and their sons.

SGM men were more likely than straight men to be in the Open and Affirming profile, Normative Masculine profile, and the Hypermasculine profile relative to the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile. Thus, SGM men were likely to perceive consistent messages from fathers across all dimensions of masculinity, regardless of the direction, such that fathers' expectations represented both non-traditional and traditional masculinity ideologies. Existing research has suggested that fathers often feel they are responsible for modeling and teaching their adolescent sons about sexuality, particularly heterosexuality (Solebello & Elliott, 2011). It is possible that fathers felt a special responsibility related to sons' SGM status to be "all in" in terms of their expectations of masculinity. Men with non-traditional father figures were more likely than men with biological or adoptive father figures to be in the Open and Affirming profile, Normative Masculine profile, and the Hypermasculine profile as compared to the Status and

Heteronormativity Focused profile. Similar to LGBTQ men, men with non-traditional father figures were likely to receive consistent messages from fathers across all dimensions, regardless of the direction with which expectations represented non-traditional or traditional masculinity. It is possible that non-traditional father figures may also be "all in" in their masculinity expectations given a potential desire to make up for the absence of a biological/adoptive father in sons' lives. In general, research on kinship caregivers (i.e., relatives who maintain the primary care of children) has indicated that these caregivers may feel obligated to overcompensate for the lack of parental guidance that has resulted from an absent parent (NCCWE, 2014).

Men who did not have a parent who completed a 4-year college degree (as compared to men with at least one parent who completed a 4-year degree) were significantly more likely to be in the Open and Affirming profile and Normative Masculine profile relative to the Hypermasculine profile. This was a surprising finding, as the opposite result was initially expected due to the fact that education has been linked with more liberal attitudes and greater acceptance of non-traditional gender roles (Kollmayer et al., 2018; Marks et al, 2009). However, it is important to note that this measure assessed for both mothers *and* fathers education levels, despite the fact that the current study was only focused on assessing sons' perceptions of their *fathers'* masculinity expectations. This finding may also be attributed to sample selection effects in the current study, as the parents of these sons who agreed to participate in a study of gender attitudes may have been more open and liberal in their beliefs despite not obtaining a college degree.

Participants' other racial/ethnic identities and college student status did not predict profile membership. Existing studies on men's recollections of their fathers' masculinity messages and expectations have suggested distinct cultural differences across racial and ethnic groups (Ide et

al., 2018). In the current study, differences emerged between Black men and White men in regard to their likelihood of being assigned to a particular profile. The lack of differences for men who identified within other racial and ethnic groups is likely because men across various identities were condensed into a singular group. This diminished the unique characteristics of each racial and ethnic group and thus weakened the possibility that significant differences would be found in this wide-ranging category. Previous research has indicated that factors associated with men's college experience (e.g., excessive drinking and partying, romantic relationships and hookup culture, student living) may lead fathers to relay more masculine expectations to their sons. However, the current study did not find differences in profile membership for men who were currently undergraduate college students versus those who were currently enrolled in college. Thus, it appears that masculinity expectations from fathers may be perceived as similar for all emerging adult men, who may share experiences regardless of whether they are currently in college. These shared experiences may pertain to men's increasing autonomy during the transition to adulthood, as this developmental period often involves identity exploration and development, new life changes, and unpredictability as emerging adults adapt to independent ways of living (Arnett, 2014). Additionally, the measure that was used to assess men's perceptions of their fathers' masculinity expectations was a retrospective measure intended to account for fathers' expectations while sons were growing up. Thus, men who were currently in college may have reflected primarily on their experiences with their fathers during childhood and adolescence, as opposed to expectations communicated since sons began college.

The third research question pertained to how profiles related to men's own gender-related beliefs and experiences. Profile membership was found to be related to men's endorsements of traditional gender role stereotypes, masculine gender role stress, and adherence to norms of

hegemonic masculinity in interpersonal relationships. Men in the Hypermasculine profile had the highest average traditional attitudes towards gender roles, followed by those in the Normative Masculine profile, the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile, and finally men in the Open and Affirming profile, who had the lowest average traditional attitudes towards gender roles. Therefore, the more men perceived masculinity expectations from their fathers, the more likely they were to endorse traditional gender role stereotypes. This is consistent with a social cognitive theory perspective positing that fathers' contributions to their sons' masculinity socialization ultimately shape the evolution of emerging adult men's own gender-related beliefs and experiences (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). Although the current study did not directly measure fathers' masculinity, this finding also supports claims by Pleck (2010) that sons with hypermasculine fathers (or those exposed to more paternal modeling and teachings of masculine attitudes or behaviors) may be more likely to support traditional gender ideologies.

Men in the Open and Affirming profile were found to have significantly lower average masculine gender role stress than all other profiles, and those in the Normative Masculine and Status and Heteronormativity Focused profiles had significantly lower average masculine gender role stress than men in the Hypermasculine profile. Masculine gender role stress has been defined as the psychological, behavioral, and cognitive repercussions of men's gender socialization (Addis et al., 2016). The current findings support other research within this area that has indicated pressure from fathers to uphold traditional masculine norms to be associated with a range of poor psychological adjustment outcomes (Levant et al., 2018b; Casselman & Rosenbaum, 2014; Jadwin-Cakmak et al., 2015). Furthermore, men in the Open and Affirming profile were found to have the lowest masculine gender role stress than any other profile, thus suggesting the benefits to sons of having fathers who are open and inclusive in their expectations

of their sons' masculinity. These sons may feel more comfortable expressing their true selves without pressures or obligations to uphold their fathers' gendered expectations, which minimizes the potential for men to be negatively impacted by cultural and societal expectations of masculinity.

Men in the Open and Affirming profile had significantly lower average adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships than men in the Normative Masculine profile and Hypermasculine profile but did not differ from men in the Status & Heteronormativity Focused profile. Men in the Hypermasculine profile had significantly higher average adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships than men in the Normative Masculine and Status & Heteronormativity Focused profiles. These findings are consistent with existing studies that have suggested fathers' masculine expectations of their sons influence their sons' internal models of interpersonal relationships and abilities to form close connections with others (DeFranc and Mahalik, 2002; Korobov, 2005). The extent to which men feel comfortable expressing vulnerability and emotions around their primary father figures appears to inform the extent to which this pressure to perform masculinity is translated in men's interpersonal relationships.

The final research question sought to determine whether father-son relationship quality moderated the relation between men's profile membership and outcomes of men's gender-related beliefs and experiences. Father-son relationship quality was assessed through sons' perceptions of both the past and current relationships with their father figures. Past relationship quality accounted for the quality of the father-son relationship during childhood and adolescence. Current father-son relationship quality assessed sons' perceptions of the present quality of their relationships with their father figures with three distinct domains of relationship quality: regard, responsibility, and control. Findings indicated that men in the Normative Masculine, Status and

Heteronormativity Focused, and Hypermasculine profiles were more likely than men in the Open and Affirming profile to have more traditional gender role attitudes when past father-son relationship quality was higher. Similarly, men in the Normative Masculine profile, the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile, and the Hypermasculine profile were more likely than men in the Open and Affirming profile to have more traditional gender role attitudes when sons perceived greater current closeness with fathers. These findings are consistent with findings from Klann et al. (2018), who found that current father-son relationship quality moderated the positive association between perceived paternal sexist communication and sons' sexism such that this association was only significant at average and high levels of father-son relationship quality. When men recall moderate or high masculinity expectations from fathers and believe they have a high-quality father-son relationship, they may be more likely to model their fathers' masculinity expectations. The current study builds upon existing research by suggesting that both *past* and *current* indicators of sons' perceptions of their closeness with fathers play a role in determining the extent to which fathers' masculinity expectations influence sons' gender beliefs and behaviors in emerging adulthood.

Additional results suggested further distinctions between profiles, such that men in the Hypermasculine profile were more likely than men in the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile and the Normative Masculine profile to have more traditional gender role attitudes and greater adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships when past father-son relationship quality was higher. Similar findings were found for the current relationship quality moderator, as men in the Hypermasculine profile were more likely than men in the Normative Masculine profile to have more traditional gender role attitudes and greater adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships when sons perceived greater current closeness with fathers. These

findings emphasize the uniqueness of men classified within the Hypermasculine profile and are consistent with previous research by Casselman and Rosenbaum (2014), which indicated that sons were more likely to endorse their fathers' hypermasculine beliefs when they perceived their fathers as loving and accepting.

In regard to masculine gender role stress, findings indicated that men in the Normative Masculine, Status and Heteronormativity Focused, and Hypermasculine profiles were more likely than men in the Open and Affirming profile to have more masculine gender role stress when past father-son relationship quality was higher. Similarly, men in the Normative Masculine profile, the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile, and the Hypermasculine profile were more likely than men in the Open and Affirming profile to have more masculine gender role stress when sons perceived greater current closeness with fathers. It is possible that men who are closer with their fathers (both in the past and currently) have stronger desires to meet their fathers' masculinity expectations, which ultimately leads to greater psychological, behavioral, and cognitive difficulties as a result of pressures to live up to these masculine ideals (Addis et al., 2016). This contradicts findings from Klann et al. (2018), who found that father-son relationship quality moderated a positive association between perceived paternal sexist communication and sons' subjective masculinity stress such that this association was only significant at low levels of father-son relationship quality. However, it is important to note that Klann et al. recruited a predominantly White, heterosexual sample, while the current study included more men who were diverse with respect to race/ethnicity and sexual orientation.

Men in the Hypermasculine profile were more likely than men in the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile to have more masculine gender role stress when sons perceived greater control from fathers. Men in the Hypermasculine profile were more likely than

men in the Status and Heteronormativity Focused profile and the Normative Masculine profile to have greater adherence to masculinity in interpersonal relationships when sons perceived greater control from fathers. Therefore, the dual impact of fathers' hypermasculine expectations and controlling behaviors may influence men's internal working models of interpersonal relationships. The relationship pattern expressed within this specific father-son relationship hinders emerging adult men's abilities to form connections with others without pressures to stay within the bounds of hypermasculinity (DeFranc and Mahalik, 2002).

Men in the Normative Masculine and Hypermasculine profiles were more likely than men in the Open and Affirming profile to have greater traditional gender role attitudes when sons perceived more responsibility with respect to fathers. Consistent messages from fathers about maintaining normative masculine or hypermasculine expectations may relate not only to sons' felt guilt and responsibility in caring for their fathers, but also to the responsibility of carrying on their fathers' gender beliefs. Kane (2006) suggested that fathers' motivations to shape their sons' masculinity may be partially attributed to the fact that their sons' masculinity is a reflection of fathers' own masculine identity. Thus, sons who received normative masculine and hypermasculine messages and who also felt responsible for the care of their fathers may have internalized a responsibility to uphold and maintain their fathers' traditional gender role attitudes, whereas men who perceived their fathers as open and affirming did not experience this obligation. Alternatively, sons with fathers who imposed status and heteronormativity focused and hypermasculine expectations reported greater traditional gender role attitudes when sons perceived lower control from their fathers. It is possible that sons who were expected to always maintain a high status applied this superiority even to their own father figures, such that if fathers attempted to override sons' status and control them, men may have become less motivated to

adhere to traditional gender role attitudes. Thus, these fathers likely had to balance having high expectations for their sons' masculinity without engaging in overly controlling behaviors. This is in contrast to men with Open and Affirming fathers, who did not have these rigid expectations of their sons' masculinity. In general, parental psychological control can negatively affect emerging adults' relationships with their parents and inhibits their autonomy development (Liga et al., 2017).

Overall, results of moderator analyses indicate that past and current father-son relationship quality are important factors to consider when studying the transmission of masculinity messages and expectations from fathers to their sons. Scholars have asserted that fathers' critical roles their sons' gender socialization can been understood in terms of sons' attachment to their fathers, who are posited to be a primary source of unconditional love, support, and comfort for sons across the lifespan (Bowlby, 1988; Mills-Koonce et al., 2018). Thus, the more sons perceive their fathers as trustworthy figures that provide reliable support, the more sons may value modeling their fathers' masculinity expectations.

Strengths and Limitations

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, approximately 1 in 4 children live without a biological/adoptive or stepfather in the home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022). This means that across the U.S., many boys may grow up with "non-traditional" father figures such as grandfathers, older brothers, uncles, cousins, and other important men in boys' lives that are likely involved in boys' gender socialization process. The current study is among the first to allow men to self-select the person who they identify as their primary father figure and go on to then examine the intergenerational transmission of gender ideologies from fathers to sons according to men's selected father figure. This is important given that scholars have advocated

for including men who have taken on significant fatherhood roles within research on sons' gender socialization (Petts et al., 2018; Pleck, 2010). This study further advances current knowledge by building upon our understanding of whether sons' perceptions of their father figure's masculinity expectations is predicted by social and demographic factors, whether these perceived expectations are related to son's own gender-related beliefs and experiences during emerging adulthood, and the extent to which this relation may depend on the quality of the father-son relationship. To date, no existing study has examined these areas with an inclusive conceptualization of men's father figures.

Wong et al. (2012) and Wong and Horn (2016) highlighted the need for studies on men and masculinity that incorporated a person-centered approach in order to identify subgroups of men in relation to masculine norms and well-being outcomes, in addition to identifying contextual factors (e.g., covariates) that contribute to group membership. The current study filled in this gap by utilizing latent profile analysis to identify subgroups of men based on their perceptions of their fathers' masculinity expectations. Given previous theories and empirical research suggesting that men from different backgrounds may be socialized by their fathers into unique aspects of masculinity, and that these learned values of masculinity may then vary in their relation to other outcomes based on contextual or demographic factors, a person-centered approach allowed these variations to naturally occur within the data. This is in contrast to variable centered approaches, which assume universal patterns among variables that will be similarly found in all members of a group.

One limitation to this study includes a reliance on men's self-reports to assess variables of interest. The findings of this study are thus indicative of sons' perspectives of their fathers' masculinity expectations and the quality of father-son relationships. Nonetheless, it is important

to note that children, adolescents, and emerging adults have been demonstrated to be reliable reporters of parenting behaviors (Taber, 2010), and men's own perspectives of their fathers' behaviors are likely more relevant when considering the extent of sons' gendered social learning and its relation to father-son relationship quality. Future research would be enriched by the inclusion of fathers' perspectives and objective indicators of father-son relationship quality. However, this should be considered as supplemental to the current study, as these studies would not invalidate the importance of accounting for sons' perspectives.

Although students across all racial and ethnic identities were included in model testing, the racial and ethnic identity covariate focused on three groups: Black men, White men, and men with other racial and ethnic identities. Therefore, a second limitation of this study is that men who identified within racial/ethnic groups other than Black and White were not considered as separate groups – because there were small numbers from each of these groups (Clark & Muthén, 2009; Okazaki & Sue, 2016). This meant analyses did capture differences in profile membership that might have emerged for men with ethnic/racial identities other than Black and White. This research should be followed by additional studies on this topic with large samples of diverse racial and ethnic groups. Similarly, the covariate for sexual orientation was collapsed into two groups: straight men and SGM men. Due to the dichotomous nature of this category, we were unable to consider other sexual orientations or gender identities individually. Current research has suggested that fathers' gender socialization may operate differently for gay or bisexual men (Fischer, 2007; McDermott & Schwartz, 2013), and thus future studies should include samples with larger samples of men from diverse sexual orientations and gender identities to more closely examine differences across groups.

Conclusion

The current study extends our understanding of how boys and men take the gender socialization they received from their fathers throughout childhood and adolescence and use it to shape their gender-related beliefs, behaviors, and experiences as emerging adults. Importantly, this study showed variability in men's gender socialization by identifying social and demographic factors that revealed differences in sons' recollections of the masculinity expectations they received from self-selected father figures. Previous research has not been able to fully inform our understanding of this variability due to a lack of person-centered analyses within this area of research. With this knowledge comes the ability to educate men to raise sons in a manner that fosters healthy masculine gender development to ultimately reduce men's gender stereotyping, felt masculine gender role stress, and perceived pressure to uphold masculinity in their personal relationships. Furthermore, this study informs a better understanding of how father-son relationship quality has implications for the strength of associations between gender socialization processes and sons' perceptions of their fathers' masculine behaviors and beliefs. This study can inform future work on father-son relationships by helping men reflect on their past experiences with fathers and consider how it has impacted their self-perceptions, attitudes, and adjustment in emerging adulthood.

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APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHICS

Please answer the following questions about yourself:

1. What is your age?

- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26 or older

2. What is your racial/ethnic background? Please check all that apply.

- American Indian/Alaskan Native
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Black/African American
- Hispanic/Latino/Latina
- White
- Biracial
- Additional category/identity not listed (please specify below)

3. On your original birth certificate, was your sex assigned as male or female?

- Male
- Female

4. What is your current gender identity? (Check all that apply)

- Man
- Woman
- Trans male/trans man
- Trans female/trans woman
- Genderqueer/gender non-conforming
- Different identity not listed (please specify below)

5. The sexual orientation you identify as currently (select all that apply):

- Asexual
- Bisexual
- Gay
- Queer
- Questioning or unsure
- Lesbian
- Pansexual
- Prefer not to say
- Straight (Heterosexual)
- Different identity not listed (please specify below)

6. Are you currently enrolled in college as an undergraduate student?

   - No
   - Yes

7. What is your current year in school?

   - First-year
   - Sophomore
   - Junior
   - Senior
   - Different category not listed (please specify below)

8. How stressful has it been paying for college?

   - Not at all stressful
   - Slightly stressful
   - Moderately stressful
   - Extremely stressful

9. What is the highest level of education your biological/adoptive mother completed?

   - No formal schooling
   - Part of high school

- Graduated high school
- Part of college
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Some graduate or professional school
- Master's degree
- Doctoral degree (law, medicine, PhD, veterinary school, etc.)
- Unknown

10. What is the highest level of education your biological/adoptive father completed?

- No formal schooling
- Part of high school
- Graduated high school
- Part of college
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Some graduate or professional school
- Master's degree
- Doctoral degree (law, medicine, PhD, veterinary school, etc.)
- Unknown

11. Which of the following best describes your primary family household **while you were growing up**?

- o Married or cohabiting parents
- o Mother and stepparent/romantic partner
- o Father and stepparent/romantic partner
- o Grandparent(s)
- o Single father
- o Single mother
- o Another category not listed (please specify below)

12. Which of the following best describes your primary family household **currently**?

- o Married or cohabiting parents
- o Mother and stepparent/romantic partner
- o Father and stepparent/romantic partner
- o Grandparent(s)
- o Single father
- o Single mother
- o Another category not listed (please specify below)

13. Who would you identify as your primary father figure that has been present **while you were growing up**?

- o Biological/adoptive father
- o Stepfather
- o Grandfather
- o Family friend
- o Uncle
- o Another individual not listed (please specify below)

14. **Please answer the following statement based on the father figure you selected in the previous question.**

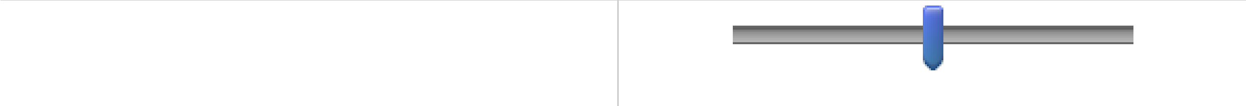
When you were growing up, how much of the time did you live with your primary father figure?

Never All of the time

15. **Please answer the following statement based on the father figure you selected in the previous question.**

When you were growing up, how often did you see your primary father figure?

Never Almost every day



APPENDIX B: FATHERS' EXPECTATIONS OF SONS' MASCULINITY

Fathers' Expectations of Sons' Masculinity – Short Form (Levant et al., 2018a)

Items 1-15 begin with the stem: "My father expected me to . . ."

Factor 1: Heteronormativity and Avoid Femininity

1. never compliment or flirt with another male.

2. never hold hands or show affection toward another boy.

3. play with action figures not dolls.

4. prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.

Factor 2: Status

5. get tough when the going got tough.

6. get things organized and moving ahead in a group.

7. to never count on someone else to get the job done.

8. make the rules when there weren't any.

Factor 3: Importance of Sex

9. have a lot of sex.

10. always be ready for sex.

11. not turn down sex.

12. be very interested in sex.

Factor 4: Restrictive Emotionality

13. not show how I was feeling in my face.

14. be detached in emotionally charged situations.

15. My father taught me to mask fear.

16. never admit when others hurt my feelings.

Factor 5: Rigidity

17. My father had impossible expectations for me.

18. Although his intentions were good, my father expected me to be something other than who I was.

19. My father was emotionally distant from me when I was young.

20. My father was tough on me when I was a boy.

Rated a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*)

APPENDIX C: TRADITIONAL AND EGALITARIAN SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Traditional and Egalitarian Sex Role Inventory (TESR; Larsen & Long, 1988)

*1. It is just as important to educate daughters as it is to educate sons.

2. Women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men.

*3. Women should have as much sexual freedom as men.

4. The man should be responsible for the economic support of the family than the woman.

*5. The belief that women cannot make as good supervisors or executives as men is a myth.

*6. The words "obey" should be removed from wedding vows.

7. Ultimately a woman should submit to her husband's decision.

8. Some equality in marriage is good, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.

*9. Having a job is just as important for a wife as it is for her husband.

10. In groups that have both male and female members, it is more appropriate that leadership positions be held by males.

11. I would not allow my son to play with dolls.

*12. Having a challenging job or career is as important as being a wife and mother.

13. Men make better leaders.

14. Almost any woman is better off in her home than in a job or profession.

15. A woman's place is in the home.

16. The role of teaching in the elementary schools belongs to women.

*17. The changing of diapers is the responsibility of both parents.

18. Men who cry have weak character.

*19. A husband who has chosen to stay at home and be a house-husband is not less masculine.

20. As head of the household, the father should have the final authority over the children.

**Items were reverse scored*

Rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*Agree strongly*) to 5 (*Disagree strongly*)

APPENDIX D: ABBREVIATED MASCULINE GENDER ROLE STRESS SCALE

Abbreviated Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRS-A; Swartout et al., 2015)

Please respond to the following statements on a scale from 1 (Not at all stressful) to 5 (Extremely stressful). Please choose the answer that most closely represents the degree of stress the situation causes you. Rate the situations as if you were actually experiencing them now. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement.

1. Being outperformed at work by a woman
2. Letting a woman control the situation
3. Being perceived by someone as "gay"
4. Being married to someone who makes more money than you
5. Losing in a sports competition
6. Admitting that you are afraid of something
7. Being with someone who is more successful than you
8. Being perceived as having feminine traits
9. Having your children see you cry
10. Being outperformed in a game by a woman
11. Having people say that you are indecisive
12. Appearing less athletic than a friend
13. Having others say that you are too emotional
14. Being compared unfavorably to other men
15. Getting passed over for a promotion

Rated on a Likert scale from 1 (*Not at all stressful*) to 5 (*Extremely stressful*)

APPENDIX E: ADOLESCENT MASCULINITY IN RELATIONSHIPS SCALE

Adolescent Masculinity in Relationships Scale (AMIRS; Chu et al., 2005)

1. Even when something is bothering me, it's important to act like nothing is wrong around my friends.
2. I cannot respect a friend who backs down from a confrontation.
3. If I have a problem with someone, I am willing to confront them.
4. I do not let it show to my friend when my feelings are hurt.
5. A man cannot gain respect if he backs down from an argument.
6. A man should not show his friends when his feelings are hurt.
7. A man would rather play sports or watch games with friends than discuss his feelings with them.
8. It's important for a man to share his feelings with his friends.
9. Sometimes a man has to prove himself by engaging in a hostile argument.

5-point Likert scale 1 (*Disagree strongly*) to 5 (*Agree strongly*)

APPENDIX F: NURTURANT FATHERING SCALE

Nurturant Fathering Scale (Finley & Schwartz, 2004)

Please respond to the following questions based on your primary father figure while you were growing up. If you are unsure how to respond to an item, respond the closest to the way you feel. Please answer based the person who you identified as your primary father figure in the first section of this questionnaire.

1. How much do you think your father enjoyed being a father?
   - A great deal
   - Very much
   - Somewhat
   - A little
   - Not at all

2. When you needed your father's support, was he there for you?
   - Always there for me
   - Often there for me
   - Sometimes there for me
   - Rarely there for me
   - Never there for me

3. Did your father have enough energy to meet your needs?
   - Always
   - Often
   - Sometimes
   - Rarely

- Never

4. Did you feel that you could confide in (talk about important personal things with) your father?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

5. Was your father available to spend time with you in activities?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

6. How emotionally close were you to your father?

- Extremely close
- Very close
- Somewhat close
- A little close
- Not at all close

7. When you were an adolescent (teenager), how well did you get along with your father?

- Very well
- Well
- Ok

- Poorly
- Very poorly

8. Overall, how would you rate your father?

- Outstanding
- Very good
- Good
- Fair
- Poor

9. As you go through your day, how much of a psychological presence does your father have in your daily thoughts and feelings?

- Always there
- Often there
- Sometimes there
- Rarely there
- Never there

APPENDIX G: PARENT ADULT-CHILD QUESTIONNAIRE

Parent Adult-Child Questionnaire – Fathers (PACQF; Peisah et al., 1999)

In this questionnaire, you will read statements about your father figure. Rate your father figure's behavior. For all questions, please answer the statement as to how your father figure generally acts in your current relationship. Please answer based the person who you identified as your primary father figure in the first section of this questionnaire.

Factor 1: Regard

2. I respect my father's opinion
3. I look forward to seeing my father
4. I know I can rely on my father to help me if I need him
5. I don't mind putting myself out for my father

Factor 2: Responsibility

6. Something will happen to my father if I don't take care of him
7. I feel responsible for my father's happiness
8. If I don't see my father for a week I feel guilty
9. My father thinks I' m good in a crisis so he calls on me all the time

Factor 3: Control

10. If I don't do things my father's way he will nag me
11. I feel that my father tries to manipulate me
12. My father tries to dominate me
13. I feel that my father makes too many demands on me

14. I don’t discuss much with my father because I’m afraid of being criticized

4-point Likert scale 1 (*Not true at all*) to 5 (*Very true*)