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"Good Trouble, Necessary Trouble": Dismantling Oppression through Resistance and Activism

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Lessons of Resistance from Black Mothers to their Black Sons

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In negotiating the anti-Black oppression, Black mothers communicate lessons of resistance in their racial socialization messages to their Black adolescent boys. We investigate whether distinct strategies of resistance for survival, characterized by individual-focused immediate strategies of resistance, and resistance for liberation, strategies of resistance that disrupt systems of anti-Black oppression rooted in furthering collective Black empowerment, are employed in Black mothers' messages to their sons. In this manuscript, we use longitudinal data of Black mothers' of adolescent boys interviews (N = 31) across three time points (6th–11th grade). Our findings indicate the presence of various strategies of resistance for survival and resistance for liberation within Black mothers' preparation for bias socialization.

Key words: Black mothers – racial socialization – resistance

The United States has been defined by anti-Black racism, oppression, and racial violence from its inception (Kendi, 2016). Despite both structural and attitudinal changes within the 21st century (Kendi, 2016), racism and discrimination persist as everyday experiences for Black people. This includes Black youth, who on average report five discriminatory events each day (English et al., 2020). Given this context, the question of how Black parents raise their children to understand what it means to be Black and provide them with strategies to navigate the anti-Black racism they will inevitably encounter is an important topic in child development research. Although extant literature shows that many Black parents talk with their children about race, it is critical to understand which types of messages and strategies are most effective in supporting Black youth to maintain a positive sense of themselves, to carry a sense of agency in navigating discriminatory events, and to develop the tools to "talk back to racism" (Stevenson, 1994).

In research on racial socialization, parental messages to children about discrimination, structural racism, and stereotypes have been examined under the rubric of *preparation for bias* – messages in which parents discuss and prepare youth for discrimination, stereotypes, and racial oppression (Hughes et al., 2006; Boykin, & Toms, 1985; Stevenson, 1994, 2002; Umána-Taylor & Hill, 2020). In this literature, findings have varied, some studies find salutary consequences of parents' preparation for bias for youth outcomes (see Hughes et al., 2006); other studies find negative consequences of preparation for bias (Liu & Lau, 2013; Wang, Henry, Smith, Huguley, & Guo, 2020); and still others find null relationships (see Authors, 2006; Umana-Taylor & Hill, 2020 for a review). Thus, empirical research on preparation for bias does not provide clear answers regarding whether and how parents can support youth in navigating and challenging

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existing systems of racial stratification and injustice. This raises the possibility that preparation for bias is a nuanced rather than unitary construct and that specific forms of preparation for bias messages may be more supportive of positive youth outcomes than others.

In the present study, we explore nuances in how Black mothers communicate preparation for bias to their adolescent boys. We focus specifically on adolescence because adolescents are better able than their younger aged counterparts to understand race and racial patterns due to their advanced cognitive ability (Doyle, Beaudet & Aboud, 1988; Quintana, 1998). In a review of racial socialization, Hughes et al. (2006) found that parents shifted to talking more about discrimination as their children aged. This trend suggests that adolescence is a particularly important time to investigate preparation for bias. Black youth of all gender identities encounter significant discrimination and stereotypes, but the specific nature of these (and likely the substance of parental preparation for bias messages) differs (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). To streamline our inquiry, we focus on understanding how Black mothers prepare their sons for the specific and unique stereotypes and threats they face in society (Spencer, Fegley, Harpalani, & Seaton, 2004), including being racialized as hypermasculine, deemed threatening by society and navigating unique stereotypes such as being perceived as aggressive, hypersexual, violent, gang members, or professional athletes (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Spencer et al., 2004; Stevenson, 2004). Drawing on the *framework of resistance* (Robinson & Ward, 1991; Ward, 1996), which describes the strategies that individuals use to challenge stereotypes and oppression, we coded mothers' narratives about conversations with their boys about discrimination, racial oppression, and negative stereotypes and expectations in terms of the extent to which they reflected varying forms of resistance that have been described in the resistance literature.

Resistance to Anti-Black Oppression

Resistance has been defined as the process by which individuals negotiate systems of oppression, including cultural norms, expectations, and stereotypes that dehumanize them (Robinson & Ward, 1991; Rogers & Way, 2018). The emphasis on Black resistance is rooted in analysis of the narratives of enslaved Black people in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, where they engaged in resistance, not only in their day-to-day lives, but as a collective group, such as breaking tools and organizing rebellions (Genovese & Fox-Genovese, 1979). From chattel slavery to 1960s civil rights movement activism to the present Black Lives Matter movement, rather than automatically internalize racist ideologies, Black people in the United States have demonstrated resistance in the face of oppression and structural subordination, crafting healthy identities rather than internalizing racist ideologies or passively accepting discrimination from others (e.g., Tatum, 1997; Ward, 1996).

Resistance scholars have argued that the construct is not a uniform one: not all types of resistance are psychologically empowering (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Robinson & Ward, 1991). In one resistance framework, Robinson and Ward (1991) made a critical distinction between *resistance for survival* and *resistance for liberation*. Resistance for survival is characterized by individual-focused strategies and quick fixes to situations of oppression, adopted to "survive" and endure the harmful consequences of anti-Black oppression. In Robinson and Ward's (1991) view, resistance for survival strategies include dropping out of school, substance abuse, and food addictions – all strategies that are a response to oppression in the short term but may (a) be harmful to the individual and (b) disconnect from the larger Black community and collective empowerment (Table 1).

Resistance for liberation is characterized by a refusal to accept distortions, mistruths, misinformation, and dehumanization embedded in others' construction of Blackness (Robinson & Ward, 1991). Resistance for liberation emphasizes affirmation and empowerment of Black collective humanity in the face of oppression (Robinson & Ward, 1991). Examples of strategies include maintaining strong spiritual and community ties to Blackness (Ward, 2000, 2018), seeking cultural knowledge of Black history and traditions (i.e., Stubbins, 2016), and refuting the mistruths of racial stereotypes (Rogers & Way, 2016). Ultimately, such strategies empower the individual and the collective Black community and disrupt the systems of oppression.

Studies indicate that there are differential outcomes of resistance for liberation versus resistance for survival strategies. Resistance for survival strategies is often related to poor adjustment, such as depression, lower academic grades and engagement, and lower self-esteem among Black youth (see Rogers & Way, 2018). On the other hand, resistance for liberation strategies have been associated with numerous positive indicators of well-being for

Black youth such as lower levels of psychological distress (Robinson & Ward, 1991), high academic achievement and engagement (Carter, 2008; Nasir, 2011), and positive ethnic-racial identity (Rogers & Way, 2018). The existing research describes how resistance is evidenced within Black youths' identities and educational settings; however, little is known regarding how such resistance may be cultivated, including what kinds of messages about resistance for liberation and survival youth may be receiving specifically from parents.

Preparation for Bias in Black Families

The idea that Black parents' child-rearing incorporates their awareness of anti-Black racism, oppression, and negative racial stereotypes has been central to the research literature on racial socialization. In fact, in early writings, the conceptualization of racial socialization was squarely rooted in parents' recognition of structural racism and oppression. For instance, Peters and colleagues defined racial socialization as "the responsibility of raising emotionally and physically healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations'' (Peters, 1985, pp 106). In more recent writings, messages to youth about racial discrimination and stratification is conceptualized as one of several types of racial messaging that parents communicate to their children, the others being Cultural Socialization (messages about racial pride, history, and heritage), Egalitarianism (messages about the value of diversity and deemphasis on race), and Promotion of Mistrust (messages encouraging mistrust of other groups; Hughes et al., 2006; Wang et al., 2020). Theoretically, and according to parents' own accounts, preparation for bias is intended to provide youth with skills for navigating and coping with structural racism and oppression, interpersonal bias and prejudice, stereotypes, and microaggressions (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Relative to mothers of other ethnic and racial groups, Black mothers provide preparation for bias at a much higher frequency – up to 90% in studies (e.g., Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Black mothers are also more likely to engage in conversations about preparation for racial bias with their sons than fathers are (McHale et al., 2006).

Although gender differences are not consistently found (Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2010; Richardson et al., 2015), some studies evidence differences in the prevalence and type of preparation for bias messages among mothers of boys and girls. For example, in a qualitative study with in-depth interviews with 60 Black mothers of adolescent sons, Dow (2016) finds that the stereotype of a "thug" commonly attached to Black boys dominates mothers' concerns for their sons' physical safety. And thus, share their socialization messages to be more focused on managing their son's appearance and social interactions (Dow, 2016; Holman, 2012). Black mothers in the study also reasoned that Black adolescent boys have increased racial barriers than girls and thus require more preparation for bias messages. Lastly, mothers' physical safety goals for their sons may help explain why Black boys report receiving more socialization messages that emphasize racial barriers and strategies for coping with racism than do Black girls (Richardson et al., 2015).

Despite findings regarding associations between preparation for bias on Black youths' outcomes being mixed (see Authors, 2006; Umana-Taylor& Hill, 2020), some studies found that preparation for bias supports Black adolescents' reports of academic competence, positive ethnic-racial identity, and psychological well-being (i.e., Friend, Hunter, & Fletcher, 2011; Wang et al., 2020; see Authors, 2006; Francis, Hughes, Watford, & Way, 2021). Further evidence suggests that preparation for bias can serve as a buffer or protection against aggressive behavior and anger or anxiety as a reaction to rejection (Henry, Lambert, & Smith Bynum, 2015; Lei, Lavner, Carter, Hart, & Beach, 2021; Stevenson, 2004). Other studies, in contrast, found preparation for bias may be related to lower academic scores and competency, and increased anxiety and depressive symptoms (Osborn, Venturo-Conerly, Wasil, Schleider, & Weisz, 2020; see Authors, 2006). Scholars approach this bind by discussing how, in preparing their sons for bias, parents may ultimately emphasize helplessness and the oppressive realities of racism which, in turn, result in Black adolescent boys' increased depressive symptoms, irritability, and anger as manifestation of coping with such messages (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Davis & Stevenson, 2006). Overall, given the salience of such messages and its ambiguity, with respect to if and how it is supportive to youth adjustment, we need a better understanding of the content and form of preparation for bias.

Conceptualizing Preparation for Bias as Lessons of Resistance

Although the literature on preparation for bias and on resistance are both substantial, the interplay between them has been minimal, with distinct disciplinary traditions and conceptual frameworks. Research on racial socialization, generally, and preparation for bias, specifically, is largely situated within psychology, especially developmental psychology. Drawing from developmental models such as Spencer's PVEST model (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997), this literature emphasizes the role parents' preparation for bias as a critical aspect of socialization and potential role in promoting adaptive youth outcomes in the face of oppression, and interpersonal and structural racism (Friend et al., 2011; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Murray & Mandura, 2003). To our knowledge, studies within the racial socialization literature have not examined *resistance*, as conceptualized by Robinson and Ward (1991) as an adaptive outcome. Studies of resistance embedded across critical race, radical healing, and feminist conceptual frameworks (French et al., 2020; Friere, 1970; Gilligan, 1982; Hooks, 1992; Tuck & Yang, 2013) and more recently emerging developmental literature have been largely qualitative, descriptive, and theoretical (Turiel, 2003; Way & Rogers, 2017).

Although, in the literature on Black families, racial socialization, and specifically preparation for bias has been conceptualized as a process parents support youths' positive sense of self and provide children with tools to navigate in the face of different types of racism (individual, interpersonal, structural); preparation for bias can also be conceived as lessons of resistance for youth. The distinction in the literature on resistance between resistance for survival and resistance for liberation may facilitate insight into the mixed results in research on the consequences of preparation for bias for youth outcomes. That is, some parental messages about discrimination may result in resistance strategies that may be harmful to the individual and at the expense of distancing from the collective empowerment of the Black community (e.g., resistance for survival strategies) whereas others may result in resistance strategies that enable youth to feel empowered and empower the Black community.

In the only empirical study, to our knowledge, that merges racial socialization and resistance frameworks, Ward (1996) examined patterns of resistance in Black mothers' racial socialization with their daughters. In this qualitative study, Ward (1996) identified two distinct resistance strategies of "truth telling" (messages about the truths of the sociopolitical environment and struggles), or preparation for bias, within Black mother's messages to their daughters: "tongues of fire truth telling" and "resistance building truth telling." "Tongues of fire truth telling" used harsh, blatant words aimed at breaking down "false idealism" that racism doesn't exist, ultimately promoting *resistance for survival* (Robinson & Ward, 1991). In these messages, mothers emphasized strategies for coping with racism, but did not promote strategies for disrupting systems of oppression. Mothers whose messages were characterized by "Resistance-building truth telling" communicated the same truths in ways that facilitated the adolescents' critical affirmation of self-worth and belongingness within the collective Black community, nurturing Black daughters' *resistance for liberation* (Robinson & Ward, 1991). Ward's (1996) exploration of resistance in Black mothers' racial socialization messages suggests how preparation for bias socialization directed to Black girls may take forms of resistance for survival (e.g., tongues of fire truth telling) and resistance for liberation (e.g., resistance-building truth telling). Although Ward (1996) demonstrates how resistance strategies are evidenced within mothers' racial socialization messages to their daughters, it remains unknown whether Black mothers of sons communicate similar messages or potentially vary by themes. More importantly, there remains ambiguity as to the nuance within Black mothers' discussion of discrimination and bias with their sons, as some messages may be potentially harmful while others aid in building a sense of agency. A framework of resistance may be helpful in ascertaining the nuance within Black mothers of sons preparation for bias messages. Thus, we build on this approach by examining whether and how Black mothers' communicate resistance for survival and liberation within their preparation for bias socialization to their Black sons. Given that Black mothers are likely to provide more preparation for bias socialization messages to sons than fathers (McHale et al., 2006), we narrow our exploration of preparation for bias to a sample of Black mothers. Research indicates that the content of Black mothers' preparation for bias is more concerned with shaping their sons' appearance and social interactions to ensure their *physical* safety (Dow, 2016; Holman, 2012), we expect that mothers' communication of resistance for survival and liberation may approach different forms of racial bias that Black boys experience. We narrow our inquiry to adolescent Black boys to understand how Black mothers prepare their sons for the unique gendered and racialized expectations they face in society (Spencer et al., 2004). We focus on mothers of Black boys as we expect preparation for bias messages for boys to be distinct than that of other gender identities given the distinct stereotypes they encounter. Such depictions are not benign but instead position Black boys as targets of racial hostility and violence, increasing their vulnerability and decreasing their likelihood of living full lives (Rogers & Way, 2016). It is within this racist context that Black mothers must navigate how to raise and protect their sons.

CURRENT STUDY

In the current study, we examined narratives from semi-structured in-depth interviews with 31 Black mothers of sons to investigate patterns of preparation for bias, by Black mothers to their Black sons using a resistance framework. Our goal was to explore the extent to which different types of resistance messages (survival versus liberation) could be identified in the narratives. Two exploratory aims guided this analysis: (1) To explore if evidence of resistance for survival and resistance for liberation were present in the preparation for bias narratives of Black mothers of adolescent boys; (2) To examine the prevalence and content of different types of resistance messages, including the extent to which they co-occurred within mothers' narratives.

METHOD

The data for the current study was drawn from a longitudinal mixed-methods study of ethnically and socioeconomically diverse adolescents in New York City. The larger study examined adolescents' experiences across the contexts of school, family, and neighborhood vis-a-vis adolescents' socioemotional, behavioral, academic, and psychological adjustment over time. The study team recruited a total of 1042 adolescents from six New York City schools to participate in classroom-based surveys in the spring of their 6th, 7th, and 8th grade academic years. We recruited an initial cohort of participants as 6th graders in 2004 and a second cohort of participants as 6th graders in 2005. The procedures for the larger study have been described in detail elsewhere (Authors, 2016).

During the first wave of data collection, we also recruited an intensive subsample of 240 adolescent-caregiver dyads who, in addition to completing classroom-based surveys in 6th, 7th, and 8th grade, completed surveys in 9th and 11th grade and semi-structured in-depth interviews in 6th, 8th, and 11th grade. Primary caregivers of these adolescents in the intensive sample also completed surveys and in-depth semi-structured interviews when adolescents were in 6th, 8th, and 11th grade. Adolescents and their caregivers who self-identified as Black, Dominican/Puerto Rican, Chinese, or White were eligible to be part of the intensive sample. Due to the primary theoretical questions of interest for the study, target numbers were set for the intensive sample of 60 parent-adolescent dyads from each of the 4 ethnic-racial categories and participants were recruited until that goal was met. Thus, the intensive sample was not representative of families in the larger study but provided an opportunity to explore in-depth the beliefs, goals, and practices of a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse sample of families. Teams of trained interviewers conducted interviews with adolescents and caregivers, which typically took place over two sessions and lasted 2–4 hr. Parents read and signed informed consent forms prior to all surveys and interviews and received a small remuneration at each assessment.

Participants

The sample for the present study included 31 Black mothers of adolescent boys who were part of the intensive subsample who participated in at least one in-depth interview in their sons' 6th, 8th, or 11th grade years. Eight mothers (26%) participated in an interview at all three waves of data collection (when their son was in 6th, 8th, and 11th grade). Seven mothers (23%) completed interviews at two waves of data collection; specifically, three (10%) completed interviews when their son was in 6th and 8th grade, one (3%) completed interviews when their son was in 8th and 11th grade, and three (10%) completed interviews when their son was in 6th and 11th grade. The remaining 16 mothers (52%) had interviews at only one wave of data collection; 10 mothers (32%) completed an interview when their son was in 6th grade, five mothers (16%) completed an interview when their son was in 8th grade, and one (3%) mother completed an interview when their son was in 11th grade (Table 1). About 32% of mothers completed high school as the highest level of education, 26% completed some college, and about 39% completed a four-year degree or more; the large majority of adolescents and their parents (over 90%) were born in the United States. All participant names in our results section are pseudonyms.

Qualitative interview protocol. We examined the race beliefs and racial socialization portions of caregiver interviews, which typically took

TABLE 1
Number of Interviews Completed by Mothers by Grade of Child

Grades Interviewed	*Percentage of Sample (%)*	*Number of Mothers*
All interviews completed		
6th, 7th & 8th	26	8
Total	26	8
Two interviews completed		
6th & 8th	10	3
6th & 11th	10	3
8th & 11th	3	1
Total	23	7
One interview completed		
6th only	32	10
8th only	16	5
8th only	3	1
Total	51	16

45–60 min to complete. Interview protocols across all waves were designed to obtain extensive information on caregivers' beliefs about race as well as their racial socialization goals and practices.

Data Analysis and Coding

We used a combination of open-coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2003), Q-sort methodology (Brown, 1996), and the Listening Guide (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, & Bertsch, 2003) in coding mothers' interviews. The coding process was iterative: We coded interviews, reviewed discrepancies in codes in team meetings, and then subsequently went back to recode to build intercoder reliability. All coding discrepancies were brought to weekly team meetings in which agreement about how to code was made collectively. Coding was done in QSR NVivo qualitative analysis software.

We first coded text in mothers' interviews that corresponded to the four primary domains of racial socialization that have been examined in the literature: cultural socialization (messages about racial pride, history, and heritage), preparation for bias (any discussions with children about discrimination against Blacks, and how to recognize and cope with it), egalitarianism (messages about the value of diversity and de-emphasizing race), and promotion of mistrust (messages containing cautions or warnings about other groups) (Hughes & Chen, 1999). The remaining coding activities were limited to text coded as "preparation for bias." With this text, we first used an open-coding system to identify common themes that were close to the words the participants used (e.g., just ignore, walk away, don't pay attention; know your rights). For a theme to be determined, at least three mothers (10%) of the sample endorsed it. Then, using Q-Sort methodology, we categorized themes determined through open-coding into our operationalized definitions of resistance for survival and resistance for liberation. For text to qualify as resistance for survival, a narrative needed to focus on the immediate, individual need to survive in the threat of anti-Black discrimination, structural racism, and oppression. For text to qualify as resistance for liberation, it needed to contain messages encouraging youth to challenge racial stereotypes, and affirm both Blackness and their connection to the Black collective community. Lastly, researchers determined emergent themes among text coded under resistance for survival and resistance for liberation to determine the overarching strategies used by Black mothers to communicate resistance for survival and resistance for liberation to their Black sons. We used the Q-sort procedure to determine the final codebook which included these strategies of resistance for survival and resistance for liberation.

Researcher Positionality

The first author is a first-generation American, Bengali woman. She strives to collectively build Black liberation and resist anti-Blackness by following the self-determined goals of the Black community. She considers Black liberation as central to collective liberation of all oppressed peoples. Not being a member of the Black community, she contends with and resist anti-Blackness in her listening, analysis, and interpretation of the narratives of Black mothers within this project. The first author, working under her doctoral mentor, led all research team meetings.

The ten members of the research team, including the first author, were ethnically diverse with varied education backgrounds. All nine of them identify as women. Four members identify as Black, four as white, one as Bengali, and one as a Filipina. Three members of the team have their doctoral degrees, four members are pursuing their doctoral degree, one member of the team is pursuing or have their master's degree, and two members of the team are pursuing or have their bachelor's degree. The ethnic-racial diversity of the team informed our exploration of how Black mothers navigate the context of anti-Black oppression in raising their sons. The positionality of the team informed the goal for the current study: to listen to the voices of Black mothers in understanding what strategies of resistance they employ within their preparation for bias socialization to their Black adolescent sons within the macro-context of systems of anti-Black oppression in society. The team centers Black voices to understand Black self-determined liberation, and thus build collective liberation of all oppressed peoples.

RESULTS

Resistance for Survival and Liberation within Preparation for Bias Socialization

About 90% percent of Black mothers had at least one interview that contained text coded as preparation for bias ($n = 28$, 90%). Mothers' preparation for bias messages contained more themes of resistance for survival ($n = 22$, 65%) than resistance for liberation ($n = 11$, 35%). Specifically, four strategies of resistance for survival emerged from Black mothers' preparation for bias to their sons: (1) establishing awareness of stereotypes and bias ($n = 16$, 52%); (2) encouraging self-patrol ($n = 14$, 45%); (3) "ignoring and moving on" when faced with racial bias and prejudice ($n = 8$, 26%); and (4) institutional education attainment and "hard work" as a means to survive ($n = 7$, 23%). There were three subthemes coded as resistance for liberation: (1) emphasis of critical consciousness about the structural nature of anti-Black racism ($n = 5$, 16%); (2) critically affirming their adolescents' identities and emotions ($n = 3$, 10%); and (3) building self-advocacy skills ($n = 5$, 16%). We present qualitative examples to illustrate these strategies further below.

Resistance for Survival Strategies

Survival strategy: Promoting awareness of racial bias and stereotypes. The majority of the mothers in our sample mentioned teaching their sons to be aware of racial stereotypes and others' perceptions of Black people ($n = 16$) in their description of discussions about discrimination with their sons. However, none of the mothers who described discussions of stereotypes with their sons also described efforts to encourage their sons to disrupt the system of racial oppression that perpetuates the racial stereotypes. For example, Tanesha describes conversations about stereotypes that she had with her son, Isiah, in her 6th grade interview. Although she shares that she has not had extensive conversations about what it means to be African American, Tanesha shares her view that it is very important for Isiah to understand that he is African American. When asked "what kind of things do you believe are important for Isiah to understand or learn about being African American?", Tanesha says:

> That it's not easy out there, especially being a Black male because it's harder and he has to know that, it's a lot of pressure in whatever you do, he has to know that.
> Interviewer: What do you mean when you say especially about being a black man?
> Tanesha: Because to me a Black man is stereotyped, you know they don't know anything, they don't have a job, you know.

Another mother, Gina, mother of 6th grader Thomas, builds awareness of stereotypes and potential racial bias by sharing "incidents [of racial discrimination] that have happened" to herself and could potentially happen to her son. She adds that she tells him:

> Like people will automatically think because where you live or your finance- your economical status, ya know. Like people think, 'cause the way you dress, or what your, automatically, you say your mother's a nurse. "Really?" Ya know, because maybe you're not a certain way.

Like Tanesha and Gina, mothers make note of the unique stereotypes and challenges that their Black sons may face – including assumptions about whether they have a job, the increased pressure, how they dress, and talk. Messages of building awareness endorse resistance for survival because in order to survive, a base level of awareness of potential harmful discriminatory experiences and bias are essential. By focusing on awareness of stereotypes, as opposed to the systemic nature of oppression, these mothers emphasize the individual in order to arm youth with knowledge to protect them from potentially harmful incidents of discrimination. Throughout our sample, mothers provided a foundation of awareness of stereotypes and potential harms of anti-Black racism that may manifest in their sons' lives.

Survival strategy: Self-patrolling. Almost half of the mothers' preparation for bias messages ($n = 14$) communicated themes of self-patrolling as a way of navigating discrimination and bias. Mothers' socialization of self-patrol endorsed resistance for survival by trying to ensure that their son did *not appear to be, act, or uphold* any of the stereotypes of a Black male – the very stereotypes that can place their son in situations of harm. These strategies focus on immediate needs for survival and prioritize the individual's persistence through a system of oppression. With self-patrolling, the mothers in our sample taught their sons to monitor their behavior, appearance, speech, and more in order to accommodate to societal norms.

For example, when Jay is in 8th grade, his mother, Ruby, responds to a question about what she finds important for Jay to understand about being African American by describing conversations with Jay about how he dresses and speaks. In her response, she talks about how "it might be a little bit difficult" and "harder" for Jay in situations and he must come to terms with this reality, however "unfortunate" it may be. She says:

> I just tell him; even with his clothes he'll be looked at differently, even though your friend is light skinned or he is white and he can wear his pants below his waist and then you will be together, but you're still looked at a little different, than what he is looked at…I mean I ride the bus and I've heard young Caucasian kids cursing up a storm and nothing is said, and I see the same thing of an African-American young guy coming in; he says one curse and it's like oh look what kind of upbringing he has; you probably don't be around him, so you're always with that difference. It's always the way you carry yourself and it's not what you say. I keep trying to tell him it's not what you say, it's how you say it…So you always have to pick your words very carefully.

In recounting her conversation with Jay, Ruby makes it clear that her son, a Black boy, cannot do the same things as white boys he may be around because he would be stereotyped. In doing so, she references the larger stereotypes of Black boys and men as "thugs" through what they wear and how they talk (Stevenson, 2016).

Aishah, mother of 6th grader, Brandon, communicates to her son about how he must dress to combat stereotypes he may face:

> I told him that is jailhouse-wear when you wear your baggy pants. Because that came from jail, because they had no belts so that's why they pants were falling off they ass and this why he will let you know you cannot leave the house, unless he has a belt on. It's just not allowed. You have to have on a belt instead of always walking around pulling your pants up, I said cause that's what they do in jail.

Ruby and Aishah's messages of self-patrolling their sons' appearance and speech focus on supporting youth's persistence within a system of anti-Black oppression, thus furthering a resistance for survival strategy. These mothers recognize the stereotypes and bias their sons may experience and communicate that one way to combat these harmful perceptions is to patrol their appearance to others. Overall, Aishah, Ruby, and other mothers provide a necessary strategy of self-patrolling to increase the odds that their Black boys individually survive the threatening manifestations of anti-Black racism.

Survival strategy: "Ignore it and move on". Eight mothers' preparation for bias messages included references to encouraging their sons to ignore and/or move on from experiences of bias or discrimination. For example, when asked about what kinds of discrimination her son, Omar, could face, Alicia responds:

> Somebody may call him the N word or call him some silly name or try to do something behind his back. [I tell him] Just keep walking. You know be the best you can be. Ain't nobody going to tell you- just ignore them. There's some people out there that say silly stuff. --Young black man- hey these people say negative things- young people, your peers, across the street- just ignore them. Saying stuff about you- because you're a minority they're going to say bad stuff about you all the time…You got to tilt your head and keep going- that's what I say.

In her preparation for bias to Omar, Alicia emphasizes the need to ignore the "negative things" people may say about Omar. The emphasis on ignoring the negative realities of discrimination and to keep going endorses a resistance for survival concerned exclusively on how the individual (in this case Omar) survives and sustains himself in the face of discrimination. Ignoring how he may feel in the face of discrimination, however, may not critically affirm Omar's feelings and identity required for processing traumatic incidents of discrimination. This resistance for survival strategy ultimately prioritizes the individuals' endurance of a harmful system of anti-Black oppression.

Mother of 8th grader Jeffrey, Natasha, shares:

> I worry about that sometimes. I – I – I told Jeffery, whatever they say about you, just look the other way. Just keep your head up, don't even think about what they say…Cause you know who you are. He said, mommy I know who I am but sometimes it hurts. I said I know it hurts. You have to get past that. He said but mommy…I said don't even try to… just walk away and just – just let it pass you.

By telling Jeffrey to "just let it [words of discrimination] pass you," Natasha provides a distinct survival strategy intended to not let the harmful and "hurtful" realities of discrimination actually hurt Jeffrey. Mothers like Natasha and Alicia who adopt this strategy emphasize the importance of not letting incidents and experiences of discrimination hold their sons back and instead to move forward. These mothers recognize the harms of stereotypes and prioritize the persistence of their sons despite the discriminatory experiences. Ultimately, by ignoring and moving on from situations of discrimination, Natasha and Alicia are limited by circumstances of anti-Black oppression and pushed to focus on their sons' individual and immediate survival. Mothers who communicated similar strategies of ignoring and not letting the harsh and hurtful realities of racism "affect" their sons endorse a resistance for survival strategy in their preparation for bias.

Survival strategy: Schooling and "hard work". About one-quarter of mothers (n = 7) also described efforts to emphasize the importance of education and "hard work" as a means of navigating racial discrimination in their preparation for bias messages. These preparations for bias messages are concerned with encouraging schooling and working hard as a tool for combating the harsh realities of anti-Black racism. These mothers position schooling and hard work to their sons as a means to survive, prioritizing the individual persistence within a system of anti-Black oppression which threatens Black boys' survival and livelihood without schooling degrees/experience. For example, in her interview when Keith was an 11th grader, Keith's mother, Chanice, describes messages in which she compares Keith's opportunities as a Black male to the opportunities that a similar white male might have:

> You have to get a good education to succeed because where a white person may not need as much education, they will be successful, because they're white. They will be given more opportunities because they're white. You're not going to be given those opportunities, but if you show them how smart you are, and if you show them that you can do this job and you're not white, you, you always have to be better than they are, so that's what I instill in him.

In preparing Keith for the potential bias (i.e., of not being given equal opportunities), Chanice provides a strategy of education as a means to succeed, and particularly as a means to show to white people that he is smart and capable. As Chanice describes, education serves as a means for her son, a Black boy, to achieve the same success that white people can get without "need[ing] as much education." Thus, an institutional education serves as a necessity for survival for Black youth, in the face of anti-Black oppression.

Nancy, 11th grader-Mustafa's mother, shares a similar message, "It's hard out there. Life is rough. It's not easy… I tell him, all the time. Try to succeed and finish, do what you gotta do and go to school." In the preparation for bias socialization messages among these mothers, the promotion of institutional education is meant as a means to increase the odds that the unequal opportunities for and the "rough life" that Nancy notes are not the reality for their sons. These messages, valuable to the survival of their Black sons, on their own, prioritize individual progress.

Resistance for Liberation Strategies

Liberation strategy: Self-advocacy. Of the mothers in our sample, five transmitted messages of self-advocacy or equipping sons with skills that encourage them to use their voice and agency in the face of discrimination and bias, challenging the status quo and anti-Black racial oppression. Self-advocacy emerged as a resistance for liberation strategy by equipping sons, Black boys, with skills and techniques that allow them to use their voice and agency in the face of discrimination and bias, challenging the status quo and anti-Black racial oppression. For example, 11th grader-Darius's mother, Janet shared how she finds it important for

Darius to understand that he may find himself in situations where people “may be prejudiced only because of color” and hold expectations of how he will act. When asked about the last time Janet spoke with Darius about this, she shares a time that she had a conversation with Darius about racial profiling when shopping:

> Sometimes they (store clerks) think that you’re going to steal so they are going to watch you. So instead of just blatantly coming out there and watching you like that, you notice that they are in every aisle that you’re in… you know but you don’t have to be there, you can tell them ‘if I need help I know where to find you’. You know where you’re going about your merry way. You know what I mean. Or you may ask somebody ‘excuse me, can you assist me.

Rather than simply alerting Darius to situations or scenarios that may unfold in stores, Janet also provides strategies and actual words (e.g., If I need help I know where to find you) for navigating the situation. These are concrete self-advocacy strategies that allow Darius to use his voice in challenging racial profiling, and the broader system of anti-Black racism that silences the movement and voices of Black youth, including Black boys. Other mothers provided messages of self-advocacy by telling their sons to know that “police don’t have the right to stop [you]” and “don’t buy anything from the store if they treat you like that [racial profiling]. The mothers communicating their resistance strategy emphasize the importance of their sons employing their voice and agency strategically to combat discriminatory experiences.

Liberation strategy: Critical affirmation of Black identity and feelings. We conceive of “critical affirmation” as mothers’ preparation for bias that supported their sons’ Black identity and feelings in the face of discrimination. Three mothers used critical affirmation in their preparation for bias messaging. This strategy affirmed their sons Black identity and feelings in response to experiences of racial discrimination and racial oppression. For example, Angela critically affirms her 6th grader son, Alex’s Black identity in her preparation for bias of potential discrimination experiences:

> It’s very important [that he knows he’s Black] because that’s what he is; that’s what he’ll always be and you know he needs to know that. He needs to know that because if he gets treated certain ways or you know he needs to know why…Like if he’s discriminated against or um, and just for the most part because that is what he is, and you know that’s’ why it’s important to know…you should be proud because um, you should also be proud because Black people have come a long way and I feel like we’re going to go even further.

Angela’s statement not only affirms her sons’ Black identity (awareness that he is Black) but also explicitly ties that to a pride in being Black and having gone through the history and struggle of being Black. This disrupts the systemic anti-Black racism that perpetuates traumas and a disregard for Blackness through manifestations of discrimination, prejudice, and systemic harm. By critically affirming their sons’ feelings and Black identity processes, this resistance for liberation strategy of preparation for bias socialization disrupts and challenges systemic anti-Black racism which create the circumstances in which their sons’ Black identity and feelings are not affirmed.

Liberation strategy: Building critical consciousness. We define building critical consciousness as a socialization message of knowledge that critically reflects on the structural nature of anti-Black racism. Five mothers practiced this strategy in their preparation for bias messaging. This is distinct from awareness of what discrimination can look like or of stereotypes. Critical consciousness is an awareness that discrimination and stereotypes are manifestations of a system that upholds the oppression of Black people. Awareness alone does not (necessarily) provide this connection to systemic understanding of oppression. These mothers communicate a systemic understanding of anti-Black oppression through critical consciousness as a tool of knowledge in challenging and disrupting systemic anti-Black oppression. For example, Jasmine, mother of 6th grader, Elijah, tells her sons that they already start out with two strikes against them because they are both Black and male, and because of that people will have low expectations for them:

> They’re not going to see you advance because they think that we are a small-minded race that’s not very bright. I said but, if you look everything that has come into the twenty-first century and before we played a part in that. So then when we saw the um on HBO the um first, the African American who did the

> open-heart…They [her children] couldn't, they couldn't believe…Like I tell my son, I say, when you come in and you walk to the table, it's like here, this should speak automatically for itself. What these papers here say, is what I can do. This is what you need to bring to the table. Don't let anybody shake that down from you. Because they don't see you going anywhere.

Jasmine builds critical consciousness by describing how there are impediments in place that don't want to "see you (Elijah) advance because they think that "we are a small-minded race that's not very bright." By recognizing that this is beyond individual-level discrimination and is attached to Blackness as a race, Jasmine provides critical consciousness of how the strikes against Elijah are beyond simply him as an individual. Additionally, Jasmine critically affirms Elijah's Black identity and feelings through highlighting the mistruths of the anti-Black racist narrative, that Black people are "small-minded," by discussing the counter-narrative of the African American man who did the open-heart surgery, despite the expectations of him as incompetent. Jasmine relays this message to her son in her socialization by highlighting that he is and can be the counter-narrative and to "not let anybody shake that down from you [him]." Overall, critical consciousness serves as resistance for liberation within preparation for bias as Jasmine and other Black mothers disrupt anti-Black structural racism that keeps Black folk from knowing the (mis)truths of their systemic oppression (Mosley et al., 2021).

Strategies of Resistance for Survival and Liberation

Approximately 20% of mothers ($n = 6$) reported both survival and liberation strategies in their preparation for bias messages to their sons. Mothers adopting both strategies of resistance form a unique group of mothers that begin to integrate strategies of both resistance for survival and liberation within their preparation for bias socialization. For example, Nancy shares with her 11th grade son Mustapha a resistance for survival strategy of self-patrolling and resistance for liberation strategy of self-advocacy when interacting with cops:

> I think he should know that you're black. Certain things you can do, certain things you can't do..I said certain places you can go, certain places they don't want you there. Leave, don't put up an argument. Don't pull out nothing and know your rights. Know your rights…They like to arrest in our area, they like to harass Black kids Okay. So just ask them a question. What are you arresting me for? Am I being arrested or can I go? They ask you any questions? That's what you tell or "what you doing over here? Keep it moving". … always keep your ID in your pocket. They stop you and harass you for that.

Nancy tells her son Mustapha that "certain places you can go, certain places they don't want you there." She even tells her son to not "put up an argument." These strategies are for survival and require Mustapha to patrol his movement and speech. This strategy serves to support Mustapha's individual survival in the face of being stopped, or in Nancy's words "harassed" by the cops. Nancy doesn't stop there though in her preparation for bias socialization of Mustapha – she adds "just ask them a question. What are you arresting me for? Am I being arrested or can I go?" Asking questions and "know[ing] your rights" are two strategies of self-advocacy that respect and allow for Mustapha to use his voice and agency in the face of discrimination from cops who "like to harass Black kids" and disrupt the silencing of Black agency and humanity at the hands of state and police, a manifestation of anti-Black racial oppression. Thus, Nancy provides both strategies of self-patrol to ensure the survival and physical safety of Mustapha, and strategies that promote the disruption of anti-Black oppression. While most mothers ($n = 16$) exclusively endorsed resistance for survival in their preparation for bias across interviews, some ($n = 6$) provided both resistance for liberation and resistance for survival messages, highlighting that resistance for survival and resistance for liberation are not binary modes of resistance that all mothers choose between.

DISCUSSION

Drawing on frameworks of resistance proposed by Robinson and Ward (1991), the present study explored the extent to which resistance for survival and resistance for liberation emerged within Black mothers' descriptions of their conversations about discrimination (preparation for bias) with their adolescent boys. Our findings provide nuance and depth to the content of preparation for bias socialization messages Black mothers communicate to their sons. By adopting a framework of resistance, we hope to provide direction into the contradictory findings within the literature on Black youths' adjustment related to preparation for bias socialization. We sought to examine the content of different types of resistance messages within each case and examined nuances and themes within resistance for survival and liberation within preparation for bias.

In general, our findings indicated that both resistance for survival and resistance for liberation emerged within the preparation for bias of Black mothers to their sons. All of the preparation for bias socialization messages mothers were categorized into either resistance for survival or resistance for liberation strategies. The mothers in our study were more likely to communicate resistance for survival compared to resistance for liberation within their preparation for bias socialization. The four primary strategies of resistance for survival were "ignore it and move on," awareness of oppression, self-patrolling, and institutional education attainment. With the resistance for survival, "ignore it and move on" tactic, mothers urged their sons to ignore the discrimination they faced and to refuse to let it hold them back. This message prioritizes individual perseverance and survival in combating the harsh realities of oppression, with limited acknowledgment of youths' feelings of frustration, sadness, or anger in knowing and experiencing discrimination. At its root, the awareness strategy arms Black boys with the knowledge of how others may perceive them and stereotypes to aid in survival under systems of anti-Black oppression. However, research also discusses how parents building Black youths' awareness of stereotypes and potential bias, absent empowering them with action they can take, may leave youth feeling helpless in the face of oppression (Murray & Mandara, 2003). For example, in a study of 670 Black, Latino, and Asian young adults, Liu and Lau (2013) found greater preparation for bias – messages focused on building *awareness* of stereotypes – was associated with greater pessimism and in turn greater depressive symptoms. Mothers' strategy of self-patrolling, focused on managing one's appearance, voice, behavior, and surroundings of Black boys, is directly interested in ensuring the physical survival of their sons. However, self-patrolling behavior and appearance may limit Black boys' individual agency under systems of anti-Black oppression. Lastly, the strategy of schooling and hard work as a means of survival, understood in the context of the education system as a white supremacist institution, prioritizes *individual* persistence within a harmful system of oppression to simply survive and achieve a degree of social mobility (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Love, 2019). Schooling and hard work are tools mothers communicate to aid in their sons' survival. Together, all four of these approaches characterize resistance for survival by attending to more immediate needs and individual persistence/survival under systems of anti-Black oppression – like surviving interactions with police, racist altercations with neighbors or school members, and providing for themselves financially.

The three strategies identified as resistance for liberation, self-advocacy, critical affirmation of identity, and critical consciousness aim to build collective Black empowerment and connection to Blackness as an identity and collective. Self-advocacy refers to messages that Black mothers provide their sons with skills and/or techniques that encourage them to use their agency to challenge the status quo of anti-Black racial oppression. These messages not only explain to Black youth the realities they may face due to anti-Black oppression, but also empower and encourage their sons to use their own voice and agency to resist a system of oppression invested in the erasure and denial of Black livelihood. As Watts (2018) noted, these discussions may help protect their children's psychological and emotional well-being and equip them with tools like critical questioning and an awareness of their rights. Additionally, the critical affirmation of Black identity and feeling strategy of resistance for liberation emphasized their sons' Black identity as well as their authentic feelings in reaction to experiences of discrimination. This strategy furthers resistance for liberation by encouraging Black sons to realize the relationship of their identity to Black collective experiences. Similar to the findings of Ward (1996), the current study found some Black mothers affirm their son's humanity by pushing them to understand race and racism through a critical lens in an effort to promote resistance for liberation. Lastly, Black mothers' messages building critical consciousness promoted the critical examination of institutions and structures of oppression (i.e., critical reflection) and collective engagement to enact change (i.e., critical action). Together these components of critical consciousness building can empower Black boys in contexts that have historically marginalized them (Diemer, Rapa, Voight, & McWhirter, 2016) and also are related to their psychosocial well-being (Godfrey, Burson, Yanisch, Hughes, & Way, 2019). These three resistance for liberation strategies demonstrate not only individual affirmation, but the collective empowerment of Black humanity in the face of discrimination and oppression.

Overall, we found more resistance for survival messages than resistance for liberation messages in mothers' preparation for bias to their sons. As the core goals of preparation for bias socialization are rooted in providing strategies of survival that teach children what kind of discrimination and biases they may face, this was consistent with our expectations of increased messages of resistance for survival than liberation. It is after the knowledge of potential bias and discrimination that mothers can thereafter instill strategies in how to avoid these situations as they arise (Authors, 2006; Wang et al., 2020). When understanding Black resistance, in the context of the United States, Black mothers know how harmful and threatening systems, such as policing, can be to Black boys. They emphasize this context and the danger it poses to survival. As we have found, resistance for survival messages tend to provide strategies that are akin to day-to-day resistance. Mothers want their sons to thrive and be liberated, but they need to be able to get through the day and survive first. Survival is a more immediate need, and is thus essential and foundational for Black liberation. Resistance for survival, therefore, occurs more often as it is a necessary socialization process to ensure Black youth are able to continue to live and survive in a society ruled by anti-Black oppression. Resistance for liberation, however, is a long-term collective process and thus may be less in focus on a day-to-day basis in the racial socialization from mothers to their Black sons. Ultimately, Black mothers are having to make difficult decisions in how they socialize their children due to white supremacist, anti-Black violence. Mothers are not responsible for whether and how the system of anti-Black oppression impacts the survival of their sons. And further, mothers are affirmed in using either or both strategies of resistance for liberation and resistance for survival.

Some Black mothers' use of both resistance for liberation and resistance for survival within Black mothers' preparation for bias alludes to how resistance for survival and resistance for liberation are not mutually exclusive – it is not an either or choice within mothers' socialization. Providing both resistance for survival and resistance for liberation messages within their socialization supports the adolescents' own strategic understanding of instances when it may be safe to use their voice and agency versus when surviving is most important. These findings align with prior literature on the multiplicative nature of racial socialization messages which often co-occur (e.g., cultural socialization messages co-occurring with preparation for bias messages; Howard, Rose, & Barbarin, 2013; Wang et al., 2020). Way and Rogers (2017) also discuss the process of resistance and accommodation to stereotypes as multiplicative. Mothers in our sample who employ both resistance for survival and liberation strategies within preparation for bias are consistent with the brief, but important, prior literature identifying resistance as a complex, non-mutually exclusive process. These findings suggest further exploration into how resistance for liberation and survival (i.e., accommodation and resistance; Way & Rogers, 2017) are not binary modes of resistance but rather occurring in relationship and conjunction with one another that can potentially mutually allow Black boys to affirm their identities and build collective Black empowerment.

The differences we find among mothers, with some more likely to transmit messages of resistance for liberation, survival, or both, may be informed by the mothers' own circumstances and perceptions within the system of anti-Black oppression. Mothers' and sons' own experiences of bias and discrimination also may relate to the type of resistance strategy communicated by Black mothers in our sample. As context for the messages Black mothers transmitted to their sons, during the decade data collection ensued (2006-2010) the election of President Obama, murder of Amadou Diallo (2000), the Danziger Bridge Shooting (2007), and the reopening in (2004) and subsequent closing in (2007) of Emmett Till's murder case took place.

Limitations, Future Directions, and Conclusion

Although the present study had many strengths – including its longitudinal design having multiple interviews with an adequate (n = 31) qualitative sample of mothers and adolescents over a seven-year period – it is important to note its limitations. These data were collected during a period in which the conversation around race and racism were different from the present moment, including events noted prior. Although we suspect that many Black mothers employ the resistance strategies within preparation for bias socialization we identified, this remains an open empirical question. Next, the participants in our sample self-selected into the study. The sampling for the study was not random nor was it representative, suggesting the limiting generalizability to other Black mothers of adolescent sons.

The present study provides evidence of how there is nuance within preparation for bias socialization. This nuance between resistance for survival and resistance for liberation preparation for bias socialization may begin to explain the discrepancies among studies examining outcomes of preparation for bias for Black youth. Future research should explore how resistance for survival and resistance for liberation messages from mothers may relate to youth outcomes, including their own sense of resistance and psychosocial adjustment. Furthermore, we found that mothers indeed transmit both resistance for survival and resistance for liberation strategies in their preparation for bias socialization. Therefore, we propose that there is an interlinked relationship between resistance for survival and resistance for liberation messages and they are not binary like prior research theorizes. Future studies should investigate the relationship between both resistance for survival and resistance for liberation preparation for bias socialization employing participatory methods to understand why mothers may choose to communicate some messages in place of others.

Although maternal messages of racial socialization and resistance are certainly important to understand, future research should explore Black boys' engagement with mothers' lessons of resistance within their racial socialization (e.g., preparation for bias). Black boys are not passive agents in processes of racial and resistance socialization, rather they are developing individuals who question, engage with, explore, accept, and reject the messages their mothers provide (Phinney, 1989; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Negotiation of these socialization messages by Black sons may influence youth adjustment and other youth outcomes (e.g., academic achievement, emotional well-being).

Furthermore, our findings provide evidence that mothers provide both resistance for survival and resistance for liberation messages within their socialization (and often together), which suggests a person-centered analysis to study relationships of socialization with outcomes that may be more appropriate. Variable-centered analysis does not account for the intertwined evidence of resistance for survival and liberation indicated within the interviews with Black mothers in our sample. Additionally, future research should examine how youth engage with resistance preparation for bias (both resistance for liberation and survival) and how they may adopt various strategies of resistance for liberation and survival themselves. Future research can extend Ward's (1996) framework by exploring the gendered dynamics of Black families' preparation for bias to examine if resistance for liberation and resistance for survival messages may differ for Black daughters.

The implications of this study can inform parenting interventions for the socialization of Black youth. Additionally, clinicians can utilize the resistance in preparation for bias framework with Black youth in navigating and resisting both everyday racism and structural systemic racism. Lastly, the current study holds implications for the conceptualization of resistance in the literature and how non-Black individuals can also advance anti-oppressive, anti-racist practices through their understanding of the ways in which Black mothers navigate the messages they communicate to their sons. This understanding must also transform into action of dismantling the system and norms of anti-Black oppression.

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APPENDIX

First- leve coding	Content coding: identify emergent themes of racial socialization and resistance using open coding system
Second-level coding- preparation for bias racial socialization	*Prep for bias*: messages about mothers preparing their child for discrimination or more broadly racism (ex. confronting police, school, statistics of black men)
Third-Level coding: resistance for liberation	*Resistance for liberation*: Racial socialization (RS) messages that DISRUPT structural racism and anti-Blackness, while recognizing yourself within the collective. (Subcodes) • *Building critical consciousness*: RS messages of knowledge that critically reflect on the STRUCTURAL element of anti-Black racism (different than simply saying awareness of racism) • *Self-advocacy*: RS messages that push child to not take authority figures for granted or as ultimate truth, to know yourself and stick to what YOU know in the face of authority figures • *Critical affirmation of Black identity and feelings*: RS messages that support their sons' Black identity and feeling about said identity in the face of discrimination. Emphasis on affirmation in response/conversation about discrimination and racial oppression o Mention of family ancestry (mothers encourages child to either speak with an older generation member of family for CS or shares information about family ancestry in CS) o Use of counternarratives in CS (mother emphasizes the counter-narratives or narratives of resistance about Black people and figures in CS)
	Resistance for survival: Racial socialization (RS) messages that UPHOLD/LEAVE INTACT structural racism and anti-Blackness, while focusing on the *individual's* need to survive in the face of anti-Black oppression. (Subcodes) • *Self-patrolling*: (Separate self from how Black people are perceived) – RS messages that encourage son to not follow stereotypical Blackness (i.e., lazy, look a certain way, talk a certain way, etc.) when in or to avoid a situation (such as police encounter, store racial profiling): o Appearance (change something about how you look or talk) o Behavioral (change something about what to do) • *Awareness of racism*: RS messages convey an awareness that race exists and an awareness of racism, but does NOT critique • *"Ignore it, move on"*: RS messages that direct child to focus on moving past incidents of discrimination without acknowledgment of emotions and identity • *Education and "hard work"*: RS messages that emphasize education as a means to prove something rather than change systemic inequalities