Research Papers

LONG-TERM CHANGES AMONG PARTICIPANTS IN A MEN'S MUTUAL-HELP ORGANIZATION*

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ABSTRACT

This article presents findings from a longitudinal study of participants in the ManKind Project, International (MKP-I), a mutual help and personal development organization for men. The study tests whether gender role conflict and other gendered beliefs, psychological well-being, social support, and goal importance and satisfaction improve over the 2-year period of observation. Participants ($n = 293$) from local centers across the United States

and Canada were surveyed on five occasions over a 24-month period before, during, and in some cases after participation ended. As hypothesized, *t*-tests indicate that outcomes improved after the initial weekend of participation. Many of the initial changes endured across the entire 2-year follow-up period, though the survey response rate declined substantially over this time. MKP-I's self-selected participants may be enabled through self-help and mutual aid group processes to reduce adherence to traditional masculine gender role expectations and increase the meaning and psychological quality of their lives.

A range of mental health, physical health, and social problems are theorized to result from men's hegemonic or traditional gender role socialization, including various forms of interpersonal violence, substance abuse, warfare, physical injuries, suicide, and environmental degradation (Courtenay, 2000; Kilmartin, 2009). Male gender role socialization also has been theorized to create unique and particular challenges for engaging men in treatment programs and other help settings (Andronico, 1996; Davies, Shen-Miller, & Isacco, 2010; Roy, Gourde, & Couto, 2011). Research testing these links has found that greater adherence to the traditional male gender role expectations, as measured by male gender role conflict, predicts depression, high risk sexual behavior, belief in rape myths, substance abuse, and domestic violence (O'Neil, 2008).

In response to these challenges and to social change brought about by second wave feminism (Cornish, 1997; Dunn, 1998) and by shifts in paid labor from manufacturing to service industries (Faludi, 1999), various small social movements of men developed in the 1980s (Clatterbaugh, 1997; Messner, 1997). A central activity of some branches of this movement is forming self-help and mutual aid-groups for men. The mythopoetic branch of the movement largely consists of these groups, based on a mutual-help ethos, as well as group processes rooted in Jungian theory on masculine archetypes (Jung, 1989). The groups may assist men in reducing their strict adherence to traditional male gender roles and creating a healthier, alternative model of masculinity (Diamond, 2008), often with less depression. The alternative model of masculinity is based in accountability, integrity, emotional honesty, authenticity, increased emotional intelligence, male connection (Bray, 1992; Flowers, 1993; McElroy, 2007; Moyer, 2004; Rothgiesser, 2012), and a positive sense of elderhood for older men as opposed to feeling elderly (Jones, 2006; Josephson, 2008). This study tests whether men participating in a mutual-help group as part of an organization called the ManKind Project International (MKP-I) improve their gender role conflict and other gendered beliefs, psychological well-being, social support, and personal life goal importance and satisfaction over a 2-year period of observation.

MUTUAL-HELP ORGANIZATIONAL AND GROUP CHARACTERISTICS OF MKP-I

The MKP-I is a mythopoetic men's organization that offers mutual-help groups (Integration group; "I-Groups") and activities (the New Warrior Training Adventure [NWTA], a weekend initiation retreat) that draw upon archetypal theories of male personality development (Moore & Gillette, 1990). Specifically, the organization adapts Jungian analytic theories and practices and applies them to address men's trauma, shame, healing, and emotional development. The MKP-I mission statement is "to create a safer world by growing 'better' men" (quotes in original; MKP-I, n.d.). MKP-I addresses problems it sees with both the old "macho" hypermasculinity, or traditional masculinity, as well as the androgynous "sensitive new age" manhood of the 1970s through a program of male development, initiation, and peer mentoring. Specifically, the organization is based on five key intentions that guide their practices:

1. emotional authenticity which supports honesty, wholeness, and self-awareness;
2. personal responsibility which means taking responsibility for feelings and the consequences of choices and actions;
3. leadership mastery focusing on role models;
4. empowered mission that focuses on generosity, service, and developing a sense of purpose; and
5. supportive community that includes creating places for men from diverse backgrounds to come together in a safe, respectful, and challenging peer network (MKP-I, n.d.).

A significant number of men (over 40,000) in the United States, and Canada, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are reported to have participated in the MKP-I through one of its 38 regional centers since the organization was founded in 1985, and 10,000 men are estimated to currently participate in an ongoing I-Group (Griesser, 2013).

The MKP-I shares many similar characteristics with but also some differences from standard self-help and mutual aid organizations and groups (Borkman, 2008). The similarities are not surprising given that mythopoetic movement and MKP-I participants include a high percentage of men involved in mutual-help groups. Anderson, Maton, Burke, Mankowski, & Stapleton (2014) reported 70% of a sample of 200 MKP-I participants had experience in a mutual-help group, and Wilson and Mankowski (2000) reported a significant number of mythopoetic men's group participants in their study had belonged to at least one 12-step recovery program. In particular, the process of redefining masculinity appears to be aided by participation in 12-step mutual-help groups. For example, Irvine and Klocke (2001) described how Codependents Anonymous 12-step group participants reconstructed alternative masculinities through participation in

this mutual-help group. The MKP-I's I-Groups are operated as peer-facilitated groups that are led initially by a man who is both a highly experienced participant and volunteer in MKP-I and later became a staff member trained by the organization to mentor and instruct the I-Group participants in communication skills and techniques that realize the organization's five key intentions for men's lives, noted above (e.g., "Shadow Work"; Barry, 2011). Consistent with other mutual-help group and organization leaders, these staff members are best considered non-professionals because no degree is required for their role, and the modest stipend they receive typically is not sufficient income on which to live. Following this initial 8- to 12-week I-Group training program, the groups are peer-led by the members themselves. Consistent with the principle of accessibility that defines mutual-help groups, I-Groups typically meet on a weekly basis and are free to attend. The main difference between mutual-help organizations and MKP-I is that there is a significant fee ($600-$700) charged for the "initiation and self-examination" Training Adventure weekend that introduces men to the organization. Men are generally required to complete the NWTA before joining an I-Group, though financial aid is often available for those unable to pay. The fees are used in large part to provide the stipends to leaders of the MKP-I for their work to staff the NWTA, I-Group, and other trainings offered by the non-profit organization. A second difference between mutual-help groups and I-Groups is that mutual-help groups are based on the principle of mutual aid among peers, more so than the related but distinct principles of mentoring and eldering characterizing the NWTA and initial I-Group training, in which more experienced members provide initiation and guidance into mature masculinity to less experienced or younger men.

PRIOR STUDIES OF MKP-I

Studies of the mythopoetic men's movement and its associated mutual-help groups have accumulated in the past two decades (Barton, 2000; Ferber, 2000; Kimmel, 1995; Magnuson, 2008; Schwalbe, 1996). Several studies have described and evaluated the psychological meaning and impact of participating in the MKP-I. Those studies surveying participants tend to reach different conclusions than those that analyze the discourse of organizational and movement related literature. For example, Goll (2005-2006) found positive changes in surveyed participants regarding their self-actualization and spiritual maturity. Burke, Maton, Mankowski, and Anderson (2010) found positive changes in MKP-I related beliefs, gender role conflict, social support, depression, and life satisfaction over a 2-year period with survey and interview data, as well as some evidence that changes in social support and MKP-I related beliefs were responsible for the improved outcomes. Barton (2011) compared two mythopoetic men's peer mutual help groups and a fathers' rights group and found that members of all three groups reported support as a major benefit from participation. The members of MKP-I

studied by Schulz (2011) also reported enhanced emotional support and positive changes in their lives. A number of unpublished theses and dissertations have reached similar conclusions (Baker, 2007; Levin, 1997). Commonly, these studies have been conducted by participants or former participants in the MKP-I and may have been motivated, at least in part, by a desire to bring greater scientific legitimacy and support to the organization.

In contrast to the findings from survey research studies, discourse analytic and ethnographic studies of MKP-I and other mythopoetic men's groups have generally, though not uniformly, produced more ambivalent or strongly critical conclusions about the value of the organization and participation in it. These ethnographies and discourse analytic studies examine the meta-theoretical perspectives on gender, which can be generally represented as mythopoetic and feminist views of masculinity (see Kimmel, 1995), that inform the structure and process of the organization and its activities. Some of these studies have analyzed texts cited as influential in the mythopoetic men's movement, with which the MKP-I has been associated, and found that the theory of gender on which the organization is based to be a reassertion of essentialism. For example, Ferber (2000) compares the discourse in the mythopoetic men's movement and the contemporary white supremacist movement and while noting some important differences between them, argues that they share an essentialist perspective on gender. Furthermore, Ferber views them as representing backlash reactions to the progressive women's and civil rights movements, attempting to reassert men's authority over women and minorities from a misguided victim stance. However, a contrary view is provided by Ellis (1994). Furthermore, Karp (2010), using participant observation and interviews with members who worked together as part of an MKP-I outreach program to men in prisons, found that through the emotion-centered and initiatory mentoring work of the program the imprisoned men gradually were enabled to drop their tough masks of hypermasculinity and to replace them with more trusting (but not unguarded or unbounded) and authentic relationships.

Some research has also been conducted to assess the effectiveness of the educational training that I-Group facilitators and leaders in training for NWTA Leadership certification receive to develop their leadership skills and qualities. The leaders in training are paired with a mentor who has more experience. In one study, participants in the leader-track training who perceived more interpersonal interaction with their mentor and agreed that their mentor holds them accountable for their actions were more likely to evaluate the mentoring program as effective (Gargala, 2010). That is, participants in the organization who perceive greater accountability and engagement in relationships also rate the mentoring they receive as more effective. This is consistent with the idea that the organization is perceived to be more successful by men who particularly seek male social support and boundary setting. Thus, we would expect social support and accountability to represent meaningful experiences for men in this

organization. Further, the finding resonates with that from other research one of us has conducted in another male change-oriented peer group setting—domestic violence intervention groups. Men identified as successful in such a program by their group's leader perceived that a balance of both support and accountability from the leader was important in facilitating a process of change in their abusive behavior (Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006).

The clarity and meaning of the life goals of men involved in male mutual help groups have been theorized to be of central concern and motivation for participation (Magnuson, 2008). In particular, participants are concerned with the balance and integration of their roles in work and family life, believing that men have invested an unhealthy and disproportionate amount of their lives in pursuit of economic activity. This is not surprising given that work-family conflict is a key dimension of men's gender role conflicts (O'Neil, 2008). Further, consistent with analyses of gender role stress and strain (Pleck, 1995), participants in Magnusson's (2008) ethnographic study of community-based mythopoetic male peer mutual help groups talked about how they had come to believe that the achievement of success in work and economic life did not result in personal well-being nor collective good, and found support for these views and their efforts to transform their lives accordingly from similarly-minded men in the groups.

PURPOSE OF THE CURRENT STUDY

This study stems from a 15-year community-based participatory research collaboration with the MKP-I that examines the impact of participation in the organization using survey, peer report, and interview data collected before, during, and in some cases after men are involved. Consistent with empowerment evaluation and community based participatory research models, our evaluation focused on measuring outcomes of participation that reflected the organization's own goals, by identifying and measuring constructs that reflected, at least in part, these characterizations. The multi-site study reported here expands and replicates our prior research conducted with one local center of the organization (Anderson et al., 2014; Burke et al., 2010; Mankowski, Maton, Burke, Hoover, & Anderson, 2000). In those studies, we found that compared to their levels before beginning participation in the MKP-I, participants' psychological well-being, life satisfaction, sense of mastery, and the importance of and satisfaction with pro-social life goals all increased and that gender role conflict decreased after the initial weekend training. In one study, we also found a mix of positive and negative changes in attitudes toward women and/or the women's movement (Mankowski et al., 2000). Of note, Anderson et al. (2014) and Burke et al. (2010) found that many of the initial, short-term changes we had found in gender role conflict and well-being were maintained over a 2-year follow-up period. However, unanswered yet is whether these mostly positive, enduring changes

were particular to the local center or rather were representative of participants in MKP-I centers more generally.

The current report is a preliminary analysis of surveys with participants from six different centers in geographically diverse areas of the United States (and Canada). Surveys were administered to participants immediately before and at four points across a 2-year follow-up period after their initial involvement in the organization. Two hypotheses were tested:

1. Do men who complete the MKP-I training adventure weekend experience increases in their psychological well-being, social support, and MKP-I related beliefs, and decreases in their gender role conflict and sexist attitudes toward women immediately after the weekend, 3 months after the weekend, 1 year after the weekend, and 2 years after the weekend?
2. Given the focus of the organization on increasing men's sense of purpose or mission in life, do participants experience increases in the importance of and satisfaction with several pro-social life goals?

METHOD

Participants

The research participants in the present study were the 293 men who attended one of twelve MKP-I Training Adventure Weekends that took place between September 2006 and July 2009 and who completed a pre-weekend baseline survey. Table 1 presents information concerning the number of participants and both pre-and immediate post-weekend survey response rates from each weekend. These 12 weekends were selected for analysis from a set of 45 weekends. The weekends had to meet two inclusion criteria:

1. at least 65% of the participants who attended the weekend completed both the pre-weekend assessment and the immediate post-weekend assessment (weekend mean = 83.0%); and
2. at least 75% of the participants who completed a pre-weekend assessment completed a post-weekend assessment (weekend mean = 86.1%).

Greater confidence in the representativeness of findings among participants who attended the weekends is present for these 12 weekends, given the high percentage that completed both pre-weekend and immediate post-weekend surveys. Research response rates more generally for the 12 included weekends were as follows: all 293 participants (100%) completed the pre-weekend survey, 249 (85%) completed the immediate post-weekend survey, 172 (58.7%) completed the post-I-Group training (see below) survey, 122 (41.6%) completed the 1-year follow-up, and 51 participants (17.4%) completed the 2-year follow-up survey. In terms of total number of surveys completed, 32 participants (10.9%)

Table 1. Number of Participants and Response Rates Pre-Weekend and Immediate Post-Weekend by Weekend

Date of weekend	MKP-I Center	n Attend Weekend (1)	n Complete Pre-WS (2)	n Complete Pre-WS & Post-WS (3)	% Complete Pre-WS Att. W (2)/(1)	% Complete Pre-WS & Post-WS Att W (3)/(1)	% Complete Pre-WS & Post-WS Pre-WS (3)/(2)
11/06	Windsor/Detroit	28	27	24	96.4	85.7	88.9
03/07	Kentucky	20	20	20	100.0	100.0	100.0
04/07	New England	31	30	23	96.8	74.2	76.7
06/07	Greater DC	35	30	23	85.7	65.7	76.7
07/07	New England	28	28	23	100.0	82.1	82.1
08/07	Kentucky	23	23	22	100.0	95.7	95.7
09/07	Windsor/Detroit	23	21	19	91.3	82.6	90.5
09/07	Santa Barbara	32	30	23	93.8	71.9	76.7
10/07	Kentucky	22	22	22	100.0	100.0	100.0
11/07	Greater DC	18	17	14	94.4	77.8	82.4
05/08	NY Mertro	32	31	24	96.9	75.0	77.4
07/09	Windsor/Detroit	14	14	12	100.0	85.7	85.7
TOTAL N		306	293	249			
Average % by weekend					96.3%	83.0%	86.1%
Average % across sample					93.7%	81.4%	85.0%

Note: Pre-WS = Pre-Weekend Survey; Post-WS = Immediate Post-Weekend Survey; Att W = Attend Weekend.

completed only one survey, 68 (23.2%) completed two, 93 (31.7%) completed three, 60 (20.5%) completed four, and 40 participants (13.7%) completed all five surveys.

As shown in Table 2, six different MKP-I centers conducted the 12 selected weekends (range of 1 to 3 weekends per center; range of 30 to 65 participants from each center). Secondary analyses were conducted on responses from participants who attended any of the 45 weekends (i.e., independent of the percentage of participants who completed pre-weekend and immediate post-weekend measures at that weekend).

The men in the sample were predominantly middle-aged ($M = 42.8$, $SD = 11.9$, range = 18-74), and nearly three-fifths (59.4%) had a college or advanced degree. Less than one-fifth (17.4%) were ethnic minorities. Nearly half of the men were married or partnered (48.8%). Over a third (36.9%) had children living in the home. Less than one-sixth (14.8%) were gay or bisexual. More than half (56.2%) indicated that their religious faith (or spirituality) was either "very important" or of "primary importance," and slightly less than a third (30.7%) reported prior men's group experience.

Procedure

Our research team was purposefully composed of both members and non-members of the MKP-I organization. We believe the validity of our research is improved by including both insider and outsider perspectives. Because there are members of the organization on the team, we can build upon insiders' experiential knowledge about the organization and its functioning. This was helpful in gaining access to and establishing cooperative and trusting relationships with members and leaders of the organization, in designing a contextually valid

Table 2. ManKind Project Center by Number of Weekends and Participants

Center location	Number weekends	*N* Participants	% of Total
Greater Washington (DC)	2	47	16.0
Kentucky	3	65	22.2
New England	2	58	19.8
New York Metro	1	31	10.6
Santa Barbara	1	30	10.2
Windsor (Canada)/Detroit	3	62	21.1
TOTAL	12	293	100.0

survey measure of MKP beliefs, and in recruiting participants into the study. The team also includes one non-member, who adds a different, potentially more objective viewpoint on the research questions, methods, and data interpretations.

MKP-I participants who had signed up to participate in the NWTA weekend were sent an e-mail from their center encouraging them to complete the pre-weekend survey, with the link to the web-based survey included in the text of the e-mail (consent was obtained online). A comparable procedure was used to obtain follow-up assessments:

1. 2 weeks after the weekend;
2. after the post-I-Group training was completed, which usually occurred 3 months or so after the weekend;
3. 1 year after the weekend; and
4. 2 years after the weekend.

For several of the early weekends, men completed the pre-weekend survey on-site at the start of the weekend. Participants who lacked e-mail addresses were sent the material by regular mail. Participants were reminded about the need to complete the surveys at multiple times throughout the research project. On average, participants returned their immediate post-weekend survey 2 weeks ($SD = 0.6$ weeks) after the weekend, their post-I-Group training survey 6 months ($SD = 2.2$ months) after the weekend, their 1-year follow-up 16 months ($SD = 3.4$ months) after the weekend, and the 2-year follow-up survey on average was completed 28 months ($SD = 3.8$ months) after the weekend.

Measures

Demographic and Background Information

Demographic and background information obtained included age, highest level of education completed, ethnicity, marital status, number of children currently residing in the home, sexual orientation, importance of religious faith (rated on a 5-point scale), and number of years of prior men's group experience. The information was collected in the pre-weekend survey.

MKP Related Beliefs

A series of seven items were created to examine self-related beliefs about constructs germane to the MKP-I experience (Burke et al., 2010). In particular, the items are designed to reflect core concepts included in the NWTA, particularly its emphasis on developing emotional literacy and personal integrity. Items were generated by the research team with the help of numerous experienced members of the organization to increase the validity of construct assessment. The seven items are: "I am assertive and clear with others about what I want or need," "I am a man of power, a man among men," "I am learning to be accountable

for my own feelings, judgments, opinions, and actions," "I am learning to live in the world with an open heart," "My mission in life is clear," "I am learning how to live from my deepest core being or truth," and "I am learning to accept total responsibility for all aspects of my life." Questions were answered using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = "not at all accurate, to 5 = "completely accurate." Internal scale reliability (Cronbach alpha) in the previous study was .85, and in the current sample was .86 (pre-weekend measure).

Gender Role Conflict

Gender role conflict was assessed with a subset of items from the The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). The GRCS is a 37-item self-report instrument designed to assess personal dimensions of gender role patterns. Higher scores reflect higher gender role conflict. To reduce the length of the survey, the decision was made to only use a subset of three items from each of the four subscales; the three items selected were strongly correlated in our prior study and/or in prior research. The three items selected from the full 10-item Restrictive Emotionality (RE) subscale were: "I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner," "I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings," and "Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me." The three items selected from the full 8-item Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men (RABBM) scale were: "Hugging other men is difficult for me," "Affection with other men makes me tense," and "Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable." The three items selected from the full 13-item Success Power and Competition (SPC) scale were: "I strive to be more successful than others," "Moving up the career ladder is important to me," and "Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me." Finally, the three items selected from the full 6-item Conflict between Work and Family Relations (CWFR) scale were: "My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like," "My career, job or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life," and "Finding time to relax is difficult for me." For congruence with other survey items, all items were assessed on a 5-point rating scale reflecting how accurate the statement was as a description of the respondent (1 = not at all accurate, 2 = a little accurate, 3 = somewhat accurate, 4 = pretty accurate, and 5 = completely accurate). The coefficient alphas for the abbreviated RE, RABBM, SPC and CWFR subscales used in this study were .87, .81, .69, and .83, respectively (pre-weekend survey).

Attitudes toward Women

Two items assessing attitudes toward women were included, consistent with items included in the broader literature: "I dislike it when men treat women as sex objects" and "The feminist movement has given too much power to women at the expense of men." Respondents were asked to indicate how accurately each

item described themselves, using a 5-point Likert-type response scale (1 = not at all accurate, 2 = a little accurate, 3 = somewhat accurate, 4 = pretty accurate, and 5 = completely accurate). Although reliability and validity information are not available, the items do possess face validity.

Social Support

Social support was measured with two items taken from the Social Support Survey (Sarason et al., 1983). The number of close relationships was assessed with the item: "About how many people do you feel close to these days. These are people you feel at ease with, talk to about private matters, or call on for help." Social support satisfaction was measured with the follow-up item "How satisfied are you with this level of closeness?" Responses to both items were on a 5-point scale (1 = not all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = pretty much, and 5 = very much). Although information is lacking on the psychometrics of the items, they do have face validity.

Satisfaction with Life

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) is a five-item measure to assess the respondent's overall satisfaction with life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). Satisfaction with life is inversely related to depression (e.g., Koivamaa-Honkanen, Kaprio, Honkanen, Viinamaki, & Koskenvuo, 2004). The SWLS was included in the present study because of its greater focus on a cognitive judgmental process than scales of depressive symptoms (Diener et al., 1985) and its ability to complement scales more focused on psychopathology (Pavot & Diener, 1993). The SWLS has good reliability and convergent validity with other measures of emotional well-being (Pavot & Diener, 1993). In the current study sample, the scale had an alpha reliability of .89 (pre-weekend survey).

Depression Symptoms

Depression symptoms were assessed by the depression subscale of the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI), a shortened form of the Symptom Checklist-90 (SCL-90-R). The items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale (0 = "not at all" to 4 = "extremely"). This measure is widely used, and studies have shown it to have strong internal consistency and construct validity through corroboration with other measures of depression (Boulet & Boss, 1991; Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983).

Personal Life Goals: Importance and Satisfaction

Eight life goals were assessed, each of which appeared consistent with the MKP-I mission. These were: having strong relationships with other men; having strong friendships (in general); working to correct social, racial, or economic

inequalities; serving as a model for other men; helping other men develop and grow; having a deep spiritual life; assuming leadership roles; and developing leadership qualities. Respondents were asked to indicate "how important a personal goal" each of the eight was for them using a 5-point response scale (1 = not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = pretty much, and 5 = very much). Respondents also were asked to indicate "how satisfied you are about your current level of achievement of the goal" using the same 5-point response scale. Although reliability and validity information are not available for either importance or satisfaction, the items do have strong face validity.

Analysis Plan

Since the goal of the current study is to provide a preliminary, descriptive overview of change over time among study participants, the decision was made to conduct paired t-tests comparing participant's pre-weekend scores with their scores at each successive data collection point. Not including covariates, not examining individual patterns of change over time (i.e., longitudinal growth modeling), and not performing data imputation, along with the inclusion of the later data collection points where response rates were quite low represent substantial limitations of the study. Nonetheless, the benefits of providing an early, preliminary overview of findings from a cross-section of MKP-I settings that build upon the single-site findings from the earlier study were viewed as sufficient justification for the current analysis plan, its limitations notwithstanding.

Results

First, intercorrelations among study variables are presented. Next, results of paired t-tests examining changes over time in the study variables are reported. Finally, findings of secondary analyses including the participants from all 45 weekends are summarized.

Intercorrelations among Study Variables

Table 3 presents intercorrelations among MKP Related Beliefs, Gender Role Conflict, Social Support, and Well-being variables. The pattern of significant relations is generally as expected, and consistent with the earlier MKP-I research, with MKP Related Beliefs, Social Support, and Life Satisfaction positively related to each other, and each inversely related to Restrictive Emotionality, Restrictive Affective Behavior between Men, and Depression Symptoms. The magnitude of these significant relations are generally moderate, ranging from –.18 to –.47. One somewhat stronger relation was between MKP Related Beliefs and Life Satisfaction, $r = .62$ ($p < .01$). The only significant relations in the opposite direction than expected were the small but significant positive relations of $r = .17$ ($p < .05$) between Success, Power, and Competition and both MKP

Table 3. Correlations among MKP Related Beliefs, Gender Role Conflict, Social Support, and Well-Being Measures

Variable	1.RB	2.RE	3.RABBM	4.SPC	5.CWFR	6.NCR	7.RCS	8.LS	9.DS
1. MKP Related Beliefs	—								
2. Restrictive Emotionality	-.43** (277)	—							
3. Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men	-.30** (280)	.43** (279)	—						
4. Success, Power, and Competition	.17** (285)	-.04 (280)	-.02 (283)	—					
5. Conflict between Work & Family Relations	-.03 (279)	.15* (274)	.05 (279)	.05 (281)	—				
6. Number of Close Relationships	.29* (287)	-.25** (282)	-.18** (286)	.17** (290)	-.03 (284)	—			
7. Relationship Closeness: Satisfaction	.39** (285)	-.31** (280)	-.25** (284)	.11 (288)	-.12* (282)	.45** (291)	—		
8. Life Satisfaction	.62** (281)	-.30* (275)	-.18** (279)	.08 (283)	-.12* (277)	.26** (285)	.41** (291)	—	
9. Depression symptoms	-.42** (284)	.27** (278)	.23** (282)	-.02 (281)	.01 (289)	-.20** (287)	-.29 (282)	-.47** (289)	—

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. Pearson correlations.

Related Beliefs and Number of Close Relationships. Of note, Success, Power, and Competition was not significantly related to any of the other variables. Apparently, Success, Power, and Competition assesses a distinctive aspect of masculinity that is not directly related to well-being, either positively or negatively.

Paired *t*-Test Analyses

Due to the large number of *t*-tests conducted, the decision was made to use a more stringent alpha level, $p < .01$ than the traditional $p < .05$. The Bonferroni procedure was viewed as producing too stringent an alpha level, and the one chosen was viewed as a reasonable compromise. For each set of variables, only the range of effect sizes is reported, for significant findings only (calculated as r^2, using the formula $r^2 = t^2/(t^2 + df)$).

To test the first hypothesis, paired sample *t*-tests comparing pre-weekend to each of the four follow-up time points were conducted on all study variables. Significant changes in hypothesized directions were found from pre-weekend to post-weekend, pre-weekend to post-I-Group training, pre-weekend to 1-year, and from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up for MKP Related Beliefs, Restrictive Emotionality, Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men, and Life Satisfaction (Table 4). Comparable results were obtained for Number of Close Relationships, Satisfaction with Relationship Closeness and Depression Symptoms from pre-weekend to each of the first three follow-up assessments, and for Depression Symptoms for the first two follow-up assessments. Consistent with prior research, no significant changes were found for Success, Power, and Competition. The effect sizes of significant findings ranged from $r^2 = .15$ (medium effect size) to $r^2 = .46$ (large effect size). Overall, the findings suggest that MKP participation was a positive experience for the men in this sample.

Paired *t*-tests were also conducted on the two items assessing attitudes toward women (Table 5). There was a significant change in one instance—an increase from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend for the item, "The feminist movement has given too much power to women at the expense of men." The effect size was $r^2 = .04$ (small to medium effect size). There was not a significant change from pre-weekend to post-I-Group training, pre-weekend to 1-year follow-up, and pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up for this item. None of the *t*-tests were significant for changes in the second item assessing attitudes toward women.

To test the second hypothesis, paired sample *t*-tests were conducted comparing pre-weekend with each follow-up assessment for the items assessing the importance of various life goals (Table 6). The importance of two life goals, Helping Other Men Develop and Grow and Serving as a Model for Other Men, increased significantly from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend, pre-weekend to post-I-Group training, and from pre-weekend to 1-year follow-up. Furthermore, the importance of the goals Working to Correct Social, Racial, or Economic Inequalities and Having Strong Friendships with Other Men increased

Table 4. Change Over Time in MKP Beliefs, Social Support, Gender Role Conflict, and Well-Being Variables

Variable	Pre-Weekend Means (SD)[a]	Post-Weekend Means (SD)	Post I-Group Training Mean (SD)	1-Year Mean (SD)	2-Year Mean (SD)	n	t-Test value
MKP Related Beliefs	20.7 (5.9)	26.2 (5.9)	25.2 (5.7)	25.4 (5.4)	26.0 (5.0)	235	14.07**
	20.4 (6.1)					159	11.19**
	20.3 (5.7)					116	11.62**
	20.8 (5.8)					49	8.39**
Restritive Emotionality	8.0 (3.6)	7.3 (3.2)	7.3 (3.1)	6.9 (3.0)	6.5 (3.0)	237	3.72**
	8.1 (3.6)					164	3.73**
	8.0 (3.6)					115	3.73**
	7.9 (3.5)					51	3.21**
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men	5.2 (2.5)	4.4 (1.9)	4.6 (2.1)	4.1 (1.6)	4.0 (1.5)	238	5.68**
	5.2 (2.4)					164	3.80**
	5.1 (2.2)					116	5.48**
	5.0 (2.2)					49	3.19**
Success, Power, and Competition	9.9 (1.9)	9.9 (1.8)	9.7 (1.9)	9.8 (2.1)	9.2 (2.2)	245	0.53
	9.8 (2.0)					169	0.30
	9.5 (1.9)					120	1.51
	9.5 (1.9)					50	1.09

Measure	Pre-weekend	Post-weekend	Post I-Group	1-year	2-year	N	t
Conflict between Work & Family Relations	8.2 (3.6)	8.2 (3.4)				241	0.18
	8.1 (3.6)		7.8 (3.2)			165	1.33
	8.1 (3.7)			7.7 (3.2)		116	1.14
	8.9 (3.5)					48	2.62
Close Relationships: Number	5.8 (3.1)	7.3 (3.3)				249	8.55**
	6.1 (3.2)		7.5 (3.3)			171	6.35**
	6.2 (3.2)			7.8 (3.2)		122	5.04**
	6.6 (3.3)				7.4 (3.2)	52	1.68
Relationship Closeness: Satisfaction	3.5 (1.2)	3.8 (1.1)				247	3.98**
	3.5 (1.1)		3.8 (1.0)			167	3.53**
	3.5 (1.1)			3.9 (1.0)		121	3.09**
	3.6 (1.1)				4.0 (0.9)	50	2.27
Life Satisfaction	12.7 (4.8)	13.6 (5.0)				240	4.60**
	12.4 (4.9)		13.9 (4.7)			162	4.99**
	12.5 (5.0)			14.0 (5.0)		114	5.00**
	12.8 (5.2)				14.6 (4.5)	49	2.96**
Depression Symptoms	15.0 (5.9)	12.9 (5.8)				238	5.17**
	14.8 (6.0)		13.0 (5.4)			166	3.89**
	14.7 (5.7)			13.5 (5.8)		120	2.31
	14.0 (5.5)				12.9 (5.2)	47	1.97

[a]Pre-weekend score, compared to follow-up. There are four different pre-weekend scores provided for each variable due to exclusion of increasing numbers of individuals who completed pre-weekend and post-weekend surveys but did not complete post I-Group surveys, 1-year surveys, and 2-year surveys, respectively.

**$p < .01$.

Table 5. Change Over Time in Attitudes toward Women

Goal	Pre-weekend[a]	Post-weekend	Post I-Training	1-Year	2-Year	n	t-Test
Dislike it when	3.9 (1.1)	4.0 (1.1)				247	1.42
men treat	3.9 (1.0)		3.9 (1.1)			170	0.14
women as	3.9 (1.1)			4.0 (1.1)		121	0.88
objects	3.9 (1.0)				3.9 (1.9)	49	0.89
Feminist	1.8 (1.1)	2.0 (1.2)				246	3.02**
movement too	1.7 (1.1)		1.8 (1.0)			172	0.50
much power	1.7 (1.0)			1.7 (1.0)		121	0.28
to women at	1.5 (0.9)				1.6 (0.8)	51	0.28
expense of							
men							

[a]Pre-weekend score, compared to follow-up. There are four different pre-weekend means provided for each variable due to exclusion of increasing numbers of individuals who completed pre-weekend and post-weekend surveys but did not complete post I-Group surveys, 1-year surveys, and 2-year surveys, respectively.

**$p < .01$.

from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend and from pre-weekend to post-I-Group Training . Finally, for the goals Having Strong Friendships, Having a Deep Spiritual Life, Assuming Leadership Roles, and Developing Leadership Qualities the only significant findings were increases from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend. The effect sizes of significant findings ranged from $r^2 = .05$ (small to medium effect size) to $r^2 = .29$ (large effect size).

More enduring findings emerged for changes in satisfaction with the level of achievement of the various life goals (Table 7). For five of the eight goals, satisfaction with levels of achievement increased significantly from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend, pre-weekend to post-I-Group training, pre-weekend to 1-year, and from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up. For two of the other goals, Working to Correct Social, Racial, or Economic Inequalities and Developing Leadership Qualities, satisfaction with levels of achievement increased significantly from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend and from pre-weekend to post-I-Group training, but there was not a significant increase from pre-weekend to either 1-year or 2-year follow-up. Finally, for one goal, Having a Deep Spiritual Life, satisfaction with levels of achievement increased significantly from pre-weekend to post-I-Group training, and from pre-weekend to 1-year follow-up, but there was not a significant increase from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend or from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up. The effect sizes of significant findings ranged from $r^2 = .14$ to $r^2 = .20$ (all medium to large effect sizes).

Table 6. Change Over Time in Importance of Life Goals

Goal	Pre-weekend[a]	Post-weekend	Post I-Grp Training	1-Year	2-Year	n	t-Test
Having strong friendships with other men	4.1 (1.0) 4.1 (1.0) 4.0 (1.0) 4.1 (1.0)	4.5 (0.8)	4.3 (0.8)	4.2 (0.9)	4.2 (0.9)	249 172 121 52	7.82** 2.94** 1.89 0.77
Having strong friendships	4.4 (0.7) 4.5 (0.7) 4.5 (0.8) 4.6 (0.6)	4.7 (0.5)	4.6 (0.6)	4.5 (0.7)	4.5 (0.6)	243 170 119 50	4.97** 0.33 0.23 −1.15
Working to correct social, racial, or economic inequalities	3.4 (1.2) 3.3 (1.2) 3.3 (1.1) 3.3 (1.2)	3.8 (1.1)	3.6 (1.2)	3.5 (1.1)	3.3 (1.2)	248 172 122 51	6.99** 3.41** 2.27 0.25
Serving as a model for other men	3.8 (1.1) 3.7 (1.1) 3.7 (1.1) 3.7 (1.1)	4.3 (0.8)	4.0 (0.9)	4.0 (0.9)	3.9 (0.9)	248 172 121 51	7.65** 4.26** 3.53** 1.56
Helping other men develop and grow	3.8 (1.1) 3.7 (1.1) 3.7 (1.1) 3.7 (1.9)	4.3 (0.8)	4.0 (0.9)	4.0 (0.9)	4.0 (0.9)	246 170 121 52	8.54** 4.97** 2.98** 1.68†
Having a deep spiritual life	4.2 (1.1) 4.1 (1.2) 4.1 (1.1) 4.1 (1.1)	4.4 (1.0)	4.2 (1.1)	4.0 (1.1)	3.9 (1.1)	249 172 122 52	4.92** 1.04 −0.94 −2.06
Assuming leadership roles	3.7 (1.1) 3.8 (1.1) 3.6 (1.2) 3.7 (1.1)	4.0 (0.9)	3.9 (0.9)	3.7 (1.1)	3.6 (1.0)	248 171 122 52	4.15** 1.63 1.36 −0.93
Developing leadership qualities	4.1 (1.0) 4.1 (1.0) 3.9 (1.0) 4.1 (1.0)	4.3 (0.9)	4.1 (0.9)	3.9 (1.0)	3.9 (0.9)	246 169 120 50	4.12** 0.41 0.25 −2.13

[a]Pre-weekend score, compared to follow-up.
**$p < .01$. †$< .10$.

Table 7. Change Over Time in Satisfaction with Level of
Achievement of Life Goals

Goal	Pre-weekend[a]	Post-weekend	Post I-Grp Training	1-Year	2-Year	n	t-Test
Having strong friendships with other men	2.9 (1.1)	3.5 (1.1)				247	8.15**
	2.9 (1.1)		3.4 (0.9)			171	6.47**
	2.8 (1.1)			3.7 (0.9)		121	8.18**
	2.9 (1.0)				3.8 (0.9)	52	5.82**
Having strong friendships	3.2 (1.2)	3.5 (1.1)				245	3.65**
	3.3 (1.1)		3.6 (0.9)			165	4.41**
	3.3 (1.0)			3.6 (0.9)		121	3.41**
	3.5 (1.0)				4.0 (0.8)	51	3.13**
Working to correct social, racial, or economic inequalities	2.7 (1.2)	2.9 (1.2)				246	3.62**
	2.6 (1.2)		2.9 (1.1)			172	3.44**
	2.6 (1.2)			3.1 (1.1)		122	4.65**
	2.6 (1.2)				3.0 (1.2)	51	2.34
Serving as a model for other men	2.9 (1.1)	3.2 (1.1)				247	4.19**
	2.8 (1.1)		3.3 (0.9)			170	6.91**
	2.8 (1.1)			3.3 (1.0)		121	5.01**
	2.8 (1.1)				3.5 (0.8)	51	5.28**
Helping other men develop and grow	2.9 (1.1)	3.1 (1.1)				246	3.44**
	2.8 (1.1)		3.3 (1.0)			171	6.62**
	2.8 (1.0)			3.4 (1.0)		122	5.06**
	2.8 (1.1)				3.6 (0.9)	51	5.45**
Having a deep spiritual life	3.3 (1.1)	3.4 (1.2)				249	2.25
	3.2 (1.1)		3.5 (1.1)			170	3.61**
	3.2 (1.1)			3.5 (1.0)		122	3.49**
	3.2 (1.1)				3.4 (1.0)	51	1.16
Assuming leadership roles	2.9 (1.2)	3.2 (1.1)				248	3.05**
	2.9 (1.2)		3.2 (1.1)			168	3.64**
	2.9 (1.1)			3.4 (1.0)		122	4.31**
	3.0 (1.2)				3.4 (1.0)	51	2.87**
Developing leadership qualities	3.0 (1.0)	3.2 (1.1)				244	4.12**
	3.0 (1.2)		3.4 (1.0)			165	4.22**
	3.0 (1.0)			3.4 (1.0)		120	4.43**
	3.1 (1.1)				3.6 (0.9)	51	2.56

[a]Pre-weekend score, compared to follow-up.
**p < .01.

Secondary Analyses

The paired *t*-test analyses were repeated with the full study sample (all 45 weekends, again using $p < .01$ as the alpha level), with essentially the same pattern of findings emerging. The differences that occurred were additional, statistically significant findings for the full sample that had not been present for the 12-weekends sample. Specifically, statistically significant differences that were present only for the full sample occurred in the following cases:

1. a decrease in depression symptoms from pre-weekend to 1-year follow-up and from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up;
2. an increase in satisfaction with relationship closeness from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up;
3. an increase in the importance of the goal of having strong friendships with other men from pre-weekend to 1-year follow-up;
4. an increase in the importance of the goal of working to correct social, racial, or economic inequalities from pre-weekend to 1-year follow-up;
5. an increase in satisfaction with achievement of the goal of working to correct social, racial, or economic inequalities from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up;
6. an increase in satisfaction with achievement of the goal of having a deep spiritual life from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up;
7. an increase in satisfaction with achievement of the goal of developing leadership qualities from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up; and
8. a decrease in conflict between work and family relations from pre-weekend to 2-year follow-up. These additional significant findings (again, all at the $p < .01$ level) may have been due to the increased statistical power present in the full-sample analyses.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine change among men participating in the ManKind Project mutual-help organization to determine its potential to effectively address social and health problems related to traditional male gender role socialization and conflict (Kilmartin, 2009; O'Neil, 2008). We tested hypotheses regarding changes in MKP-I related beliefs, gender role conflict, attitudes toward women, social support, well-being, and life goals using five waves of survey data collected across a multiple year period of participation. Findings were largely consistent with hypotheses and demonstrate positive changes in nearly every one of these outcomes, though with differing duration. The changes suggest that through their participation in the MKP-I men are empowered to reject adherence to traditional masculine gender role expectations, replacing them with an alternative set of beliefs about gender through transformational personal/emotional experience and increased social support.

Specifically, participants reported an increased endorsement of MKP Related Beliefs that was maintained across the multiple year study period. Consistent

with the aims of the organization, these changes reflect an increased sense of clarity, power, interconnectedness, and accountability as men. Equally durable decreases in some aspects of men's gender role conflict (i.e., restrictive emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior between men) also were found. These changes are particularly important, given the range of health and social problems that are associated with gender role conflict (O'Neil, 2008). Although we did not examine behavior in this study, these findings suggest that MKP-I could lead to improvements in men's health and relationships and decreases in interpersonal violence. Interestingly, in this and prior studies of MKP-I, no change in the success, power, and competition and conflict between work and family relations components of men's gender role conflicts have been detected. Qualitative analyses of interviews with participants might shed light on why this aspect of gender role conflict appears to be unaffected by participation in MKP-I.

In addition, as durable or nearly as durable changes were found in men's wellness, measured as increased satisfaction with life, enhanced social support, and decreased depression symptoms. Prior research (Burke et al., 2010) has found that the amount of increase in MKP-I participants' social support predicts the amount of decrease in aspects of their gender role conflict and their depression symptoms as well as the increase in their life satisfaction. The findings from this more representative sample of the MKP-I population are consistent with these change processes. However, as noted, changes on some of the outcomes were not detected in later time points. This could mean that the weekend experience and initial mentoring and other contacts with the larger organization are responsible for creating or maintaining change in these outcomes, and that when the I-Groups begin to function more autonomously, the changes are not maintained.

Pro-social life goals increased in importance in the men's lives, at least during the initial training weekend and for some goals, much longer. Similarly, men's satisfaction with their achievement of all but one of these goals also increased and for many of the goals was maintained across the 2-year study period. Again, as with the changes in MKP-I Related Beliefs, these findings are consistent with the MKP-I's own declared goals as an organization—"to help men discover and live personal missions of service in the world."

Finally, men's attitudes toward women on one of two items demonstrated short-term change in an undesirable direction. Specifically, participants agreed more after the initial weekend than before the weekend that feminism has increased women's power too much relative to men. It should be noted, however, that this change was not maintained at any of the later time points, and that levels of overall endorsement were low throughout the 2 years of follow-up (between the scale anchors of "not at all" and "a little"). In our earlier study (Mankowski et al., 2000), 10 of the13 items included demonstrated unchanged attitudes toward women from pre-weekend to post-weekend. In that study, as in the current one, pre-weekend levels were already quite high (i.e., very favorable attitudes toward women) on most items. Nonetheless, in the earlier study there

were two items demonstrating positive changes from pre-weekend to immediate post-weekend (an increase in agreement about egalitarian roles, and a decrease in agreement about hostility toward women) and one item demonstrating a negative change (an increase in agreement regarding sexual aggression toward women). Although the current research indicates no change in attitudes to women beyond the immediate post-weekend assessment point, further research is nonetheless needed with better measurement. The somewhat inconsistent, conflicting data we have obtained in terms of pre-weekend to post-weekend changes raises important questions about the nature of participants' attitudes toward women and feminism and the impact (at least short-term) of participation on these attitudes (see also, Kimmel, 1995).

Limitations and Conclusion

The largely positive evaluations that men reported should be understood in the context of limitations in the design and measures used in the study. First, although we collaborated closely with the organization in order to design and implement a research process that would be meaningful, rewarding, and feasible for participants, there were many men who did not complete all the survey measures, and the response rate decreased over the duration of the study. The men who did not complete surveys are probably more likely to have stopped attending I-Group meetings and may be less satisfied with and affected by their participation in MKP-I. Thus, the changes we found are restricted to the sample of self-selected men who continued participation after the initial training weekend. The response rate for the final data collection point is particularly low, and thus interpretation is particularly problematic—these findings, at best, are suggestive. However, the sample size does provide sufficient statistical power, and these 2-year findings do suggest that positive outcomes may persist over the longer term.

This sample was demographically unique in that it had higher levels of formal education, more gay or bisexual men, and more prior participation in men's groups than the U.S. male population. It is unknown whether men who chose to participate in MKP-I but did not participate fully in the research changed in the same ways or whether if mandated to participate in MKP-I (e.g., domestic violence perpetrators), men would experience similar changes. Understanding the reasons that men drop out of I-Groups could enable the organization to make changes that would increase the number of men who stay involved and the impact of the organization (Mankowski et al., 2000). Similarly, it would be useful to understand whether the organization can be helpful to men who do not voluntarily seek out participation and, if so, how to engage effectively those men in the organization. However, by their very nature, mutual help groups are generally designed for self-selected participants and so the question of whether they also are effective for men who would not choose to participate is inconsistent with the voluntary ethic of mutual-help.

Future research should improve response rates and furthermore use missing data imputation strategies in order to obtain more representative findings, across time, including all study participants in all analyses. Such research should also control variability in the time between survey waves across participants. More sophisticated analyses that control for or model demographic and other differences among participants in characteristics that may be related to the measured outcomes (e.g., age, ethnicity, prior men's group experience, sexual orientation, weekend, center) and that model change systematically over time (e.g., longitudinal growth analyses) also are needed. Some effort has been made to evaluate possible mediators of changes such as level of I-Group participation or social support (Burke et al., 2010) but further development of such models would increase our understanding of the possible mechanisms or processes that facilitate change and partly address the lack of a control group in the current research.

A second related explanation of the changes is that they reflect a relationship between levels of investment and positive experience in groups. As some participants strongly invested themselves in MKP-I, especially during the New Warrior Training Adventure weekend initiation, they may have been motivated to emphasize positive feelings toward the group in order to justify their efforts. Prior research with groups such as the MKP-I that have somewhat demanding initiation rituals demonstrates this possibility (see Aronson & Mills, 1959). However, the follow-up measures obtained up to 2 years or more after men's initial investments and involvement were begun argues against this as the sole explanation of the observed changes. Third, because men were self-selected and we were not able to utilize a wait-list control group or other comparison group, we do not know whether the observed changes are due to participation in the MKP-I or to other forces that are leading to changes in men's lives such as broader, historical, and cohort shifts in attitudes toward men's gender roles (e.g., Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Wilke, 1993). Yet another possibility is that these self-selected men were already on a trajectory of change that was produced by forces other than the MKP-I prior to their involvement. For example, we know that many men who participate in the MKP-I also are attending counseling and other mutual-help groups, which may, at least in part, be responsible for the changes we have measured and for their initial decision to participate in MKP-I (i.e., those men who are referred by their counselors).

Taken as a whole, methodological limitations notwithstanding, the current findings present encouraging evidence that men who participate in MKP-I experience a large range of positive outcomes, many of which endure over a 2-year period after their initial participation. The findings corroborate and extend similar findings from prior studies with less representative samples (Anderson et al., 2014; Burke, Maton, Anderson, Hoover, Mankowski, & Silvergleid, 2001; Mankowski et al., 2000). The fact these findings are obtained across different samples and data sources suggest a converging triangulation of evidence that increases confidence in the validity of the changes observed. The findings provide

further evidence that the MKP-I organization provides a valuable alternative to professionally-led settings in which men are able to reduce their adherence to traditional masculine gender roles, increase their belief in an alternative model of masculinity as represented by the MKP-I, increase the importance of a variety of more pro-social life goals, and increase their well-being, perhaps through the increases in social support they gain from other men in the process. As such, it represents one approach to positively addressing the many health and social problems associated with traditional forms of masculinity.

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