# We Don't Talk About Boys: Masculinity Norms Among Adolescents in Brazil

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March 26, 2026

**Abstract**

Masculinity norms are socially constructed expectations around men's behaviors. These norms include expectations that men should suppress their emotions or use violence to get respect. I measure agreement with masculinity norms among adolescent boys and girls and document that adolescents systematically overestimate their peers' agreement with these norms. Using two field experiments in 25 schools in Rio de Janeiro, I show that a lack of communication with peers sustains the existence of these misperceptions. I provide evidence that miscalibrated expectations about interest and comfort in these discussions are a driver of the lack of communication, creating a self-reinforcing cycle.

**JEL Codes:** *J16*, *D83*, *Z13*, *D91*, *C93*

**Keywords:** *social norms*, *masculinity*, *misperceptions*, *communication*, *adolescents*

*University of New South Wales; iedarmatavelli@gmail.com. I especially thank Matt Lowe and Jamie McCasland for their invaluable guidance, mentorship and advice since the inception of this project, and Siwan Anderson, Pauline Grosjean and Nathan Nunn for their feedback and mentorship. This study also benefited from comments from Deivis Angeli, Victoria Baranov, Lisa Botbol, Nina Buchmann, Leonardo Bursztyn, Josh Dean, Alexia Delfino, Claudio Ferraz, Patrick Francois, Alessandra L. González, Federico Masera, Vinicius Peçanha, Chris Roth, Heather Sarsons, Fernando Secco, Frank Schilbach, Manisha Shah, Munir Squires, Sarah Walker, and Duncan Webb. I thank seminar participants at PacDev, ECBE, SIOE, URPP Conference on Boys and Men at the University of Zurich, University of Melbourne, Insper, Monash University, University of Auckland, University of Sydney, the Berlin Workshop on Empirical Public Economics: Gender Economics, IEA-World Bank Gender Norms and the Law, Universidade Católica de Brasília, University of Technology Sydney, SITE. Finally, I thank the Secretariat of Education of Rio de Janeiro, and especially Caroline Guedes, for collaborating on the project. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Canada Excellence Research Chairs program awarded to Dr Erik Snowberg in Data-Intensive Methods in Economics and the Center for Effective Global Action. This project was approved by UBC's Behavioral Research Ethics Board (H22-01226) and Insper's Research Ethics Committee (Opinion N. 213/2022 and N. 344/2024), and pre-registered in the AEA RCT Registry under codes AEARCTR-0009508 and AEARCTR-0013292.

# 1 Introduction

Gender norms constraining the behaviors of women have been extensively studied.[1] Nevertheless, men also face restrictive norms that are at least as pervasive and rigid, yet these norms have received far less attention. Masculinity norms—socially constructed expectations about the appropriate behaviors of men—often center around two key dimensions: *restrictive emotionality*, which prescribes that men should hide their vulnerable feelings and emotions (e.g., "men should not cry"), and *aggression*, which prescribes that men should use violence to get respect. Agreeing with these norms predicts worse mental health and more aggressive behaviors (Jakupcak et al., 2002; Mahalik et al., 2007; De Haas et al., 2025). In addition, if men overestimate others' agreement with masculinity norms, they may engage in behaviors that are not individually or socially beneficial, such as violence. While such misperceptions have been documented for gender norms constraining women's behaviors (Bursztyn et al., 2020), we have little evidence about them for masculinity norms, and we know even less about the mechanisms that sustain these misperceptions.

In this paper, I begin by documenting agreement with masculinity norms among adolescent boys and girls, and show that they systematically overestimate their peers' agreement with these norms. I measure masculinity norms using two questions that capture the key dimensions: whether adolescents agree that "men who cry are weak" (restrictive emotionality) and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary" (aggression). I find that only 10% of boys agree with restrictive emotionality and 17% agree with aggression, yet boys overestimate the share of peers who agree with these beliefs by 21pp and 10pp, respectively. I then conduct two field experiments with 13 to 15-year-olds from 25 coeducational schools in Rio de Janeiro to study what sustains these misperceptions. Adolescence is a critical developmental stage when masculinity norms begin to solidify and misperceptions often take root (Way et al., 2014). Rio provides a particularly relevant context for studying masculinity norms. Its high rates of urban violence create environments where traditional masculine behaviors may be both rewarded and destructive.

Having documented misperceptions, I then turn to the question of the mechanisms that sustain these misperceptions. In a first experiment (N=2,249), I consider the possibility that either a lack of communication or selective communication with unrepresentative voices prevents updating that would correct these perceptions. To test these mechanisms, I randomly assign teenagers from the same classroom into a 15-minute mediated discussion about masculinity or a control discussion about recycling. The masculinity discussions could be of two types: *Randomized* or *Voluntary*. In the *Randomized* type, I randomly select the adolescents invited to speak, generating a representative discussion. In the *Voluntary* type, adolescents self-select into speaking, allowing for bias in the types of speakers. Comparing the *Randomized* arm with the control group tests whether a lack of communication explains misperceptions. If misperceptions reduce when representative voices speak, this suggests that a lack of communication in the real world prevents people from

[1] See Bau and Fernández (2023), Giuliano (2020), and Anderson (2025) for comprehensive reviews.

learning peers' true beliefs. The comparison between the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* arms tests whether selective communication explains misperceptions. If the *Voluntary* arm produces different effects from the *Randomized* arm, this would indicate that the types of people who naturally speak up matter for sustaining misperceptions. The *Voluntary* arm alone would not necessarily reduce misperceptions. The direction of effects depends on which voices dominate: if participants with more masculine views self-select into speaking, misperceptions could actually increase; if less masculine participants speak up, misperceptions would decrease.

My key finding is that a lack of communication with school peers sustains the existence of misperceived norms. The masculinity discussions reduce misperceptions by approximately 50% immediately, with equally strong effects regardless of whether speakers are randomly selected or self-selected. The fact that both treatment arms reduce misperceptions compared to the control group demonstrates that any type of communication is sufficient to correct misperceptions: this suggests that a lack of such communication in natural settings is a key driver of persistent misperceptions. The similar treatment effects of the *Randomized* and *Voluntary* arms indicate that selective communication with biased voices is not the primary mechanism sustaining misperceptions. Instead, it suggests that the core problem is that adolescents rarely discuss these topics. Three weeks later, these effects persist, indicating that adolescents retained what they learned and that information did not spillover to the control group. The persistence suggests that a one-time discussion was insufficient to generate natural conversations about masculinity, pointing to strong barriers that prevent such conversations from occurring.

Why do the *Randomized* and *Voluntary* arms similarly affect misperceptions? Boys who speak in the *Voluntary* group are less masculine[2] than those who speak in the *Randomized* group. If these less masculine voices were already expressing their views in natural settings, their peers would know these opinions and baseline misperceptions would be smaller to begin with. This finding is consistent with recent evidence from other domains showing that vocal types tend to have more politically correct views (Webb, 2024; Ho and Huang, 2024). The result suggests that even the people most likely to speak up about masculinity in natural settings hold views that would reduce rather than reinforce misperceptions. Yet, adolescents appear to avoid these conversations in natural settings, suggesting that communication barriers—rather than biased voices—are a primary obstacle to accurate belief formation.

Besides correcting misperceptions, the masculinity discussions also change boys' first-order beliefs: compared to the control group, treated boys become 50% less likely to agree with the belief about crying, immediately and three weeks after the discussion. The impacts on beliefs are consistent with the evidence that adolescents have malleable views (Kohlberg 1976; Markus

[2]In this paper, I refer to people who agree with the masculinity beliefs about crying or violence as "more masculine" or "traditionally masculine". In a pre-discussion survey, I find correlational evidence that the more vocal adolescents are also less masculine ($p<0.001$), suggesting that self-selection among the less masculine is not purely an effect of the discussion setting.

and Nurius 1986). Girls' beliefs about masculinity do not change, but they are considerably less masculine compared to boys in the first place. Nevertheless, belief changes do not reflect behavioral changes around low-incidence behaviors such as the expression of vulnerable emotions and involvement in violence. The lack of behavioral effects suggests that while adolescents can quickly update their beliefs when presented with new information, translating these belief changes into actual behavioral changes requires either more time or repeated reinforcement (as in Dhar et al. 2022).

While the first experiment shows that mediated discussions with school peers correct misperceptions, it tests for selective communication with vocal peers. However, adolescents might engage in a different type of selective communication: discussing masculinity primarily with close friends rather than random classmates. If adolescents typically discuss these topics only within tight friendship groups that have more homogeneous views, this could create echo chambers that reinforce rather than correct misperceptions. In a second experiment (N = 359) in a similar setting, I test for this alternative channel by allowing adolescents to choose their discussion peers. These discussions were also more private, without the presence of a mediator. This design also allows for variation in the sex composition of the groups: 50% of them were single-sex. Everyone participates in the discussion within a classroom, and I randomize the outcome elicitation to be before or after it, allowing me to estimate causal effects. Comparing outcomes before versus after the discussion tests whether communication with chosen peers explains misperceptions: if misperceptions persist after these conversations, this would suggest that people typically discuss masculinity with these friends. The variation in the sex composition of the groups provides an additional test: if "locker room talk" drives misperceptions, we would expect boys-only groups to reinforce rather than reduce misperceptions about masculine norms, as boys might express more traditional views when only around other boys.

I find no strong evidence that selective communication with friends sustains the existence of misperceptions. These discussions reduce boys' misperceptions about other boys by about 50%, providing further evidence against selective communication as the underlying mechanism. Even when in boys-only groups, boys' misperceptions about other boys reduce for crying ($p$=0.01). We can interpret this as evidence against locker room talk: if boys expressed more masculine views when with other boys only, we would expect misperceptions to increase rather than decrease in boys-only groups.

Having established that both mediated discussions with random peers and self-selected discussions reduce misperceptions, a puzzle remains: if communication is so effective, why don't these conversations occur naturally? In the second experiment, I measure whether adolescents have miscalibrated views on how the conversations will go, in an exercise inspired by Kardas et al. (2022). Before the discussion, participants indicate how comfortable and interested they would be in the conversation. After the discussion, they indicate their realized impressions. Within-individual comparisons of these impressions before and after the discussions show that boys and

girls underestimate interest and comfort by roughly 40% ($p<0.001$). These findings help explain why systematic misperceptions persist across various domains where communication barriers exist, revealing a self-reinforcing cycle: people avoid discussions they expect to be uncomfortable, preventing them from learning information that would both correct their beliefs and improve their expectations about future conversations.

Taken together, my findings indicate that a lack of communication with peers sustains the existence of misperceived masculinity norms among adolescents. I do not find evidence that selective communication explains misperceptions: adolescents who self-select into speaking are *less* masculine than average peers and misperceptions reduce even when private conversations with friends take place. Nevertheless, engaging participants in a one-time short discussion does not generate natural conversations about masculinity, as effects persist three weeks later. I discuss that miscalibrated expectations about these conversations are a driver of the lack of communication, creating a self-reinforcing cycle: incorrect expectations about conversation dynamics prevent the discussions that would correct misperceptions in the first place.

This paper makes several contributions. First, while a large literature in economics has studied norms about women's roles (e.g., Fernández 2013; Alesina et al. 2013; Dhar et al. 2022; Dean and Jayachandran 2019; Bursztyn et al. 2020), norms about men have received little attention. An exception is De Haas et al. (2025), in which we measure masculinity norms across 70 countries and find that they predict behaviors in important outcomes in economics, health, and politics, showing the importance of studying these norms on top of gender norms that constrain women's behaviors. Hence, misperceptions about masculinity norms can potentially reinforce these correlations, as individuals also make choices based on their beliefs about what others expect. Another exception is Baranov et al. (2023), which study the historical origins of masculinity norms. In contrast, this paper provides causal evidence of how conversations with same-generation peers shape perceptions of masculinity norms. Other papers have worked with boys and men to directly address aggressive behaviors (Blattman et al. 2017; Heller et al. 2017; Shah et al. 2023), but they do not directly measure its ties with masculinity norms. In addition, I study masculinity norms among adolescents, which is a crucial stage for brain development and belief formation (Steinberg 2014), in an environment that constitutes an important part of adolescents' social networks (Paluck and Shepherd 2012). To the best of my knowledge, this work is the largest-scale data collection on masculinity norms among adolescent boys and girls.

Second, while a growing body of work in economics uses simple information provision experiments to correct misperceptions about others' views (see Bursztyn and Yang 2022 for a review), they do not discuss the mechanisms that could sustain misperceptions. Bursztyn et al. (2020) provide descriptive evidence of a lack of communication as a source of misperceptions. My main contribution is to provide causal evidence about the role of communication in sustaining misperceived norms. Understanding the mechanisms around communication has implications for addressing misperceptions across domains that go beyond social norms, such as help-seeking behaviors (Roth

et al. 2024) and discrimination (Webb 2024). In addition, following the developmental psychology literature on masculinity norms (Way et al. 2014), I discuss that early adolescence is an important age for interventions that address misperceptions about masculinity norms.

Finally, this paper contributes to recent work on belief formation. A growing empirical literature studies how people update their first-order beliefs upon encountering new information by discussing the role of e.g. unobserved signals (Enke, 2020), motivated reasoning (Zimmermann, 2020), memory (Bordalo et al., 2025), narratives (Graeber et al., 2024). While various aspects of belief formation have been studied, we know less about how higher-order beliefs are formed. A notable exception is Ho and Huang (2024), which shows that limited attention to silent peers in a discussion increases second-order beliefs. My paper contributes to this literature by studying the specific mechanisms through which communication patterns and selection into communication shape higher-order beliefs. Moreover, building on Kardas et al. (2022), I provide evidence on a suggestive explanation for why we systematically observe such incorrect beliefs in equilibrium: people have miscalibrated expectations about how conversations will go, preventing discussions that could correct their beliefs about what others think in the first place.

## 2 Background: Masculinity Norms and Context

***Masculinity Norms.*** Gender scholars use the terms *traditional masculinity*, *masculinity ideology*, *hegemonic masculinity* or *masculinities* to refer to the cultural expectations around attitudes, and beliefs that prescribe men's behaviors, inferiorizing "non-masculine" men or women (Connell, 1987; Kimmel and Messner, 1989; Connell, 2020). Despite the existence of many different masculinities, there is a common set of standards and expectations associated with the traditional male role (Pleck, 1995; Levant et al., 2007). Seven of these dimensions are avoidance of femininity, fear and hatred of homosexuals, self-reliance, aggression, achievement/status, non-relational attitudes toward sexuality, and restrictive emotionality. Social psychologists have developed an extensive measurement of traditional masculinity encompassing these dimensions (see Thompson Jr and Bennett 2015 for a review).

Other social sciences have studied masculinity norms for several decades (Connell, 1987; Carrigan et al., 1985; Thompson Jr and Pleck, 1986; Kimmel and Messner, 1989). A myriad of work has studied the relationship between masculinity and health outcomes (e.g., Mahalik and Rochlen 2006; Wong et al. 2017), aggressive behaviors (e.g., Bosson et al. 2009; Reidy et al. 2009; Cheryan et al. 2015), occupational choice (e.g., Cross and Bagilhole 2002). However, most of the evidence is correlational or comes from small-scale studies in the lab in developed countries. In low-income countries, public health scholars have documented positive results of interventions that engage men in discussions about masculinity to improve women's sexual health and prevent gender-based violence (e.g., Hossain et al. 2014, Gibbs et al. 2020, Pérez-Martínez et al. 2023).

In addition, developmental psychologists provide longitudinal qualitative evidence that boys enter their teenage years resisting traditional masculinity by expressing their feelings of vulnerability and avoiding aggressive behaviors (Way, 2011; Way et al., 2014). However, as they transition into manhood in later adolescence, boys increasingly refer to the pressures to "man up" and avoid appearing feminine or gay, causing their emotionally expressive language to become more guarded. In essence, boys begin to disconnect from their emotions and others in pursuing "manhood". In this study, most boys are starting this transition, so it is a critical time to understand where misperceptions come from, as they may increase further as boys become adults, especially if they do not discuss their beliefs about masculinity norms.

***Context.*** To study these norms, I focus on adolescents in Rio de Janeiro, a context where masculinity norms may be particularly salient due to environmental factors. Rio de Janeiro has high rates of urban violence, with organized crime dominating 18% of its territory (Cruzado-RJ, 2024). In the Americas, 89% of homicide victims are men, affecting especially young black men (UNODC, 2023). In Latin America, the presence of organized crime and the recruitment of youth into these groups further increases the risks of homicide. Often, young men involved in gangs are desired as sexual partners by young women and admired by their male peers (Barker, 2005). Nevertheless, only a minority of young men become involved in these gangs.

Living in high-violence environments may increase social rewards for traditionally masculine behaviors like toughness and aggression (Barker, 2005). These increased rewards could lead adolescents to overestimate how much their peers value such behaviors, generating larger misperceptions about masculinity norms. In-depth interviews among low-income black youth in Rio de Janeiro highlight the importance of engaging boys in programs that resignify notions of manhood by e.g. encouraging caregiving and normalizing emotional vulnerabilities as violence prevention tools (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997; Taylor et al., 2016).[3] In addition, in focus groups I conducted, boys often said that they were ashamed to share their vulnerable feelings with friends, as they thought their friends expected them to be tough and could punish them otherwise.

Adolescents in my sample are public school students and are disproportionately from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, black, and living in favelas (i.e., regions dominated by drug factions), compared to a representative sample from Brazil (IBGE, 2022). I selected 25 schools across the city, allowing me to sample schools exposed to different levels of violence (Figure A1). For example, there are schools located in regions with high homicide rates (Panel A), comparable to those in the most violent countries in the world (UNODC, 2023). On the other hand, there are schools located in less violent regions. Nevertheless, most schools are close to favelas (Panel B) and anecdotal evidence from school staff and the Secretariat suggests that most public school students in Rio likely live in favelas. Violence affects students' day-to-day life: in 2022, 25% of

[3]Pioneer work on masculinities outside of the developed world started in Rio in the late 90s, giving birth to the world-leading NGO on masculinities *Equimundo*.

the municipal schools in Rio de Janeiro were closed for at least one day because of shootings in their surroundings.[4] Shooting episodes also caused four delays in my field operations.

The school environment also provides a unique context to study these norms, as it constitutes an important part of the socialization of adolescents, reinforcing gender norms by, e.g., organizing activities by gender (Thorne, 1993; Bhana and Mayeza, 2016; Rosen and Nofziger, 2019). In my setting, schools are coeducational, and students within a given classroom attend all classes and activities together, intensifying the formation of within-classroom norms and making peer interactions particularly influential.

***What Could Sustain the Existence of Misperceived Social Norms?*** Several theoretical models could explain the existence of misperceived social norms, such as motivated reasoning (Bénabou and Tirole, 2016), confirmation bias (Nickerson, 1998), false consensus (Marks and Miller, 1987; Thaler, 2000), and pluralistic ignorance (Bicchieri, 2005). Empirical work also discusses the role of social image concerns and silence (Braghieri, 2024; Ho and Huang, 2024). Adding to this literature, misperceptions could persist through two primary communication-related mechanisms. First, a lack of horizontal communication with peers could sustain misperceptions (Bursztyn et al., 2020). When people avoid discussing sensitive topics—perhaps due to social image concerns or expectations that such conversations will be uncomfortable—they cannot learn their peers' true beliefs. Instead, they may infer peers' views from older family members who hold more traditional beliefs (Bisin and Verdier, 2001) or from media representations that often amplify extreme positions (Ferrara et al., 2012). Second, horizontal communication could exist but be systematically biased toward certain groups (Kitts, 2003). If only more vocal individuals express their views about masculinity, and if these vocal types hold unrepresentative beliefs, listeners may fail to correct for this selection bias when updating their beliefs about the broader group. In this case, understanding who speaks up and why becomes crucial for explaining persistent misperceptions across different domains.

# 3 Experimental Design

My experiments study the mechanisms that sustain misperceptions. I consider two competing explanations for why these misperceptions persist. The first explanation is that people simply lack communication with peers about these topics—if adolescents rarely discuss masculinity, they cannot learn their peers' true beliefs. The second explanation is that people engage in selective communication, but this could occur in two distinct ways that have different implications for sustaining misperceptions. First, selective communication might occur when only certain types of people—those who are naturally more vocal—dominate discussions. If vocal individuals hold

[4] G1 (31-07-2023).

unrepresentative views (either more or less masculine than average), their voices could distort perceptions of the broader group's beliefs. Second, selective communication might occur when people discuss these topics primarily within homogeneous friendship groups. If adolescents only talk about masculinity with close friends who share similar views, this could create echo chambers that reinforce rather than correct misperceptions.

In the first experiment, I test whether a lack of communication or selective communication with vocal peers explains their existence by randomly allocating participants to a mediated discussion about masculinity or a control discussion about recycling. The masculinity discussions vary who can speak in the discussions: in the *Randomized* arm, I randomly select participants to speak, creating representative communication that tests whether a lack of broad communication explains misperceptions. If participants truthfully share their private views and listeners believe this information, we would expect the *Randomized* arm to reduce misperceptions, given that participants overestimate peers' masculine beliefs. In the *Voluntary* arm, participants self-select into speaking, allowing me to test whether selective communication with vocal peers explains misperceptions. This arm would not necessarily reduce misperceptions if those with more masculine views are more likely to speak.

In the second experiment, I test whether selective communication with friends explains misperceptions by allowing participants to select their discussion peers. If adolescents typically discuss masculinity only with like-minded friends, these conversations would not provide new information that corrects misperceptions. Hence, misperceptions would persist if participants already know their friends' views, or might even increase if friends express more masculine views in private conversations, consistent with locker-room talk. The direction of effects depends on the composition of chosen groups: if participants select friends with similar beliefs, misperceptions should remain unchanged; if chosen friends hold more diverse or less masculine views than expected, misperceptions should decrease.

This design also has a natural policy implication: understanding which types of communication are more effective at addressing misperceptions among adolescents can inform scalable interventions through school programs. In addition, engaging boys in conversations about masculinity relates to recent calls by academics and public speakers to listen to boys in the debate about masculinity (Reeves, 2022; Way, 2024).

## 3.1 Experiment 1

### 3.1.1 Sample Selection

***School Selection.*** I conducted this preregistered experiment between June and October 2022.[5] I coordinated with my partner, the Secretariat of Education of the city of Rio de Janeiro, and

[5]There are no deviations from pre-registration in Experiments 1 and 2.

selected 22 schools covering 9 out of the 11 school districts in the city.[6] This broadly covers the entire area of the city. Even though I did not randomly select the schools, they are fairly representative compared to all the 607 public schools offering secondary education in the city (see Table B3). Out of 12 characteristics, schools in my sample are only statistically different concerning the share of white students compared to all the schools ($p$=0.04), which is similar to a difference obtained by chance.

***Student Selection.*** My target sample consists of 7th to 9th graders (i.e., ≈ 13-15 years old) across 88 classrooms. Within each classroom, the study (baseline-treatment-endline) took 50-60 minutes. Due to time constraints, no more than 5 classrooms from the same school could participate. To accommodate this, in schools with over 5 7th-9th grade classes, I prioritized upper-year students. My sample thus consists of 2,249 students (1,154 girls and 1,095 boys), being 60% 9th graders, 32% 8th graders, and 8% 7th graders.[7]

### 3.1.2 Treatment Conditions

***Treatment Assignment.*** Figure 1 outlines the structure of Experiment 1. Within classroom, I randomly assigned half of the students to one of three types of discussions, stratified by sex: *Voluntary* (N = 795), *Randomized* (N = 750), and Active Control (N = 704). Classrooms (N = 88) could then be one of three types: (i) $\frac{1}{2}$ *Voluntary* $X$ $\frac{1}{2}$ Active Control, (ii) $\frac{1}{2}$ *Randomized* $X$ $\frac{1}{2}$ Active Control, and (iii) $\frac{1}{2}$ *Voluntary* $X$ $\frac{1}{2}$ *Randomized*. I performed the randomization before visiting the schools, upon receiving the list with students' names.

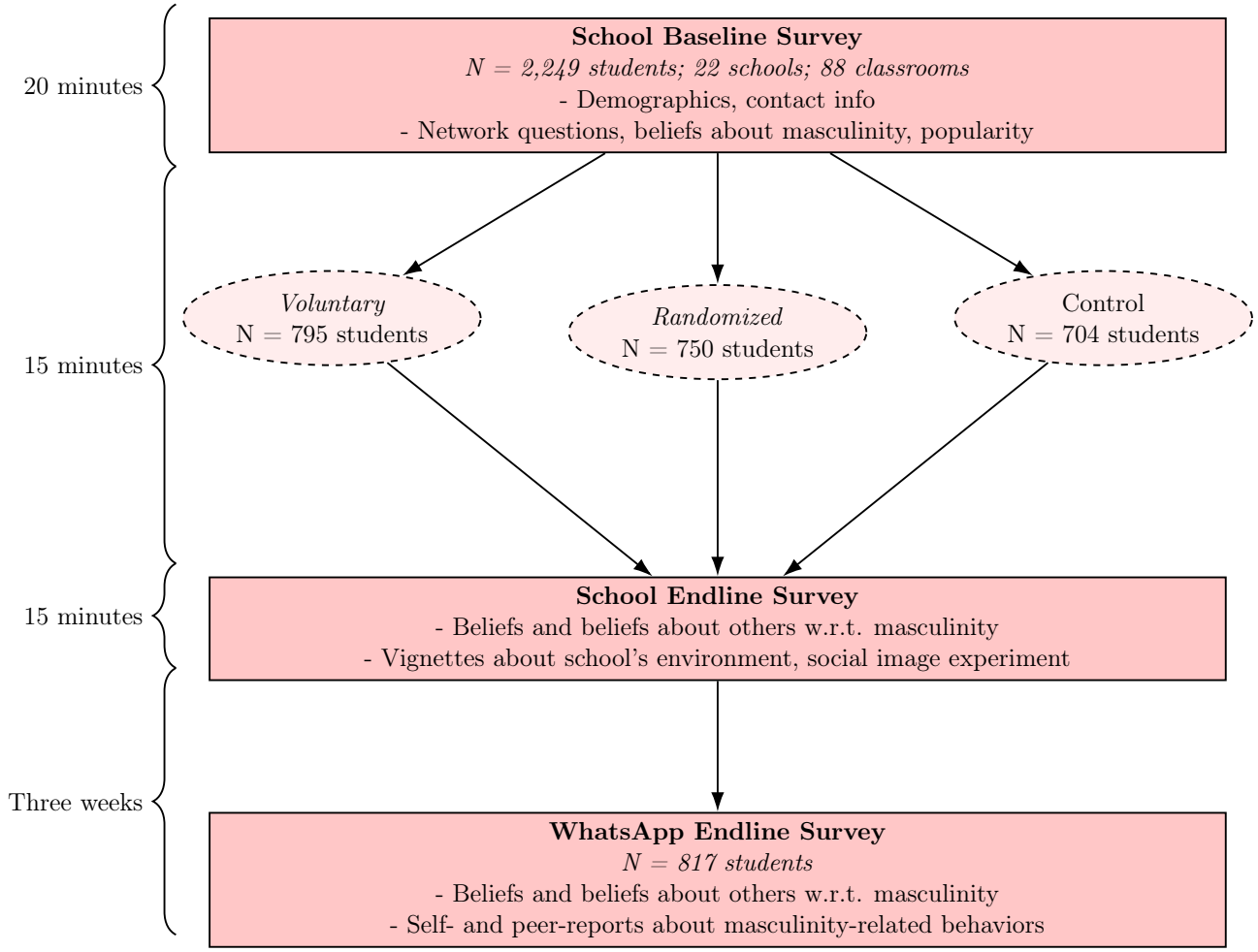
***Masculinity Discussions.*** The treatments consist of focus group-like discussions about masculinity. Male mediators led the sessions, asking participants to share their views on the beliefs "men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary", and further explain and provide examples of their opinions.[8] These beliefs represent the *restrictive emotionality* and *aggression* dimensions of masculinity. In focus groups I conducted with boys, they often mentioned that expressing vulnerable emotions, such as crying, is seen as a weakness for men and a reason for mockery. In addition, they described that using violence is sometimes rewarded in their context, and it could give some social status. The belief about crying was also inspired by questions from the *Man Box* study (Barker et al., 2017) and the *Male Role Norms Inventory-Adolescent-*

[6] In fact, I visited schools from all districts. I piloted this experiment in two other districts, which were not included in the main sample. I also included a school from an 11th district in Experiment 2.

[7] To avoid contamination across classes, the field team would only visit a school once. Participating students represent about 75% of students in the schools. This difference is mainly due to students being absent rather than parents or students not consenting to their participation.

[8] The mediators were members of the NGO *Luta pela Paz* (Fight for Peace), who are experienced in conducting this type of activity with youth. At the time of the intervention, they were piloting a discussion session on masculinity with black youth across some favelas in Rio.

Figure 1: Experimental Design - Experiment 1




*Notes*: This figure displays the design structure of Experiment 1. Classrooms were randomized into one of three types: Class Type 1: *Voluntary X* Control; Class Type 2: *Randomized X* Control; Class Type 3: *Voluntary X Randomized*. Students were then randomly allocated into either the *Voluntary*, *Randomized*, or *Control* discussion within their classroom.

*revised* (Levant et al., 2012). The belief about violence came directly from the *Man Box* study. I piloted extensively, and adolescents comprehended their meaning well. I used the questions from the *Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity Scale* to validate that the masculinity beliefs of analysis ("men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary") correlate with a measure of masculinity already used in the literature. Among boys, agreeing with the belief about crying predicts an increase of 0.78sd ($p<0.001$) in the masculinity scale, and agreeing with the belief about violence predicts an increase of 0.65sd ($p<0.001$), and similarly among girls.

In the discussions, participants first shared their views on the belief about crying, and then on the belief about violence. The mediators did not express their personal opinions: their only role was to guide the discussion. This avoids potential confoundings related to learning the mediators' opinions. In addition, I alternated a boy and a girl speaking, and a maximum of six students could talk. I imposed a maximum number of speakers to allow me to differentiate between the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* speakers. If everybody spoke, I would not expect any differences between the treatments as speakers could be similar by construction since they were randomized into each session. In addition, fixing the number of students in the discussions shuts down another potential confounding between *Voluntary* and *Randomized* discussions, which could have been how many students spoke in each of them. Section C.3 presents a roadmap of the discussions. On average, the discussions took 15 minutes, with 13 people in each session, and they could be of two types:

1. *Voluntary*: Mediators asked subjects to raise their hands if they would like to share their views on the masculinity beliefs. The mediator always picked on the first boy to raise their hand, then alternated between a girl and a boy until it reached a maximum of six students. Hence, this treatment arm consists of only introducing a topic, aiming to mimic the dynamics of classroom-based discussions.

2. *Randomized*: Before the field team visited each school, I randomly selected students that the mediators would call out to speak following a random order. Following the same logic as in the *Voluntary* arm, mediators would first call out a boy, then a girl, to share their views until six students spoke. Called-out participants could refuse to speak, but this rarely happened, resulting in a strong first-stage when regressing a realized on a predicted speaking dummy ($\beta = 0.85$, F-stat = 548, Table B6).

***Observers' Form.*** A research assistant observer took notes during these discussions (see form in Figure A3).[9] They indicated (1) whether a student agreed, disagreed or was on the fence about each masculinity belief, (2) keywords and quotes, (3) whether they shared a personal example, and (4) group dynamics (e.g. if there was laughter and jokes). I can then link the observers' notes with participants' baseline and endline individual responses. During these discussions, students

[9]There were 4 observers (3 female and 1 male), which would rotate across each school.

sat in a circle with the mediator and the observer (Figure A2).

***Active Control.*** The control group attended a discussion session about recycling practices, mediated by a male member of the environmental education NGO *Mangue & Tal*. The topic of recycling was chosen as it is unrelated to gender norms while maintaining a similar discussion format. Only participants who voluntarily raised their hands would speak up (i.e. there is no *Randomized* arm). The topic of recycling is not expected to affect perceptions about the school's current gender norms. The active control group accounts for the effects of meeting attendance and attenuates experimenter demand effects. I instructed the mediators not to comment on gender in any way. I find no difference in the levels of agreement with the beliefs about crying and violence between the survey immediately before and immediately after the discussion ($p$=0.8).

### 3.1.3 Data Collection and Outcomes

***Baseline.*** All 2,249 participants completed a baseline survey, which included the following modules:[10] (i) demographics; (ii) friendships and popularity; (iii) peer-reported measures of vocality, friendship and admiration; (iv) private views on whether agrees or disagrees with the masculinity beliefs "men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary", and adherence to the *Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity Scale* (Oransky and Fisher 2009); (v) social desirability bias based on the Crowne and Marlowe (1960) index. Appendix C.2.1 presents all the questions included in the baseline survey.

Table B1 summarizes baseline characteristics of the sample and provides the p-value of an F-test of joint significance to test for covariate balance between the study arms, within sex. Among boys, 4 characteristics out of 27 are imbalanced at the 10% level: percent white ($p$=0.09), percent black ($p$=0.05), degree of self-reported influenced by girls ($p$=0.07) and social network score ($p$=0.10). Among girls, 3 characteristics are imbalanced at the 10% level: percent white ($p$=0.06), whether talk to friends about boys ($p$=0.06), and whether talk to friends about what society expects from a man ($p$=0.07).[11]

***Immediate Endline Survey.*** Participants responded to an endline survey in the school, immediately after the discussions ended. I describe these outcomes below, and introduce other outcome measures when they appear in the discussion of my findings. Appendix C.2.2 presents all the questions included in this survey.

***WhatsApp Endline Survey.*** Three weeks after the intervention, I sent a second endline survey to participants' WhatsApp numbers (Appendix C.2.3 presents all the questions included in this

[10] Participants self-administered the baseline and school endline surveys on tablets using Qualtrics offline. All baseline data collection happened prior to the revelation of the treatment assignment.

[11] The main treatment effects are robust to including these variables as controls (Table B8).

survey.). 80% of boys and 87% of girls provided their WhatsApp information. Among those who provided their WhatsApp contact details, 42% completed the WhatsApp endline. Attrition is not correlated with baseline characteristics differentially by treatment status for most characteristics, among the WhatsApp sample (Table B2). Similarly to the baseline survey imbalance, only four characteristics among boys are not balanced across groups (age, living with mother, talking to friends about boys, and importance given to popularity), and three characteristics among girls (percent white, talking to friends about boys, talking to friends about girls).

My main outcome, measured at both endline surveys, is the misperceptions about the two masculinity beliefs they discussed ("men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary"). I define misperceptions as the percentage point wedge between students' guesses[12] of the percentage of boys and girls, separately, in their school classroom they think to agree with each of the beliefs and the actual percentage of boys and girls who agree with each belief at baseline. I only elicit the guesses at the endline surveys to avoid priming and consistency effects (Bursztyn and Yang 2022). I discuss other outcomes when they appear in the discussion of my findings.

## 3.2 Experiment 2

***Sample Selection.*** I conducted this preregistered experiment in April 2024 with a sample of 359 8th-9th graders (i.e., $\approx$ 13-14 years old) across 14 classrooms in 3 public schools in Rio de Janeiro. I selected the schools in coordination with my partner, the Secretariat of Education, similarly to how we did it in Experiment 1. The selected schools are similar in terms of observable characteristics, compared to all the public schools in Rio de Janeiro (Table B3, Column 5) and to the schools included in the Experiment 1 (Table B3, Column 6). Participating students are also similar across the two experiments for most characteristics (Table B4), except boys in the Experiment 2 are less likely to live with a father ($p$=0.02), more likely to live with a stepfather ($p$<0.01), and are more masculine ($p$<0.01).

***Treatment Assignment.*** Figure A4 presents the structure of the Experiment 2. In this experiment, all participants engaged in discussions about masculinity with peers they selected. To estimate the causal effects of the discussion, I randomized, stratified by sex, the outcome variables elicitation to be in the survey before (N = 185) or after (N = 174) the discussion.

***Masculinity Discussion.*** At the end of the pre-discussion survey, it explained we would ask them to talk to their friends about their opinions of what society expects of men. Facilitators then instructed them to organize a group of 5 to 6 people and sit in a circle (Figure A5). Participants

[12]I did not incentivize the elicitation of the guesses as my partner did not allow me to provide any sort of monetary and non-monetary incentives to the children.

read the discussion guidelines on their tablets, which instructed them to discuss their views about the beliefs "men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary", similar to Experiment 1 guidelines. The discussions were partially mediated: three facilitators rotated across the groups,[13] asking if they understood the guidelines, shared their views, and heard their peers' opinions. Nevertheless, the mediators did not guide the discussions throughout, even though they were in the same room as the discussions took place.[14] We timed the discussions to be 15 minutes long, to be consistent with the Experiment 1.

***Data Collection and Outcomes.*** All 359 participants self-administered a pre-discussion survey, which included the following modules: (i) demographics; (ii) network questions asking students to name peers they spent the most time in the last week; (iii) four questions from the Crowne and Marlowe (1960) social desirability scale; (iv) questions on what they talk to their friends, including whether they talk about masculinity, and open-ended responses on what they talked, or why they do not talk; (v) adherence to the *Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity Scale* (Oransky and Fisher 2009). The survey then says we will ask them to discuss their opinions on what society expects of men with their friends, and they have to provide their impressions of how this discussion will go, regarding interest, comfort, and connection.

The main outcome of interest is the misperceptions about girls' and boys' beliefs about crying and violence, elicited in the same way as in the Experiment 1. Other outcomes include their private views about the masculinity beliefs, besides self-reported behaviors, such as willingness to serve as an emotional support peer and to be an anti-bullying advocate in the school. I randomly allocated participants to respond to these questions either in the pre-discussion (control) or in the post-discussion (treated) survey.[15] Table B5 presents summary statistics and balance tests across a series of characteristics, separate for boys and girls. The only imbalance is that control girls are more likely to be white ($p$=0.02) and less likely to be black ($p$=0.01) than treated girls.

Participants then responded to a short post-discussion survey. For control participants, it first elicited their post-discussion impressions regarding interest, comfort, and connection, whereas treated participants first responded to the outcomes of interest before responding to their discussion impressions. Finally, they indicated the peers who participated in their discussion group.[16]

***Group Characteristics.*** There were 49 groups, with an average of 5.25 people. The groups

[13] On average, there were 5 discussion groups in a classroom.

[14] I piloted these discussions without any mediation, but some participants did not talk about the masculinity beliefs. I added some degree of mediation to (i) have a stronger first stage in talking about masculinity and (ii) make it more comparable with the design of Experiment 1.

[15] I embedded the randomization on Qualtrics offline.

[16] One school did not send the list of participating students before the field team visited this school. As a result, the network question and the question to select which peers were in their discussion group could not be included. To allow me to test for gender composition effects, I added a question so they could indicate how many boys and how many girls were in their group.

were equally sex-balanced, and the average group had 47% of boys. Nevertheless, 24.6% of them were composed of girls only, and 23.8% of boys only.

# 4 Results on Misperceptions

## 4.1 Experiment 1

***Misperceived Social Norms.*** Boys and girls systematically overestimate their peers' agreement with beliefs about traditional masculinity (Figure 2). The majority of boys overestimate other boys beliefs about crying and violence by 21pp and 12pp (Panel a, upper plots). Boys' actual levels of agreement with the belief about crying is 10%, and 17% for the belief about violence,[17] but they guess that 31% and 29% of boys agree with these beliefs. Boys also overestimate girls' beliefs by 28pp and 10pp (Panel a, lower plots). Girls similarly overestimate their peers' beliefs about masculinity (2, Panel b).

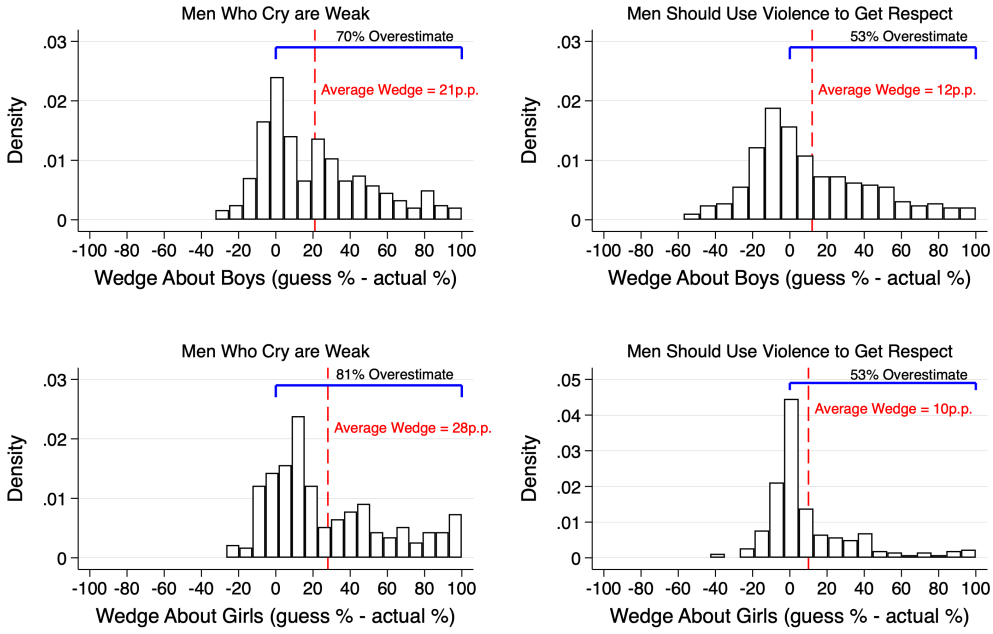
There are several possible explanations for why the misperceptions about crying may be larger than the misperceptions about violence. First, communication about emotional expression may be more constrained than discussions about violence, as masculinity norms specifically discourage men from appearing emotionally vulnerable. This creates a barrier to learning peers' true views about crying that may not exist for violence.Second, violence receives more institutional attention in this context: 80% of municipal schools in Rio have programs addressing violence, while only 30% discuss gender equality (INEP 2021), potentially creating more opportunities for students to learn about peers' views on violence. Third, violence is typically a public behavior while emotional expression can be private, allowing peers to more easily observe and infer attitudes about violence from actual behaviors.

It is striking to find such misperceptions in an environment where people have intense interactions every day: in this setting, boys and girls within a classroom take all classes and school activities together. The misperceptions I document are similar in magnitude to those found in other contexts. Bursztyn et al. (2020) find that in Saudi Arabia, 87% of men privately support women working outside the household, yet they guess that only 63% of other men hold this view—a 24 percentage point misperception. They also show that knowing more people from the reference group predicts lower misperceptions. My findings show comparable magnitudes: only 10% of boys agree that "men who cry are weak" yet they estimate 31% of peers hold this belief—a 21 percentage point gap. While Bursztyn et al. (2020) study misperceptions about a socially progressive norm (supporting women's work), I examine misperceptions about a socially restrictive norm (emotional suppression), suggesting that such systematic errors in belief formation occur across different types

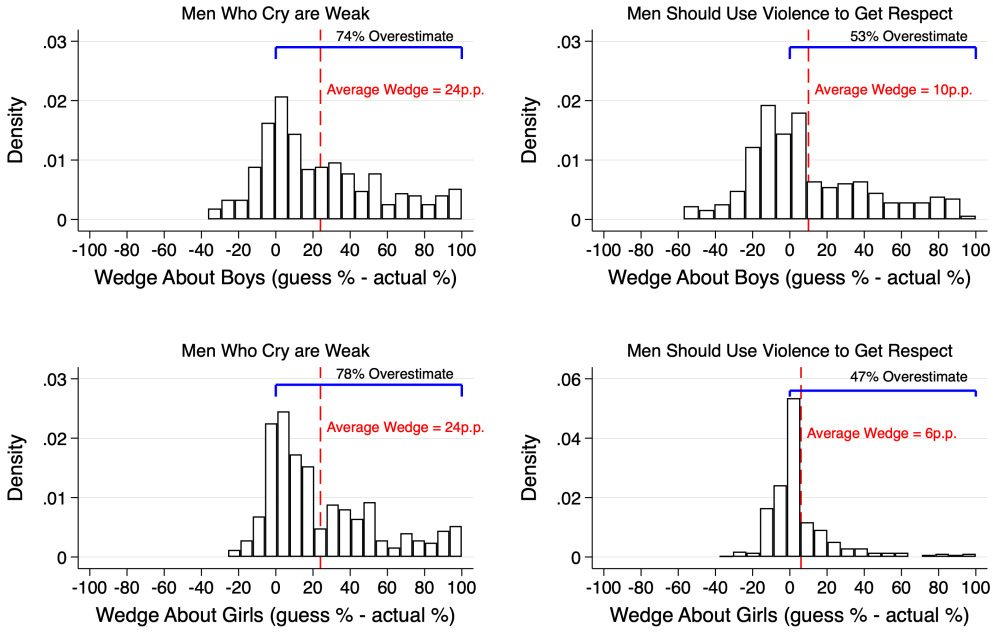
[17] As a benchmark, data collected in De Haas et al. (2025) shows that 13% of average adult Brazilian men—recruited through an online panel (N=631)— agree or strongly agree with "men should use violence to get respect if necessary".

Figure 2: Distribution of Guesses About Peers' Masculinity Beliefs

(a) Boys




(b) Girls




*Notes*: This figure plots the distribution of wedges, among the control group in Experiment 1, in perceptions about the beliefs of their male and female classmates regarding "men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary". Wedges are calculated as the difference between a respondent guess about the percent of boys or girls in their classroom agreeing with each belief and the actual percent of boys or girls in a classroom agreeing with them. Respondents' guesses are only elicited after treatment, so the sample in this plot consists of 376 girls and 328 boys in the control group.

of social expectations and may have similar sources.

Understanding what predicts these misperceptions provides further insight into their origins. Figure A6 plots regression coefficients of boys' and girls' misperceptions on various baseline characteristics. Correlations indicate that having more friends either increases or has no effect on misperceptions, whereas wanting more emotional support from same-sex friends predicts larger misperceptions. These findings suggest that in environments where people already know each other well, simply having more friends may not reduce misperceptions about sensitive topics. Instead, the quality of friendships—particularly the lack of emotional intimacy that would facilitate discussions about vulnerable topics—may be a key driver of persistent misperceptions. Among demographic characteristics, there is suggestive evidence that misperceptions increase with age (consistent with developmental psychology literature suggesting these beliefs solidify over time), while being Black or Evangelical is associated with smaller misperceptions. Social status measures (popularity, admirability) show no significant relationships with misperceptions.

***Immediate Effects of Discussions.*** The masculinity discussions reduce boys' and girls' misperceptions by over 50% across nearly all the comparison groups (Figure 3). In the control group, boys' average misperception about boys' beliefs about crying is 21p.p (Panel a, left plot). In the masculinity discussion in which people self-selected to speak (*Voluntary* arm), boys' average misperception is 10pp ($p<0.001$), and 11pp ($p<0.001$) for the group in which randomly selected participants spoke. The discussions are equally effective in reducing boys' misperceptions about girls' beliefs about crying and boys' beliefs about violence ($p<0.001$). Nevertheless, I cannot reject that the masculinity discussions shift boys' misperceptions about girls' views about violence ($p=0.22$), even though they suggest a 23% reduction in the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* groups, compared to the control group. The masculinity discussions also reduce the misperceptions held by girls (Figure 3, Panel b). These results provide evidence that a lack of communication, rather than selective communication with biased voices, sustains the existence of misperceived masculinity norms. The equally strong effects across both discussions show that simply providing a space for peers to share their views is sufficient to substantially reduce misperceptions, suggesting that the core problem is the absence of such conversations in natural settings.

These results provide evidence in favor of the lack of communication hypothesis over the selective communication hypothesis. Both the *Randomized* and *Voluntary* arms reduce misperceptions by approximately 50%, showing that simply facilitating any discussion about masculinity—regardless of who speaks—is sufficient to correct misperceptions. If selective communication with biased voices were the primary mechanism sustaining misperceptions, we would expect different effects between arms where speakers are randomly selected versus self-selected. Instead, the similar treatment effects across both arms suggest that the core problem is not that unrepresentative voices dominate conversations, but rather that these conversations rarely occur at all in natural settings. Section 4.1.1 explores this mechanism further by examining who actually speaks in each

treatment arm and what they talk about.

***Three Weeks Effects of Discussions.*** The effects of the masculinity discussions on misperceptions persist after three weeks (Figure 4). In the control group, boys' average misperception about boys' beliefs about crying is 18p.p (Panel a, left plot). In the *Voluntary* discussions, boys' average misperceptions decrease to 9pp ($p$=0.02), and to 7pp ($p$<0.001) in the *Randomized* group. The discussions also significantly change boys' perceptions about girls about crying, and about violence for both sexes. The only exception is that boys in the *Voluntary* group do change their views about girls' beliefs about violence ($p$=0.34). The effects of the discussions on girls' misperceptions follow similarly (Panel b).

The persistence of these effects provides additional insight into the underlying mechanisms. If the one-time discussion had sparked ongoing natural conversations about masculinity, we might expect information to gradually spread to control group participants, reducing treatment effects over time. To test for such spillovers, I examine whether control group participants with treated friends[18] show different patterns of belief updating. Table B14 presents suggestive evidence that girls in the control group discuss the masculinity sessions with their treated girlfriends. Three weeks later, control girls with at least one treated girlfriend have somewhat lower misperceptions about other girls' beliefs about crying (-5.7pp, $p$=0.49) and violence (-10.8p.p, $p$=0.14), compared to their misperceptions immediately after the discussions. For boys, the evidence is mixed and statistically weak. These patterns are consistent with limited information spillover, primarily among girls. As a further test, comparing the three weeks with the immediate responses among the control group, girls' misperceptions about crying reduce by 10pp three weeks later (Figure A7, Panel b), but boys' misperceptions do not change (Figure A7, Panel a).

### 4.1.1 Why are Effects Similar Across the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* Groups?

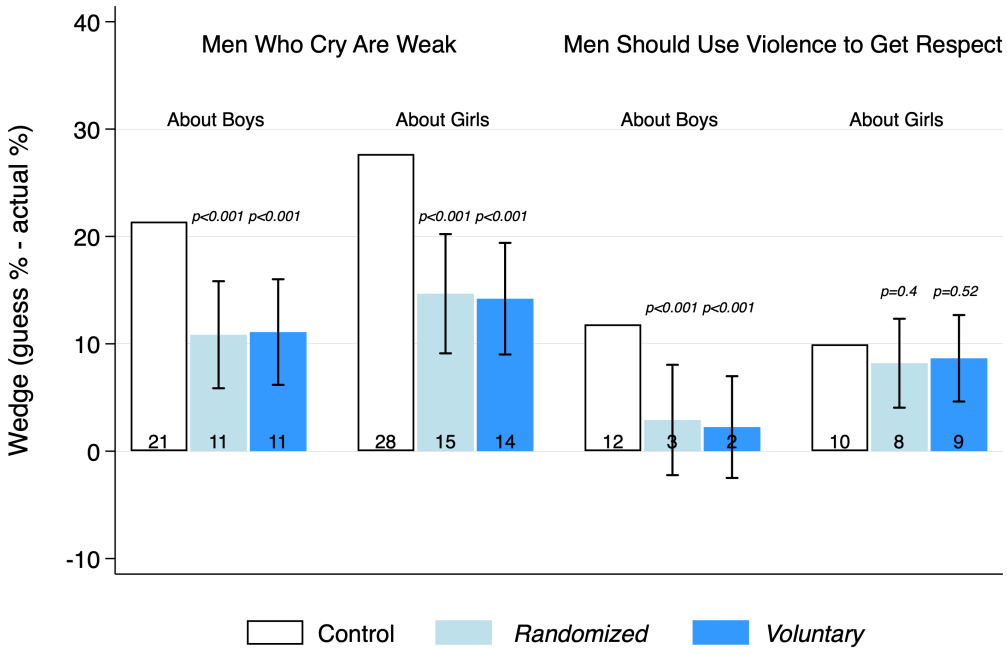
In this section, I provide evidence that explains why the treatment effects of the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* discussions are statistically indistinguishable. I explore the public opinions shared in the discussions, the narratives used, and speakers' baseline characteristics. I show that despite selection into speaking, participants in both arms hear remarkably similar messages about masculinity norms.

***Selection into Speaking.*** Boys who self-select into speaking in the *Voluntary* group are less masculine than those randomly selected in the *Randomized* group, but only regarding violence. Table 1 (Columns 1-3) compares speakers' private beliefs across the two arms. While boys show no differential selection regarding crying beliefs (Column 1), there is strong evidence of selection

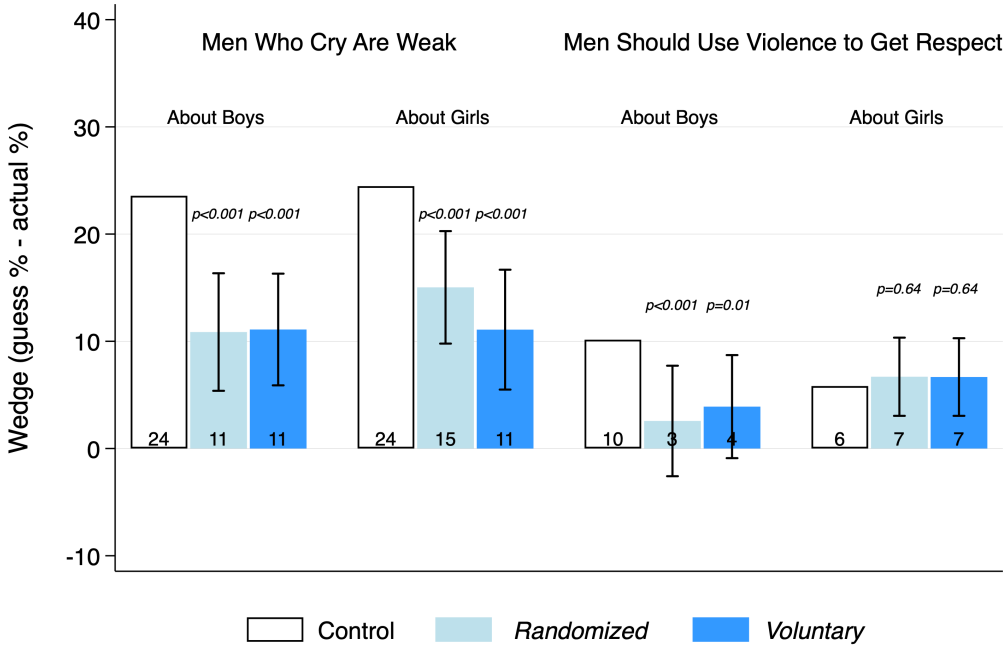
[18]I measure friendship networks by asking participants to list the people from their classroom they spent the most time with in the last two weeks. A treated friend is someone the respondent nominated who was subsequently assigned to receive one of the masculinity discussion treatments.

Figure 3: Masculinity Discussions Reduce Misperceptions Immediately After Treatment

(a) Boys



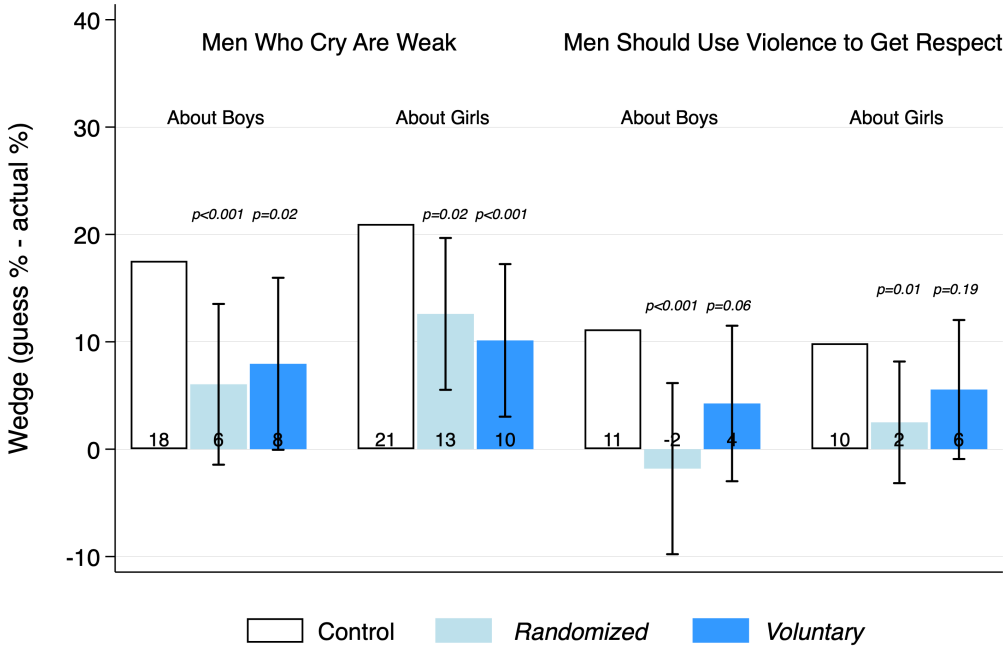

(b) Girls



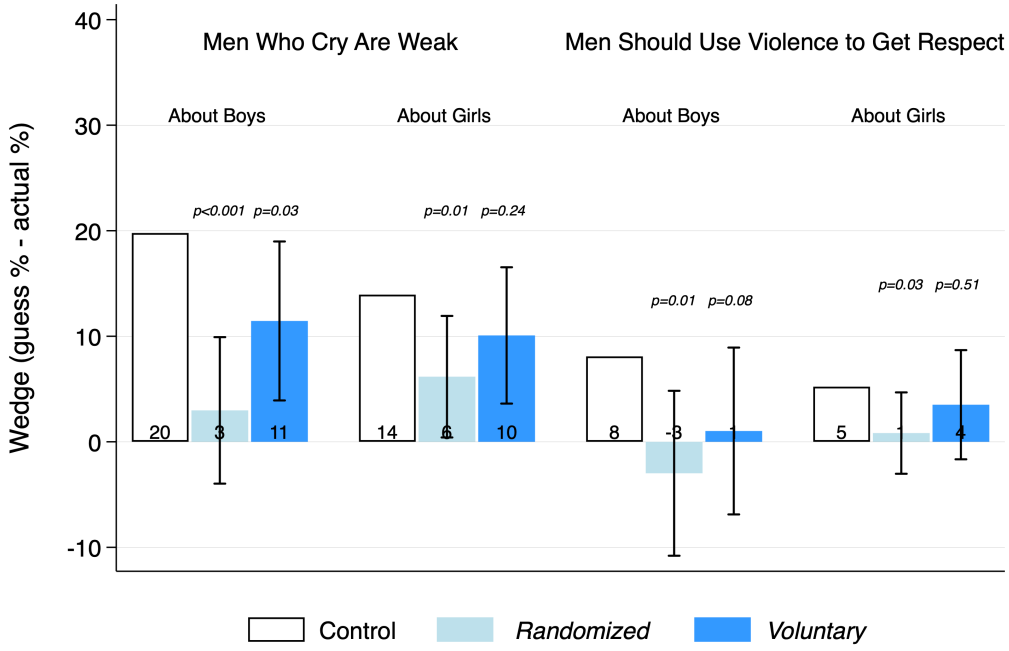

*Notes*: This figure shows the effects of the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* discussion treatments. The wedge is calculated as the difference, in percentage points, between *(participants' guesses about the percentage of their male or female peers agreeing with each belief)* and *(the true percentage of participants agreeing with each belief at baseline)*. A positive wedge means that people overestimate the prevalence of traditional beliefs about masculinity. 95% confidence intervals plotted, from a regression of the wedges on treatment status dummies, including school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Figure 4: Masculinity Discussions Have Persistent Effects on Misperceptions After Three Weeks

(a) Boys




(b) Girls




*Notes*: This figure plots the treatment effects for the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* groups for the sample who responded to the second endline, distributed via WhatsApp three weeks after treatment. The wedge is calculated as the average difference, in percentage points, between *(participants' guesses about the percentage of their male or female peers agreeing with each belief)* and *(the true percentage of participants agreeing with each belief at baseline)*. 95% confidence intervals plotted, from a regression of misperceptions on treatment status dummies, including school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level. Red diamonds plot Endline 1 means for the WhatsApp sample.

on violence: boys who self-select into speaking are 11pp less likely to privately agree with using violence compared to randomly selected speakers (p<0.001, Column 2). Overall, *Voluntary* speakers are 50% less masculine than *Randomized* speakers (Column 3). Girls show no evidence of such selection (Panel B).

***Public Opinions.*** Despite selection into speaking among boys, participants in both arms hear similar public opinions. Table 1 (Columns 4-6) shows that speakers' public opinions are statistically indistinguishable across the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* groups. This happens because randomly selected boys change their public opinions relative to their private ones, while girls express similar views publicly and privately. Among *Randomized* boy speakers, 15.6% privately agree with using violence but only 7.8% express this view publicly (p=0.01). Similarly, 5.6% privately agree that crying indicates weakness, but only 0.6% state this publicly (p=0.01). Thus, less masculine boys self-select into *Voluntary* discussions while *Randomized* speakers publicly express less masculine views than they privately hold, resulting in similar public discourse across both arms.

***Similar Narratives and Justifications.*** Beyond expressing similar opinions, speakers in both arms also use similar narratives to justify their views. Research assistants categorized all statements shared during discussions following Ferrario and Stantcheva (2022). Figure A8[19] shows that 70% of boys in both arms justify their views on crying using "Everybody Has Feelings" arguments (p=0.98), while roughly 50% oppose violence by arguing for alternative ways to gain respect (p=0.51). This similarity in both content and framing explains why listeners update their beliefs equally regardless of the selection mechanism. Generally, girls in both discussion groups also used similar narratives. In addition, speakers could choose not to provide any examples to support their views. Speakers in the *Randomized* group were less likely than those in the *Voluntary* group to not provide examples of their views about crying, but equally likely on their views about violence.

***Speaker Characteristics.*** *Voluntary* and *Randomized* speakers differ only in their baseline vocality, with *Voluntary* speakers being 20% more talkative according to peer reports (Table B9). To measure vocality, I asked participants to select the top 5 most talkative people in their class. The vocality score counts the number of times a person was reported, excluding themselves. Speakers do not differ in popularity, peer admiration, or social desirability, suggesting that the key distinction is simply willingness to speak rather than fundamentally different social positions or characteristics.

***Discussion.*** These findings show that communication—regardless of who speaks—effectively corrects misperceptions about masculinity norms. This result was not guaranteed ex-ante: mis-

[19] See also Figure A9, which shows some examples of quotes shared in the discussions

Table 1: Less Masculine Boys Self-Select Into-Speaking in the *Voluntary* Discussions, But Express Similar Public Opinions to *Representative*

| | Private Opinions | | | Public Opinions | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cry | Violence | Mean | Cry | Violence | Mean |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| **Panel A: Boys Who Spoke** | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* Speaker (=1) | -0.038 | -0.116*** | -0.077** | 0.017 | -0.070 | -0.028 |
| | (0.027) | (0.043) | (0.030) | (0.033) | (0.059) | (0.038) |
| Observations | 329 | 329 | 329 | 328 | 329 | 328 |
| Dep. Var. Mean (*Randomized* Speakers) | 0.09 | 0.19 | 0.14 | 0.07 | 0.23 | 0.15 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| **Panel B: Girls Who Spoke** | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* Speaker (=1) | 0.003 | -0.020 | -0.008 | 0.022 | -0.021 | 0.000 |
| | (0.018) | (0.024) | (0.017) | (0.014) | (0.048) | (0.026) |
| Observations | 332 | 332 | 332 | 332 | 332 | 332 |
| Dep. Var. Mean (*Randomized* Speakers) | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.05 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients within the sample of speakers in the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* groups. The dependent variables are participants' private and public opinions about crying (Columns 1 and 4, respectively), violence (Column 2 and 5, respectively), and the average public and private opinions across crying and violence (Columns 3 and 6, respectively). The dependent variables in Columns (1) and (2) are participants' private opinions about crying and violence, which are a dummy equal to 1 if they agreed with the statement, and 0 otherwise. For the public opinions (Columns 4 and 5), the dependent variables are equal to 0 if they publicly disagreed with the statement, equal to 1 if they said that whether they agree or not depends on the situation, and 2 if they publicly agreed. The dependent variables in Column (3) and (6) is the mean opinions across crying and violence in Columns (1) and (2) and (4) and (5), repectively. The independent variable of interest is a dummy equals 1 if the speaker was in the *Voluntary* group, and 0 if in the *Randomized* group. One boy in the *Representative* group preferred not to express any opinions about crying, which explains the missing observation in Columns (4) and (6) in Panel A, compared to the other ones. All regressions include school fixed effects and standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

perceptions might have persisted or even worsened if randomly selected speakers had expressed more masculine views publicly than they held privately, or if self-selected speakers were more masculine. Instead, I find that both random or self-selected speakers express similar public messages. Boys randomly selected to speak express less masculine views in public (compared to private), while boys who self-select into speaking are already less masculine in their private beliefs, explaining why both arms produce similar reductions in misperceptions. The persistence of effects three weeks later provides additional insight into the underlying barriers to natural communication. If the one-time discussions had generated ongoing conversations about masculinity, we would expect information to spillover to control participants, potentially reducing treatment effects over time. Instead, the persistent effects suggest that strong barriers prevent these conversations from occurring spontaneously, even after participants learn that such discussions can be productive. Section 5 explores a mechanism that creates these barriers to natural communication.

An important remaining question is whether the mediated discussions with random peers affects these dynamics. Adolescents might behave differently in private conversations with close friends, potentially expressing more traditional views consistent with "locker room talk". Experiment 2 addresses this possibility by examining discussions among self-selected friend groups in more private settings.

#### 4.1.2 Heterogeneity

***Baseline Beliefs.*** The effectiveness of discussions about masculinity may vary depending on individuals' initial beliefs about masculinity. Nevertheless, I do not find strong evidence that those with more masculine views at baseline have more rigid misperceptions (Table B11). Boys in the *Randomized* arm who agreed with the masculinity belief about crying at baseline have significantly smaller misperceptions immediately after treatment (Panel A, Columns 1 and 2), but this effect only persists for misperceptions about girls three weeks later. On the other hand, there is little evidence that agreeing with the masculinity belief about crying in the *Voluntary* arm or with beliefs about violence in either arm produces differential treatment effects. These findings suggest that interventions addressing misperceptions are likely to be similarly effective regardless of individuals' baseline beliefs about masculinity.

***School Location.*** The effects of masculinity discussions might vary depending on the school's exposure to violence, as norms regarding aggression and emotional expression could be more entrenched in high-violence environments.[20] Table B12 shows there are no strong differential treat-

[20] A caveat of this analysis is that even students enrolled in schools outside favela regions likely live in favelas (as discussed in Section 2), limiting the variation in actual violence exposure. Baseline misperceptions are similar across school types: 21pp vs. 23pp for crying beliefs in non-favela vs. favela schools ($p$=0.6), and 11pp vs. 15pp for violence beliefs ($p$=0.4). However, students in favela schools do have higher first-order beliefs about masculinity norms: they are 4pp more likely to agree with restrictive emotionality ($p$=0.05) and 6pp more likely to agree with aggression ($p$=0.03), suggesting some environmental influence on baseline attitudes even if misperceptions are

ment effects of the masculinity discussions depending on whether schools are located within favela regions or not, immediately and three weeks after. This lack of heterogeneity is encouraging, as it suggests the intervention's effectiveness is not diminished in environments where violence affects students lives more often. Even three weeks later, participants in favela schools do not revert to their prior misperceptions after returning to more violence-exposed environments, nor do they dismiss the discussions as irrelevant to their local context.

***Self-Expression Effects.*** I find that boys randomly selected to speak in the *Randomized* discussions have roughly 5pp lower misperceptions in the short-run, compared to those who did not speak (Figure A10, Panel a). Three weeks later, however, these effects reverse, and boys who speak have roughly a 10pp larger misperception than listeners in most domains (Panel b). Among girls, there is no strong evidence that speaking affects their misperceptions immediately after the discussion (Panel c), but they have suggestively lower misperceptions about crying three weeks later (Panel d). These findings suggest that speaking generates stronger updating for boys immediately after the discussion, which vanishes in the medium-run. On the other hand, for girls, speaking has some medium-run impacts on belief updating.

***Social Desirability.*** Social desirability bias does not drive the immediate and three weeks effects of the masculinity discussions on misperceptions. Empirically, social desirability bias could play a role if the effects of the discussions were stronger among people with high baseline scores of social desirability. However, the estimates in Table B13 suggest that having a high likelihood of giving socially desirable answers–measured by the Crowne and Marlowe (1960) social desirability index –do not predict statistically significant treatment effects on misperceptions. The only exception is in Panel C, where the coefficient on the interaction between *High Social Desirability Score* and *Voluntary* is significant; however the sign of the coefficient indicates misperceptions actually increased for those who score high on social desirability, suggesting it is not these students who drive the average reduction in misperceptions observed in the study.

## 4.2 Experiment 2

***Misperceived Social Norms.*** Boys and girls overestimate their peers' levels of agreement with beliefs about traditional masculinity to a similar extent as in Experiment 1 (Figure A11). Boys overestimate other boys' beliefs about crying and violence by 20pp and 13pp (Panel a, upper plots). These numbers come from the fact that boys guess that 32% and 26% of other boys agree with these beliefs, but only 12%, and 13% of boys actually agree with them. Boys overestimate girls' beliefs by a similar magnitude (Panel a, lower plots), and girls also systematically overestimate their peers' beliefs about masculinity (Panel b).

similar.

***Effects of Discussions With Friends.*** The masculinity discussions in which people choose who they want to be with reduce boys' misperceptions about other boys and reduce girls' misperceptions, but do not change boys' misperceptions about girls (Figure 5). Boys' average misperception about boys' beliefs about crying and violence reduce to 5pp and 7pp among the treated group, compared to 19pp and 12pp in the control group ($p<0.01$ and $p=0.1$, respectively). Boys' misperceptions about girls' beliefs about crying and about violence do not change ($p=0.33$ and $p=0.57$, respectively). The discussions are also effective in shifting girls' beliefs about boys' and girls' views (Panel b). Hence, differently from Experiment 1, masculinity discussions with selected peers do not reduce boys' misperceptions about girls' views, and reduce girls' misperceptions about other girls' views about violence.

***Sex Composition.*** The misperceptions of boys' in boys-only group reduce only regarding other boys' views about crying ($p = 0.01$), whereas boys' misperceptions about girls' views even increase in magnitude (Figure A12, Panel a). Once in groups with girls, boys' misperceptions reduce across all domains, except regarding girls' views about violence ($p = 0.45$). On the other hand, the effects of the discussions for girls are fairly similar depending on whether they are in girls-only or in mixed-sex groups, with girls' misperceptions about boys suggestively reducing even when they are in the girls-only groups (Panel b).[21]

***Discussion.*** The results from Experiment 2 shows that communication with chosen friends does not sustain the existence of misperceptions. Even when in boys-only groups, boys' misperceptions about other boys do not change, providing evidence against locker-room talks. Combined with the findings from Experiment 1, they suggest that a lack of communication with friends explain the existence of these misperceptions. In Section 5, I provide evidence for why natural communication does not take place.

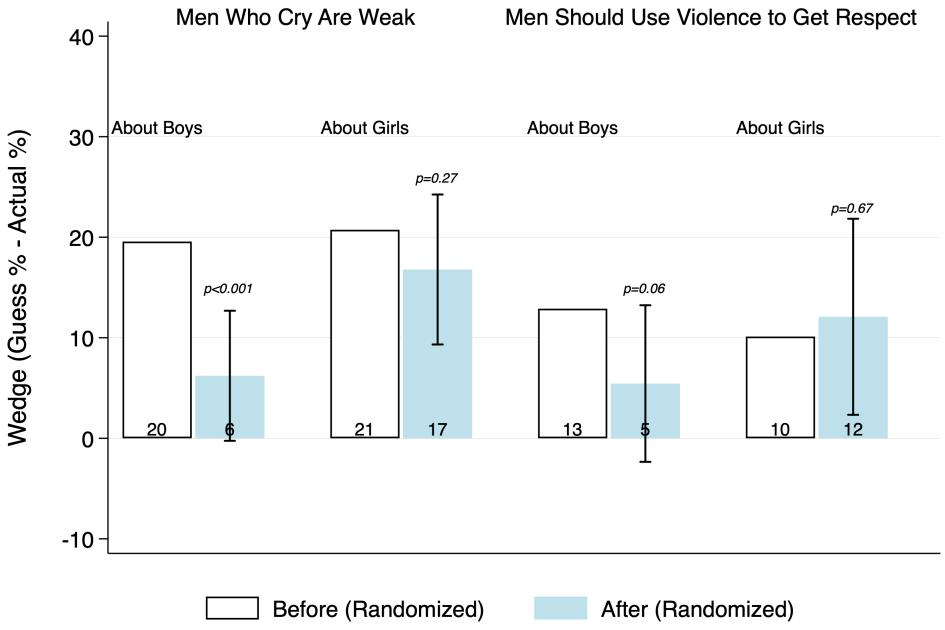
# 5 Why Don't Adolescents Talk About Masculinity?

Having shown causal evidence that adolescents do not talk about masculinity, I now provide suggestive evidence that miscalibrated views about how these conversations will go may hinder natural conversations. In Experiment 2, I asked adolescents to predict how interested and how comfortable they would feel in the conversations with their peers, on a 0 (not interested/not comfortable at all) to 10 (extremely interested/extremely comfortable) scale. I also asked how

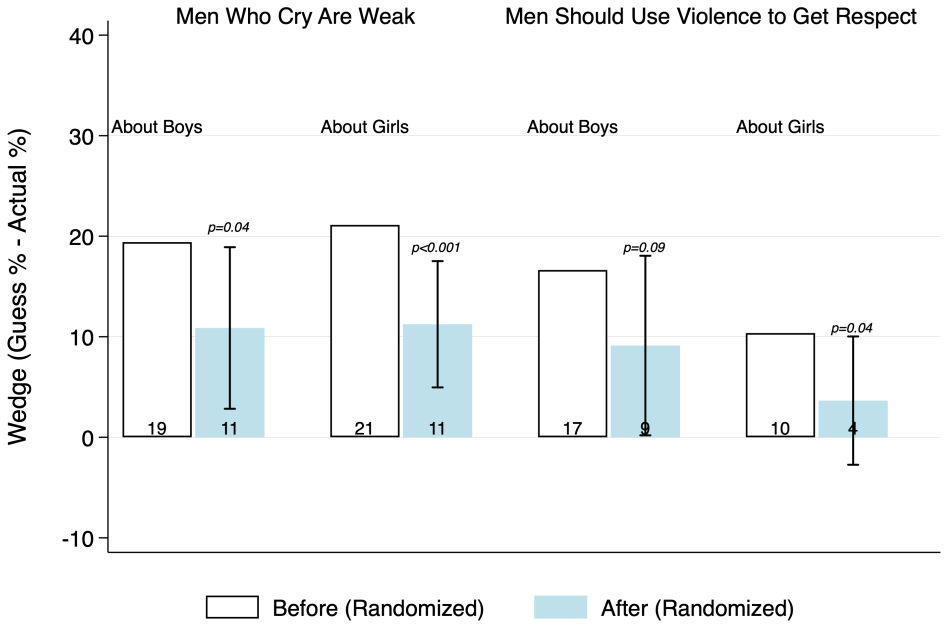
[21] Table B15 presents results from a pilot school where discussions occurred without any mediation. I find no effects of these unmediated discussions on misperceptions. This null result stems from a weak first stage: without mediation, adolescents did not discuss masculinity when prompted to do so. This suggests that some degree of facilitation is necessary to encourage these conversations—similar to how teachers structure classroom activities to ensure student engagement with the intended topic.

Figure 5: Discussions With Chosen Peers Reduce Misperceptions

(a) Boys




(b) Girls




*Notes*: This figure plots the treatment effects of the discussions in Experiment 2. The wedge is calculated as the average difference, in percentage points, between *(participants' guesses about the percentage of their male or female peers agreeing with each belief)* and *(the true percentage of participants agreeing with each belief at baseline)*. *Control* participants made the guesses before the discussion, and *Treated* participants made the guesses after the discussion. 95% confidence intervals plotted, from a regression of misperceptions on treatment status dummies, including school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

much their predicted emotional connection with their discussion peers would increase, from 1 - not increase at all to 5 - increase a lot. Participants made the predictions before choosing their group, but after reading the discussion instructions. After the discussions, they rated how the conversation actually went. This exercise was inspired by Kardas et al. (2022), who show that people overestimate how awkward deep conversations with strangers will be.

Within-individual comparisons before and after the masculinity discussions show that boys and girls significantly underestimate interest and comfort in these discussions (Figure 6). Before the discussions, boys' average self-reported interest was 5.4, increasing to 7.2 afterward (Panel A, $p<0.001$). 18% of boys said they were not interested at all before the discussions, compared to only 3.6% after. The share of boys saying they are extremely interested and comfortable nearly doubled, getting close to 40%. There was no significant change in increased perceived connection with peers, which remained stable at 3.5. Girls show similar patterns of underestimation (Panel B). Baseline correlations indicate that a 1sd increase in declared interest and comfort in the discussions increases the likelihood of talking about masculinity by about 6% ($p=0.02$ for interest and $p=0.06$ for comfort).

In addition, 37% of boys and 14% of girls report in open-text responses that they are not interested in these discussions or that they would not feel comfortable talking about it.[22] After participating in discussions, this subgroup shows particularly large updates: declared interest increased by 2.4 points ($p<0.001$) and comfort by 3 points ($p<0.001$). Another 24% of boys and 12% of girls report not knowing why they avoid these discussions, and they also significantly improve their perceptions after participating.

These findings suggest that adolescents have miscalibrated expectations about conversations with daily peers, extending beyond Kardas et al. (2022) findings about conversations with strangers. These miscalibrated expectations create a self-reinforcing cycle: adolescents avoid conversations about masculinity because they anticipate discomfort, which prevents them from learning their peers' true opinions, and perpetuating misperceptions. However, when encouraged to engage in these discussions, adolescents positively update their expectations, suggesting this cycle can be interrupted through structured opportunities for communication.

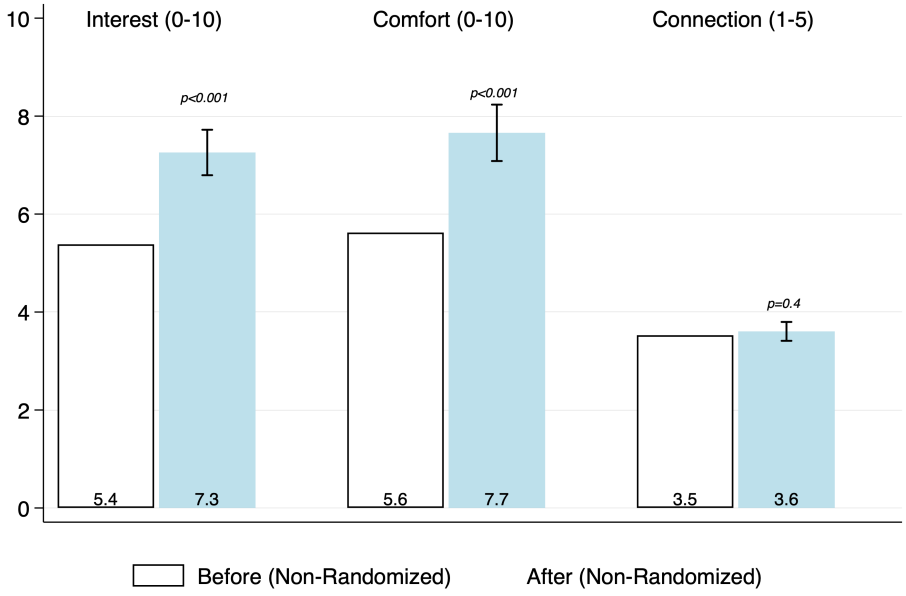
# 6 Downstream Outcomes

So far, I showed that encouraging communication reduces misperceptions about others' masculinity norms. A natural follow-up question is whether the discussions had an impact on other outcomes. In this section, I present treatment effects for three sets of outcomes: first-order beliefs, behaviors and social image concerns.

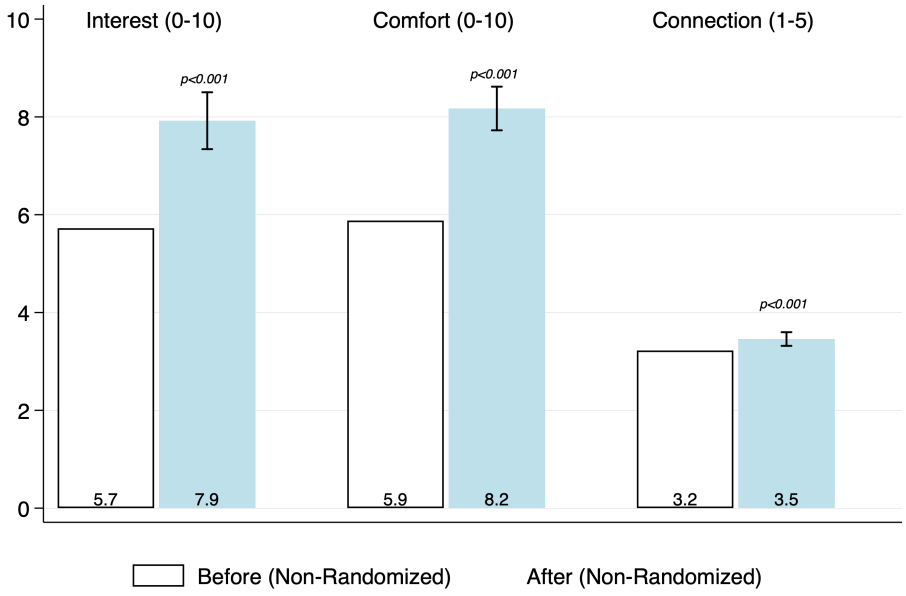
[22] This was a follow-up question for those who answered "No" to the question "*Do you talk about what society expects of men*". It was asked before they declared their interest and comfort in the discussions.

Figure 6: Boys and Girls Underestimate Interest and Comfort in the Masculinity Discussions

(a) Boys




(b) Girls




*Notes*: This figure plots participants' impressions about the discussions before and after they took place, based on N = 167 boys and N = 192 girls in Experiment 2. They read the following on their survey: *Now, we are going to ask you to talk to your friends about your opinions on what society expects from a man. Before you start the conversation, please answer the following questions silently: 1. How interested are you in listening to your friends' opinions about this topic? (from 0-not interested at all to 10-Very interested), 2. How comfortable do you think you will feel during these conversations? (from 0-not comfortable at all to 10-Very comfortable) , 3. How much more connected do you think you will feel with your friends after the discussion (from 1-a lot less connected to 5-a lot more connected.* After the discussions, they answered, on the same scales: *1. How interesting was it for you to listen to your friends' opinions?, 2. How comfortable did you feel during these conversations?, 3. How much more connected do you think you will feel with your friends after the discussion?*. The p-values come from a regression comparing the scores before and after, including individual fixed effects.

***First-Order Beliefs.*** Do the masculinity discussions make adolescents' first-order beliefs less masculine? That is, can adolescents be persuaded upon learning their peers' opinions? Immediately after the discussions in Experiment 1, treated boys and girls become about 50% less likely to agree with the beliefs about crying, compared to the control mean (Table B16 - Panel A Columns 1 and 2). There are no significant effects on the beliefs about violence (Panel A Columns 3 and 4). Effects are statistically indistinguishable across the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* arms. Three weeks after the discussions, boys' in the *Randomized* arm are 50% less likely to agree with the beliefs about crying and violence, but the views for boys in the *Voluntary* arm do not change (Table B16 - Panel B Columns 1 and 3). The masculinity discussions only change girls' views about men crying immediately after the discussions, but have no effects on the violence beliefs or three weeks later (Table B16 - Panel B, Columns 2 and 4). The absence of belief change for girls likely happens because girls' views are, in the first place, considerably less masculine than boys' views. Discussions with friends in Experiment 2, on the other hand, do not change boys' beliefs about masculinity (Figure B17, Columns 1 and 3), whereas girls' beliefs about men crying become about 50% less masculine (Column 2). Hence, open classroom discussions may be more effective at persuading others.

***Behavioral Outcomes.*** Do the masculinity discussions lead to behavioral changes among boys? Three weeks after the discussions in Experiment 1, there are no significant effects on boys' self- and peer-reported behaviors (see Appendix C.2.3 for a full description of these outcomes). Table B18 shows that the treatment has point estimates close to zero on self-reported involvement in violence (Column 1), crying in front of a friend (Column 2) and having a deep conversation (Column 3). To account for potential response biases common in self-reported measures (e.g. social desirability, experimenter demand effects), Table B19 (Panel A) presents treatment effects on behavioral outcomes using peer reports. Corroborating the findings on self-reported behaviors, I find no evidence that the discussion treatments impacted peer-reported measures of negative masculine behaviors (Panel A, Columns 1 to 3). In addition, the masculinity discussions did not improve boys' positive masculine behaviors (Panel A, Columns 4 to 7). If anything, treated boys became 4% less respectful toward girls (Panel A, Column 6) compared to control boys ($p$=0.08). Some reporters were also treated, which could bias the reporting. For example, the masculinity sessions could increase the salience through which reporters notice these behaviors, thus driving estimates downward. To account for this, Table B19 (Panel B) presents treatment effects on peer-reported behaviors considering reporters in the control group only. Besides being statistically non-significant, point estimates are small, corroborating the absence of effects on behavior.[23]

[23]Nevertheless, adolescents hypothetical behaviors and attitudes immediately after treatment, measured through vignettes, become considerably less supportive of masculine behaviors (see Appendix C.2.2 for a full description of the vignettes). Boys and girls report they would act less masculine (Figure B20, Columns 1 and 2), become less likely to support masculine behaviors (Figure B20, Columns 3 and 4), and less likely to believe their peers were supportive of masculine behaviors (Columns 5 and 6).

Could learning school peers' opinions about masculinity make adolescents more likely to disseminate such messages on social media, where other people in their social network (e.g. family members, outside of school friends) could see it? In the three weeks survey, I ask adolescents to post a positive message about masculinity on their Instagram (see Appendix C.2.3 for a description). The Instagram post captures a public behavior that goes beyond the school community. Table B21 shows that boys and girls who participated in the masculinity discussions do not become more likely to post such messages on their Instagram. This suggests that adolescents are not willing to share such messages to a broader audience, even though (i) they privately support these views, and (ii) they just learned most of their school peers also support these views.

The behaviors elicited in Experiment 1 are low-incidence behaviors, happening at about 10% rate among the control group. In such case, behavioral changes might take longer and need reinforcement to take place. In Experiment 2, I ask about behaviors that could be more likely to happen: willingness to serve as a support group and to be an anti-bullying agent at school (see Appendix C.2.4 for a description of these outcomes). While the experiment is underpowered to detect effects on these outcomes (N = 167 boys), Table B22 (Column 1) shows that discussions with friends suggestively increase boys' willingness to serve as a peer support for other boys at school by 6% ($p$=0.31). On the other hand, boys' willingness to be an anti-bullying agent at school do not change (Table B22, Column 2).

***Social Image Concerns.*** Boys might change public behaviors to conform to what is expected of them. Hence, social image concerns might be relevant in this context, especially after learning than their peers are less masculine than what they had initially predicted. To test this, I employ a survey experiment embedded in the survey immediately after the discussions, following Bursztyn and Jensen (2015). I ask participants when was the last time they cried, the last time they initiated a physical fight, and I use a Joy of Destruction game (Abbink and Sadrieh 2009) to measure antisocial behavior, randomizing whether these responses were private or public to the other people int he room (see Appendix C.2.2 for a description). Table B23 presents the results for social image concerns: there are no significant effects of the masculinity discussions on reducing social image concerns. Nevertheless, the magnitudes suggestively indicate that the masculinity discussions fully offset social image concerns.

# 7 Discussion: Summary and Implications

This paper finds that a lack of communication with peers sustains misperceived norms in equilibrium: encouraging communication reduces misperceptions regardless of who speaks. I provide further evidence that a lack of communication happens because of miscalibrated expectations about interest and comfort in these discussions. This creates a self-reinforcing cycle: incorrect

beliefs about how these conversation are prevent the very discussions that would correct misperceptions. Hence, encouraging conversations can break the cycle that sustains misperceived norms in equilibrium.

A lack of communication is likely a fundamental driver of misperceptions across multiple domains, particularly where socially acceptable views are widely held but not widely discussed. This paper identifies a key mechanism: miscalibrated expectations about conversation dynamics create a self-reinforcing cycle of avoidance, which could explain persistent misperceptions in other domains such as help-seeking behaviors (Roth et al., 2024), discrimination (Webb, 2024), and politically sensitive topics (Ho and Huang, 2024). The efficacy of communication interventions in reducing misperceptions, however, may depend on which voices predominate in discussions. When minority voices dominate discussions—as observed with liberals opposing police defunding or conservatives supporting deportation (Bursztyn et al., 2023)—randomly selecting speakers would yield more representative narratives. Conversely, in contexts where social image concerns are strong, such as in topics related to political correctness, speakers could share public opinions that do not align with their private ones (Braghieri, 2024). In such cases, offering anonymous polling platforms that enable those with privately held views to coordinate without social costs would be necessary.

My findings with adolescents also leave open the question of whether there is a particular age when encouraging discussions could be most effective. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to answer this question, I briefly discuss that early adolescence may be an important stage for encouraging such discussions, in the context of masculinity norms. In an exploratory survey with N=40 adult males (37 years old on average),[24] I find that adults have twice as large second-order beliefs as teenagers (≈60%), while having similar first-order beliefs about masculinity (≈10%), resulting in average misperceptions of ≈50pp. This is consistent with evidence from the developmental psychology literature (Way et al. 2014), which shows qualitative longitudinal evidence that the second-order beliefs increase as adolescents transition into adulthood. Similarly, in global data collected in 35 countries among adults, we find that being above 40 years old is associated with a 7pp larger ($p<0.000$) second-order belief about other men's masculinity norms, whereas first-order beliefs about masculinity norms do not increase with age, suggesting that misperceptions about others' masculinity norms increases with age (Baranov et al. 2025). While more work is needed to establish these results for adults, early adolescence seems to be a lower bound for misperceptions about others' masculinity norms, and an important age for interventions that encourage discussions to demystify these misperceptions. Because adolescents have more malleable views than adults (Kohlberg 1976; Markus and Nurius 1986), such interventions can

[24] I surveyed 30- to 50-year-old males in two favelas in Rio de Janeiro before Experiment 1 started. Hence, this is a similar population to my sample, as the adolescents from public schools in Rio are likely to live in favelas. I asked adults whether they agree or not with the same masculinity beliefs about crying and violence. I then asked them to predict the percent of men and women in their community who they think agree with each belief.

break the self-reinforcing cycle that sustains misperceptions from an early age.

Finally, even though the masculinity discussions lead to significantly lower misperceptions three weeks later, they do not produce meaningful behavioral changes related to deeply ingrained expressions of restrictive emotionality and aggression. Their low baseline incidence (≈10%) makes them particularly resistant to change compared to more policy-relevant behaviors such as women's labor force participation (Bursztyn et al., 2020). Consistent with the discussion in Bursztyn and Yang (2022), correcting misperceptions may not immediately translate to behavioral changes, indicating some rigidity in this relationship, particularly for behaviors not measured immediately after the intervention. It is likely that behavioral changes need reinforcement and longer term interventions to take place (as in Dhar et al. 2022).

# 8 Conclusion

In a recent book, Way (2024) calls for policies to dismantle misperceptions about traditional masculinity norms and promote conversations among boys and men. In this paper, I find that, indeed, a lack of communication with peers is a source of misperceived masculinity norms among adolescents. Including such discussions in school curriculum is a cost-effective, scalable approach, as teachers could play the role of mediators. Targeting early adolescence—when boys start the transition from boyhood to manhood—appears crucial for preventing the solidification of these misperceptions as they become adults (Way, 2011).

This paper leaves several open questions for future research. First, would discussions of similar type lead to behavioral changes related to mental health and involvement in violence if they are longer and happen more often? Second, how do masculinity norms and perceptions about these norms change over one's life cycles and what types of life shocks shape these norms? Third, how to encourage natural conversations about masculinity? Fourth, what would be the outcomes of masculinity discussions among a population of adults? That is, would selection into speaking about masculinity among adults be different than among teenagers? Finally, how do adolescents form their perceptions about others' masculinity norms, if not from their school peers' opinions? This is especially relevant with the rise of masculinist influencers in social media, which propagate misogynous content and traditional views of manhood as being superior.

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# *ONLINE APPENDIX*

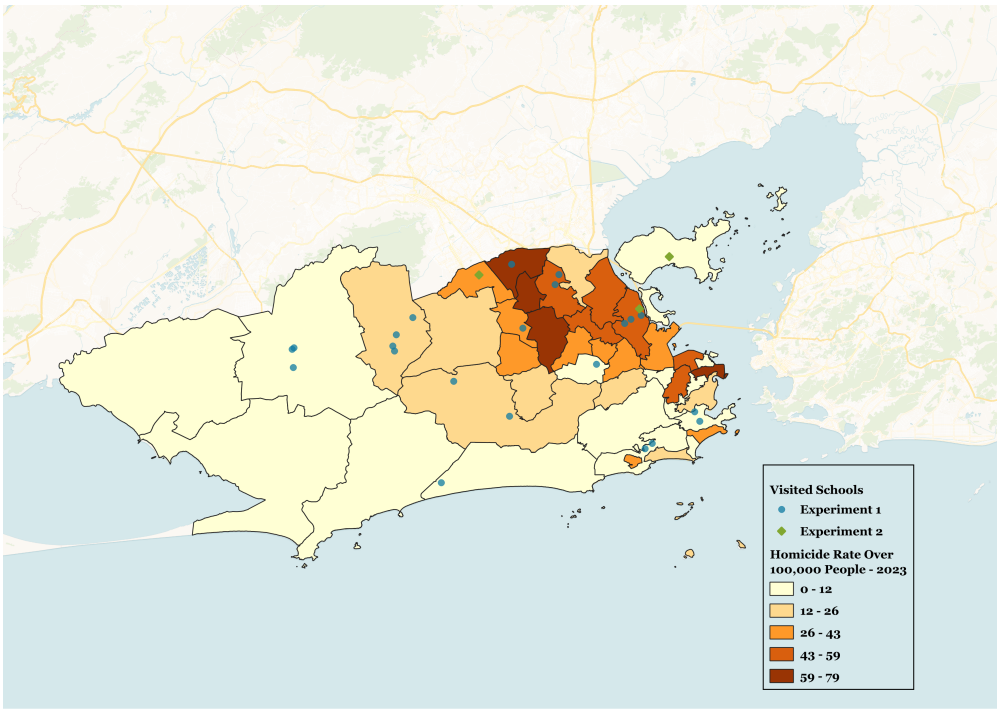
## We Don't Talk About Boys: Masculinity Norms Among Adolescents in Brazil

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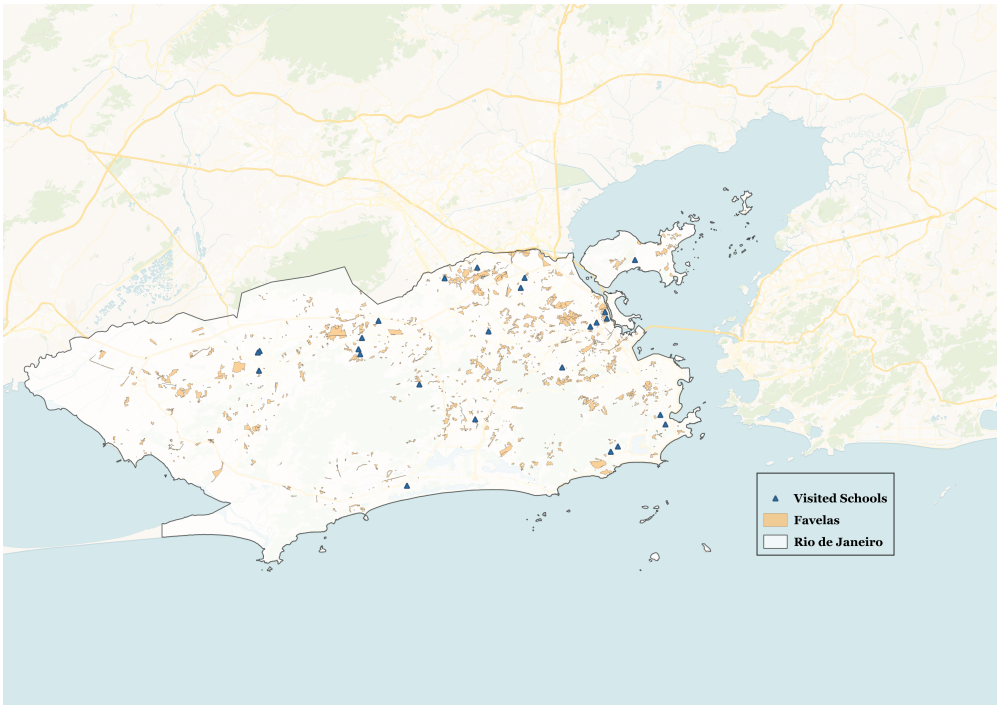
# Online Appendix A: Supplementary Figures

Figure A1: Study Schools Location and Exposure to Violence

(a) Schools and Homicide Rate By Region




(b) Schools and Favela Boundaries




*Notes:* This figure plots a map of Rio de Janeiro, indicating the participating schools in Experiments 1 and 2. The colors in Panel A represent the 2023 official homicides rate per 100,000 people in each police region, obtained from the Institute of Public Security of Rio de Janeiro. The shaded areas in Panel B represent favela (e.g., regions dominated by drug gangs) boundaries.

Figure A2: Experiment 1 Discussion Setting



Figure A3: Observers' Form

SCHOOL: _____
CLASSROOM: _____
MEDIATOR: _____
TIME (IN MINUTES): _____

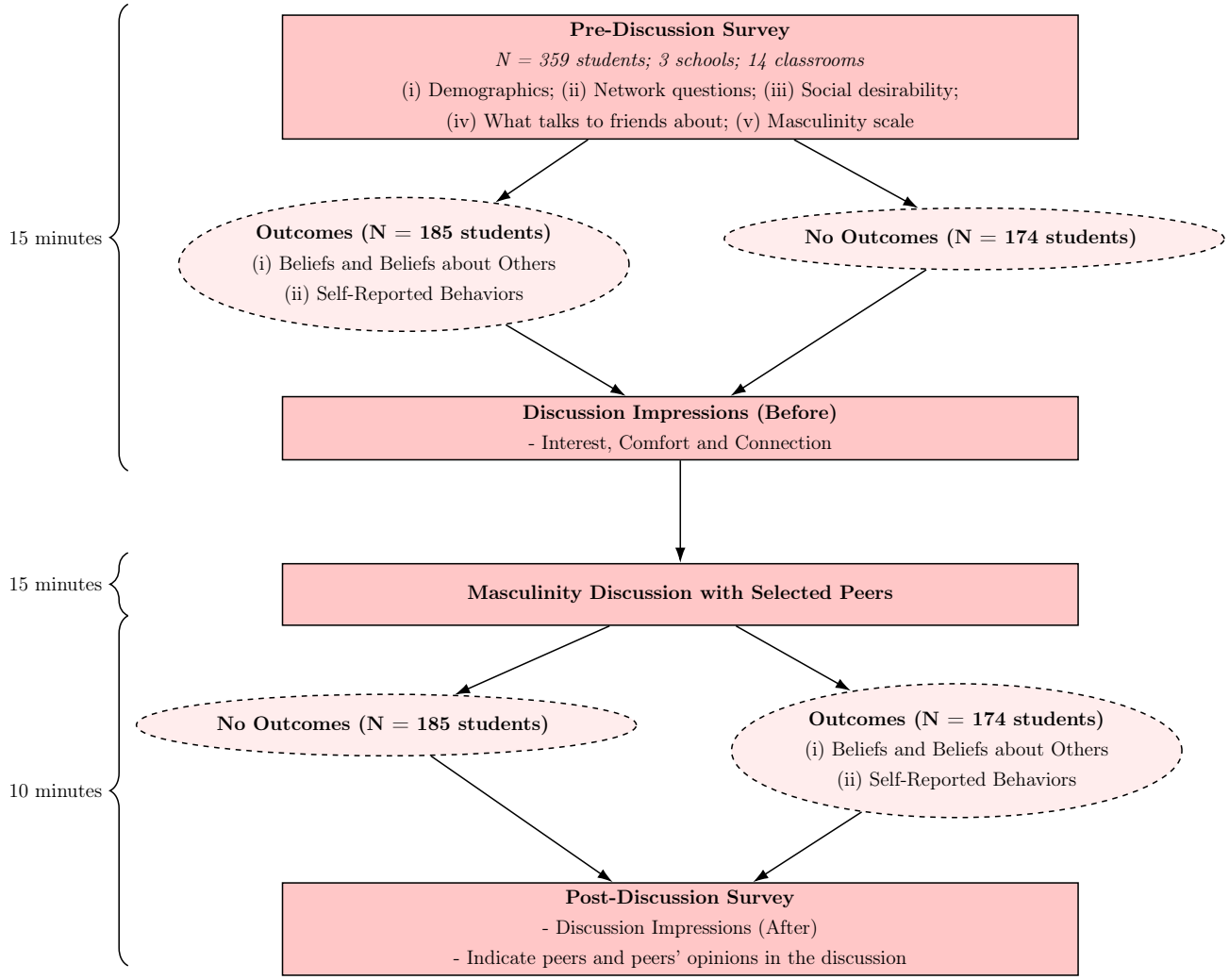
| STUDENT NUMBER (IDENTIFIER) | STATEMENT | AGREED? | KEY-WORDS | | QUOTES | PERSONAL EXAMPLES | OTHER NOTES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men who cry are weak | YES<br>NO<br>UNCERTAIN | Family environment<br>Use of alcohol or drugs<br>Psychological problems<br>Emotional imbalance | Everybody has feelings<br>When is mad<br>When is cheated on | | | |
| | Men should use violence to get respect if necessary | YES<br>NO<br>UNCERTAIN | Family environment<br>Use of alcohol or drugs<br>Psychological problems<br>Emotional imbalance | Everybody has feelings<br>When is mad<br>When is cheated on | | | |
| | Men who cry are weak | YES<br>NO<br>UNCERTAIN | Family environment<br>Use of alcohol or drugs<br>Psychological problems<br>Emotional imbalance | Everybody has feelings<br>When is mad<br>When is cheated on | | | |
| | Men should use violence to get respect if necessary | YES<br>NO<br>UNCERTAIN | Family environment<br>Use of alcohol or drugs<br>Psychological problems<br>Emotional imbalance | Everybody has feelings<br>When is mad<br>When is cheated on | | | |
| | Men who cry are weak | YES<br>NO<br>UNCERTAIN | Family environment<br>Use of alcohol or drugs<br>Psychological problems<br>Emotional imbalance | Everybody has feelings<br>When is mad<br>When is cheated on | | | |
| | Men should use violence to get respect if necessary | YES<br>NO<br>UNCERTAIN | Family environment<br>Use of alcohol or drugs<br>Psychological problems<br>Emotional imbalance | Everybody has feelings<br>When is mad<br>When is cheated on | | | |

GENERAL NOTES:

**GROUP BEHAVIOR:**

Dominant boys
Dominant girls
Shy group
Conversation took time to happen
Engaged group
Wanted to debate
Much laughter/jokes

Figure A4: Experimental Design - Experiment 2



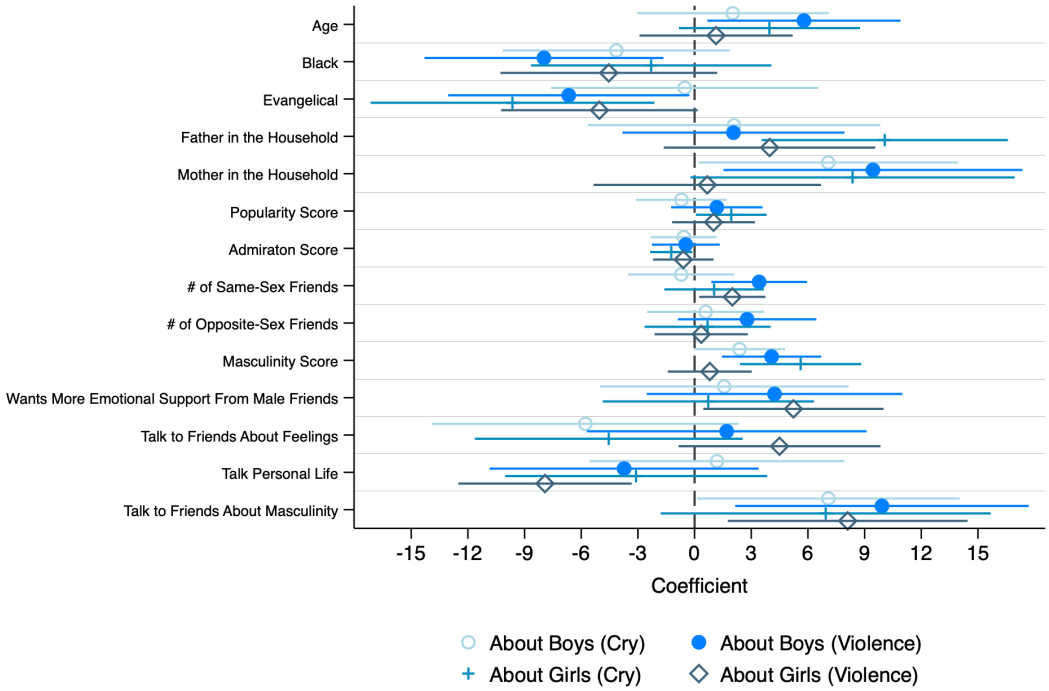

*Notes*: This figure presents the design of the supplementary experiment. All participants engaged in a discussion about masculinity with peers they selected. To estimate the causal effects of the discussion, I randomized the outcome variables elicitation to be before or after it, stratified by sex.

Figure A5: Experiment 2 Discussion Setting

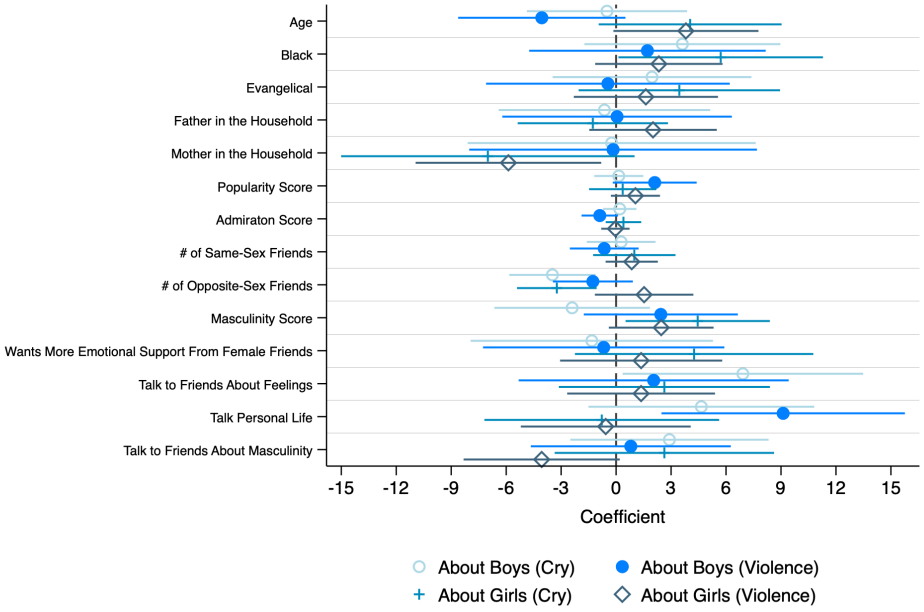


Figure A6: Correlates of Mispercepetions

(a) Boys



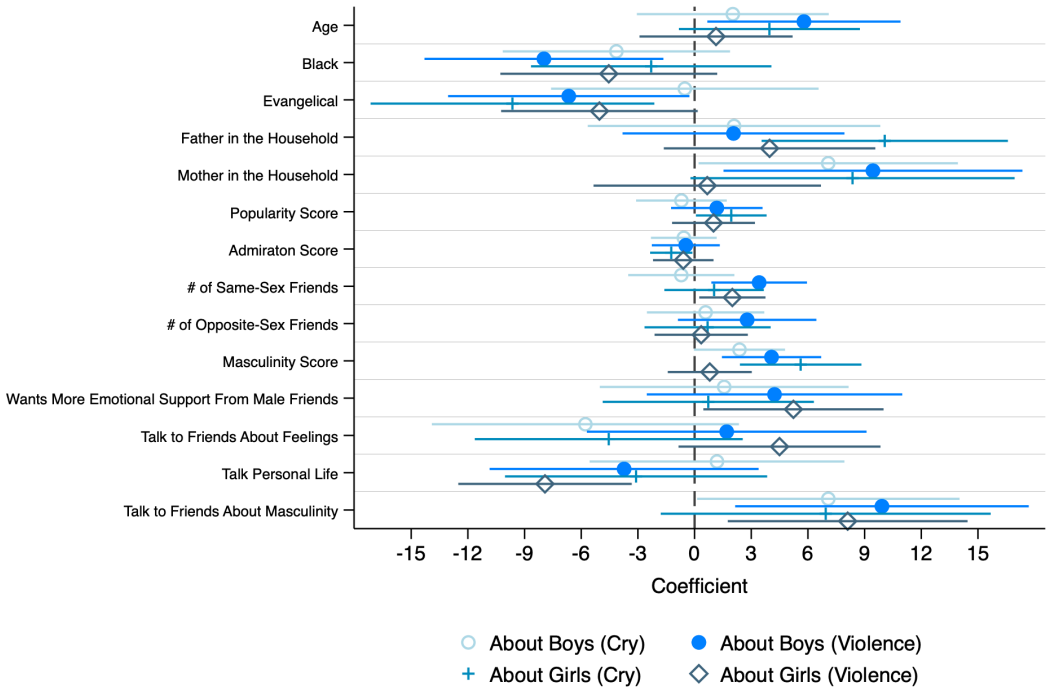

(b) Girls



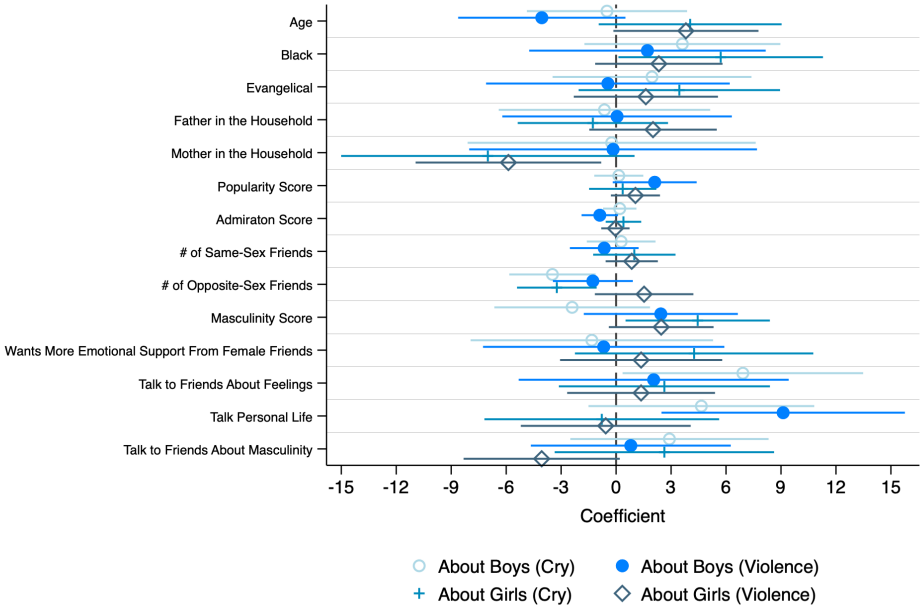

*Note*: This figure plots the regression coefficients of the boys' (Panel a) and girls' (Panel b) misperceptions about crying and violence on a series of baseline characteristics. The sample consists of boys (N=328) and girls (N=376) in the control group. The regressions include school-classroom fixed effects. The bars represent 90% confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered at the school-classroom level.

Figure A7: Change in Misperceptions Between the Immediate and the Three Weeks Follow Up, Among the Control Group

(a) Boys




(b) Girls

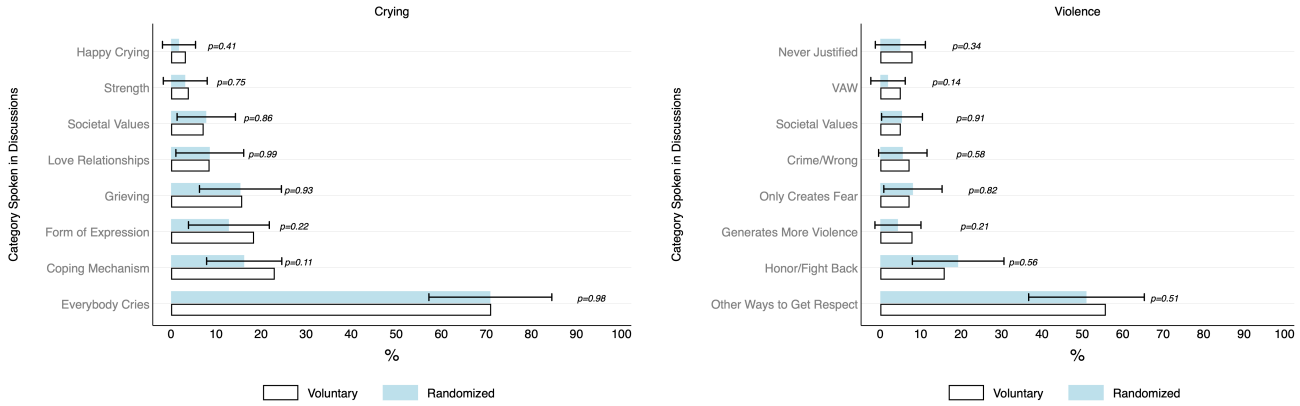



*Note*: This figure shows changes in misperceptions over time within the control group. The plot displays regression coefficients comparing wedges measured at the three-week endline versus the immediate endline. Each coefficient represents the effect of: (1) time alone (top row), (2) having at least one treated boyfriend and time (middle row), or (3) having at least one treated girlfriend and time (bottom row). All regressions include individual fixed effects. Horizontal bars indicate 90% confidence intervals, with standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level. A negative coefficient suggests that misperceptions decreased over time, potentially indicating information spillover from treated peers.

Figure A8: Narratives to Justify Opinions During the Masculinity Sessions

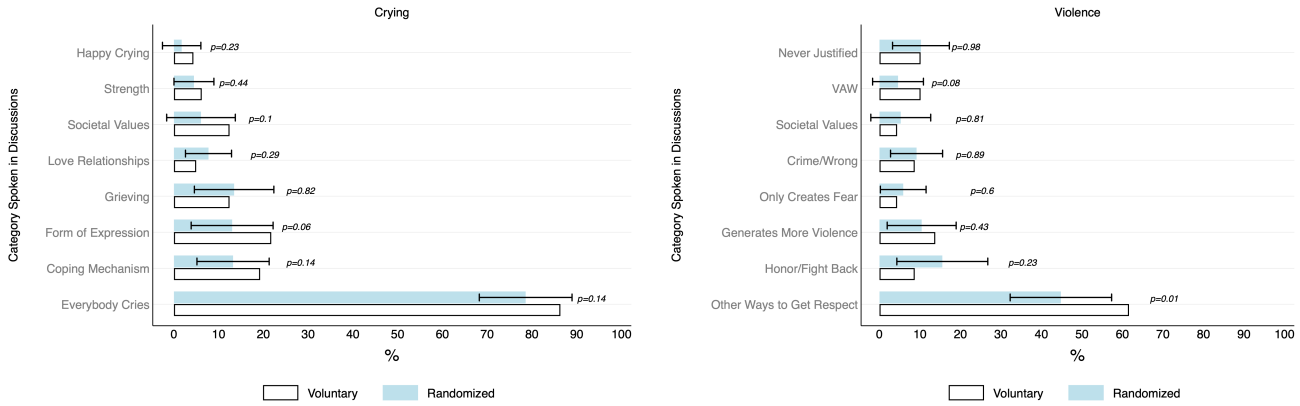
(a) Boys - Men Who Cry Are Weak

(b) Boys - Men Should Use Violence




(c) Girls - Men Who Cry Are Weak

(d) Girls - Men Should Use Violence




*Notes*: This figure plots the distribution of topics discussed in the masculinity discussions, separated by boys and girls and by discussion type (i.e. *Voluntary* and *Randomized*). The bars represent the percentage of times a topic was mentioned. Next to each bar I present the p-values of a t-test comparing the *Voluntary* and *Randomized* means. Note that the categories were not mutually exclusive, so the sum within each group is above 100%.

Figure A9: Examples of Opinions Shared in the Masculinity Discussions

(a) *Men Who Cry are Weak*

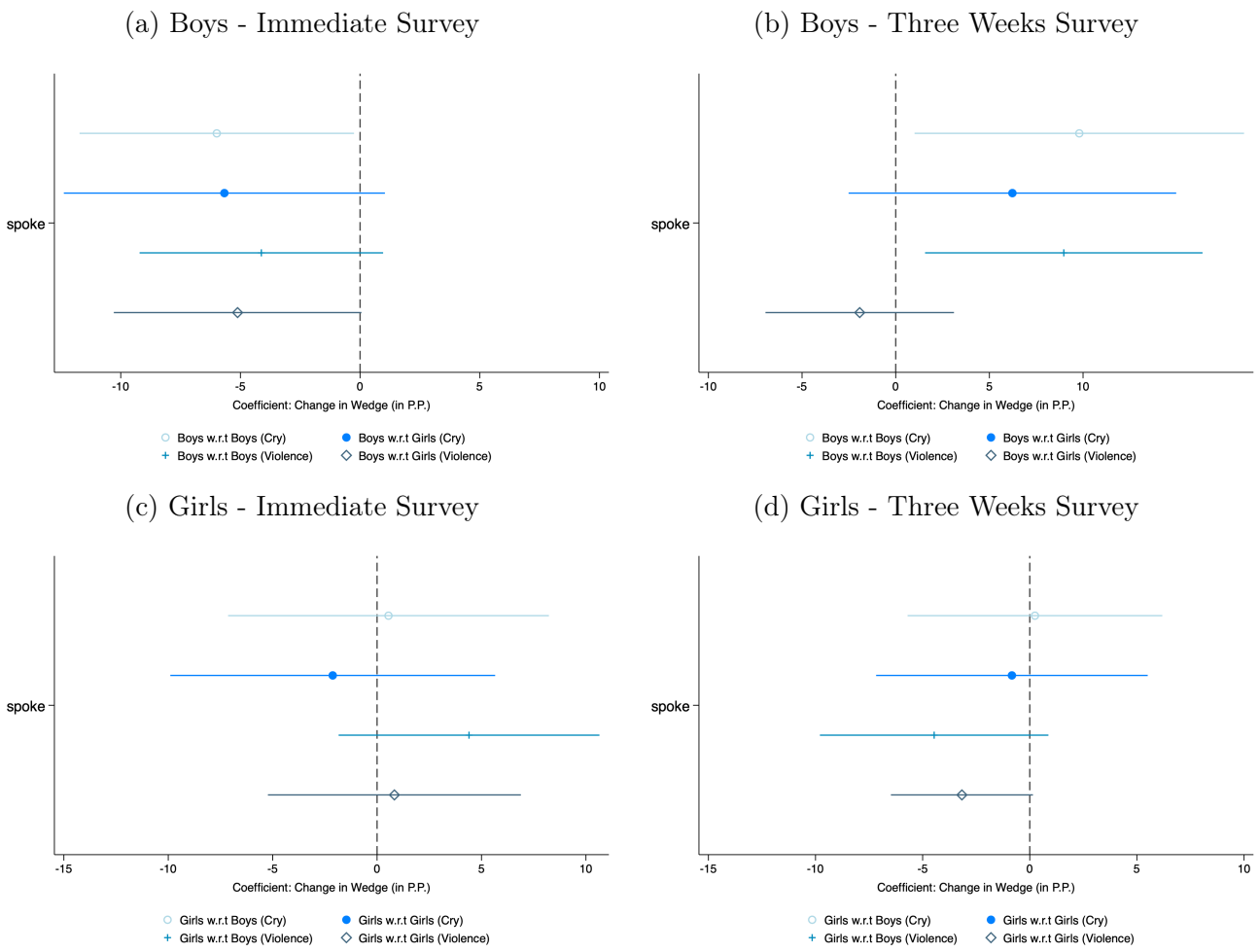
| | *Voluntary* | *Randomized* |
|---|---|---|
| ***Boys*** | "Crying is something natural, everyone is human, people judge men as feminine for crying"<br>"I think it's bad to cry in front of others. I think that if you have a problem and want to cry, you have to move away from others to cry"<br>"It depends on the occasion, men who cry alone think more about those around them, men who cry in front of someone cry because they trust that person"<br>"If someone cries there is a cause, crying is not weakness, they judge men for crying without knowing the reason, men are judged for crying"<br>"It is a necessity if you are feeling pain, in a delicate situation you will break down and cry or you will talk to someone"<br>"Liking someone and that someone likes another person."<br>"Crying is essential, crying relieves pain, after crying we feel lighter"<br>"I cry when I get beaten"<br>"Crying in front of people would make them worried." | "Someone who cries can also have character and be strong, crying is not weakness, men can also act according to the facts"<br>"When someone shows feelings it shows they are a strong person, they cry for a greater reason, when they lose a relative, when a friend suffers a car accident"<br>"Men have feelings and can cry just like women, they cry from disappointment and jealousy"<br>"(crying) does not interfere with dignity"<br>"When losing a family member, when losing a childhood friend"<br>"Still remains a man; nothing changes"<br>"Depends on the reason why they're crying"<br>"Men have feelings too" |
| ***Girls*** | "Boys are raised hearing from their parents not to cry"<br>"Everyone has their right to have their feelings and their moment, personal reasons, when they get something they cry with happiness, when someone comes to fight they cry with anger, when someone says a word that hurts they cry with sadness"<br>"Showing feelings is a sign of strength, a person who keeps to themselves can't cry and express themselves"<br>"There's no logic in not crying because you're a man, many men don't cry for fear of what others will think"<br>"Crying is independent of gender and color, it's part of us, anyone can feel, everyone has the right to feel what they want"<br>"Weakness is feeling strong all the time, courage to cry and feel the feelings"<br>"Everyone releases through crying, everyone was born crying, everyone will have a romantic disappointment, crying for love" | "The view that a man is weak for crying is imposed by older family members, it's a very idiotic view"<br>"Things happen in life that can make you feel bad, insecurity, something inside the home"<br>"Crying is not synonymous with weakness, crying is synonymous with showing your feelings, you don't have to keep your feelings inside"<br>"Men don't have to be strong all the time, if you like someone you will feel, cry for losing important people, men don't need to be strong for everything"<br>"A boy crying is not something different from a woman, everyone has their reason, everyone has problems, boys call others who cry 'suckers' instead of helping, they mock before knowing/asking what is happening"<br>"Crying is natural and it doesn't matter if you are a man, we live in a society that influences this type of thinking, since ancient times you see that men cry, in the Bible there are passages where men cry, as in Job and in David"<br>"Men will not always be soldiers, soldiers are presented as typical strong men, everyone feels sadness, cries when they lose someone" |

(b) *Men Should Use Violence to get Respect if Necessary*

| | *Voluntary* | *Randomized* |
|---|---|---|
| ***Boys*** | "It depends on the situation, you should never use violence for nothing, if the woman screamed and hit you, you don't have to fight back, it's never good to hit a woman, it's never good to hit anyone"<br>"Fear is different from respect, respect is a two-way relationship, violence in the case that the girl wore clothes that her husband didn't leave and she ended up being stabbed"<br>"In Russia they are not respecting each other, it is not right to use violence to be respected, war is an example that nobody is respecting each other in practice, respect is politeness, it does not resolve to fight back"<br>"It is not always necessary, but sometimes it is necessary, better to resolve it with words and conversation"<br>"To be respected, you have to respect others, there's no way you can want something that you don't practice, respect is built and not imposed"<br>"Respect is not something violent, respect is earned, to have respect you don't need verbal or physical violence, violence when a man wants to control a woman's clothes and beats her to have respect"<br>"Violence outside the proper place is wrong, using violence just to protect yourself or someone else" | "if you don't accept or don't like what the other does, just leave"<br>"Sometimes to defend yourself it's right, to use violence only as a defense"<br>"You can be respected when you respect others"<br>"Once in a while you have to use violence, if someone attacks you have to fight back"<br>"It depends on the moment, if the man is teased he will react, return in the same coin or worse"<br>"No one should use violence, it doesn't solve anything, it has to be solved with dialogue"<br>"(instead of violence) Offering support, help, dominance nature"<br>"Violence breeds more violence. Dialogue is important."<br>"Jesus taught that we should love and respect others"<br>"Violence only makes things worse, it generates a lack of respect, in the fight nothing is solved" |
| ***Girls*** | "Violence is not the key to solving things, dispute between men generates more violence"<br>"Respect comes from home from mom and dad"<br>"They wouldn't want others to be violent with them"<br>"In case of defense, he can hit. But also thinks it's important to try to talk"<br>"Nothing is resolved in aggression, aggression only makes things worse, conversation is always the best option, when there is a fight between husband and wife, the man ends up in the police station and the woman is beaten, aggression against the woman"<br>"Respect must be earned not forced, respect is earned through attitudes, legal speech, dialogue and conversation, no violence"<br>"People think that a man has to have authority and that he uses violence for that, but that's not it"<br>"Violence is not something certain, it can end up having a more serious accident, everything has to be resolved in maturity and in conversation"<br>"Violence is wrong, violence is stupid, it's wrong for a man to attack a person for no reason, he has to be calm and respect people and their opinion, everyone has their opinion"<br>"Violence has nothing to do with respect; among men they earn respect" | "You have to treat the other as you would like to be treated, you don't have to use profanity or physical violence to be respected"<br>"When you use violence, you act like a child, it's wrong to be violent, you have to sit down and talk"<br>"Sometimes yes, if you are in danger or need to fight back to defend yourself"<br>"It's machismo to react against women, you don't need violence, you have to act with respect and kindness"<br>"Basically talking solves everything, aggression only makes things worse, violence brings worse things to people and others"<br>"No way if you use violence, you can solve it through arguments, hitting someone is something out of control, you have to use home education to be respected"<br>"Respect to be respected; respect for others who think differently"<br>"Violence does not generate respect, it generates fear, which is a false respect"<br>"inversion of values - generates fear and not respect"<br>"(violence is) Valid in some situations" |

*Notes*: This figure presents some verbatim quotes (translated from Portuguese to English) shared during the discussions regarding their opinions about "men who cry are weak" (Panel a) and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary" (Panel b).

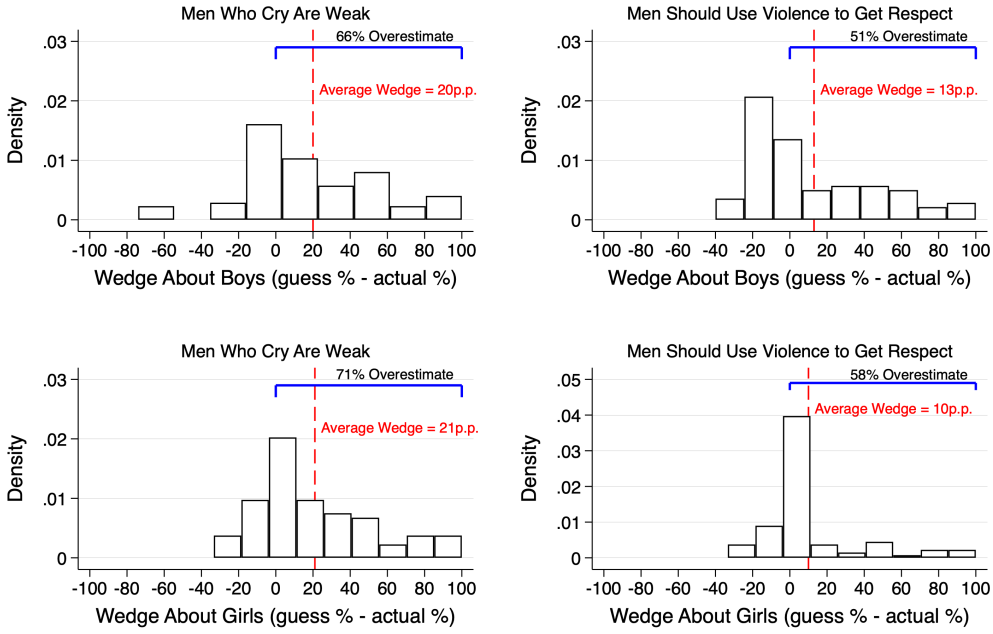
Figure A10: Causal Effects of Speaking vs Listening in the *Randomized* Discussions



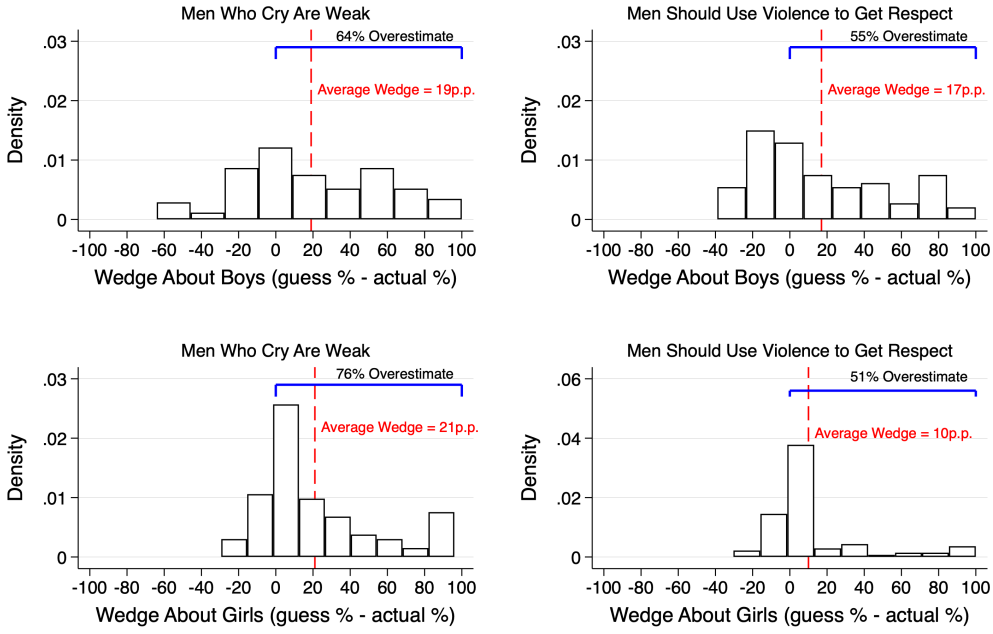

*Notes*: This figure plots the coefficients on the effects of speaking in the *Randomized* discussions. The coefficients are from an IV regression, in which I instrument the realized speaking in the regression by the theoretical random assignment for speaking. The dependent variables are the immediate (Panels a and c) three weeks misperceptions (Panels b and d). I control for the misperception at the immediate survey in the regressions for the three weeks misperceptions. All regressions include school-fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Figure A11: Distribution of Guesses About Peers' Masculinity Beliefs

(a) Boys



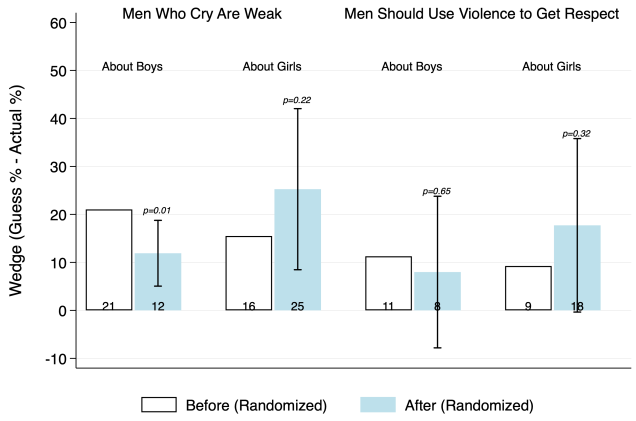

(b) Girls



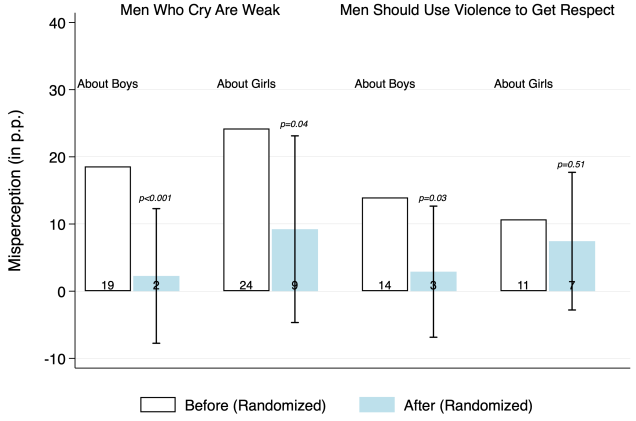

*Notes*: This figure plots the distribution of wedges, among the control group in Experiment 2, in perceptions about the beliefs of their male and female classmates regarding "men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary". Wedges are calculated as the difference between a respondent guess about the percent of boys or girls in their classroom agreeing with each belief and the actual percent of boys or girls in a classroom agreeing with them. The sample consists of 90 boys and 95 boys in the control group (i.e., those randomized to answer the second-order beliefs question before the masculinity discussion).

Figure A12: Effects By Sex Composition of the Group (Experiment 2)

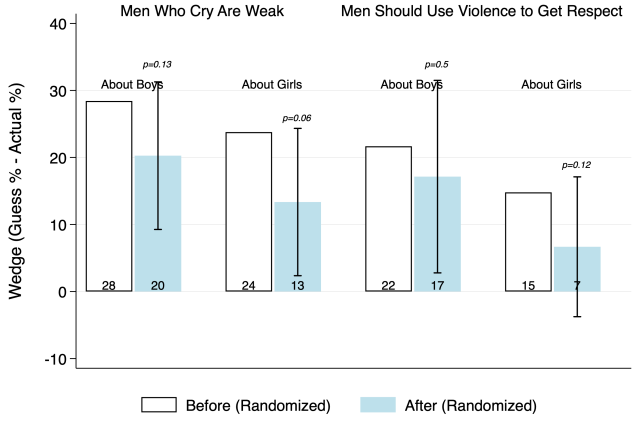
(a) Boys in Boys' Only Group



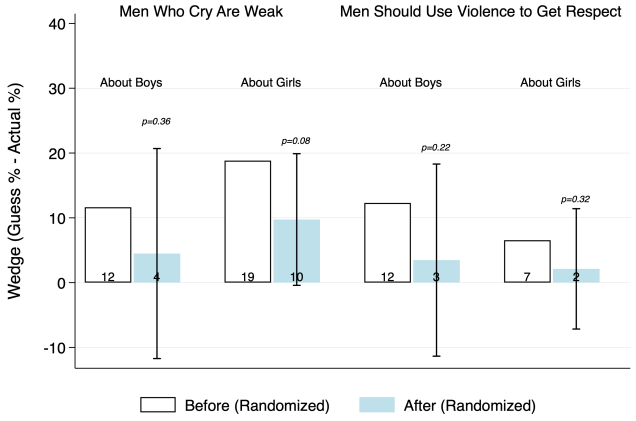

(b) Boys in Groups With Girls




(c) Girls in Girls' Only Group




(d) Girls in Groups With Boys




*Notes*: This figure plots the treatment effects of the discussions in Experiment 2, split by whether boys allocated themselves in groups with boys only (Panel a), or in groups with at least one girl (Panel b), and whether girls allocated themselves in groups with girls only (Panel c), or in groups with at least one boy (Panel d). 95% confidence intervals plotted, from a regression of misperceptions on treatment status dummies, including school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

# Online Appendix B: Supplementary Tables

Table B1: Baseline Characteristics - By Sex And Treatment Status

| | Boys | | | | Girls | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Voluntary (N = 384) | Randomized (N = 383) | Control (N = 328) | P-Value | Voluntary (N = 411) | Randomized (N = 367) | Control (N = 376) | P-Value |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | | (4) | (5) | (6) | |
| Age | 13.94 | 13.93 | 13.99 | 0.58 | 13.90 | 13.82 | 13.91 | 0.26 |
| | (0.97) | (0.99) | (0.86) | | (0.87) | (0.85) | (0.88) | |
| White | 0.27 | 0.29 | 0.35 | 0.09* | 0.37 | 0.29 | 0.31 | 0.06* |
| | (0.45) | (0.45) | (0.48) | | (0.48) | (0.46) | (0.46) | |
| Black | 0.68 | 0.65 | 0.59 | 0.05* | 0.59 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.30 |
| | (0.47) | (0.48) | (0.49) | | (0.49) | (0.48) | (0.48) | |
| Evangelical | 0.43 | 0.38 | 0.42 | 0.44 | 0.37 | 0.39 | 0.34 | 0.25 |
| | (0.50) | (0.49) | (0.49) | | (0.48) | (0.49) | (0.47) | |
| Catholic | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.91 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.97 |
| | (0.40) | (0.41) | (0.40) | | (0.37) | (0.38) | (0.38) | |
| Lives W/ Mother | 0.82 | 0.86 | 0.84 | 0.20 | 0.86 | 0.88 | 0.85 | 0.50 |
| | (0.39) | (0.34) | (0.37) | | (0.35) | (0.33) | (0.36) | |
| Lives W/ Father | 0.46 | 0.48 | 0.43 | 0.36 | 0.42 | 0.45 | 0.41 | 0.44 |
| | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.49) | (0.50) | (0.49) | |
| Lives W/ Step Father | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.16 | 0.66 | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0.81 |
| | (0.34) | (0.35) | (0.37) | | (0.34) | (0.36) | (0.35) | |
| Talks to Friends About Boys | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.28 | 0.47 | 0.55 | 0.52 | 0.06* |
| | (0.28) | (0.26) | (0.31) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Talks to Friends About Girls | 0.50 | 0.48 | 0.51 | 0.66 | 0.31 | 0.29 | 0.36 | 0.11 |
| | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.46) | (0.46) | (0.48) | |
| Talks to Friends About Personal Life | 0.36 | 0.35 | 0.36 | 0.95 | 0.65 | 0.66 | 0.64 | 0.78 |
| | (0.48) | (0.48) | (0.48) | | (0.48) | (0.47) | (0.48) | |
| Talks to Friends About Situations That Made You Sad | 0.16 | 0.17 | 0.15 | 0.77 | 0.45 | 0.49 | 0.44 | 0.27 |
| | (0.37) | (0.38) | (0.36) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Talks to Friends About Feelings or Personal Problems | 0.44 | 0.42 | 0.38 | 0.23 | 0.65 | 0.67 | 0.66 | 0.84 |
| | (0.50) | (0.49) | (0.49) | | (0.48) | (0.47) | (0.47) | |
| Talks to Friends About What Society Expects from a Man | 0.23 | 0.26 | 0.23 | 0.65 | 0.50 | 0.44 | 0.52 | 0.07* |
| | (0.42) | (0.44) | (0.42) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Would Like More Emotional Support from Male Friends | 0.42 | 0.46 | 0.40 | 0.18 | | | | |
| | (0.49) | (0.50) | (0.49) | | | | | |
| Would Like More Emotional Support from Female Friends | | | | | 0.75 | 0.79 | 0.76 | 0.32 |
| | | | | | (0.43) | (0.41) | (0.43) | |
| Importance Given To Popularity, 0-4 | 1.05 | 1.23 | 1.10 | 0.14 | 0.63 | 0.70 | 0.80 | 0.12 |
| | (1.25) | (1.33) | (1.28) | | (1.00) | (1.02) | (1.11) | |
| Influenced by School Girls, 0-3 | 0.99 | 1.09 | 0.93 | 0.07* | 0.54 | 0.61 | 0.65 | 0.21 |
| | (0.93) | (0.94) | (0.90) | | (0.86) | (0.90) | (0.91) | |
| Influenced by School Boys, 0-3 | 1.05 | 0.99 | 0.94 | 0.32 | 0.92 | 0.98 | 1.04 | 0.26 |
| | (0.97) | (0.97) | (0.98) | | (0.96) | (0.98) | (0.97) | |
| Agrees With Men Who Cry Are Weak | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.11 | 0.68 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.30 |
| | (0.30) | (0.29) | (0.32) | | (0.18) | (0.20) | (0.23) | |
| Agrees With Men Should Use Violence to Get Respect | 0.18 | 0.15 | 0.17 | 0.63 | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.32 |
| | (0.38) | (0.36) | (0.38) | | (0.25) | (0.20) | (0.21) | |
| Vocality Score | 4.18 | 4.01 | 3.68 | 0.30 | 4.23 | 4.60 | 4.38 | 0.51 |
| | (4.48) | (4.24) | (4.15) | | (4.36) | (4.78) | (4.45) | |
| Social Network Score | 2.09 | 1.89 | 2.09 | 0.10* | 2.07 | 2.13 | 2.15 | 0.75 |
| | (1.55) | (1.48) | (1.56) | | (1.43) | (1.48) | (1.52) | |
| Admiration Score | 1.55 | 1.45 | 1.46 | 0.70 | 2.34 | 2.35 | 2.48 | 0.69 |
| | (1.78) | (1.73) | (1.79) | | (2.62) | (2.67) | (2.52) | |
| Social Desirability Score, 0-4 | 2.84 | 2.82 | 2.77 | 0.69 | 2.85 | 2.83 | 2.80 | 0.75 |
| | (0.93) | (1.00) | (0.97) | | (0.92) | (0.98) | (0.92) | |
| Masculinity Score, 0-4 | 1.14 | 1.21 | 1.17 | 0.66 | 0.52 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.85 |
| | (0.95) | (1.08) | (1.07) | | (0.82) | (0.83) | (0.88) | |
| Gave WhatsApp | 0.82 | 0.76 | 0.82 | 0.12 | 0.87 | 0.89 | 0.86 | 0.67 |
| | (0.38) | (0.43) | (0.39) | | (0.34) | (0.32) | (0.34) | |

*Notes*: This table presents baseline characteristics (mean and standard deviation in parenthesis), by sex, treatment groups and control group. Within sex, it presents the p-value of a joint F-test for comparison across treatment arms.

Table B2: WhatsApp Sample Characteristics - By Sex and Treatment Status

| | Boys | | | | Girls | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Voluntary (N = 126) | Randomized (N = 132) | Control (N = 117) | P-Value | Voluntary (N = 193) | Randomized (N = 173) | Control (N = 163) | P-Value |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | | (4) | (5) | (6) | |
| Age | 13.77 | 14.07 | 14.07 | 0.01*** | 13.90 | 13.87 | 14.00 | 0.32 |
| | (0.84) | (0.99) | (0.87) | | (0.84) | (0.80) | (0.90) | |
| White | 0.28 | 0.31 | 0.37 | 0.34 | 0.40 | 0.29 | 0.37 | 0.07* |
| | (0.45) | (0.46) | (0.48) | | (0.49) | (0.46) | (0.48) | |
| Black | 0.68 | 0.63 | 0.56 | 0.16 | 0.55 | 0.63 | 0.60 | 0.32 |
| | (0.47) | (0.48) | (0.50) | | (0.50) | (0.48) | (0.49) | |
| Evangelical | 0.45 | 0.38 | 0.44 | 0.44 | 0.35 | 0.40 | 0.31 | 0.16 |
| | (0.50) | (0.49) | (0.50) | | (0.48) | (0.49) | (0.46) | |
| Catholic | 0.21 | 0.27 | 0.24 | 0.56 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.80 |
| | (0.41) | (0.45) | (0.43) | | (0.40) | (0.39) | (0.41) | |
| Lives W/ Mother | 0.83 | 0.89 | 0.79 | 0.10 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.93 |
| | (0.38) | (0.32) | (0.41) | | (0.33) | (0.33) | (0.34) | |
| Lives W/ Father | 0.42 | 0.52 | 0.47 | 0.28 | 0.44 | 0.49 | 0.42 | 0.45 |
| | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Lives W/ Step Father | 0.13 | 0.16 | 0.18 | 0.53 | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.91 |
| | (0.34) | (0.37) | (0.39) | | (0.35) | (0.33) | (0.34) | |
| Talks to Friends About Boys | 0.06 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.08* | 0.46 | 0.56 | 0.56 | 0.08* |
| | (0.24) | (0.33) | (0.35) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Talks to Friends About Girls | 0.42 | 0.49 | 0.48 | 0.43 | 0.31 | 0.27 | 0.38 | 0.08* |
| | (0.49) | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.46) | (0.44) | (0.49) | |
| Talks to Friends About Personal Life | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.45 | 0.92 | 0.70 | 0.71 | 0.70 | 0.97 |
| | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.46) | (0.46) | (0.46) | |
| Talks to Friends About Situations That Made You Sad | 0.16 | 0.21 | 0.15 | 0.41 | 0.52 | 0.51 | 0.45 | 0.34 |
| | (0.37) | (0.41) | (0.36) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Talks to Friends About Feelings or Personal Problems | 0.42 | 0.44 | 0.36 | 0.44 | 0.62 | 0.65 | 0.71 | 0.26 |
| | (0.49) | (0.50) | (0.48) | | (0.49) | (0.48) | (0.46) | |
| Talks to Friends About What Society Expects from a Man | 0.20 | 0.29 | 0.24 | 0.32 | 0.51 | 0.47 | 0.55 | 0.37 |
| | (0.40) | (0.45) | (0.43) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Would Like More Emotional Support from Male Friends | 0.39 | 0.41 | 0.41 | 0.89 | | | | |
| | (0.49) | (0.49) | (0.49) | | | | | |
| Would Like More Emotional Support from Female Friends | | | | | 0.76 | 0.78 | 0.80 | 0.59 |
| | | | | | (0.43) | (0.41) | (0.40) | |
| Importance Given To Popularity, 0-4 | 0.95 | 1.16 | 0.79 | 0.04** | 0.60 | 0.72 | 0.86 | 0.08* |
| | (1.15) | (1.27) | (1.03) | | (0.98) | (0.99) | (1.15) | |
| Influenced by School Girls, 0-3 | 0.86 | 1.02 | 0.84 | 0.16 | 0.49 | 0.58 | 0.58 | 0.48 |
| | (0.83) | (0.87) | (0.79) | | (0.83) | (0.81) | (0.84) | |
| Influenced by School Boys, 0-3 | 1.00 | 1.02 | 0.89 | 0.51 | 0.91 | 0.99 | 1.01 | 0.62 |
| | (0.92) | (0.92) | (0.93) | | (0.93) | (0.95) | (0.94) | |
| Agrees With Men Who Cry Are Weak | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.30 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.61 |
| | (0.25) | (0.20) | (0.28) | | (0.13) | (0.17) | (0.17) | |
| Agrees With Men Should Use Violence to Get Respect | 0.14 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.67 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.24 |
| | (0.35) | (0.32) | (0.32) | | (0.18) | (0.12) | (0.20) | |
| Vocality Score | 5.08 | 4.85 | 5.30 | 0.77 | 4.61 | 4.95 | 5.17 | 0.55 |
| | (5.23) | (4.48) | (5.16) | | (4.60) | (4.98) | (4.85) | |
| Social Network Score | 2.38 | 2.11 | 2.17 | 0.34 | 2.25 | 2.19 | 2.33 | 0.69 |
| | (1.63) | (1.33) | (1.67) | | (1.44) | (1.43) | (1.60) | |
| Admiration Score | 1.90 | 1.73 | 1.74 | 0.77 | 2.60 | 2.59 | 2.90 | 0.49 |
| | (2.29) | (1.82) | (2.22) | | (2.77) | (2.72) | (2.75) | |
| Social Desirability Score, 0-4 | 2.89 | 2.87 | 2.91 | 0.95 | 2.88 | 2.80 | 2.80 | 0.62 |
| | (0.88) | (1.06) | (0.94) | | (0.91) | (0.99) | (0.92) | |
| Masculinity Score, 0-4 | 1.11 | 1.05 | 1.09 | 0.89 | 0.42 | 0.51 | 0.47 | 0.45 |
| | (0.92) | (1.06) | (1.08) | | (0.71) | (0.77) | (0.80) | |
| Gave WhatsApp | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | |
| | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | |

*Notes*: This table presents baseline characteristics (mean and standard deviation in parenthesis), by sex, treatment groups and control group. Within sex, it presents the p-value of a joint F-test for comparison across treatment arms.

Table B3: Schools' Characteristics - Census and Study Schools

| | All Schools Census | Experiment 1 | Experiment 2 | Census-Experiment 1 P-Value | Census-Experiment 2 P-Value | Experiment 1-Experiment 2 P-Value | Joint P-Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Boys | 0.51 | 0.51 | 0.50 | 0.40 | 0.55 | 0.70 | 0.49 |
| | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.02) | | | | |
| Black | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.57 | 0.68 | 0.65 | 0.70 | 0.88 |
| | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.16) | | | | |
| Students per Class | 32.94 | 33.23 | 32.25 | 0.74 | 0.78 | 0.64 | 0.86 |
| | (4.21) | (3.31) | (4.25) | | | | |
| Students per Teacher | 20.51 | 12.41 | 11.02 | 0.11 | 0.49 | 0.69 | 0.00*** |
| | (24.01) | (5.22) | (6.92) | | | | |
| Internet for Learning | 0.52 | 0.68 | 0.33 | 0.13 | 0.51 | 0.23 | 0.22 |
| | (0.50) | (0.48) | (0.58) | | | | |
| Lunchroom | 0.99 | 0.95 | 1.00 | 0.23 | 0.83 | 0.31 | 0.01** |
| | (0.12) | (0.21) | (0.00) | | | | |
| Sport Court | 0.83 | 0.82 | 1.00 | 0.91 | 0.43 | 0.03** | 0.00*** |
| | (0.38) | (0.39) | (0.00) | | | | |
| Green Area | 0.43 | 0.36 | 0.67 | 0.54 | 0.40 | 0.30 | 0.56 |
| | (0.50) | (0.49) | (0.58) | | | | |
| Number of Classrooms in Use | 14.06 | 13.05 | 16.33 | 0.37 | 0.47 | 0.37 | 0.49 |
| | (5.41) | (4.80) | (7.51) | | | | |
| Student Union | 0.83 | 0.91 | 1.00 | 0.33 | 0.44 | 0.14 | 0.00*** |
| | (0.37) | (0.29) | (0.00) | | | | |
| Accessible Facilities | 0.59 | 0.50 | 0.33 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.57 | 0.41 |
| | (0.49) | (0.51) | (0.58) | | | | |

*Notes*: This table compares the schools' and students' characteristics considering all the municipal schools in Rio de Janeiro (obtained through the Brazilian School Census) and the sample of participating schools and students in Experiments 1 and 2. Columns (1), (2), and (3) present the respective variable means for each sample. Column (4) presents p-values of a t-test comparing the variable means between the School Census and Experiment 1 sample; Column (5) presents p-values of a t-test comparing the variable means between the School Census and the Experiment 2 sample; Column (5) presents p-values of a t-test comparing the variable means between Experiment 1 and Experiment 2; Column (7) presents p-values of a F-test comparing the variable means across the School Census, Experiment 1, and Experiment 2 samples.

Table B4: Students' Characteristics - Comparison Experiments 1 and 2

| | Boys | | | Girls | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Experiment 1 | Experiment 2 | P-Value | Experiment 1 | Experiment 2 | P-Value |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Age | 13.95 | 13.97 | 0.80 | 13.88 | 13.77 | 0.10* |
| | (0.95) | (0.72) | | (0.87) | (0.70) | |
| White | 0.30 | 0.28 | 0.51 | 0.32 | 0.34 | 0.69 |
| | (0.46) | (0.45) | | (0.47) | (0.47) | |
| Black | 0.65 | 0.70 | 0.17 | 0.62 | 0.61 | 0.81 |
| | (0.48) | (0.46) | | (0.48) | (0.49) | |
| Evangelical | 0.41 | 0.34 | 0.10 | 0.37 | 0.38 | 0.82 |
| | (0.49) | (0.48) | | (0.48) | (0.49) | |
| Catholic | 0.20 | 0.16 | 0.21 | 0.17 | 0.16 | 0.77 |
| | (0.40) | (0.37) | | (0.38) | (0.37) | |
| Lives W/ Mother | 0.84 | 0.87 | 0.26 | 0.86 | 0.85 | 0.82 |
| | (0.37) | (0.33) | | (0.35) | (0.35) | |
| Lives W/ Father | 0.46 | 0.36 | 0.02** | 0.43 | 0.38 | 0.20 |
| | (0.50) | (0.48) | | (0.50) | (0.49) | |
| Lives W/ Step Father | 0.14 | 0.23 | 0.00*** | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.78 |
| | (0.35) | (0.42) | | (0.35) | (0.34) | |
| Talks to Friends About Boys | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.76 | 0.51 | 0.47 | 0.24 |
| | (0.28) | (0.30) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Talks to Friends About Girls | 0.50 | 0.51 | 0.77 | 0.32 | 0.28 | 0.22 |
| | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.47) | (0.45) | |
| Talks to Friends About Situations That Made You Sad | 0.16 | 0.15 | 0.74 | 0.46 | 0.44 | 0.62 |
| | (0.37) | (0.36) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Agrees With Men Who Cry Are Weak | 0.10 | 0.11 | 0.77 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.87 |
| | (0.30) | (0.31) | | (0.21) | (0.20) | |
| Agrees With Men Should Use Violence to Get Respect | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.99 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.96 |
| | (0.37) | (0.37) | | (0.22) | (0.22) | |
| Social Desirability Score, 0-4 | 2.81 | 2.83 | 0.79 | 2.83 | 2.77 | 0.45 |
| | (0.97) | (1.01) | | (0.94) | (0.98) | |
| Masculinity Score, 0-4 | 1.17 | 1.50 | 0.00*** | 0.54 | 1.04 | 0.00*** |
| | (1.03) | (1.06) | | (0.84) | (1.14) | |

*Notes*: In this table, columns (1), (2), (4), and (5) present the students' characteristics (mean and standard deviation in parenthesis) by experiment and sex. Columns (3) and (5) show the p-value of the t-test comparing the means of each variable between Experiment 1 and Experiment 2, for boys and girls, respectively.

Table B5: Balance Tests - Experiment 2

| | Boys | | | Girls | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Treated | Control | P-Value | Treated | Control | P-Value |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Age | 13.98 | 13.96 | 0.88 | 13.75 | 13.78 | 0.72 |
| | (0.78) | (0.66) | | (0.77) | (0.63) | |
| White | 0.26 | 0.30 | 0.54 | 0.42 | 0.26 | 0.02** |
| | (0.44) | (0.46) | | (0.50) | (0.44) | |
| Black | 0.71 | 0.69 | 0.75 | 0.53 | 0.70 | 0.01** |
| | (0.46) | (0.47) | | (0.50) | (0.46) | |
| Evangelical | 0.34 | 0.34 | 0.93 | 0.37 | 0.38 | 0.85 |
| | (0.48) | (0.48) | | (0.48) | (0.49) | |
| Catholic | 0.16 | 0.17 | 0.82 | 0.15 | 0.18 | 0.60 |
| | (0.36) | (0.38) | | (0.36) | (0.38) | |
| Lives W/ Mother | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.75 | 0.88 | 0.82 | 0.25 |
| | (0.34) | (0.32) | | (0.32) | (0.38) | |
| Lives W/ Father | 0.31 | 0.42 | 0.16 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.97 |
| | (0.47) | (0.50) | | (0.49) | (0.49) | |
| Lives W/ Step Father | 0.27 | 0.19 | 0.28 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.95 |
| | (0.44) | (0.40) | | (0.35) | (0.34) | |
| Talks to Friends About Boys | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.47 | 0.44 | 0.49 | 0.47 |
| | (0.32) | (0.27) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Talks to Friends About Girls | 0.52 | 0.49 | 0.71 | 0.24 | 0.31 | 0.30 |
| | (0.50) | (0.50) | | (0.43) | (0.46) | |
| Talks to Friends About Situations That Made You Sad | 0.16 | 0.14 | 0.82 | 0.42 | 0.46 | 0.55 |
| | (0.36) | (0.35) | | (0.50) | (0.50) | |
| Social Desirability Score, 0-4 | 2.91 | 2.74 | 0.28 | 2.80 | 2.74 | 0.68 |
| | (0.98) | (1.04) | | (1.02) | (0.94) | |
| Masculinity Score, 0-4 | 1.46 | 1.56 | 0.53 | 0.93 | 1.14 | 0.18 |
| | (1.11) | (1.01) | | (1.05) | (1.21) | |

*Notes*: This table presents baseline characteristics (mean and standard deviation in parenthesis) by sex and treatment status of Experiment 2 participants (Columns (1), (2), (4), and (5)). Columns (3) and (6) present the p-values of a t-test comparing the means between the control and treatment groups, by sex.

Table B6: First-stage among randomized speakers

| | Spoke | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | All | Boys | Girls |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Randomly Assigned to Speak | 0.849*** | 0.838*** | 0.852*** |
| | (0.036) | (0.046) | (0.047) |
| Observations | 750 | 382 | 366 |
| F-Stat | 548.16 | 332.66 | 334.45 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients within the sample of those in the *Randomized* group only. The dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if a a participant spoke in the discussion. The independent variable of interest is a dummy equal to 1 if the speaker was randomly assigned to speak in the *Randomized* discussion. All regressions include school-classroom fixed effects and standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B7: Effects of the Discussions Are Robust To Including Controls Unbalanced at Baseline (Immediately After Treatment)

| | Wedge: Men Who Cry Are Weak | | | | Wedge: Men Should Violence to Get Respect | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To boys | | To girls | | To boys | | To girls | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| **Panel A: Boy** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -10.290*** | -10.540*** | -13.483*** | -13.564*** | -9.573*** | -9.823*** | -1.307 | -1.307 |
| | (2.474) | (2.540) | (2.615) | (2.650) | (2.384) | (2.369) | (2.026) | (2.063) |
| *Randomized* | -10.540*** | -10.914*** | -13.019*** | -13.103*** | -8.911*** | -9.276*** | -1.765 | -1.774 |
| | (2.508) | (2.485) | (2.794) | (2.841) | (2.586) | (2.526) | (2.083) | (2.101) |
| Observations | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 21.38 | 21.38 | 27.68 | 27.68 | 11.82 | 11.82 | 9.96 | 9.96 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Unbalanced Controls | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| **Panel B: Girls** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -12.475*** | -12.358*** | -13.388*** | -13.222*** | -6.242** | -6.172** | 0.842 | 0.751 |
| | (2.620) | (2.663) | (2.812) | (2.822) | (2.418) | (2.442) | (1.821) | (1.869) |
| *Randomized* | -12.711*** | -12.680*** | -9.443*** | -9.301*** | -7.580*** | -7.495*** | 0.867 | 1.047 |
| | (2.758) | (2.784) | (2.639) | (2.666) | (2.593) | (2.630) | (1.835) | (1.860) |
| Observations | 1,154 | 1,154 | 1,154 | 1,154 | 1,154 | 1,154 | 1,154 | 1,154 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 23.57 | 23.57 | 24.47 | 24.47 | 10.15 | 10.15 | 5.83 | 5.83 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Unbalanced Controls | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients of the treatment effects of the *Randomized* and *Voluntary* discussions on boys' (Panel A) and girls' (Panel B) misperceptions about crying and violence in the survey immediate after treatment (Columns 1, 3, 5, and 7). Columns 2, 4, 6, and 8 present robustness to including controls that are unbalanced at baseline, as highlighted in Table B1. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B8: Effects of the Discussions Are Robust To Including Controls Unbalanced at Baseline (Three Weeks Later)

| | Wedge: Men Who Cry Are Weak | | | | Wedge: Men Should Violence to Get Respect | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To boys | | To girls | | To boys | | To girls | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| **Panel A: Boys** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -9.591** | -9.605** | -10.850*** | -10.907*** | -6.906* | -6.678* | -4.311 | -4.469 |
| | (4.028) | (4.068) | (3.574) | (3.652) | (3.642) | (3.662) | (3.256) | (3.302) |
| *Randomized* | -11.502*** | -11.682*** | -8.383** | -8.435** | -12.974*** | -12.661*** | -7.367** | -7.076** |
| | (3.765) | (3.863) | (3.557) | (3.602) | (4.007) | (4.054) | (2.849) | (2.904) |
| Observations | 354 | 354 | 354 | 354 | 342 | 342 | 342 | 342 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 17.54 | 17.54 | 20.98 | 20.98 | 11.16 | 11.16 | 9.87 | 9.87 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Unbalanced Controls | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| **Panel B: Girls** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -8.332** | -8.637** | -3.864 | -3.891 | -7.070* | -7.208* | -1.711 | -1.725 |
| | (3.789) | (3.779) | (3.249) | (3.231) | (3.976) | (3.849) | (2.601) | (2.567) |
| *Randomized* | -16.806*** | -16.936*** | -7.773*** | -8.014*** | -11.076*** | -11.491*** | -4.398** | -4.672** |
| | (3.491) | (3.584) | (2.896) | (2.929) | (3.930) | (4.049) | (1.939) | (2.004) |
| Observations | 504 | 504 | 504 | 504 | 490 | 490 | 490 | 490 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 19.78 | 19.78 | 13.94 | 13.94 | 8.09 | 8.09 | 5.22 | 5.22 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Unbalanced Controls | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients of the treatment effects of the *Randomized* and *Voluntary* discussions on boys' (Panel A) and girls' (Panel B) misperceptions about crying and violence in the survey three weeks after treatment (Columns 1, 3, 5, and 7). Columns 2, 4, 6, and 8 present robustness to including controls that are unbalanced at baseline, as highlighted in Table B1. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B9: *Voluntary* Speakers Only Differ From Randomized Ones in a Vocality Score

| | Vocality | Popularity | Admiration | Masculinity | Social Desirability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| **Panel A: Boys** | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | 0.950* | -0.013 | -0.023 | -0.087 | -0.028 |
| | (0.495) | (0.160) | (0.185) | (0.114) | (0.099) |
| Observations | 329 | 329 | 329 | 329 | 329 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| *Randomized* Dep. Var. Mean | 3.95 | 2.02 | 1.51 | 1.15 | 2.85 |
| Sample | Speakers | Speakers | Speakers | Speakers | Speakers |
| **Panel B: Girls** | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | 1.267** | 0.089 | 0.374 | 0.031 | -0.186* |
| | (0.523) | (0.154) | (0.348) | (0.075) | (0.111) |
| Observations | 332 | 332 | 332 | 332 | 332 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| *Randomized* Dep. Var. Mean | 4.36 | 2.01 | 2.39 | 0.46 | 2.92 |
| Sample | Speakers | Speakers | Speakers | Speakers | Speakers |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regressions of each dependent variable on an indicator if a person spoke in the *Voluntary* group, where the omitted category is a person who spoke in the *Randomized group*. *Vocality*, *Network*, and *Admiration* are the count of how many times a participant was selected by their friends as being, respectively: among the top 5 most talkative people in the class, among the people someone spent the most time with in the last week, among the people someone admires the most. *Masculinity* is a score from 0 to 4 from a Masculinity Scale, with a larger number for self-reports of more traditionally masculine beliefs. *Desirability* is a score from 0 to 4 from the Social Desirability Scale, with a larger number meaning that the person gives more socially desirable answers. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B10: Categories and Examples Shared in the Masculinity Discussions

| Men Who Cry Are Weak | | | Men Should Use Violence to Get Respect When Necessary | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Category | Quote | Frequency | Category | Quote | Frequency |
| Coping Mechanism | "*When you're having a bad day, out of disappointment, you cry because you feel like it"* | 110 | Other Ways to Get Respect | "*You have to treat others as you would like to be treated, you don't have to use bad words or physical violence to be respected*" | 307 |
| Relative/Depends | "*I think men don't always need to cry. Ex: if they took a weak slap, they don't need to cry*" | 14 | Generates fear | "*If you use violence you will not be respected you will be feared*" | 38 |
| Everybody Has Feelings | "*Man has the right to cry, crying is human*" | 462 | Generates more violence | "*Men shouldn't use violence, violence brings even more violence, if you want to be respected you have to treat them with respect*" | 58 |
| Form of Expression | "*It's a body's feeling, men cry when something happens to the familiar or they get hurt, crying takes the pain out*" | 102 | Honour/fight back | "*Most of the time you don't have to use violence, you can use violence to defend yourself or when someone is offending you*" | 94 |
| Grieving | "*When you lose someone in your family, when you lose a childhood friend*" | 86 | Crime/Wrong/ Bad | "*It's wrong. My dad never beat me and I respect him for that*" | 42 |
| Happy Crying | "*Crying when you win a competition*" | 18 | Never Justified | "*Because that way you won't get anywhere, we need education to get somewhere*" | 50 |
| Love Relationships | "*I saw my brother crying after a breakup* | 44 | Society/ Machismo | "*If women can't beat others, men can't either*" | 30 |
| Societal/Family Values | "*Boys are told by their parents not to cry*" | 51 | Violence Against Women | "*I saw my brother having a jealousy crisis with his girlfriend and beat her. I felt distressed*" | 34 |
| Strength | "*Showing feelings is a sign of strength, the person who holds on to himself cannot cry and express himself*"f | 27 | | | |

*Notes*: This table presents examples of what students' shared during the masculinity discussions in Experiment 1, categorized by the research assistants according to the content of the statements. Note that the categories are not mutually exclusive, so a quote could be classfied into more than one category.

Table B11: Heterogeneity in Treatment Effects by Baseline Masculinity Beliefs

| | Immediately After Discussions | | | | Three Weeks After Discussions | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Boys | | Girls | |
| | To Boys (1) | To Girls (2) | To Boys (3) | To Girls (4) | To Boys (5) | To Girls (6) | To Boys (7) | To Girls (8) |
| **Panel A: Dep. Var.: Wedge for Men Who Cry Are Weak** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -10.000*** | -12.841*** | -8.683** | -9.112** | -13.110*** | -12.677*** | -9.019** | -3.382 |
| | (2.545) | (2.688) | (3.827) | (3.599) | (2.665) | (2.691) | (3.897) | (3.303) |
| *Randomized* | -9.028*** | -11.657*** | -9.469** | -6.054 | -12.837*** | -7.907*** | -17.037*** | -7.701** |
| | (2.646) | (2.992) | (3.866) | (3.817) | (2.818) | (2.556) | (3.751) | (3.059) |
| *Agree Crying* | 3.603 | 7.033 | 17.352* | 20.958 | -5.909 | 18.177* | -13.822 | 14.455 |
| | (6.347) | (5.972) | (10.117) | (14.486) | (8.186) | (10.436) | (9.589) | (11.205) |
| *Agree Crying* × *Voluntary* | -2.891 | -5.832 | -13.687 | -8.045 | 12.854 | -11.215 | 38.357** | -9.369 |
| | (7.601) | (8.502) | (18.009) | (27.044) | (12.059) | (13.327) | (18.614) | (18.409) |
| *Agree Crying* × *Randomized* | -15.163** | -13.003* | -19.663 | -23.614 | -0.644 | -34.259*** | 9.218 | -3.146 |
| | (7.304) | (6.592) | (13.446) | (16.424) | (10.334) | (11.061) | (11.689) | (34.746) |
| Observations | 1095 | 1095 | 342 | 342 | 1154 | 1154 | 490 | 490 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 21.38 | 27.68 | 17.48 | 20.61 | 23.57 | 24.47 | 19.67 | 13.88 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| **Panel B: Dep. Var.: Wedge for Men Should Use Violence** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -10.079*** | -1.685 | -6.323** | 0.185 | -6.855* | -4.750 | -6.028 | -0.947 |
| | (2.309) | (1.949) | (2.502) | (1.843) | (3.664) | (3.014) | (4.112) | (2.597) |
| *Randomized* | -8.885*** | -1.767 | -7.473*** | 0.993 | -12.882*** | -7.293*** | -11.382*** | -4.456** |
| | (2.568) | (2.122) | (2.620) | (1.886) | (4.002) | (2.686) | (3.934) | (1.951) |
| *Agree Violence* | 5.646** | 6.846*** | 1.878 | 3.382 | 11.964** | 11.730** | 16.853 | 7.107 |
| | (2.816) | (2.239) | (3.453) | (4.204) | (5.282) | (5.592) | (10.545) | (5.391) |
| *Agree Violence* × *Voluntary* | 6.410 | 5.316 | 1.870 | 14.803 | 6.713 | 15.792 | -15.766 | -20.567*** |
| | (5.055) | (4.651) | (8.293) | (9.048) | (15.408) | (17.722) | (10.028) | (4.064) |
| *Agree Violence* × *Randomized* | -0.869 | -0.638 | -4.716 | -7.183 | -9.468 | -10.631** | 19.922 | 5.678 |
| | (4.940) | (3.655) | (6.058) | (6.283) | (8.564) | (4.115) | (33.415) | (26.499) |
| Observations | 1095 | 1095 | 1154 | 1154 | 342 | 342 | 490 | 490 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 11.82 | 9.96 | 10.15 | 5.83 | 11.16 | 9.87 | 8.09 | 5.22 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents heterogeneous treatment effects based on baseline beliefs about masculinity. The dependent variables are misperceptions (in percentage points) about boys' and girls' views on whether (Panel A) and whether (Panel B). Columns 1-4 show effects on misperceptions measured immediately after the discussions, while Columns 5-8 show effects measured three weeks later. *Agree Crying* is a dummy equal to 1 if the respondent agreed at baseline that men who cry are weak. *Agree Violence* is a dummy equal to 1 if the respondent agreed at baseline that men should use violence to get respect if necessary. The interaction terms *Agree Crying* × *Voluntary*, *Agree Crying* × *Randomized*, *Agree Violence* × *Voluntary*, and *Agree Violence* × *Randomized* capture the differential effects of the respective treatments for those who initially held more traditional masculinity beliefs. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B12: Discussions In Favela Schools Are Equally Effective in Reducing Misperceptions, Compared to Non-Favela Schools

| | Men Who Cry Are Weak | | | | Men Should Use Violence | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Boys | | Girls | |
| | To Boys (1) | To Girls (2) | To Boys (3) | To Girls (4) | To Boys (5) | To Girls (6) | To Boys (7) | To Girls (8) |
| **Panel A: School Endline - Immediately After Treatment** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -9.270*** | -13.408*** | -10.167*** | -11.876*** | -7.521*** | -0.785 | -7.481*** | 1.657 |
| | (2.679) | (2.853) | (3.098) | (2.877) | (2.653) | (2.253) | (2.780) | (2.081) |
| *Randomized* | -9.794*** | -13.089*** | -8.286*** | -6.217** | -6.566** | -1.618 | -6.174** | 3.243 |
| | (2.554) | (3.186) | (3.023) | (2.870) | (3.018) | (2.314) | (3.090) | (2.153) |
| *Favela* | 2.148 | 0.517 | 2.619 | 1.156 | 4.020 | 1.784 | -10.594* | -2.292 |
| | (4.919) | (5.789) | (6.341) | (5.612) | (5.636) | (3.343) | (5.709) | (3.179) |
| *Favela* × *Voluntary* | -5.011 | 2.375 | -5.230 | -3.225 | -9.161 | -2.515 | 9.393 | 0.050 |
| | (7.686) | (6.752) | (8.455) | (8.399) | (5.837) | (5.272) | (5.928) | (5.051) |
| Favela × *Randomized* | -3.384 | 3.824 | -25.099*** | -12.631* | -11.095 | -1.072 | -8.409 | -8.245* |
| | (8.566) | (8.254) | (7.870) | (7.139) | (6.798) | (6.170) | (6.813) | (4.731) |
| Observations | 1095 | 1095 | 1154 | 1154 | 1095 | 1095 | 1154 | 1154 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 21.38 | 27.68 | 23.57 | 24.47 | 11.82 | 9.96 | 10.15 | 5.83 |
| **Panel B: WhatsApp Endline - 3 Weeks After Treatment** | | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -6.201 | -7.991* | -6.669 | -3.747 | -5.084 | -4.451 | -3.695 | -0.741 |
| | (4.452) | (4.299) | (4.643) | (3.663) | (4.320) | (3.591) | (4.712) | (2.769) |
| *Randomized* | -7.663* | -9.202** | -15.131*** | -7.475** | -11.611*** | -7.713** | -10.660** | -3.850* |
| | (4.062) | (4.551) | (4.082) | (3.015) | (3.806) | (3.055) | (4.281) | (2.060) |
| Favela | 7.820 | 0.577 | -3.567 | 1.363 | 1.181 | 1.483 | -5.009 | 0.852 |
| | (9.581) | (6.795) | (7.302) | (5.556) | (8.027) | (6.271) | (6.686) | (5.143) |
| *Favela* × *Voluntary* | -6.527 | -1.092 | -1.398 | 2.264 | 1.274 | -0.655 | -10.513 | -3.783 |
| | (10.665) | (10.599) | (9.637) | (8.061) | (9.821) | (6.852) | (8.015) | (5.826) |
| *Favela* × *Randomized* | -10.149 | 14.565 | -8.430 | -1.917 | -1.690 | 8.641 | -0.980 | 0.230 |
| | (10.844) | (9.910) | (8.245) | (7.357) | (12.487) | (9.295) | (12.554) | (5.282) |
| Observations | 342 | 342 | 490 | 490 | 342 | 342 | 490 | 490 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 17.48 | 20.61 | 19.67 | 13.88 | 11.16 | 9.87 | 8.09 | 5.22 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients that estimates whether being a student from a school in a favela – regions dominated by drug gangs – has differential effects on misperceptions. The main coefficients of interest are the interaction terms *Favela* × *Voluntary* and *Favela* × *Randomized*. *Favela* is a dummy equal to 1 if the student is enrolled in a school in a favela. The outcome variables are the misperceptions, in percentage points, of boys' beliefs about boys and girls for the statements *Men Who Cry Are Weak* (Columns 1 and 2) and *Men Should Use Violence to Get Respect If Necessary* (Column 5 and 6) at the immediate (Panel A) and three-weeks later follow up surveys 2 (Panel B). Columns (3), (4), (7) and (8) present the same regression estimates for girls. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B13: Social Desirability Does Not Drive Differential Effects on Misperceptions Across Treatment Groups

| | Men Who Cry Are Weak | | | | Men Should Use Violence | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Boys | | Girls | |
| | To Boys (1) | To Girls (2) | To Boys (3) | To Girls (4) | To Boys (5) | To Girls (6) | To Boys (7) | To Girls (8) |
| **Panel A: School Endline - Immediately After Treatment** | | | | | | | | |
| Voluntary | -8.753** | -13.813*** | -9.758*** | -14.210*** | -10.094** | -1.340 | -6.722 | 0.303 |
| | (3.623) | (3.667) | (3.456) | (3.984) | (4.228) | (3.401) | (4.110) | (3.471) |
| Randomized | -7.912* | -11.662** | -11.214*** | -9.335** | -7.870 | -1.140 | -7.458* | 0.547 |
| | (4.195) | (4.496) | (3.824) | (4.087) | (5.085) | (3.404) | (4.011) | (3.296) |
| High Social Desirability Score | -2.979 | -3.294 | -0.722 | -2.286 | -6.677 | -4.854* | -2.840 | -2.672 |
| | (3.503) | (3.425) | (3.379) | (3.485) | (4.256) | (2.692) | (3.553) | (2.246) |
| High Social Desirability Score × Voluntary | -2.360 | 0.513 | -4.068 | 1.316 | 0.812 | 0.058 | 0.820 | 0.905 |
| | (4.534) | (4.543) | (4.687) | (4.873) | (4.918) | (3.656) | (4.578) | (3.818) |
| High Social Desirability Score × Randomized | -3.761 | -1.867 | -2.212 | -0.054 | -1.258 | -0.720 | -0.053 | 0.595 |
| | (4.808) | (4.561) | (4.406) | (4.966) | (5.764) | (3.620) | (4.923) | (3.753) |
| Observations | 1095 | 1095 | 1154 | 1154 | 1095 | 1095 | 1154 | 1154 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 21.38 | 27.68 | 23.57 | 24.47 | 11.82 | 9.96 | 10.15 | 5.83 |
| **Panel B: WhatsApp Endline - 3 Weeks After Treatment** | | | | | | | | |
| Voluntary | -16.313** | -11.684 | -8.463 | -6.501 | -20.969*** | -10.303 | -8.073 | -3.560 |
| | (7.961) | (7.124) | (5.377) | (4.692) | (7.506) | (6.203) | (5.733) | (3.751) |
| Randomized | -18.122** | -7.092 | -24.167*** | -13.291*** | -26.366*** | -10.364* | -13.334** | -5.024* |
| | (8.331) | (7.841) | (4.704) | (3.876) | (7.953) | (6.033) | (5.087) | (2.857) |
| High Social Desirability Score | -18.080*** | -1.631 | -3.892 | -1.552 | -19.715** | -6.393 | 1.136 | -0.911 |
| | (6.273) | (6.449) | (5.008) | (3.842) | (7.711) | (5.897) | (5.637) | (3.185) |
| High Social Desirability Score × Voluntary | 7.979 | 1.033 | 0.346 | 4.022 | 19.084** | 8.297 | 1.443 | 2.798 |
| | (8.245) | (7.743) | (6.376) | (6.230) | (9.113) | (7.228) | (6.741) | (4.272) |
| High Social Desirability Score × Randomized | 9.218 | -1.838 | 11.315* | 8.477* | 18.520** | 4.075 | 3.470 | 0.981 |
| | (8.530) | (8.924) | (5.959) | (5.051) | (8.301) | (6.560) | (6.444) | (3.781) |
| Observations | 354 | 354 | 504 | 504 | 342 | 342 | 490 | 490 |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 17.54 | 20.98 | 19.78 | 13.94 | 11.16 | 9.87 | 8.09 | 5.22 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table examines whether social desirability bias explains treatment effects on misperceptions. The main coefficients of interest are the interaction terms: "*High Social Desirability* × *Voluntary*" and "*High Social Desirability* × *Randomized*". *High Social Desirability* is a dummy equal to 1 if a participant's baseline social desirability score (based on the Crowne and Marlowe scale) is at or above the sample median. The outcome variables are misperceptions (in percentage points) about boys' and girls' beliefs regarding the two masculinity statements, measured immediately after treatment (Panel A) and three weeks later (Panel B). All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom levels.

Table B14: Control Girls Who Have At Least One Treated Girl Friend Have Smaller Misperceptions About Other Girls' Beliefs 3 Weeks Effects

| | Delta: Men Who Cry Are Weak | | | | Delta: Men Should Violence to Get Respect | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Boys | | Girls | |
| | To Boys | To Girls | To Boys | To Girls | To Boys | To Girls | To Boys | To Girls |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| **Panel A: Boy-Friends Controls** | | | | | | | | |
| Has Any Treated Boy Friends | -6.279 | 6.188 | 13.410 | -8.455 | 9.399 | 2.743 | -8.655 | 2.578 |
| | (18.238) | (9.221) | (9.597) | (12.470) | (11.842) | (8.436) | (9.996) | (7.669) |
| Number of Boy Friends | -1.412 | -1.252 | 1.154 | 3.124 | -3.748 | -2.206 | 2.425 | -3.082 |
| | (5.233) | (4.575) | (3.488) | (2.343) | (5.262) | (5.726) | (3.028) | (4.492) |
| **Panel B: Girl-Friends Controls** | | | | | | | | |
| Has Any Treated Girl Friends | 2.879 | 6.909 | 3.814 | -5.714 | 0.734 | 1.814 | -5.884 | -10.802 |
| | (12.522) | (13.350) | (11.529) | (8.290) | (11.905) | (11.551) | (8.803) | (7.172) |
| Number of Girl Friends | 2.758 | -4.315 | -3.495 | 0.472 | -1.750 | -2.829 | 1.668 | 3.027 |
| | (7.281) | (6.623) | (4.331) | (4.101) | (7.590) | (6.591) | (1.959) | (2.151) |
| **Panel C: Any-Friends Controls** | | | | | | | | |
| Has Any Treated Friends | -0.920 | 7.364 | 9.595 | -5.737 | 3.485 | -11.883 | -5.603 | -14.292* |
| | (35.365) | (17.935) | (11.295) | (6.890) | (23.957) | (19.143) | (10.260) | (7.707) |
| Number of Friends | 0.025 | -1.718 | -0.113 | 0.778 | -3.255 | -3.181 | 1.040 | 0.313 |
| | (3.923) | (3.232) | (2.355) | (2.018) | (3.164) | (3.539) | (1.198) | (1.797) |
| Observations | 110 | 110 | 159 | 159 | 107 | 107 | 154 | 154 |
| Dep. Var. Mean | -1.65 | -3.16 | -5.29 | -8.99 | 5.15 | 3.29 | -2.66 | -0.09 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients among control participants which estimate whether having a treated friend impacts their change in misperceptions between the follow-up survey immediately after and the one 3 weeks after the discussions. The dependent variables are the percentage point difference in the misperceptions about crying (Columns 1-4) and violence (Columns 5-8) between the 3-week and the immediate follow-up surveys. *Has Any Treated Boy Friends*, *Has Any Treated Girl Friends*, and *Has Any Treated Friends* are a dummy equal to 1 if the participant listed at least one treated boy, one treated girl, or either one treated boy or a treated girl as someone they spent the most time with in the last two weeks. *Number Boy Friends*, *Number of Girl Friends*, *Number of Friends* are the total number of boys, girls, or boys and girls listed as someone they spent the most time with in the last two weeks. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B15: Discussions with Friends and No Mediation Do Not Change Misperceptions

| | Wedge: Men Who Cry Are Weak | | Wedge: Men Should Violence to Get Respect | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To boys | To girls | To boys | To girls |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| **Panel A: Boys** | | | | |
| *Treated* | 2.938 | 1.853 | -1.438 | 5.745 |
| | (8.706) | (7.781) | (4.975) | (10.847) |
| Observations | 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 |
| Dep. Var. Mean (Control Group) | 16.66 | 19.74 | 4.63 | 17.41 |
| **Panel B: Girls** | | | | |
| *Treated* | -1.034 | -5.487 | -2.740 | 2.021 |
| | (7.774) | (4.391) | (3.621) | (6.159) |
| Observations | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 |
| Dep. Var. Mean (Control Group) | 22.77 | 15.66 | -0.16 | 20.27 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regression coefficients of the treatment effects of the masculinity discussions on misperceptions for one pilot school for Experiment 2. In this pilot, adolescents chose the friends they wanted to talk about masculinity, but there was no mediation at all. Nevertheless, there was no first-stage: participants did not talk about masculinity in this pilot when prompted. Panel A reports the results for boys and Panel B reports the results for girls. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B16: Discussion Groups Make Boys' First-Order Beliefs Less Masculine Immediately and Three Weeks After

| | Men Who Cry Are Weak | | Men Should Use Violence | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| **Panel A: School Endline - Immediately After Treatment** | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -0.038** | -0.029*** | -0.014 | -0.021 |
| | (0.017) | (0.010) | (0.028) | (0.018) |
| *Randomized* | -0.048*** | -0.021* | -0.036 | 0.012 |
| | (0.016) | (0.011) | (0.033) | (0.020) |
| Observations | 1,095 | 1,154 | 1,095 | 1,154 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0.06 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.52 | 0.28 | 0.48 | 0.12 |
| **Panel B: Whatsapp Endline - 3 Weeks After Treatment** | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -0.011 | -0.001 | -0.027 | 0.031 |
| | (0.025) | (0.011) | (0.057) | (0.021) |
| *Randomized* | -0.044* | 0.008 | -0.107** | 0.003 |
| | (0.025) | (0.013) | (0.046) | (0.021) |
| Observations | 375 | 529 | 375 | 529 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var. | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.19 | 0.04 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.11 | 0.50 | 0.10 | 0.22 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regressions of an indicator for whether participants' agreed with the statements "men who cry are weak" (Columns 1 and 2) and "men should use violence to get respect if necessary" (Column 3 and 4) at endline 1 (Panel A) and endline 2 (Panel B) on treatment status dummies. Regressions include school fixed effects and baseline values of the dependent variables. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B17: Discussions With Friends Do Not Change Boys' Masculinity Beliefs

| | Men Who Cry Are Weak | | Men Should Use Violence | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| *Treated* | -0.028 | -0.058* | 0.063 | -0.025 |
| | (0.040) | (0.029) | (0.054) | (0.039) |
| Observations | 167 | 192 | 167 | 192 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var | 0.12 | 0.07 | 0.13 | 0.06 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regressions of each dependent variable on an indicator for treatment status in Experiment 2. The dependent variable in Columns (1) and (2) is a dummy equals to 1 if the respondent agrees with the belief , and 0 otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns (3) and (4) is a dummy equals to 1 if the respondent agrees with the belief , and 0 otherwise. Participants were randomly assigned to answer these questions either before (*Treated*=0) or after (*Treated*=1) participating in a discussion about masculinity with friends. Columns (1) and (3) show results for boys, while Columns (2) and (4) show results for girls. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B18: Discussion Group Has No Effects on Boys' Self-Reported Behaviors

| | Was Involved in Physical Fight | Cried In Front of a Friend | Had a Deep Talk |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| *Voluntary* | -0.009 | 0.023 | 0.076 |
| | (0.035) | (0.049) | (0.066) |
| *Randomized* | 0.013 | 0.015 | 0.008 |
| | (0.042) | (0.050) | (0.064) |
| Observations | 334 | 334 | 334 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var | 0.10 | 0.15 | 0.34 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.60 | 0.89 | 0.29 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: Outcomes are a dummy variable indicating whether over the last 3 weeks the student: was involved in a physical fight, including e.g. slaps, kicks, and punches (Column 1); cried in from of a friend (Column 2); had a deep conversation with a friend about their personal life or insecurities (Column 3). All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B19: Discussion Group Has No Effects on Boys' Peer-Reported Behaviors

| | Negative Behaviors | | | Positive Behaviors | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Inappropriate Language | Violence | Negative Average | Non-Conflict Resolution | Sensitive | Respectful to Girls | Positive Average |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| **Panel A: All Reporters** | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | -0.052* | 0.043** | -0.004 | -0.001 | 0.012 | -0.042** | -0.010 |
| | (0.029) | (0.021) | (0.022) | (0.018) | (0.019) | (0.018) | (0.013) |
| *Randomized* | -0.025 | 0.014 | -0.006 | 0.009 | 0.018 | -0.022 | 0.002 |
| | (0.026) | (0.019) | (0.018) | (0.024) | (0.018) | (0.022) | (0.015) |
| Observations | 1,043 | 1,043 | 1,043 | 1,043 | 1,043 | 1,043 | 1,043 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean Dep. Var | 0.50 | 0.18 | 0.34 | 0.33 | 0.23 | 0.74 | 0.43 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.31 | 0.10 | 0.93 | 0.63 | 0.73 | 0.33 | 0.35 |
| **Panel B: Control Reporters** | | | | | | | |
| *Voluntary* | 0.007 | 0.052* | 0.030 | -0.005 | -0.050* | -0.019 | -0.025 |
| | (0.035) | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.033) | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.020) |
| *Randomized* | 0.003 | -0.009 | -0.003 | -0.046 | -0.014 | -0.048 | -0.036 |
| | (0.039) | (0.027) | (0.026) | (0.033) | (0.031) | (0.033) | (0.023) |
| Observations | 574 | 574 | 574 | 574 | 574 | 574 | 574 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var | 0.54 | 0.19 | 0.37 | 0.32 | 0.26 | 0.74 | 0.44 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.93 | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.39 | 0.30 | 0.51 | 0.70 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: Each outcome corresponds to the share (number of reported behaviors/number of times a student could have been reported) a student was reported on each behavior over the last 3 weeks: used inappropriate language to communicate to other students, such as cursing and profanity (Column 1); committed any form of physical aggression against another student, such as slaps, punches or kicks (Column 2); helped resolve a conflict in a non-violent way (Column4); demonstrated to be a sensitive person (Column 5); was respectful towards girls (Column 6). Column 3 and Column 7 are, respectively, the average share across negative behaviors and positive behaviors. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B20: Discussion Group Make Students' Hypothetical Behaviors Less Masculine

| | Would Act Masculine | | It's Right to Act Masculine | | Peers Would Support Acting Masculine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Voluntary | -0.329*** | -0.202*** | -0.243*** | -0.139** | -0.157** | -0.336*** |
| | (0.065) | (0.056) | (0.076) | (0.055) | (0.078) | (0.078) |
| Randomized | -0.156** | -0.246*** | -0.182* | -0.115* | -0.114 | -0.322*** |
| | (0.074) | (0.068) | (0.095) | (0.060) | (0.076) | (0.073) |
| Observations | 1,095 | 1,154 | 1,095 | 1,154 | 1,095 | 1,154 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.02 | 0.50 | 0.44 | 0.65 | 0.48 | 0.83 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: At the survey immediately after the discussions in Experiment 1, I presented students with three vignettes (See Appendix C.2.2 for the verbatim description of the vignettes). The first one describes a situation in which a boy is afraid of showing their feelings to their other male friends for fearing social sanctions. The second one shows a boy who reacts with violence (e.g. a punch) after their friend refused to lend him a pen. Finally, the last one depicts a girl making a decision on whether to date or not a sensitive boy. For each vignette, I ask students whether they agree or disagree with three dimensions: (i) self-reported behaviours: whether they would act masculine, (ii) normative behaviours: whether they think the masculine behaviour was right, and (iii) school norms: whether their school peers would support acting masculine. This table presents regressions of an index, standardized by the control mean and standard deviation, within each of these three dimensions. Negative coefficients mean treated students become less supportive of masculine behaviours.

Table B21: Discussion Groups Do Not Make Adolescents More Likely to Post Positive Masculinity Message on Instagram

| | Posted Positive Masculinity Message | |
|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls |
| | (1) | (2) |
| *Voluntary* | 0.066 | 0.010 |
| | (0.062) | (0.042) |
| *Randomized* | -0.035 | 0.027 |
| | (0.053) | (0.050) |
| Observations | 218 | 352 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var | 0.08 | 0.13 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Voluntary} = \beta_{Randomized}$ | 0.06 | 0.69 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regressions of public support for a positive masculinity message on treatment status dummies. The dependent variable in Columns (1) and (2) equals 1 if the participant actually posted the image on Instagram (verified through screenshots uploaded to the survey), and 0 otherwise. *Voluntary* indicates participants who volunteered to join the discussion group, while *Randomized* indicates participants who were randomly assigned to the discussion group. See Appendix C.2.2 for a verbatim description of these outcomes. All regressions include school fixed effects. The regressions exclude 97 boys and 112 girls who declared not having Instagram. Standard errors are clustered at the school-classroom level.

Table B22: Discussions With Friends Do Not Change Boys' Self-Reported Behaviors

| | Support Others | Anti-Bullying Agent |
|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) |
| *Treated* | 0.060 | -0.008 |
| | (0.057) | (0.069) |
| Observations | 167 | 167 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes |
| Control Mean of Dep. Var | 0.50 | 0.62 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regressions of each dependent variable on an indicator for treatment status in Experiment 2. The dependent variable in Column (1) is a dummy equals to 1 if the respondent is willing to serve as support for other boys at school, and 0 otherwise. The dependent variable in Column (2) is a dummy equals to 1 if the respondent is willing to be an anti-bullying agent, and 0 otherwise. See Appendix C.2.4 for the verbatim description of these outcomes. Participants were randomly assigned to answer these questions either before (*Treated*=0) or after (*Treated*=1) participating in a discussion about masculinity with friends. All regressions include school fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

Table B23: Masculinity Discussion Do Not Change Boys' Social Image Concerns

| | Last Cried | Last Violent | Joy of Destruction |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| *Public* | 0.129 | 0.071 | 0.083 |
| | (0.129) | (0.107) | (0.120) |
| *Voluntary* | 0.070 | -0.036 | 0.071 |
| | (0.117) | (0.104) | (0.116) |
| *Randomized* | -0.045 | 0.079 | 0.054 |
| | (0.110) | (0.116) | (0.107) |
| *Public* × *Voluntary* | -0.226 | -0.031 | -0.212 |
| | (0.172) | (0.161) | (0.165) |
| *Public* × *Randomized* | -0.076 | -0.141 | -0.017 |
| | (0.158) | (0.148) | (0.156) |
| Observations | 1,095 | 1,095 | 1,095 |
| School FE | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| P-Value: $\beta_{PublicXVoluntary} = \beta_{PublicXRandomized}$ | 0.39 | 0.74 | 0.22 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Public} + \beta_{PublicXVoluntary} = 0$ | 0.21 | 0.68 | 0.28 |
| P-Value: $\beta_{Public} + \beta_{PublicXRandomized} = 0$ | 0.61 | 0.51 | 0.55 |

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

*Notes*: This table presents regressions of each dependent variable (see Appendix C.2.2 for a description) – standardized by the control group mean and standard deviation – on an indicator for whether participants' answers were public in the survey experiment, were treated in the *Voluntary* or Randomized treatments, and an interaction term between them. *Last Cried (Violent)* are scores from 0 to 5, in which larger values mean they have cried further away in time (been violent more recently). *Joy of Destruction* is a score from 0 to 5, in which 0 means participants will not remove any money from the winner, and 5 means they will remove all the money. Standard errors are clustered at the classroom level.

# Online Appendix C: Supplementary Materials

## C.1 Consent Process

I visited the 25 participating schools to discuss the study purposes, schedule the study day, obtain the list of students from participating classes, and hand the parental consent and assent forms to principals. I instructed principals to deliver the consent forms to students at least one week prior to the scheduled study day, and I sent reminders to guarantee they followed this timeline. I obtained parental consent in an opt-out way: parents had to sign the form to withhold consent. Otherwise, consent was assumed. The consent forms communicated to parents and students that this study aimed to understand how the societal expectations around boys' behaviors are formed.

## C.2 Survey Structure

This section presents the survey questions included in Experiments 1 and 2. I outline the questions in the same order as participants responded to it and I highlight when the question was only asked in either one of the experiments. Participants self-administered the questionnaire privately in individual tablets I provided, using Qualtrics offline. If they had questions, they could raise their hands and a member of the study team would assist them. All questions were mandatory.

### C.2.1 Baseline Survey

**Identification.** Respondents selected their school, classroom ID, and name from a dropdown list.

**Demographics.** Respondents indicated their age, sex (male or female), race, religion and who they live with.

**What Talks To Friends About.**

> *What do you usually talk to your friends about? Select all that apply.*
>
> *Girls; Boys; Sports; Games; Things you saw online; Jokes, Your personal life; Things or situations that made you sad; School-related topics; Other (open text box)*

**Talks About Feelings (Experiment 1 Only).**

> *Do you usually talk to your friends about your feelings or personal problems? Yes; No*

**Heard About How Men Should Behave (Experiment 2 Only).**

> *Have you ever heard that a man or a boy should or should not behave in a certain way only for being a man or a boy? Yes; No*
>
> [IF YES]
>
> *Who did you hear that from*
> *Mother; Father; Grandmother; Grandfather; Older brother; Older sister; Younger brother; Younger sister; Another older family member; Another younger family member; My male friends from school; My female friends from school; My male friends from outside of school; My female friends from outside of school*

**Talks About Masculinity.**

*Do you usually talk to your friends about what society expects of men? Yes; No*

[IF YES - EXPERIMENT 2 ONLY]

*Who do you usually talk to about this*
*Mother; Father; Grandmother; Grandfather; Older brother; Older sister; Younger brother; Younger sister; Another older family member; Another younger family member; My male friends from school; My female friends from school; My male friends from outside of school; My female friends from outside of school*

*And what exactly you talk about?* [OPEN TEXT BOX]

[IF NO - EXPERIMENT 2 ONLY]

*And why you do not talk about it? [OPEN TEXT BOX]*

**Emotional Support (Experiment 1 Only).**

For boys: *Would you like more emotional support from your male friends? Yes; No*

For girls: *Would you like more emotional support from your female friends? Yes; No*

**Importance Given To Popularity (Experiment 1 Only).**

*For you, how important it is to be popular at your school?*
*Very important; Important; Somewhat Important; Sometimes Important; Nothing Important*

**Influentiability (Experiment 1 Only).**

*Indicate how much you are influenced by:*

[SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER, BUT ALL IN THE SAME SCREEN]

- the girls from your school
- the boys from your school

*Very influenced; Influenced; A little influenced; Not influenced at all*

**Vocality, Popularity, Admiration Scores.** I asked respondents to nominate those that were more vocal in class (Experiment 1 only), that they spent the most time with in the last two weeks, and that they admire the most (Experiment 1 only). I inputted students' name from each classroom to the survey, based on the student list I received from principals a few days before the study day. If a person did not want to indicate anyone, they could raise their hands and a team member would write down their school, class, and name so I could remove their answers for this specific question. The respondent could not select themselves. In addition, since I received the student list before the study day, respondents could select names for students that did not participate in the study. See below for the exact wording of each question.

***Vocality question (Experiment 1 only).***

> *Select the 5 people from your class at school who participate the most in class by expressing their opinions*
>
> [LIST WITH STUDENTS' NAMES IN THE SAME CLASS AS THE RESPONDENT]

I calculate a **Vocality Score**, which is the number of times a respondent was nominated by other students in this question.

***Popularity question (Experiment 1 only).***

> *Select **at least 2 people** from your class at school with whom you spent the most time this past week, both inside and outside of school*
>
> [LIST WITH STUDENTS' NAMES IN THE SAME CLASS AS THE RESPONDENT]

I calculate a **Popularity Score**, which is the number of times a respondent was nominated by other students in this question.

***Admiration question.***

> *Select **at least 2 people** from your class at school that you admire the most*
>
> [LIST WITH STUDENTS' NAMES IN THE SAME CLASS AS THE RESPONDENT]

I calculate an **Admiration Score**, which is the number of times a respondent was nominated by other students in this question.

**Masculinity Beliefs.**

*Indicate below whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements*

[STATEMENTS SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER, BUT ALL IN THE SAME SCREEN]

*In my opinion, men who cry are weak*
*In my opinion, men should use violence to get respect if necessary*

In Experiment 2, I randomized respondents into answering to this question before or after the masculinity discussion.

**Masculinity Score.** I used the following statements from the Meanings of Adolescence Masculinity Scale (Oransky and Fisher 2009).

*For each statement below, please indicate whether you agree or disagree.*

[STATEMENTS SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER, BUT ALL IN THE SAME SCREEN]

- *No matter what happens, a guy should seem strong to others*
- *Guys should try to appear manly in almost all situations*
- *It is weird for a guy to talk about his feelings with other guys*
- *It is hard to respect a guy who shows his feelings*

To calculate the masculinity score, I average across all the statements, coding 1 as agree and 0 as disagree.

**Social Desirability Score.** I used the following questions from the (Crowne and Marlowe, 1960) social desirability scale.

*For each statement below, indicate whether they are true or false for you.*

[STATEMENTS SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER, BUT ALL IN THE SAME SCREEN]

- *No matter who I am talking to, I am always a good listener*
- *I am always willing to admit when I make a mistake* [reverse coded]
- *There have times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others*
- *I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserve* [reverse coded]

To calculate the social desirability score, I average across all the statements, meaning the higher the score the more likely to provide socially desirable answers.

**Discussion Impressions.**

*Now, we're going to ask you to talk to your friends about your opinions on what society expects from a man.*

*Before starting the conversation, please silently answer the questions below:*

- *How interested are you in hearing the other person's responses on the above topic? Answers from 0-not at all interested to 10-very interested, in increments of 1*
- *How comfortable do you think you will feel during this conversation? Answers from 0-not at all comfortable to 10-very comfortable, in increments of 1*
- *Do you think your connection with the other people in your group will change after this conversation? A lot less connected; Less connected; Connection will not change; More connected; A lot more connected*

### C.2.2 Immediate Endline Survey - Experiment 1

**Second-Order Beliefs.**

*At the end of the questionnaire you previously answered, you indicated whether you agreed or disagreed with the statements "men who cry are weak" and "men should use violence to be respected when necessary" All the other people in your class at school also indicated whether they agreed or disagreed with these statements.*

*Now, we ask you to guess what percentage of the boys and girls in your class at school you think agreed with each of these statements in the previous questionnaire. Remember that 0% indicates that nobody agreed and 100% indicates that everyone agreed.*

- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of boys from your class that you think agreed with "men who cry are weak" in the questionnaire before the discussion*
- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of girls from your class that you think agreed with "men who cry are weak" in the questionnaire before the discussion*
- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of boys from your class that you think agreed with "men should use violence to get respect if necessary" in the questionnaire before the discussion*

- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of girls from your class that you think agreed with "men should use violence to get respect if necessary" in the questionnaire before the discussion*

**Masculinity Beliefs.**

*Indicate below whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements*

[STATEMENTS SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER, BUT ALL IN THE SAME SCREEN]

*In my opinion, men who cry are weak*
*In my opinion, men should use violence to get respect if necessary*

**Vignettes.**

*In the next pages, you will read three short stories about hypothetical situations that could happen in your school. You will then answer to some questions about these stories.*

[THE ORDER OF THE VIGNETTES BELOW WAS RANDOMIZED]

***Vignette 1.***

*"João is a boy your age from another school in the neighborhood.*

*One day at school, João asked Diego to borrow a pen, and Diego refused.*

*João got angry and punched Diego."*

*Please answer whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements below, based on João's story. There is no right or wrong answer. Respond according to what you believe.*

- *I would act the same way as João*
- *I think João did the right thing by punching Diego*
- *People from my school would judge João's behavior as wrong*

***Vignette 2.***

*"Pedro is a boy your age from another school in the neighborhood.*

*He is a very sensitive boy. He has two best friends with whom he would like to share his insecurities and sometimes even feels like crying in front of these friends when he is sad.*

*However, he prefers to hold back the tears, as he is afraid that his friends will judge him or make fun of him."*

*Please answer whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements below, based on João's story. There is no right or wrong answer. Respond according to what you believe.*

- *I would act the same way as Pedro and would not cry in front of my friends*
- *I think Pedro did the right thing by not crying in front of their friends*
- *At my school, Pedro would be teased by his friends if he cried in front of them*

***Vignette 3.***

*"Carlos is a boy your age from another school in the neighborhood.*

*He is a very sensitive person and sometimes cries when other boys bother him at school. Carlos likes Julia, a girl from his class.*

*However, he prefers to hold back the tears, as he is afraid that his friends will judge him or make fun of him."*

*However, Julia sees Carlos as a weak person because he cries and doesn't want to get romantically involved with him because of that.*

- *I would act the same way as Julia*
- *I think Julia is right not to get involved with Carlos because he cries*
- *At my school, people would support Julia's decision not to get involved with Carlos because he cries*

**Social Image Concerns.**

Public arm: *Please, answer the following questions silently. Your answers* ***might*** *be discussed with other people in the room.*

Private arm: *Please, answer the following questions silently. Your answers* ***will not*** *be discussed with other people in the room.*

- *When was the last time you cried?*
- *When was the last time you initiated a physical fight, such as slaps, punches, kicks?*

*Before 1 week ago, Between 1 week and 1 month ago; Between 1 and 3 months ago; Between 3 and 12 months ago; More than 12 months ago; Never*

[Joy of destruction game]:

*In another survey we are conducting with people your age in the city of Rio, participants play a game in which they win 5 reais if they win.*

*You will be paired with a winner who won the game, and have the chance to reduce the amount of money they will receive. You won't lose or gain anything by reducing the 5 reais prize.*

*Please select below how much you want the corresponding winner to receive. Your choice will be implemented by the survey, and the winner will receive the amount of money you selected.*

*I want the winner to get 5 reais. That is, I do not wish to remove any money from them; I want the winner to get 4 reais. That is, I want to remove 1 real from them; I want the winner to get 3 reais. That is, I want to remove 2 reais from them; I want the winner to get 2 reais. That is, I want to remove 3 reais from them, I want the winner to get 1 reais. That is, I want to remove 4 reais from them; I want the winner to get 0 real. That is, I want to remove 5 reais from them*

### C.2.3 WhatsApp Endline Survey (3 Weeks Later) - Experiment 1

**Second-Order Beliefs and Masculinity Beliefs**: Asked in the same way as described in Appendix C.2.2.

**Self-Reported Behaviors.**

*The next questions are about your behaviors in the last 3 weeks. Your answers are confidential and will not be shared in any way that could identify you.*

- *In the last 3 weeks, have you been involved in any physical fights, such as slapping, kicking, or punching? Yes; No*
- *In the last 3 weeks, have you cried in front of any friend? Yes; No*

- *In the last 3 weeks, have you had a deep conversation with a friend about your personal life or insecurities? Yes; No*

**Peer-Reported Behaviors.** I presented boys and girls with the names of 3 randomly selected boys who participated in each one of the discussion groups within their classroom (a total of 6 names, excluding their own), and asked:

> *In the next few pages, the names of some classmates from your school will be presented to you. You will be asked to answer some questions about the behaviors of these people. All your answers are confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this research.*

> [LOOPING OVER PEERS 1 TO 6]
>
> *Indicate whether in the last 3 weeks, has the student [PEER NAME]:*
>
> [QUESTION SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER WITHIN EACH RESPONDENT]

- *Used inappropriate language to refer to or communicate with other students, such as insults and swear words? Yes; No*
- *Committed any act of physical aggression against another student at the school, such as slapping, punching, or kicking? Yes; No*
- *Helped resolve any conflicts in a non-violent manner? Yes; No*
- *Showed to be a sensitive person? Yes; No*
- *Been respectful to the girls at school? Yes; No*

**Instagram Post.**

> *Now, we would like you to post the image below on your Instagram story or feed.*
>
> *You should then upload a screenshot to confirm that you posted the image. You MUST NOT mention participation in this survey.*
>
> *From your phone, you can save the image by pressing it and clicking on the "Save Image" option.*

- *I want to post this image on my Instagram and I'll upload a screenshot to confirm that I posted it*
- *I don't want to post this picture on my Instagram*
- *I do not have Instagram*

[IF ANSWERED IT WOULD POST THE IMAGE ON INSTAGRAM]

*Please upload a screenshot of your Instagram to show that you posted the image on your story or feed.*

Instagram Figure To Be Uploaded




*Notes.* This figure shows a message in Portuguese that reads "HOMEM NÃO CHORA!" with "NÃO" crossed out and "TAMBÉM" written in red. This translates to English as "MEN DON'T CRY!" with "DON'T" crossed out and "ALSO" written in red.

### C.2.4 Outcome Measures - Experiment 2

In Experiment 2, I randomized participants into responding to the *second-order beliefs*, *masculinity beliefs* and *self-reported behaviors* below before or after the masculinity discussions, stratified by sex. An exception is the question on *discussion impression*, which everyone responded before and after to gauge predicted versus realized impressions.

**Second-Order Beliefs.**

*Now, we ask you to guess what percentage of the boys and girls in your class at school you think agreed with each of these statements in the previous questionnaire. Remember that 0% indicates that nobody agreed and 100% indicates that everyone agreed.*

- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of boys from your class that you think agree with "men who cry are weak"*
- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of girls from your class that you think agree with "men who cry are weak"*
- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of boys from your class that you think agree with "men should use violence to get respect if necessary"*
- *Drag the bar to indicate the percentage of girls from your class that you think agreed with "men should use violence to get respect if necessary"*

**Masculinity Beliefs.**

*Indicate below whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements*

[STATEMENTS SHOWN IN RANDOM ORDER, BUT ALL IN THE SAME SCREEN]

*In my opinion, men who cry are weak*
*In my opinion, men should use violence to get respect if necessary*

**Self-Reported Behaviors.**

*Would you be willing to serve as support for other boys at your school? If yes, your name may be publicly disclosed at the school so everyone knows they can talk to you when they need help. Yes; No*
*Sometimes, people at school bully others. For example, they call others bad names or even commit physical violence like pushes and pinches. Would you be willing to defend your schoolmates when a case of bullying happens? If yes, your name may be publicly disclosed at the school so everyone knows you will report to the administration when a bullying case happens. Yes; No*

**Discussion Impressions.**

[NOT RANDOMIZED–SHOWN TO EVERYONE]

*Now, we're going to ask you to talk to your friends about your opinions on what society expects from a man.*

*Before starting the conversation, please silently answer the questions below:*

- *How interesting was it for you to hear others' opinions in your discussion group? Answers from 0-not at all interesting to 10-very interesting, in increments of 1*
- *How comfortable did you feel during this conversation? Answers from 0-not at all comfortable to 10-very comfortable, in increments of 1*
- *Do you think your connection with the other people in your group will change after your conversation? A lot less connected; Less connected; Connection will not change; More connected; A lot more connected*

## C.3 Experiment 1 Discussion Script

The mediators followed the script below in the Voluntary **[Randomized]** discussions.

> *Hi everyone, good morning/afternoon! First, thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. We are now going to start a conversation where I want to hear your views about some of the questions asked at the end of the survey. I want to remind you this is a safe space, in which you can express your opinions without being judged by me or your peers. I ask that the peers be respectful and do not interrupt whoever is speaking.*
>
> *To put some order in the discussion, people who want to speak should raise their hands* ***[I will call out some students to speak up].***
>
> *Calls the first boy who raises his hand* ***[Calls first boy in the randomized student list]***
>
> *Do you agree that "men who cry are weak"? Can you explain or give an example of why you believe this?*
>
> *Do you agree that "men should use violence to be respected when necessary"? Can you explain or give an example of why you believe this?*
>
> *And so on...*
>
> *Important notes*
>
> - *The idea is NOT for everyone to talk. Only a few people will voice their opinion, but we don't need to communicate this to them.*
> - *Each group should have around 15 people, and a maximum of 6 people should participate in the discussion, alternating 1 boy and 1 girl.*

- *The idea of the discussion is to be a focus group, so the mediator (or anyone else in the room) should NOT be judgmental. We want to know what THEY think, and why!*

### C.4 Experiment 2 Discussion Script

Respondents read the instructions below in their tablets, upon completing the baseline survey. Research assistants walked around the classroom making sure they had understood the instructions and were allocated to a group.

> *We will now ask you to talk with your friends about your views on what society expects from a man! We ask that you organize yourselves in groups of about 5 people. Specifically, we want you to discuss:*
>
> *Whether you agree or disagree with the phrase "men who cry are weak". You can explain why through examples and personal experiences.*
>
> *Whether you agree or disagree with the phrase "men should use violence to be respected when necessary". You can explain why through examples and personal experiences.*
>
> ***Remember that there is not a right or wrong answer. RESPECT AND LISTEN** to the opinion of your other friend(s)!*

## Online Appendix D: Pre-Registration

I pre-registered the experiments before data collection in the AEA registry under ID codes #AEARCTR-0009508 (Experiment 1) and #AEARCTR-0013292 (Experiment 2). The experiments took place as pre-registered in terms of design, sample size, randomization procedures, and outcome measurement. The only minor deviation from the pre-registration regards the classification of outcomes. In the original pre-registration, I designated misperceptions, behavioral outcomes, and social image concerns as co-primary outcomes. However, given the focus of the paper in understanding the mechanisms that sustain misperceptions (including analyzing the public opinions shared during the discussions), I treat misperceptions as the primary outcome and behavioral outcomes and social image concerns as secondary outcomes in the main analysis. Nevertheless, this does not affect the reporting of results: all pre-registered outcomes are presented in the paper, with behavioral outcomes and social image concerns reported Section 6.