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Race, Racism, and the Cool Pose: Exploring Black and White Male Masculinity

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ABSTRACT

Scholars argue that racial oppression uniquely causes Black males to construct a definition of their masculinity—the "Cool Pose"—that is different from White male masculinity. In this paper, using a nationally representative survey conducted in 2018, we examined whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. We analyzed six measures of the Cool Pose. We found no evidence that young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to use violence if provoked. However, we found that young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to be physically and emotionally strong, play sports, and to dominate or control others. We conclude that research needs to move beyond idiosyncratic accounts of Black males' cultural adaptations in order to explicate the developmental processes that affect how Black males living in a systemically racist society express their masculinity.

KEYWORDS: "Cool Pose"; black masculinity; race, racism; black males.

Social identity theory contends that contexts and interactions define how individuals come to know themselves (Buckley 2018). Thus, as youths interact within their contexts, their social identity and self-concept become intricately connected and mutually reinforcing. However, scholars recognize that the context and interactions that Blacks have are inimitable and flow from their specific place within the racial stratification of the United States (Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Oliver 1984, 1994, 2003). Researchers also suggest that race and gender-specific stereotypes that emerge from the racial stratification of the United States pressure some young Black males and females to construct unique social identities (De Coster, Heimer, and Wittrock 2006; Like and Cobbina 2018). For example, scholars contend that some young Black male youths may perceive the pressure to form a unique expression of their masculinity or manhood (Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Messerschmidt and Tomsen 2018). Carlsson (2013) adds that researchers can understand "doing masculinity" only in terms of how it intersects with other social forces, including race, age, and social class (see also Messerschmidt 1993). Indeed, researchers argue that some young Black males take on an inimitable expression of their masculinity, which compels them down a racialized pathway of offending (Anderson 1999; Connor 1995; Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Majors and Billson 1992; Oliver 2003; Rios 2009).

More specifically, scholars argue that the expression of masculinity for some Black males emerges from a "dysfunctional" cultural adaptation to racialized structural pressures (Anderson 1999; Like and Cobbina 2018; Oliver 2003; Sampson and Wilson 1995). Oliver (2003) defines dysfunctional cultural adaptations as culture-related practices and behaviors that produce higher rates of violence, social instability, and a lack of progress and development among some Black males. Indeed, scholars argue that a chief reason why some Black males have higher rates of dysfunctional behaviors—for example, a disproportionate rate of violent crime—is that they have dysfunctional expressions of their manhood that are distinct from those of White males. Oliver adds that some Black males take on a dysfunctional definition of their manhood by embracing "ghetto-related values and norms through the enactment of specific manhood roles" (2006:285). A defining value or attribute of this dysfunctional expression of Black male masculinity is the willingness to use violence, especially when Black males perceive that someone has disrespected their manhood (Oliver 2006). Scholars have referred to this dysfunctional cultural adaption as acting out the "Cool Pose" (Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010), the "Black subculture of violence" (Cao, Adams, and Jensen 1997; Covington 2003; Dixon and Lizotte 1987; Erlanger 1974; Piquero et al. 2012; Wolfgang, Ferracuti, and Mannheim 1967), and the "code of the street" (Anderson 1999).[1] In fact, Connor (1995:1) argues that: "*Cool is perhaps the most important force in the life of a Black man in America*" (emphasis in original).

THE COOL POSE

Scholars argue that racialized systemic oppression causes Black males to express their masculinity differently—the Cool Pose—than do White males (Anderson 1999; Connor 1995; Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Majors and Billson 1992; Oliver 2003). These urban ethnographers argue that the Cool Pose is a stereotypical subcultural response to the inimitable oppression of Black males. Scholars argue that the racial oppression of Black males is race-specific: "Black men learned long ago that the classic American virtues of thrift, perseverance, and hard work did not give them the same tangible rewards that accrued to Whites" (Connor 1995:1). This race-specific subjugation—institutional racism—includes the systematic deprivation of equal access to the legitimate opportunity structure (e.g., education, employment, and the political process, etc.) based on race (Majors and Billson 1992). It also includes cultural racism, which Oliver (2003) defines as creating the loss of historical memory, a lack of appreciation of the physical characteristics and cultural practices unique to African Americans, the generation of race and gender-specific racist stereotypes—e.g., the *criminalblackman*—and the lack of cultural confidence leading to a lack of cultural competence (see Russell-Brown 2009). Together, these race-specific structural pressures caused some Black men—mostly those living in poor urban ghettos—to create an expression of their manhood "in terms of ideals and roles that they perceive as being *achievable for them given their status and social environment*" (emphasis in the original—Oliver 2003:293).

Hall (2009:532) defines the Cool Pose identity as "the use of deliberate and conspicuous styles of demeanor, speech, gesture, walk, stance, and other physical gestures," which convey fearlessness to others (Covington 2003). The defining attribute of the Cool Pose is the willingness to use violence, especially when some Black males perceive that another person has disrespected their manhood (Oliver 2006). Urban ethnographer Oliver (2003) labels this willingness to resort to violence as a means of resolving interpersonal conflict as Black men taking on the role of the "tough guy." Also, note that Oliver (1984, 1994) argues that the "tough guy"—the Cool Pose—is specific to some Black males, as White males have other roles such as family and careers to express their masculine roles (Covington 2003). In short, Hall (2009) argues that some Black men, by necessity, learn the Cool Pose as boys because they reside in a universally hostile racist social environment.

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1   For the purposes of this paper, we will use these terms interchangeably. We suggest that they all share the thesis that some Black males express their manhood in their willingness to use retaliatory violence when provoked.

Hall and Pizarro (2010) delineate other expressions of the Cool Pose. They argue that the Cool Pose pressures Black males to be physically strong, proud, tough, self-reliant, and courageous. In addition, they suggest that the Cool Pose pressures Black males to be "cool," which includes eschewing academic achievement while encouraging them to be emotionally strong, in control, and athletic. Furthermore, Oliver (2006) suggests that the subculture Black males reside in pressures them to be a "player of women"—that is, Black men are pressured to define and claim their "compulsive masculinity" in terms of the heteronormative sexual conquest and exploitation of women (Oliver 2006:929; see also, Miller and Peterson 2008). Moreover, Majors and Billson (1992:80) suggest that the "Cool Cat" lifestyle affects how some Black males dress: "After all, in a society that has kept Blacks invisible, it is not surprising that seemingly flamboyant clothes might be worn to heighten visibility" and to enhance their self-image. Finally, Oliver (2003) argues that another role that defines masculinity for some Blacks is "the hustler." He suggests that the hustler role results from a racialized subcultural supported belief that it is difficult for Black males to achieve economic security through legitimate societal paths. Consequently, Black male masculinity emphasizes acquiring money and status without working a legitimate job by "getting over," which includes manipulating women, selling drugs, gambling, theft, selling stolen merchandise, and promoting prostitution (Oliver 2003).

Urban researchers argue that, once constructed, this dysfunctional "hypermasculinity" "alternative among many poor, urban Black males' results from male-to-male cultural transmission of manhood ideals, roles, and norms that place overt emphasis on defining manhood in terms of toughness, sexual conquest, manipulation, and thrill-seeking behavior" (Oliver 2003:294; see also, Connell 1995). Thus, scholars suggest that, once in place, Black men transmit the Cool Pose across generations through a socialization process that mostly transpires on the streets (Anderson 1999; Oliver 2003).

To our knowledge, this paper is the first survey-based examination of whether young Black males are more likely to feel pressure to "act cool" than their White counterparts. More specifically, using a nationally representative survey conducted in 2018, we examined whether Black males between the ages of 10 and 19 were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to conform ("be a certain way") to six measures of the Cool Pose. We estimated separate ordinal regression equations for each of the measures, while controlling for other covariates. We also included an interaction term, *Black X Income*, which assessed whether young Black males with varying incomes were more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. In addition, we included an interaction term, *Black X Urban*, which assessed whether young Black males who resided in urban areas were more likely than their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. Last, we included a three-way interaction term, *Black X Income X Urban*, to examine whether young poorer Black males who resided in urban areas were more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose.

PRIOR RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To our knowledge, only urban ethnographers have found that Black males express their masculinity through the Cool Pose (Oliver 2003). However, scholars have examined the degree to which Blacks support the "code of the street" and whether their level of support predicts greater criminal behavior (Brezina et al. 2004; Intravia et al. 2014; Moule et al. 2015; Stewart, Schreck, and Simons 2006; Stewart and Simons 2006; Stewart, Simons, and Conger 2002). In addition, scholars have examined whether there is a gendering of violence and a gendering of violent attitudes among Blacks (Mullins, Wright, and Jacobs 2004).[2] However, this body of research tests only the intra-group variation in the degree to which Blacks support the use of retaliatory violence. While informative, this line of research does not address our research question—that is, whether young Black males are more likely than White male youths to feel pressure to conform to the Cool Pose.

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2   Scholars have also examined Black and Latino or mixed ethnicity males (Puerto Rican American and Caribbean or mixed ethnicity) (Wilkinson 2003).

It is also instructive that we could find only one study that specifically examined the existence of a "Black subculture of violence" (Cao et al. 1997). Other studies indirectly or inadvertently examined whether Blacks were more likely to support violent attitudes than other groups (i.e., DeLisi 2001; Dixon and Lizotte 1987; Piquero et al. 2012). Thus, it appears that few scholars have specifically investigated whether Blacks express their manhood differently from other groups.

With this in mind, Dixon and Lizotte (1987), Cao et al. (1997), and DeLisi (2001) analyzed the General Social Survey (GSS) and used similar questions to measure whether the respondents supported violent attitudes (e.g., Would you approve of a man punching a stranger who had hit the man's child after the child accidentally damaged the stranger's car). Notably these studies found no evidence that Blacks were more likely than were Whites to support violent attitudes. In fact, all three reported that Whites, not Blacks, were more likely to endorse violent attitudes. Similarly, Piquero et al. (2012) analyzed a nationwide survey of 385 adults and reported that Blacks were as likely as were non-Blacks to adopt the "code of the street" after controlling for other covariates (e.g., age, gender, marital status, and employment). In addition, Brezina et al. (2004) analyzed the male subsample of the National Youth Survey (NYS) and found that Black racial status had a weak negative association with support for retaliatory violence (e.g., it is sometimes necessary to get into a fight to uphold your honor or to put someone in his or her place). Of note, Brezina et al. (2004) also tested for possible interactions between Black racial status, socioeconomic status, and urban residence and found no significant effects.

Based on the prior research, we suggest that there are five reasons why further research is warranted that examines whether young Black males are more likely than White male youths to conform to the Cool Pose. First, to our knowledge, urban ethnographers are the only researchers who have substantiated that Black males express their masculinity through the Cool Pose. Note that these ethnographic studies were limited, as they examined only Black men who lived in an urban area (e.g., see Anderson 1999). In addition, urban ethnographers have been criticized for portraying a too unidimensional picture of the populations they studied; a portrait that emphasizes what was foreign from their point of view (Small 2015). Moreover, researchers suggest that urban ethnographers fail to compare the attitudes they studied to those from other groups. Consequently, the absence of comparative groups leaves unanswered whether the attitudes they found are idiosyncratic or are more widespread (Wacquant 2002).

Second, all of the survey-related studies we reviewed focused only on embracing violent attitudes. However, Cool Pose is a broader concept that includes other expressions of masculinity, including being a "player of women," being emotionally strong, emotionally dominating others, and the pressure to be athletic (Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Oliver 2003). Third, most of the survey-related studies we found analyzed whether there were racial differences in violent attitudes among adults. Scholars note that youths are especially vulnerable to feeling pressure to conform to gender norms as they form their identity (Billson 2018; Buckley 2018). Fourth, most of the survey-related research we located failed to examine the intersectionality of "doing masculinity" (Messerschmidt and Tomsen 2018). The literature indicates that the likelihood of young Black males feeling greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose, while ubiquitous, should vary across income and residence. Majors and Billson (1992: xii) argue that because Black males are "subjected to systemic discrimination and unusually harsh conditions, we suspect cool behaviors have emerged with more frequency and intensity among low income Black males than in other groups." More specifically, scholars suggest that Black male youths who reside in poorer urban areas are the ones most likely to conform to the Cool Pose (Anderson 1999; Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Oliver 2003). Fifth, none of the studies we found analyzed whether Latino youths are more likely to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose than are White youths. Either the studies collapsed other groups (such as Latinos) into an omitted race category or the researchers excluded the other races/ethnicities.

Based on the Cool Pose theoretical framework (Hall 2009; Hall and Pizarro 2010; Majors and Billson 1992; Oliver 2003), while controlling for other covariates, we test the following hypotheses:

(H1): *Young Black males should be more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose.*

(H2): *Poorer young Black males should be more likely than their White male counterparts to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose.*

(H3): *Young Black male youths who resided in urban areas should be more likely to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose than their White male counterparts.*

(H4): *Young Black male youths who were poorer and resided in an urban area should be more likely to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose than their White male counterparts.*

METHODS

Data

We analyze a survey, The State of Gender Equality for U.S. Adolescents, funded by Plan International USA. Plan International USA is an independent development and humanitarian non-profit organization that advances girls' equality and children's rights. It commissioned PerryUndem to create a public opinion study of adolescents, ages 10 to 19, on issues and experiences related to gender equality and on what gender-related societal pressures youths perceive and internalize. PerryUndem commissioned the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) to conduct the survey.

NORC conducted the survey from April 26 through June 25, 2018. The survey includes 1,006 completed telephone and web interviews drawn from AmeriSpeak, which NORC, at the University of Chicago, funds and operates. AmeriSpeak is a probability-based panel designed to be representative of the U.S. household population. Randomly selected U.S. households are sampled using area probability and address-based sampling, with a known, non-zero probability of selection from the NORC National Sample Frame. NORC then contacted these sampled households by U.S. mail, telephone, and field interviewers (face to face). The panel provides sample coverage of approximately 97 percent of the U.S. household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with P.O. Box only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings.

For the National Survey of Children and Teens, NORC sampled 1,754 units; the screener completion rate was 67 percent, and the survey completion rate was 94.3 percent. The median interview length was 20 minutes. NORC collected 98 percent (n=985) of the completed interviews on the web and the remaining 2 percent (n=21) by phone. Note that NORC based the sampled units, completion rates, and eligibility on 10 to 17 year olds with parental consent and all sampled 18 to 19 year olds. The average difference in the benchmark comparison groups—household income, age, race/ethnicity, household ownership, number of children in the household, and gender—was 2.0 percent. The panelists whom NORC randomly sampled into the panel were parents of the youths. The survey's sampling error is ±5 percentage points.

We recognize that a cross-sectional survey cannot fully capture all of the complexities—the nuances—that ethnographers have uncovered regarding the Cool Pose. For example, Major and Billson (1992) recognize that Black males engage the Cool Pose in real-time behavior as they feel the need to mask or suppress their emotions (including rage, embarrassment, and sensitivity) in the presence of other men. Thus, we present our analyses while recognizing that our dataset measures only those aspects of the Cool Pose that lend themselves to attitudinal questions.

Dependent Variables

As noted, the Cool Pose is multifaceted. Consequently, we used multiple measures to operationalize the degree to which the youths felt pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. All the youths were initially prompted with the following statement. "Sometimes we can feel pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to be a certain way." Then all of the youths were asked: "How much pressure, if

any, do you feel to…" We constructed six dependent variables to measure the Cool Pose: (1) *Physically Strong*, "Be physically strong." (2) *Sports*, "Be interested in playing sports." (3) *Hide Feelings*, "Hide your feelings when you feel sad or anxious." (4) *Emotionally Strong*, "Be emotionally strong." (5) *Dominate*, "Dominate or be in charge of others."[3] (6) *Violence*, "Be willing to punch someone if provoked." The Likert responses ranged from (1) "Not at all" to (4) "A lot." The correlations among these items ranged from .240 (athletic-hide feelings) to .498 (athletic-be physically strong).

The "feel pressure to be a certain way" measures that we used are similar to the ones researchers have used to assess "felt pressures" to conform to gender roles and gender norms, which predict a variety of other attitudes (e.g., self-worth, self-perceived peer social competence, and acceptance from peers) (Drury et al. 2013; Smith and Leaper 2006). Thus, we interpret our "felt pressures" measures "to be a certain way" as the degree to which the youths felt pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. Unfortunately, the data provided no means of discerning whether the youths who felt pressure to conform to the Cool Pose—attitudes versus behavior—actually behaviorally manifested the Cool Pose (Howe and Krosnick 2017). Future research may wish to assess the degree to which "felt pressures" to be a certain way—the Cool Pose—predict objective measures of the youths' behaviors.

Independent Variables

We controlled for a number of factors that the prior research suggests may predict whether youths felt pressure to conform to the Cool Pose (Cao et al. 1997; DeLisi 2001; Piquero et al. 2012). We controlled for the youths' age (*Age*), whether they played any team sports (*Sport*, 1=yes, 0=no), and whether the youths went to a private or public school (*Public*, 1=public high school, 0=other). We also included the parent's education level (*Education*, ranges from 3 [5th or 6th grade] to 14 [professional or doctorate degree]), current employment status (*Employed*, 1=employed, 0=other), and whether the parent was married (*Married*, 1=married, 0=other). In addition, we controlled for whether the parent owned their home (*Own Home*, 1=yes, 0=no), resided in the south (*South*, 1=south, 0=other), or resided in a metro area (*Urban*, 1=metro area, 0=other). Moreover, we included two household measures, household income (*Income* ranges from 1 [less than $25,000] to 18 [greater than $100,000), and household size including children (*Household Size*=1–6). We included measures of the youth's race/ethnicity (*White*, White, non-Latino=1, 0=other), Black, non-Latino (*Black*, 1=Black, 0=other), and Latino (Latino, Hispanic=1, other=0). Whites are the omitted category in our full regression equations. We excluded those youths who were not either White, Black, or Hispanic (e.g., Asian, non-Latino).

We included *Latino* in the regression models to assess whether Latino male youths were significantly more likely than young White males to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. We do so noting that scholars indicate that the Cool Pose is a uniquely Black male experience that arose because of their unreproducible racialized oppression. However, the National Survey of Children and Teens afforded the opportunity to explore whether Latino male youths felt greater pressure to conform to the multiple dimensions of the Cool Pose. Consequently, for exploratory purposes, we included Latino male youths in our analyses and examined whether they felt more pressure than young White males to conform to the Cool Pose including the use of retaliatory violence.

Statistical Analyses

We used ordinal logistic regression to estimate the models, because our dependent variables are Likert responses. We also used a listwise deletion of the missing cases, because none of the independent variables had more than 1 percent of their cases missing. We report the Ns in the tables. The analyses included only males. Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics.

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3 Rios (2009:160) argues that inner-city young men develop a hypermasculinity that includes the need to dominate "others as a way to compensate for having their masculinity threatened."

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum
Black	453	0.192	0.394	0.000	1.000
Latino	453	0.313	0.464	0.000	1.000
Age	453	14.210	2.391	10.000	19.000
Sport	453	0.554	0.498	0.000	1.000
Public	451	0.874	0.333	0.000	1.000
Education	453	9.280	2.905	3.000	14.000
Employed	453	0.706	0.456	0.000	1.000
Married	453	0.587	0.493	0.000	1.000
Own Home	453	0.614	0.487	0.000	1.000
South	453	0.415	0.493	0.000	1.000
Urban	453	0.896	0.305	0.000	1.000
Income	453	9.753	4.368	1.000	18.000
Household Size	453	4.353	1.265	1.000	6.000
Physically Strong	446	2.980	0.925	1.000	4.000
Sports	447	2.761	1.060	1.000	4.000
Hide Feelings	445	2.656	1.047	1.000	4.000
Emotionally Strong	442	3.000	0.928	1.000	4.000
Dominate	440	2.189	0.989	1.000	4.000
Violence	439	2.292	1.067	1.000	4.000

Our analyses included several steps. First, we estimated an equation that examined whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. We estimated separate equations for each of the six Cool Pose measures, while controlling for the other covariates. Second, we included an interaction term, *Black X Income*, which assessed whether young Black males with varying incomes were more likely than were their White counterparts to feel pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. Third, we included an interaction term, *Black X Urban*, which examined whether young Black males who resided in urban areas were more likely than White male youths to feel pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. Fourth, we included a three-way interaction term, *Black X Income X Urban*, which assessed whether young poor Black males who resided in urban areas were more likely than were their White counterparts to feel pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. We also included the same interactions for Latinos (*Latino X Income, Latino X Urban,* and *Latino X Income X Urban*).

RESULTS

Table 2 presents the Ns, means, and standard deviations for each of our six dependent variables for White, Black, and Latino male youths. Table 2 also includes whether there were mean differences between Blacks and Whites and Latinos and Whites for each of the dependent variables. The data show that Black male youths were significantly more likely than White male youths to feel pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to be physically strong, play sports, be emotionally strong, and to dominate or be in charge of others. Young Latino males were significantly more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to dominate or be in charge of others.

Table 3 presents the degree to which Black, White, and Latino male youths felt pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. Among White young males, 69 percent reported that they felt some or a lot of pressure to be physically strong. However, the percentage for Black male youths was higher (85 percent), with 47 percent reporting that they felt a lot and another 38 percent reporting some pressure. The percentage of young male Latinos that felt some or a lot of pressure to be physically strong

Table 2. Cool Pose Means for Blacks, Whites, and Latinos

Variable	N	Mean	Std
Blacks			
Physically Strong	86	3.267***	0.832
Sports	86	3.116***	0.963
Hide Feelings	85	2.647	1.152
Emotionally Strong	84	3.321***	0.853
Dominate	85	2.459***	1.041
Violence	84	2.345	1.092
Whites			
Physically Strong	220	2.841	0.925
Sports	221	2.611	1.071
Hide Feelings	222	2.599	1.032
Emotionally Strong	220	2.964	0.896
Dominate	217	2.037	0.942
Violence	220	2.236	1.072
Latinos			
Physically Strong	140	3.021	0.940
Sports	140	2.779	1.053
Hide Feelings	138	2.754	1.002
Emotionally Strong	138	2.862	0.983
Dominate	138	2.261*	0.991
Violence	135	2.348	1.046

$* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001$
Two-tailed tests of significance
Significant results indicate significant differences between whites and the group considered (Blacks and Latinos).

Table 3. Percent Levels of Pressure to Conform to the Cool Pose

	Physically Strong	Sports	Hide Feelings	Emotionally Strong	Dominate	Violence
Blacks						
Not at all	4.65	8.14	23.53	4.76	21.18	29.76
Not too much	10.47	16.28	18.82	10.71	31.76	23.81
Some	38.37	31.40	27.06	32.14	27.06	28.57
A lot	46.51	44.19	30.59	52.38	20.00	17.86
Whites						
Not at all	10.45	20.36	18.47	8.64	32.26	32.73
Not too much	20.45	23.08	25.68	15.91	41.94	26.36
Some	43.64	31.67	33.33	45.91	15.67	25.45
A lot	25.45	24.89	22.52	29.55	10.14	15.45
Latinos						
Not at all	7.86	17.14	15.22	11.59	24.64	25.19
Not too much	19.29	17.14	19.57	21.01	39.13	32.59
Some	35.71	36.43	39.86	36.96	21.74	24.44
A lot	37.14	29.29	25.36	30.43	14.49	17.78

was (73 percent). The percentage of White male youths who felt some or a lot of pressure to play sports (57 percent) was less than the percent of young Black males (75 percent). The percentage of Latino male youths who felt pressure to play sports (66 percent) was between the percent of Whites and Blacks. Young Black males also reported that they felt greater pressure (84 percent) to be emotionally strong than White and Latino male youths (67 percent). Notably, the percentage of young White males (56 percent) who felt some or a lot of pressure to hide their feelings was nearly identical to the percentage of Blacks (58 percent). Latino male youths felt the greatest pressure to hide their feelings (65 percent).

The percentages reveal ambivalence in the degree to which the youths felt pressure to dominate or be in charge of others. Young Black males felt the greatest pressure, with 20 percent reporting that they felt a lot of pressure, in comparison to 10 percent of White and 14 percent of Latino male youths. However, a majority of Black male youths (53 percent) answered "not at all" or "not too much," and another 27 percent chose only "some" pressure to dominate others.

Most instructive, more than 8 out of 10 Black male youths (82 percent) felt no pressure, "not too much," or "some" pressure to use retaliatory violence. Indeed, young Black males reported the least amount of pressure to use retaliatory violence out of the six Cool Pose measures. Only 18 percent said they experienced a lot of pressure, a percentage that was virtually the same as that of young male Latinos (18 percent) and just 2 percentage points higher than that of White male youths (16 percent). In sum, the percentages indicate that more than 3 out of 4 young Black males felt a considerable amount of pressure, substantially more than White or Latino male youths, to be physically and emotionally strong and to play sports. However, young Black males felt the least amount of pressure to use retaliatory force out of the six Cool Pose measures and their percentages were comparable to the percentages for White and Latino male youths.

Table 4 presents the results that assessed whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to report that they felt greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to be physically stronger while controlling for the other covariates. The results from Column 1 indicate that Black male youths felt significantly more pressure than young White males to be physically stronger. The results also indicate that youths who played sports were significantly more likely to feel greater pressure to be physically stronger. Column 2 reveals that Black male youths of varying incomes (Black X Income) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be physically stronger. Column 3 shows that the Black male youths who resided in an urban area (Black X Urban) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be physically stronger. Lastly, Column 4 indicates that poorer Black male youths who resided in urban areas (Black X Income X Urban) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be physically stronger.

Table 5 presents the results that assessed whether young Black males were more likely than were White male youths to report that they felt greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to play sports while controlling for the other covariates. The results from Column 1 indicate that Black male youths felt significantly more pressure than young White males to play sports. The results also indicate that youths who played sports were significantly more likely to feel greater pressure to play sports. Column 2 reveals that Black male youths of varying incomes (Black X Income) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel pressure to play sports. Column 3 shows that the Black male youths who resided in an urban area (Black X Urban) were not more likely than were their White counterparts to feel pressure to play sports. Column 4 indicates that poorer Black male youths who resided in urban areas (Black X Income X Urban) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel pressure to play sports.

Table 6 presents the results that assessed whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to report that they felt greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to hide their feelings while controlling for the other covariates. The results from Column 1 indicate that Black male youths were not significantly more likely to feel greater pressure to hide their feelings

Table 4. Pressure to be Physically Stronger

	Column 1		Column 2		Column 3		Column 4	
Black	0.747*	(0.26)	0.470	(0.60)	1.618$^+$	(0.93)	1.617	(2.12)
Latino	0.368$^+$	(0.21)	−0.428	(0.53)	0.333	(0.63)	0.410	(1.70)
Age	0.008	(0.04)	0.008	(0.04)	0.009	(0.04)	0.007	(0.04)
Sport	0.663*	(0.19)	0.664*	(0.19)	0.667*	(0.19)	0.676*	(0.19)
Public	0.230	(0.27)	0.254	(0.27)	0.227	(0.27)	0.255	(0.27)
Education	0.048	(0.03)	0.046	(0.03)	0.047	(0.03)	0.044	(0.03)
Employed	−0.164	(0.22)	−0.165	(0.22)	−0.142	(0.22)	−0.137	(0.22)
Married	−0.294	(0.22)	−0.316	(0.22)	−0.309	(0.22)	−0.327	(0.22)
Own Home	0.018	(0.22)	0.007	(0.22)	0.021	(0.22)	0.011	(0.22)
South	−0.032	(0.18)	−0.053	(0.19)	−0.039	(0.18)	−0.069	(0.19)
Urban	−0.166	(0.30)	−0.158	(0.30)	−0.060	(0.39)	−0.034	(1.18)
Income	−0.017	(0.03)	−0.044	(0.03)	−0.017	(0.03)	−0.048	(0.10)
Household Size	0.088	(0.07)	0.093	(0.07)	0.096	(0.08)	0.098	(0.08)
Black*Income			0.023	(0.06)			−0.006	(0.22)
Latino*Income			0.083	(0.05)			−0.018	(0.18)
Black*Urban					−0.942	(0.96)	−1.259	(2.21)
Latino*Urban					0.036	(0.66)	−0.928	(1.79)
Income*Urban							0.002	(0.11)
Black*Income*Urban							0.033	(0.23)
Latino*Income*Urban							0.110	(0.19)
cut1								
Constant	−1.316	(0.87)	−1.634$^+$	(0.90)	−1.192	(0.89)	−1.555	(1.31)
cut2								
Constant	0.072	(0.86)	−0.242	(0.89)	0.196	(0.88)	−0.164	(1.30)
cut3								
Constant	1.891*	(0.87)	1.587$^+$	(0.90)	2.017*	(0.89)	1.670	(1.30)
Pseudo R^2	0.031		0.033		0.032		0.035	
BIC	1174.723		1184.187		1185.801		1212.918	
Observations	444		444		444		444	

Standard errors in parentheses
Two-tailed tests of significance
$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

than were young White males. The results also indicate that older youths were significantly more likely, and youths whose parents were married were significantly less likely to feel pressure to hide their feelings. Column 2 reveals that Black male youths of varying incomes (*Black X Income*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to hide their feelings. Column 3 shows that the Black male youths who resided in an urban area (*Black X Urban*) were not more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to hide their feelings. Lastly, Column 4 indicates that poorer Black male youths who resided in urban areas (*Black X Income X Urban*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to hide their feelings.

Table 7 presents the results that assessed whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to report that they felt greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to be emotionally stronger while controlling for the other covariates. The results from Column 1 indicate that Black male youths were significantly more likely to feel greater pressure to be emotionally

Table 5. Pressure to Play Sports

	Column 1		Column 2		Column 3		Column 4	
Black	0.658*	(0.26)	0.866	(0.58)	1.050	(0.84)	−1.279	(1.66)
Latino	0.268	(0.21)	−0.195	(0.51)	0.337	(0.63)	−1.825	(1.61)
Age	−0.028	(0.04)	−0.030	(0.04)	−0.028	(0.04)	−0.032	(0.04)
Sport	1.132*	(0.19)	1.138*	(0.19)	1.132*	(0.19)	1.161*	(0.19)
Public	0.320	(0.26)	0.347	(0.26)	0.316	(0.26)	0.384	(0.26)
Education	0.022	(0.03)	0.020	(0.03)	0.021	(0.03)	0.016	(0.03)
Employed	0.126	(0.21)	0.138	(0.21)	0.135	(0.21)	0.122	(0.21)
Married	−0.160	(0.22)	−0.164	(0.22)	−0.164	(0.22)	−0.194	(0.22)
Own Home	0.080	(0.21)	0.069	(0.21)	0.081	(0.21)	0.075	(0.21)
South	0.250	(0.18)	0.243	(0.18)	0.246	(0.18)	0.268	(0.19)
Urban	0.335	(0.29)	0.331	(0.29)	0.415	(0.38)	−0.959	(1.12)
Income	−0.030	(0.03)	−0.040	(0.03)	−0.031	(0.03)	−0.159	(0.10)
Household Size	−0.014	(0.07)	−0.010	(0.07)	−0.012	(0.07)	0.006	(0.07)
Black*Income			−0.030	(0.06)			0.268	(0.18)
Latino*Income			0.051	(0.05)			0.242	(0.18)
Black*Urban					−0.428	(0.87)	2.426	(1.77)
Latino*Urban					−0.079	(0.65)	1.787	(1.69)
Income*Urban							0.133	(0.10)
Black*Income*Urban							−0.333[+]	(0.19)
Latino*Income*Urban							−0.208	(0.18)
cut1								
Constant	−0.742	(0.84)	−0.867	(0.87)	−0.670	(0.86)	−1.983	(1.26)
cut2								
Constant	0.399	(0.84)	0.278	(0.87)	0.472	(0.85)	−0.835	(1.26)
cut3								
Constant	1.948*	(0.84)	1.832*	(0.87)	2.021*	(0.86)	0.731	(1.26)
Pseudo R^2	0.051		0.052		0.051		0.056	
BIC	1238.493		1248.778		1250.440		1275.460	
Observations	445		445		445		445	

Standard errors in parentheses
Two-tailed tests of significance
$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

stronger than were young White males. The results also indicate that youths who played sports were significantly more likely and youths whose parents were married were significantly less likely to feel pressure to be emotionally stronger. Column 2 reveals that Black male youths of varying incomes (*Black X Income*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be emotionally stronger. Column 3 shows that the Black male youths who resided in an urban area (*Black X Urban*) were not more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be emotionally stronger. Column 4 indicates that poorer Black male youths who resided in urban areas (*Black X Income X Urban*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be emotionally stronger.

Table 8 presents the results that assessed whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to report that they felt greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to dominate or be in charge of others. The results from Column 1 indicate that Black male youths were significantly more likely than young White males to feel greater pressure to dominate or be in charge

Table 6. Pressure to Hide Feelings

	Column 1		Column 2		Column 3		Column 4	
Black	−0.030	(0.26)	−0.333	(0.58)	0.715	(0.82)	−0.674	(1.91)
Latino	0.141	(0.21)	0.113	(0.50)	0.700	(0.60)	0.753	(1.66)
Age	0.107*	(0.04)	0.109*	(0.04)	0.106*	(0.04)	0.105*	(0.04)
Sport	0.126	(0.18)	0.128	(0.18)	0.126	(0.18)	0.136	(0.18)
Public	−0.213	(0.26)	−0.228	(0.26)	−0.220	(0.26)	−0.224	(0.26)
Education	0.037	(0.03)	0.037	(0.03)	0.035	(0.03)	0.033	(0.03)
Employed	−0.049	(0.21)	−0.060	(0.21)	−0.037	(0.21)	−0.053	(0.21)
Married	−0.380+	(0.21)	−0.381+	(0.21)	−0.380+	(0.22)	−0.387+	(0.22)
Own Home	−0.048	(0.21)	−0.048	(0.21)	−0.039	(0.21)	−0.032	(0.21)
South	−0.011	(0.18)	−0.017	(0.18)	−0.016	(0.18)	−0.012	(0.18)
Urban	−0.238	(0.28)	−0.235	(0.28)	0.068	(0.38)	−0.192	(1.23)
Income	−0.009	(0.03)	−0.016	(0.03)	−0.009	(0.03)	−0.040	(0.11)
Household Size	0.027	(0.07)	0.025	(0.07)	0.029	(0.07)	0.028	(0.07)
Black*Income			0.034	(0.06)			0.156	(0.19)
Latino*Income			0.001	(0.05)			−0.023	(0.18)
Black*Urban					−0.818	(0.85)	0.370	(2.00)
Latino*Urban					−0.627	(0.63)	−0.751	(1.73)
Income*Urban							0.025	(0.11)
Black*Income*Urban							−0.134	(0.20)
Latino*Income*Urban							0.029	(0.19)
cut1								
Constant	−0.220	(0.83)	−0.290	(0.87)	0.020	(0.86)	−0.336	(1.34)
cut2								
Constant	0.928	(0.83)	0.861	(0.87)	1.171	(0.86)	0.817	(1.34)
cut3								
Constant	2.457*	(0.84)	2.389*	(0.87)	2.702*	(0.86)	2.350+	(1.35)
Pseudo R^2	0.014		0.014		0.015		0.016	
BIC	1285.717		1297.515		1296.367		1325.821	
Observations	443		443		443		443	

Standard errors in parentheses
Two-tailed tests of significance
$^+ p < 0.10$, $^* p < 0.05$

of others. The results also indicate that youths whose parents were married were significantly less likely and youths from larger households were significantly more likely to feel pressure to dominate or be in charge of others. Column 2 reveals that Black male youths of varying incomes (*Black X Income*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to dominate or be in charge of others. Column 3 shows that the Black male youths who resided in an urban area (*Black X Urban*) were not more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to dominate or be in charge of others. Last, Column 4 indicates that poorer Black male youths who resided in urban areas (*Black X Income X Urban*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to dominate or be in charge of others.

Table 9 presents the results that assessed whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to report that they felt greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to be willing to punch someone if provoked. The results from Column 1 indicate that Black male youths were not significantly more likely than young White males to feel greater pressure to be willing to

Table 7. Pressure to be Emotionally Stronger

	Column 1		Column 2		Column 3		Column 4	
Black	0.800*	(0.27)	0.304	(0.59)	1.840*	(0.93)	0.382	(2.05)
Latino	−0.150	(0.22)	−1.004+	(0.53)	0.080	(0.62)	−2.627	(1.71)
Age	0.019	(0.04)	0.018	(0.04)	0.019	(0.04)	0.021	(0.04)
Sport	0.313+	(0.19)	0.312+	(0.19)	0.314+	(0.19)	0.339+	(0.19)
Public	−0.254	(0.27)	−0.249	(0.27)	−0.264	(0.27)	−0.219	(0.27)
Education	0.002	(0.03)	−0.001	(0.03)	0.000	(0.03)	−0.004	(0.03)
Employed	−0.151	(0.21)	−0.162	(0.21)	−0.131	(0.21)	−0.134	(0.21)
Married	−0.458*	(0.22)	−0.472*	(0.23)	−0.467*	(0.23)	−0.490*	(0.23)
Own Home	−0.032	(0.22)	−0.053	(0.22)	−0.029	(0.22)	−0.081	(0.22)
South	0.242	(0.19)	0.214	(0.19)	0.232	(0.19)	0.199	(0.19)
Urban	−0.000	(0.29)	0.004	(0.29)	0.216	(0.38)	−1.471	(1.21)
Income	0.055*	(0.03)	0.022	(0.03)	0.054*	(0.03)	−0.127	(0.10)
Household Size	0.002	(0.08)	0.001	(0.08)	0.007	(0.08)	0.023	(0.08)
Black*Income			0.048	(0.06)			0.127	(0.21)
Latino*Income			0.089+	(0.05)			0.286	(0.18)
Black*Urban					−1.133	(0.95)	−0.089	(2.14)
Latino*Urban					−0.261	(0.65)	1.747	(1.79)
Income*Urban							0.163	(0.11)
Black*Income*Urban							−0.085	(0.22)
Latino*Income*Urban							−0.213	(0.19)
cut1								
Constant	−1.824*	(0.85)	−2.295*	(0.89)	−1.639+	(0.87)	−3.512*	(1.33)
cut2								
Constant	−0.549	(0.84)	−1.016	(0.89)	−0.362	(0.86)	−2.228+	(1.33)
cut3								
Constant	1.281	(0.84)	0.825	(0.89)	1.472+	(0.87)	−0.374	(1.32)
Pseudo R^2	0.026		0.029		0.027		0.033	
BIC	1163.598		1172.634		1174.236		1198.707	
Observations	440		440		440		440	

Standard errors in parentheses
Two-tailed tests of significance
$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

punch someone if provoked. Column 2 reveals that Black male youths of varying incomes (*Black X Income*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be willing to punch someone if provoked. Column 3 shows that the Black male youths who resided in an urban area (*Black X Urban*) were not more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be willing to punch someone if provoked. Column 4 indicates that poorer Black male youths who resided in urban areas (*Black X Income X Urban*) were not significantly more likely than were their White counterparts to feel greater pressure to be willing to punch someone if provoked.

Sensitivity Analyses

We performed five sensitivity analyses. First, we used the Brant test to assess the parallel lines assumption of the ordered logistic models, an important assumption of these types of estimations that tends to be overlooked and is often violated (Long and Freese 2001). We conducted the test for each of the main effects models we presented. In all cases, the Brant test was non-significant,

Table 8. Pressure to Dominate or be in Charge of Others

	Column 1		Column 2		Column 3		Column 4	
Black	0.668*	(0.26)	0.927	(0.57)	0.693	(0.81)	2.002	(1.81)
Latino	0.357[+]	(0.21)	0.269	(0.52)	0.555	(0.68)	−0.892	(1.97)
Age	0.036	(0.04)	0.034	(0.04)	0.035	(0.04)	0.040	(0.04)
Sport	0.036	(0.18)	0.032	(0.18)	0.035	(0.18)	0.032	(0.18)
Public	−0.049	(0.27)	−0.036	(0.27)	−0.051	(0.27)	−0.030	(0.27)
Education	0.001	(0.03)	0.001	(0.03)	0.001	(0.03)	0.003	(0.03)
Employed	0.055	(0.21)	0.064	(0.21)	0.051	(0.21)	0.071	(0.22)
Married	−0.415[+]	(0.22)	−0.416[+]	(0.22)	−0.407[+]	(0.23)	−0.391[+]	(0.23)
Own Home	0.245	(0.21)	0.247	(0.21)	0.244	(0.21)	0.212	(0.22)
South	0.176	(0.18)	0.179	(0.18)	0.173	(0.18)	0.152	(0.18)
Urban	−0.033	(0.30)	−0.034	(0.30)	0.028	(0.40)	−0.433	(1.34)
Income	−0.013	(0.03)	−0.010	(0.03)	−0.013	(0.03)	−0.050	(0.11)
Household Size	0.131[+]	(0.07)	0.134[+]	(0.07)	0.130[+]	(0.07)	0.135[+]	(0.07)
Black*Income			−0.031	(0.06)			−0.190	(0.18)
Latino*Income			0.011	(0.05)			0.170	(0.21)
Black*Urban					−0.027	(0.84)	−1.271	(1.91)
Latino*Urban					−0.217	(0.70)	1.215	(2.04)
Income*Urban							0.042	(0.12)
Black*Income*Urban							0.184	(0.19)
Latino*Income*Urban							−0.167	(0.21)
cut1								
Constant	0.177	(0.85)	0.209	(0.89)	0.215	(0.88)	−0.070	(1.46)
cut2								
Constant	1.895*	(0.86)	1.928*	(0.90)	1.933*	(0.88)	1.656	(1.46)
cut3								
Constant	3.114*	(0.87)	3.150*	(0.91)	3.153*	(0.89)	2.886*	(1.47)
Pseudo R^2	0.019		0.019		0.019		0.022	
BIC	1225.047		1236.734		1237.114		1264.042	
Observations	438		438		438		438	

Standard errors in parentheses
Two-tailed tests of significance
[+] $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

indicating that the hypothesis of parallel lines is not rejected. Thus, the ordered logit models we presented in the tables were adequate estimations, because the same coefficients can accurately predict different levels of the outcome. Second, we created a scale, *Cool Pose*, by summing across our six dependent variables (alpha=.777) (the six items load on one factor, with *Violence* having the lowest factor loading, .594). The results generated from an ordinary least squares analysis of the *Cool Pose* scale show that young Black males were significantly (p.=.040) more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. The results also revealed that the *Black X Income, Black X Urban, and Black X Income X Urban* interaction terms were not significant. Third, we ran a similar analysis using a structural equation model (SEM) with a measurement model to create the latent variable *Cool Pose*. We specified measurement models using an ordered logistic regression to combine the ordinal items and a linear regression model. The main effect of race (Blacks=1) on *Cool Pose* was positive and significant (p=.007 and p=.005, respectively) in both models but none of the interaction terms tested in the subsequent models were significant.

Table 9. Pressure to be Willing to Punch Someone If Provoked

	Column 1		Column 2		Column 3		Column 4	
Black	−0.033	(0.25)	−0.206	(0.56)	0.131	(0.75)	−0.650	(1.80)
Latino	0.021	(0.21)	−0.757	(0.52)	0.423	(0.62)	−0.255	(1.74)
Age	0.015	(0.04)	0.013	(0.04)	0.014	(0.04)	0.010	(0.04)
Sport	0.135	(0.18)	0.125	(0.18)	0.135	(0.18)	0.160	(0.18)
Public	−0.125	(0.28)	−0.105	(0.28)	−0.123	(0.28)	−0.073	(0.28)
Education	−0.024	(0.03)	−0.025	(0.03)	−0.024	(0.03)	−0.030	(0.03)
Employed	−0.230	(0.21)	−0.230	(0.21)	−0.234	(0.21)	−0.216	(0.21)
Married	−0.271	(0.22)	−0.289	(0.22)	−0.262	(0.22)	−0.281	(0.22)
Own Home	−0.150	(0.21)	−0.152	(0.21)	−0.147	(0.21)	−0.164	(0.22)
South	0.053	(0.18)	0.029	(0.18)	0.051	(0.18)	0.018	(0.18)
Urban	−0.278	(0.28)	−0.298	(0.28)	−0.119	(0.38)	−1.383	(1.27)
Income	−0.018	(0.03)	−0.042	(0.03)	−0.017	(0.03)	−0.151	(0.11)
Household Size	−0.059	(0.07)	−0.054	(0.07)	−0.063	(0.07)	−0.051	(0.07)
Black*Income			0.012	(0.06)			0.053	(0.17)
Latino*Income			0.082[+]	(0.05)			0.025	(0.19)
Black*Urban					−0.181	(0.78)	0.442	(1.90)
Latino*Urban					−0.446	(0.64)	−0.590	(1.81)
Income*Urban							0.116	(0.11)
Black*Income*Urban							−0.041	(0.18)
Latino*Income*Urban							0.063	(0.19)
cut1								
Constant	−1.993*	(0.85)	−2.328*	(0.89)	−1.884*	(0.88)	−3.380*	(1.39)
cut2								
Constant	−0.806	(0.85)	−1.138	(0.89)	−0.695	(0.87)	−2.183	(1.39)
cut3								
Constant	0.528	(0.85)	0.200	(0.88)	0.641	(0.87)	−0.833	(1.38)
Pseudo R^2	0.012		0.014		0.012		0.017	
BIC	1275.972		1285.212		1287.650		1312.260	
Observations	437		437		437		437	

Standard errors in parentheses
Two-tailed tests of significance
[+]$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

Fourth, we used two questions from the survey to assess whether Black male youths were more likely than young White males to feel greater pressure to be "players of women" (Miller and Peterson 2008). Male youths older than 13 (youths ages 10-13 were excluded) were asked how much pressure they felt to (1) join in when other boys talk about girls in a sexual way (n=267), and (2) to hook up with a girl (n=269). The results showed that Black male youths were equally as likely as young White males to feel pressure to talk about girls in a sexual way and to hook up with a girl. The results also showed that the interaction terms were not significant (*Black X Income, Black X Urban, and Black X Income X Urban*). Fifth, we created a binary variable (1=heterosexual, 0=other [bisexual or queer) and examined whether it predicted the Cool Pose scale.[4] It did not significantly predict the Cool Pose scale.

4 The survey asked the respondents to self-report whether they were "straight or heterosexual" (N=243), "gay: Being gay, or homosexual, means you are attracted to people the same gender as you. This is typically used when referring to men" (N=0), "bisexual: Bisexual means you are attracted to people of both genders (men and women) (N=29), and "queer" (N=1).

Table 10. Summary of Results: Significant Main and Interaction Effects

Variable	Main Effect	Urban X Black	Low Income X Black	Low Income X Urban X Black
Physically Strong	Yes	No	No	No
Sports	Yes	No	No	No
Hide Feelings	No	No	No	No
Emotionally Strong	Yes	No	No	No
Dominate	Yes	No	No	No
Violence	No	No	No	No

In addition, we generated a supplementary within-group analysis that assessed whether there were any factors that predicted which Black youths (only Black youths were included in the analysis) were most likely to report feeling pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. To do so, we regressed the Cool Pose scale (see above) on the variables included in our previous analyses. None of the variables significantly predicted the Cool Pose scale. Thus, the results indicated that Black youths equally felt pressured to conform to the Cool Pose including those who were poorer, lived in an urban area, and were poorer and lived in an urban area.[5]

DISCUSSION

We begin by discussing whether young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure from parents, friends, teachers, or society to be willing to punch someone if provoked—the core attitude of the Cool Pose (and code of the street and the Black subculture of violence theses). Table 10 summarizes our findings. It shows that we found no evidence that young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to use violence if provoked. We also found no evidence that poorer Black male youths, those who resided in an urban area, and Black male youths who were poorer *and* lived in an urban area felt greater pressure than did their White counterparts to use retaliatory violence. This latter finding is most noteworthy, because scholars argue that while the Cool Pose is ubiquitous among Black males, those residing in poorer urban areas are the ones most likely to conform to the Cool Pose. Our finding that Blacks were equally as likely as Whites to feel greater pressure to use retaliatory violence is consistent with the prior research (Brezina et al. 2004; Cao et al., 1997; DeLisi 2001; Piquero et al. 2012).

Like and Cobbina's (2018) in-depth interviews with Black urban youths can provide insights as to why we found no support for the Cool Pose contention that Black male youths were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to use retaliatory violence. These scholars found that Black males and Black females both constructed identities that allowed them to perceive violence as an effective mechanism for establishing "tough" identities in order to protect themselves from the threat of violence. Our results add to this finding by suggesting that White and Black male youths felt similar pressure to create a "tough guy" identity—that is, to use retaliatory violence if provoked.

In addition, Like and Cobbina (2018) report that urban Black males had a nuanced approach to the use of violence. In fact, these scholars found that many of the "adolescents characterized it as senseless or 'stupid'" (Like and Cobbina 2018:22). Moreover, Like and Cobbina (2018) report that Black youths uniquely associated retaliatory violence with gang rivalries, and they perceived the gang's use of violence as particularly "stupid" because they use guns to lethally exact revenge over "petty" issues. Like and Cobbina (2018:22) concluded that "this view of male violence was particularly potent among young men who were not affiliated with gangs and those who were directly affected by gang violence via the death of a gang involved family member."

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5 The results are available upon request.

In addition, Jimerson and Oware's (2006) ethnomethodological ethnography of Black men residing in Waukegan, Illinois, revealed that they might posture retaliatory violence in order to gain respect among peers, but that it was not deterministic of their behavior. Indeed, Jimerson and Oware (2006) also report that other Black men intervene to defuse escalating conflicts. Young's (2012 2017) research also confirms that while some Black men have to negotiate living with violence and may present the Cool Pose, most do not resort to retaliatory violence. Young (2018:47) further argues that the image of Black males as violent has "prevented a more thorough and complex cultural portrait of these men from emerging such that the broader public often read them as wholly focused on hostility, threat, and anxiety." Thus, taken together, the prior research and our results suggest that most young Black males are similar to White male youths in perceiving retaliatory violence as "petty" and "stupid."

Our results also did not generate any evidence that Black male youths felt greater pressure than young White males to be a "player of women" (Miller and Peterson 2008; Oliver 2006). Black male youths and young White males equally felt pressure to "hook up with a girl" or to join in when other boys talked about girls in a sexual way. In addition, we found no evidence that poorer Black male youths, those who resided in an urban area, or those who were poorer and lived in urban areas were more likely to be "players of women" than were their White counterparts. Furthermore, our results revealed that young Black males were equally as likely as White male youths to feel pressure to hide their feelings when they felt sad or anxious. Last, we found no evidence that poorer Black male youths, those who resided in an urban area, or those who were poorer and lived in urban areas were more likely to feel greater pressure to hide their feelings than were their White counterparts.

This is not to say that our findings completely reject the premise that young Black males felt more pressure than White male youths to conform to the Cool Pose. The results revealed that Black male youths were significantly more likely than young White males to feel greater pressure to be physically strong, play sports, be emotionally strong, and to dominate or be in charge of others. However, young Black males were not more likely than their White counterparts to feel these pressures to conform if they were poorer, resided in an urban area, or were poorer and lived in urban areas.

All told, we found that young Black males felt greater pressure than White male youths to conform to most of the attributes of the Cool Pose. However, they were no more likely than White male youths to feel pressure to use retaliatory violence. In fact, Black male youths felt the least amount of pressure to conform "a lot" to the use of retaliatory violence. In addition, although young Black males were significantly more likely than White male youths to feel pressure to dominate or control others, the majority (53 percent) felt little to no pressure, and another 27 percent of Black male youths felt only "some" pressure. These findings suggest that scholars will misinterpret expressions of Black masculinity through the Cool Pose if they equate it with the use of retaliatory violence or the need to dominate or control others. Of course, a few Black males who conform to the Cool Pose may use retaliatory violence or be overly domineering or controlling. However, our results suggest that parents, friends, teachers, and society do not pressure these few Black male youths any more than the few Whites who use retaliatory violence or are overly domineering or controlling.

Based on these findings, we suggest that the pressure that young Black males feel to be physically and emotionally strong, play sports, and to dominate or be in charge of others arises from their unparalleled developmental experiences with their racial subjugation. Indeed, Majors and Billson (1992:116) posit that: "As long as they experience discrimination (or there is a perception of discrimination), there will be the need for coolness." We contend that the constellation of these pressures combine to create a rational adaptive coping strategy that most young Black males can tactically employ in order to protect themselves from the unpredictability of the vicissitudes of the toxic effects of racism (Brondolo et al. 2009; Rühs, Greve, and Kappes 2017).

Scholars argue that coping with aversive or threatening experiences—such as racism—is a prerequisite for successful identity development (Baltes and Baltes 1990; Brandtstädter 2006). Brandtstädter and Rothermund (2002) present a dual-process framework that distinguishes between

two modes of coping—assimilative and accommodation—with aversive or threatening experiences. Individuals who adopt the assimilative coping mode pursue their personal goals with determination. The second mode of coping—accommodation—is "defensive." It emphasizes the importance of regulating oneself to be resistant to the vicissitudes of life. Individuals adopt this mode when their personal goals appear out of reach and when individuals perceive their means to be insufficient. Thus, critical life events—such as personal encounters with racism—can alter the person's life situation and threaten their self-image (Anderson 2011). Under these circumstances, people tend to employ self-regulation strategies that include disengaging from unattainable goals, making positive reappraisals of experiences or circumstances initially considered to be negative, and making adjustments to expectations. Brandtstädter and Rothermund (2002) also suggest that accommodative processes override negative mood congruency effects and gear the cognitive system toward "mood repair." Indeed, scholars argue that these processes of self-regulation "are not conceived as intentional behaviour, but rather, as a rule, operate beyond the individual's awareness (let alone his or her control)" (Rühs et al. 2017:361).

Combined with our results, Brandtstädter and Rothermund's (2002) developmental model suggests that most Black male youths respond to their chronic toxic encounters with racism by employing processes of self-regulation—many of which are not deliberately chosen strategies of coping or control. We suggest that the self-regulation cognitive process that young Black males are most likely to experience is "mood repair." We contend that through "mood repair" most young Black males attempt to establish greater control over the aversive unpredictable circumstances of their lives by recognizing the pressures to be physically and emotionally strong, play sports, and to dominate or control others. We suggest that young Black males feel more pressure to collectively conform to these attitudes as part of a developmental accommodative coping strategy that results from previous encounters with the consequences of their racial subjugation and from their racialized interactions with their family, peers, teachers, and larger social networks—e.g., their racial socialization. Black male youths may developmentally adopt this coping strategy with the belief that being physically and emotionally strong, playing sports, and dominating others will lessen their vulnerability to the aversive unpredictable circumstances of their lives. Thus, some young Black males may feel pressure to take on aspects of the Cool Pose that are "protective" while rejecting those that unnecessarily place them at greater risk—such as the use of retaliatory violence (Like and Cobbina 2018). Note that Brandtstädter and Rothermund's (2002) dual model is developmental. Thus, it can model the fluidity that some young Black males may experience as they oscillate between feeling the pressure to conform to the Cool Pose—an accommodative coping mechanism—while also feeling the pressure to embrace an assimilation coping strategy as the circumstances of their lives change.[6]

We suggest that future research may wish to pursue the following. First, we suggest that scholars may wish to investigate the profound and nuanced ways through which racism may influence the formation of a Black male masculinity. We suggest that the perceptions and encounters that young Black males have with their racial subjugation may affect how they define their masculinity across their lifespan (Majors and Billson 1992). Our research clearly suggests that understanding how Black males express their manhood must go beyond the past limited focus on the use of retaliatory violence. Second, future research may wish to explore further the intra-variance in Black male masculinity (for example, see, Stewart et al. 2006; Stewart and Simons 2006; Stewart et al. 2002). This line of research could focus on the racialized interactions that Black males have with their families, peers, teachers, employers, and larger networks as well as their personal perceptions of their racial subjugation.

It may be likely that individual and neighborhood level factors, which were not included in the data we analyzed (parenting styles, low self-control, peer group affiliations, whether Blacks were

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6 Thus, we suggest that "decent" and "street" are not culturally deterministic but rather define a continuum that young Black males traverse as the circumstances of their lives change (Wacquant 2002).

foreign born, levels of collective efficacy), may affect Black male masculinity. Researchers may wish to replicate our findings with more comprehensive measures of the Cool Pose—e.g., multiple measures of the use of retaliatory violence and more expansive expressions of 'being cool'—and with surveys that oversample young Black males. Oversampling Blacks should increase the statistical power of testing for interactions, especially three-way interactions. Scholars may wish to explore whether young Latino males construct a unique definition of their masculinity. Our results show that young male Latinos felt the same pressures as White male youths to conform to the Cool Pose. Research may wish to assess whether the disparity between White and Black offending is related to young Black males feeling more Cool Pose pressures—e.g., being physically and emotionally strong—than White male youths. Scholars may best pursue this possibility by constructing longitudinal datasets with the intent of measuring the developmental processes—e.g., the coping strategies—involved in how Black and White males construct their masculinity. Our correlation analyses based on a cross sectional survey may provide constructive insights.

Our supplementary analyses revealed that there were no within-differences among Black males in relation to feeling the pressures to conform to the Cool Pose. Future research may wish to examine whether there are other characteristics of Black males than those in our models that predict which individuals are most likely to feel pressure to conform to the Cool Pose. One avenue researchers could explore is whether skin tone predicts the Cool Pose. Unfortunately, our dataset did not include any measure of "colorism" (Unnever and Gabbidon 2011). Future research may wish to examine whether "period effects"—such as, the intensification of racism under the Trump Presidency—alters the reactions that Black males have to conform to the Cool Pose and their likelihood of engaging revolutionary violence (Bonilla-Silva 2017, 2018).

Our sensitivity analyses yielded the preliminary finding that sexual orientation was not associated with the pressures to conform to the Cool Pose. However, the data limited us from evaluating whether the pressure to conform to the Cool Pose was the same for cisgender and transgender males. Given that the Cool Pose emerges from a heteronormative (and cisgender) definition of masculinity, it would be beneficial for researchers to explore how Black and White male with gender non-conforming identities negotiate the different pressures to conform to the Cool Pose.

Our analysis focused on whether Black males felt greater pressure than White males to use violence if provoked ("Be willing to punch someone if provoked"). Regrettably, the dataset did not include measures of whether Black males felt greater pressure than White males in regard to specific forms of violence. This omission prohibited us from assessing whether there were racial differences in the willingness to use violence in other contexts including interpersonal violence against women (Potter 2008). Scholars may also wish to examine whether there are differences between Black and White males in how they respond to the pressure they feel to dominate or be in charge of others including whether there are differences in their relationships with females (Miller and Peterson 2008; Potter 2006, 2008; Rios 2009). Additionally, researchers might want to expand our research to examine whether some inner-city Black females may feel gendered situational pressure to embrace stereotypically masculine behaviors (e.g., strength, independence, and an outwardly aggressive demeanor) (Jones 2004, 2010).

Last, scholars may wish to explore why the analyses of surveys, including this research, generate results that differ from those by ethnographic studies of urban Black males (Anderson 1999; Cao et al. 1997; DeLisi 2001; Dixon and Lizotte 1987; Oliver 1984, 2003). Some ethnographers posit that that the "ghetto-culture" compulsively pressures young Black males—*street males*—to use retaliatory force (Anderson 1999; Oliver 1984, 2003). Whereas, scholars who analyze survey data consistently find that Black males are no more likely than White males to be willing to use retaliatory violence (Anderson 1999; Cao et al. 1997; DeLisi 2001; Dixon and Lizotte 1987; Oliver 1984, 2003). We suggest that this disparity may, in part, emerge because urban ethnographers tend to "exoticize the ghetto"—whereby they focus on "patterns of conduct, feeling and thought that differ

the most from a norm presumed to represent the broader society and also, too often, from those prevalent and acceptable among ghetto dwellers themselves" (Wacquant 1997:347).

On the other hand, we suggest that surveys generate a more representative sample of Black males that reveal that most Black males are similar to most White males as they both equally reject the use of retaliatory violence. However, we acknowledge that attitudinal surveys can only go so far in assessing the nuanced ways in which Black and White males express their masculinities. Thus, our findings suggest that more research is needed (both quantitative and qualitative) to gain a fuller understanding of the complex relationship between race, masculinities, and violence.

In addition, we suggest that an emphasis on retaliatory violence further narrows the urban ethnographers' scope to interviewing young Black males who, in all likelihood, affiliate with gangs. Thus, urban ethnographers may inadvertently capture the attitudes of a few young Black males who feel pressured to use retaliatory violence because of their gang affiliations (see Small 2015). However, we posit that conflating the use of retaliatory violence with the race of gang members or to Blacks more generally fails to recognize that retaliatory violence may be endemic to gangs, regardless of their racial composition. Researchers report that White male-dominated gangs (biker gangs, the Italian Mafia), Latino male-dominated gangs, and indigenous gangs found throughout the world engage in "stupid" gang-related "senseless" violence because of perceived "petty" provocations (Barker 2018; Chui and Khiatani 2017; Gravel et al. 2018; Like and Cobbina 2018; Mclean and Holligan 2018; Wacquant 1997). Again, our results reveal that few Blacks (or Whites) felt a lot of pressure to use retaliatory violence, and we found no evidence that the pressure to conform to the Cool Pose was greater when young Black males lived in poorer urban areas.[7] Thus, our data suggest that the association between "ghetto-Black" males and retaliatory violence is likely limited to only those Black males who are gang affiliated (Like and Cobbina 2018). In short, the evidence suggests that there is no evidence that justifies linking Blackness with a "black subculture of violence" or with retaliatory violence (Anderson 1999; Oliver 1984, 2003).

However, our results revealed that young Black males were more likely than White male youths to feel greater pressure to be physically and emotionally strong, play sports, and to dominate or control others. Consequently, it is clear that Black male youths uniquely feel pressure to express their masculinity differently from young White males. We attribute this difference to, unlike most White male youths, (1) young Black males having to develop ongoing coping mechanisms that allow them to successfully negotiate their encounters with racism and; (2) their enduring racialized interactions with their family, peers, teachers, and larger social networks (Majors and Billson 1992). We suggest that, as a result of these two developmental processes, most young Black males attempt to create greater control of their lives by adopting an accommodative coping strategy—the Cool Pose—that emphasizes that they become physically and emotionally strong, play sports, and dominate others or control others. In short, the Cool Pose functions to insulate some young Black males from feeling the consequences of their racial subjugation.

In closing, we suggest that a research agenda that would complement our own is to reveal the social origins of these *racialized* pressures and the mechanisms that sustain them. Indeed, Oeur (2017:1077) argues that if neoliberal racist structures are unchallenged, they will perpetuate the belief that the advancement of Black males is contingent solely upon them "making the right individual choices and on reforming one's character." Additionally, leaving these structures unchallenged will obscure the variety of ways in which Black males construct their masculinity, which further reproduces narrow and even racist depictions of blackness (Archer and Yamashita 2003; Collins 2004; Dean 2013). Thus, our research suggests that these racist structures need to be challenged in the academic literature, in the media, and as social representations (Oeur 2018; Rios 2007; Unnever and Gabbidon 2011; Young 2012, 2017, 2018). Coupled with our findings, this research agenda should generate a

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7 Jimerson and Oware (2006) found that Black men most often talked about respect in relation to three topics, defusing danger, handling women, and dealing with each other. But, they concluded that: "The code of the street is not exclusive to black inner-city ghetto residents. . . . Human groups do race and gender in similar but distinct ways" (Jimerson and Oware 2006:33, 36).

more holistic understanding of the developmental processes that uniquely affect how Black males living in a systemically racist society construct their distinctive masculinity (Bonilla-Silva 2017, 2018).

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