

White Fragility

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Forward - Michael Eric Dyson

Whiteness is a category of identity that is most useful when its existence is denied. It cannot be defined, but it is very real; with societies, rights, goods, and privileges built on its foundation. All politics have rested on identities, which are critical features of wrestling with how we have gone wrong in the effort to set things right - i.e. how we have tried to make things white. Whites have been shielded from the identity politics others are forced to understand, precisely because all politics flows from white understanding and white assumptions.

Author's Notes

All progress we have made in the realm of civil rights has been accomplished through identity politics - naming who has access and who doesn't guides our efforts in challenging injustice. If I am not aware of the barriers you face, then I won't see them, much less be motivated to remove them. Nor will I be motivated if they provide an advantage to which I feel entitled. The identities of those sitting at the tables of power have been remarkably consistent throughout our history - white, male, middle/upper class, and able bodied.

Introduction - We Can't Get There From Here

People in North America live in a society that is deeply separate and unequal by race. As a result, white people are insulated from racial stress and, at the same time, feel entitled to and deserving of advantage. Given how seldom we experience racial discomfort, we haven't had to build our racial stamina, perceiving any attempt to connect us to a system of racism as an unsettling and unfair moral offense. This is what is meant by white fragility and it is a powerful means of maintaining white racial control and advantage, particularly among white liberals.

If only bad people are racist - and we consider ourselves to be good people - then we don't have to examine the complex and interconnected system that has socialized us. We are able to maintain the status quo and retain our values. With this underlying definition of racism it is virtually impossible for white people to understand what racism really is. When informed that something we are doing is racist, we often respond with anger and denial. If we could only accept that racism is unavoidable, we could better learn what racism is and chose how we wish to react to it.

This book is intended for white liberals who unintentionally make life difficult for people of color. White liberals being defined as any white person who thinks he/she is not racist and already 'gets it'. We are often concerned with having others recognize us as having arrived, rather than addressing education, relationship building, and actual anti racist practices.

Race as a social construct, shapes every aspect of our lives - whether we will survive our birth, where we will live, which schools we will attend, who our friends and partners will be, what careers we will have, how much money we will earn, how healthy we will be, and even how long we will live. The goal of this book is to make visible how one aspect of white sensibility - white fragility - continues to hold racism in place. What white fragility is, how we develop it, how it protects racial inequality, and what we might do about it.

Chapter 1 -- The Challenges of Talking to White People About Racism

We don't see ourselves in racial terms. If we discuss race it is someone else's race, not ours, because our world view is based on a white perspective.

Our opinions are uninformed because...

- Our entire education system does not include any critical discussion of racism, except to say it is bad and people who are racists are bad.
- Any honest talk is met with silence, defensiveness, argumentation, certitude, push back - because none of us want to consider ourselves as bad.

We don't understand socialization.

- Our ideology of individualism holds that we are each unique and discourages us from believing social generalizations. If we are unique then it is ourselves that limit us and we downplay the effects of race, class, gender, and able-bodiedness. This makes us unskilled at reflecting on the impact of group memberships.
- We cannot understand modern forms of racism if we cannot/will not explore patterns of group behavior and their effects on individuals - at odds with individualism. Setting aside our sense of uniqueness is a critical skill set to viewing the society in which we live.
- Objectivity implies that it is possible to be free of all bias and discourages us from examining our own biases. Biases are socialized into all of us and objectivity in these areas is impossible.

We have a simplistic understanding of racism.

- Racism encompasses much more than a conscious dislike because of race.
- Is it possible that because I am white, there are some racial dynamics that I can't see? Am I willing to consider that possibility? If not, then why not?
- To increase the racial stamina that counters white fragility, we must reflect on the whole of our identities - racial group in particular. This means struggling with what it means to be white.

Chapter 2 -- Racism and White Supremacy

Racism is a structure, not an event. White supremacy is not a movement, but describes the culture we live in.

These two sentences are guaranteed to set most white people's teeth on edge, but maybe we need to think of things in a new way. For example, Jackie Robinson was the first black man whites allowed to play major-league baseball. This is an absolutely true statement, but it isn't how we like to describe it - why is that? It emphasizes the power that being white has, not the accomplishment of a black person. We don't want to admit that our system is constructed with white being the norm and black being a deviation - it is harder to feel good about ourselves if we do this.

Race is an evolving social idea that was created to legitimize racial inequality and protect white advantage. Our Constitution says "all men are created equal", but we immediately began legally defining why some were more equal than others. The idea of racial inferiority was created to justify unequal treatment, not the cause of such treatment.

Distinguishing between racism, prejudice, and discrimination.

- Prejudice is pre-judgment about another person based on social groups and is present in all people, but frowned upon by general society. Hence prejudice is equated with being bad.
- Discrimination is action based on prejudice.
- When a racial group's collective prejudice is backed by the power of legal authority and institutional control, it is transformed into racism - racism being a structure, not an event. People of color may hold prejudices and discriminate against white people, but they lack the social and institutional power that transforms prejudice into racism - thus reverse racism is not a valid term.

The system of racism begins with ideology, which refers to big ideas reinforced throughout society. We are conditioned to accepting, not questioning, these ideas from our birth. Ideologies are the frameworks through which we are taught to represent, interpret, understand, and make sense of social existence. Examples of ideologies are individualism, capitalism, and democracy.

To examine whiteness is to focus on how racism elevates white people - who they are, what benefits accrue to that status, what legal entitlements arise from that status. That is why we instinctively don't want to trust the Jackie Robinson description above. Whiteness rests upon a foundational premise: the definition of whites as the norm, and people of color as a deviation from that norm. *Example*: white history being the norm and black history requiring its own month. The dimensions of racism benefiting white people are usually invisible to white people, precisely because it is the accepted social structure.

For sociologists, white supremacy is a descriptive term capturing the all-encompassing centrality and assumed superiority of people defined and perceived as white, and the practices based on this assumption. It is not a term that refers to individuals or groups within a society, but to the culture itself. Naming white supremacy changes the conversation in two key ways...it makes the system visible and it shifts the locus of change to white people.

Chapter 3 -- Racism After the Civil Rights Movement

The idea of color-blindness started during the 1960s as a well-meaning strategy for interrupting racism, but in practice it has served to deny the reality of racism and thus hold it in place. This is because unconscious racism (unexamined) is more pernicious than overt racism (politically unacceptable).

Color-blind racism: If we pretend not to notice race, then there can be no racism, i.e. if we just stop talking about it, it will go away. *Corollary*: If you talk about race, you must be a racist. Since we can't change what we refuse to see, unconscious racial bias is integral to white fragility. The belief that racial discrimination can only be intentional reinforces unconscious racial bias.

Aversive racism: Holding a deep racial disdain that surfaces in daily discourse, but not being able to admit it because the disdain conflicts with our self-image and professed beliefs.

Race talk: The explicit insertion into everyday life of racial signs and symbols (often referred to as 'dog whistles') that have no meaning other than positioning blacks into the lowest level of the racial hierarchy - implies a racial us and them.

Aversive racism and race talk describes another pillar of white fragility - the refusal to know.

Chapter 4 -- How Does Race Shape the Lives of White People?

Black writer to white people: *I don't want you to understand me better; I want you to understand yourselves. Your survival has never depended on your knowledge of white culture; in fact, your survival has required your ignorance. We need to understand how being white shapes our perspectives, experiences, and responses.*

Belonging: I was born into a culture in which I belonged racially.

- Any hospital was open to me - because I was white - and my parents did not worry about how they would be treated in the medical facility.
- Birthing manuals and classes depicted white people.

As I move through my daily life, my race is unremarkable and I do not have to think about belonging..

- All representations are biased toward white.
- Teachers, counselors, and mostly classmates are biased toward white.
- Heroes and examples are generally assumed to be white.

Freedom from the burden of race: I don't have to worry about how others will feel about my race, nor do I worry that my race will be held against me. I don't have to think about any assumptions of servitude - i.e. a lawyer being mistaken for a clerk.

My race is never an issue in my employment, allowing me to focus on my work - women might understand this burden better than white men. As I move through my day, racism just isn't my problem - allowing me freedom from the responsibility of having to navigate white people's internal assumptions.

Freedom of movement: I am free to move in virtually any space seen as normal, neutral, or valuable. I do not have to consider the social makeup of where I want to go.

Just people: The white race is the norm and it is other races that are defined - no definition means white. Representations of what is human is based on white people's norms and images - see Adam & Eve (they probably had to be black) or Mary & Jesus (clearly Middle Eastern).

White solidarity: The unspoken agreement among whites to protect white advantage and not cause another white person to feel racial discomfort by confronting them when they say/do something racially problematic - *example:* at dinner parties or in the workplace.

The very real consequences of breaking white solidarity plays a fundamental role in maintaining white supremacy. I am rewarded (i.e. a team player) when not interrupting racism and punished (i.e. future exclusion) when I do interrupt. People of color certainly experience white solidarity as a form of racism, when we whites fail to hold each other accountable.

The good old days: Claiming the past was socially better than the present is also a hallmark of white supremacy. For the non-white, the romanticized past is strictly a white construct - see lynchings, Jim Crow, etc.

Romanticized "traditional" family values of the past are also racially problematic. White flight from the cities - i.e. segregation and opposition to busing - are hallmarks of family values, but they are carefully avoided in any discussion.

White racial innocence: White innocence means we have not made the effort to understand the power relationships in our own culture.

The expectation that people of color should 'teach' white people about racism implies that racism is something that happens to people of color and not something that white people have anything to do with creating or maintaining. We thus remain innocent of our own culpability.

Finally, the claim of white innocence ignores the historical fact that people of color have repeatedly tried to tell us what racism is like for them and we have refused to listen and/or act.

Segregated lives: Of all racial groups, whites are the most likely to choose segregation, and are the group most likely to be in the social and economic position to do so. Upward mobility means moving to whiter neighborhoods. We don't see racial diversity as a problem in segregated neighborhoods, but we view integrated neighborhoods as being more dangerous.

The most profound message of racial segregation may be that the absence of people of color from our lives is seen as no great loss.

Our socialization engenders a common set of racial patterns that are the foundation of white fragility.

- Preference for racial segregation and no sense of loss.
- Lack of understanding what racism is.
- Seeing ourselves as individuals - and thus exempt from racial socialization.
- Failure to understand that history matters.
- Assuming everyone can have our experience.
- Lack of racial humility, and an unwillingness to listen.
- Lack of interest in the colored perspective.
- Wanting immediate solutions.
- Confusing disagreement with not understanding your position.
- The need to maintain white solidarity.
- Guilt that paralyzes - thus allowing inaction.
- Defensiveness about any suggestion that we are connected to racism.
- Focus on intentions over impact.

Most of us would not choose to be socialized into racism and white supremacy - unfortunately we didn't have that choice.

Chapter 5 -- The Good/Bad Binary

Prior to the civil rights movement it was socially acceptable for people to openly proclaim their belief in racial superiority. The violence surrounding the civil rights movement convinced whites that being a good, moral person and being complicit with racism were mutually exclusive - you were either one or the other. The corollary is that if you consider yourself a good person, you are not racist and any criticism that you are complicit with racism is simply not acceptable - the good/bad binary.

To accomplish this adaptation, racism needed to be reduced to simple, isolated, and extreme acts of prejudice. If these aren't part of your life, you aren't racist and have no responsibility for racism going on around you. This simplistic idea that racism is limited to individual, intentional acts committed by unkind people is at the root of virtually all white defensiveness on this topic - white fragility. Racism becomes like murder: the concept exists, but someone has to commit it in order for it to happen.

If you believe yourself a good person and someone implies your actions support racism, you will feel defensive and all your energy will likely go towards denying this possibility and/or invalidating the messenger - *example*: what would you do if you were accused of murder? What you should be doing is trying to understand why what you have said or done is hurtful.

This good/bad binary makes it nearly impossible to talk to white people about racism, what it is, how it shapes all of us, and the inevitable way we are conditioned to participate in it. If we cannot discuss these dynamics or see ourselves within them, we can't stop participating in racism.

The truth is, all people hold prejudices, especially across racial lines, in a society deeply divided by race. Where race clearly matters, our race profoundly shapes us. If we want to challenge this construct, we must honestly account for it in our own lives and in the society around us.

White claims about racism can be categorized into two general groupings.

- **"I don't see color"** - color blindness - therefore I am free of racism
- **"I know people of color"** - color celebrate, or the value of diversity - therefore I am free of racism.

The key to these responses is to ask, "How does this claim function in our conversation?" Both claims exempt the person from any responsibility for, or participation in, the problem of racism, and close out the conversation as it pertains to them. In so doing, they protect the racial status quo and continue the current culture of racism.

If we critically think about racism as a conscious intolerance - the person cannot tolerate even the sight of a person of color - then we can easily see this is a ridiculous assumption. Many avowed racists interact frequently with people of color. If racism is unconscious intolerance however, then we all must be willing to examine ourselves and our socialization in this society.

People who claim to treat everyone the same don't understand the process of socialization. Treating everyone the same is not only impossible, but it is something we do not want in our society. Different people have different needs and different relationships with us. *Example*: we don't claim that gender roles and gender conditioning disappears the moment we love someone of the "opposite" gender. We understand that gender is a very deep social construct and that we have profoundly different experiences depending on our gender roles. We will wrestle with these differences throughout the life of our relationship with any person of the "opposite" gender. Race is no less deep a social construct and our experiences are no less varied.

Following are some claims and their counter-narratives:

- **I was taught to treat everyone the same.** Humans cannot be 100% objective - that is reserved for Vulcans - and therefore we will always judge, negating any attempt to treat everyone equally. Accept our implicit bias and continue to examine our society.
- **I marched in the sixties.** This implies a belief that racism is uncomplicated, unchanging, and rests on a conscious intolerance of black people. It also implies that many white civil rights workers didn't perpetrate any racism towards blacks during that time - a claim disputed by many black activists.

- **I was the minority at my school, so I was the one who experienced racism.** Prejudice and racism are not interchangeable terms. Only white people are in the position to oppress people of color collectively and throughout the whole of society. Society at large is still reinforcing white supremacy everywhere, even if whites experienced prejudice in specific situations.
- **My parents were not racist, and they taught me not to be racist.** A racism-free upbringing is not possible, because racism is a social system embedded in the culture and its institutions. Most of us are teaching our children not to admit to prejudice (it is bad/wrong), rather than how to recognize and challenge it.
- **Children today are so much more open.** Research over the last two decades indicates that children are vastly more sophisticated in their awareness of racial hierarchies than most people believe. This means they learn how to hide their prejudices very early, not that they are unprejudiced.
- **Race has nothing to do with it.** If it is necessary to make this point, then race does have something to do with it, but the speaker - per the good/bad binary - wants to make sure the listeners know the speaker is not racist. A totally aware person would not say this, precisely because they know race is always at play and we always see social processes through racial lenses.
- **Focusing on race is what divides us.** This is often mentioned when a cross-racial discussion touches on white racial power. Whites see the naming of a power inequity as a threat that exposes the reality of racial division. This is part of white solidarity and part of maintaining an equality fiction, therefore, simply accepting there might be a racial power difference is unacceptable.

Racism is so deeply woven into the fabric of our society that we must think of ourselves as occupying a position on a racial continuum. We may not be on either end, but we can change our position only if we are actively seeking to interrupt racism in our society.

Chapter 6 -- Anti-Blackness

This chapter addresses the uniquely anti-black sentiment integral to white identity - black people are the ultimate racial "other"; as opposed to non-black races outside the white race. On the macro level, deep anti-black feelings have been inculcated in each of us since childhood. While these are the feelings we all need to examine and question, it is almost impossible to examine ourselves directly. Therefore, to challenge the ideologies of racism, such as individualism and color blindness, we whites must suspend our perception of ourselves as unique and outside race and look at our race as a whole.

Anti-blackness is foundational to our very identities as white people - if there were no blacks, there would be no need to 'invent' the concept of a white race. Scholars argue that whites split off from themselves aspects they don't want to admit to and ascribe them to black people - things like laziness, dangerousness, tendency to rape.

Anti-blackness is rooted in misinformation, fables, perversions, projections, and simple lies. Most fundamentally, it is rooted in guilt. At some level we understand what we do and have done over centuries to black people. This guilt needs to be buried and/or justified. Viewing blacks as somehow inferior helps us do that.

Blacks are at their most dangerous and most feared when they demand equal rights and treatment. It is not at all surprising that voting rights came under their most severe attack after a black man was elected president.

Our need to deny the bewildering manifestations of anti-blackness that reside so close to the surface, makes us irrational. That irrationality is at the heart of white fragility and the pain it causes people of color.

Chapter 7 -- Racial Triggers for White People

The larger social environment protects whites from racial stress through institutions, cultural representations, media, school textbooks, movies, advertising, dominant discourses, and the like. Within this environment of racial privilege, whites both expect racial comfort and become less tolerant of racial stress. The reasons whites are so defensive about the suggestion we benefit from, and are complicit in, a racist system are:

- Social taboos against talking openly about race
- The good/bad binary

- Our delusion that we are objective individuals
- Our guilty knowledge that there is more going on than we can or will admit to
- Deep investment in a system that benefits us and in which we have been conditioned to see as fair
- Internalized superiority and a sense of a right to rule
- A deep cultural legacy of anti-black sentiment

Most white people have limited information about what racism is and how it works. Even multicultural courses usually use racially coded language, such as "urban", "inner city", and "disadvantaged", but rarely use "white", "over-advantaged", or "privilege". If a program does directly address racism and the privileging of whites, common white responses include anger, withdrawal, emotional incapacitation, guilt, argumentation, and cognitive dissonance - all of which reinforces the pressure to avoid directly addressing racism.

White fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These interruptions/challenges can take a variety of forms and come from a range of sources, including...

- Suggesting a white person's viewpoint comes from a radicalized frame of reference (objectivity)
- People of color talking directly about their own racial perspectives (taboo against talking openly about race)
- People of color choosing not to protect white feelings about race (white expectations and comfort)
- People of color being unwilling to tell their stories or answer questions (expectation to be served)
- A fellow white disagreeing with our racial beliefs (white solidarity)
- Receiving feedback our behavior had a racist impact (white racial innocence)
- Suggesting that group membership is important (individualism)
- An acknowledgment that access is unequal between racial groups (meritocracy)
- Being presented with a person of color in a position of leadership (white authority)
- Suggesting that white people do not represent/speak for all of humanity (universalism)

In a society in which whites are dominant, each of these challenges becomes exceptional and it is difficult for us to respond constructively.

When disequilibrium occurs - i.e. when there is an interruption to that which is familiar and taken for granted - white fragility restores equilibrium and returns the capital "lost" via the challenge. This capital includes self-image, control, and white solidarity. These strategies are reflexive and seldom conscious - but that does not make them benign.

Chapter 8 -- The Result: White Fragility

White equilibrium is a cocoon of racial comfort, centrality, superiority, entitlement, racial apathy, and obliviousness, all rooted in an identity of being good people, free of racism. Challenging this cocoon throws off our racial balance. Because being racially off balance is so rare, we have not had to build up the capacity to sustain the discomfort (white fragility). Thus, whites find these challenges unbearable and want them to immediately stop.

The effects of our responses, however, are not fragile at all, but quite powerful, in that they take advantage of historical and institutional power and control. White fragility leads to a form of bullying - it is conceptualized as the sociology of dominance.

It would be revolutionary if white people were able to receive input from people of color (or each other), reflect on this input, and get to work attempting to change their behavior. We aren't likely to make any progress unless white people stop operating from the dominant worldview that only intentionally mean people can participate in racism.

Chapter 9 -- White Fragility In Action

The author receives a call from a virtually all-white organization that is interested in racial equity training. They want to know how the author will ensure that the participants will feel comfortable.

White people are receptive to the author's presentation (a white expert in white racism) as long as it remains abstract. The moment some racially problematic dynamic occurs in the class, white fragility erupts. While the author was invited specifically to help point out white racism, the moment she does chaos ensues.

Whenever white racist patterns are named or questioned, there are predictable responses, beginning with a set of unexamined assumptions. Should those assumptions be questioned, various emotions are triggered, which activate expected behaviors. These behaviors are justified by yet more unexamined assumptions, and the entire discussion is almost always sidetracked away from any analysis of white racism.

Chapter 10 -- White Fragility and the Rules of Engagement

Given the dominant conception of racism as individual acts of cruelty, it follows that only terrible people who consciously don't like people of color can enact racism. Therefore, if most people are good people who don't intentionally want to be cruel, then those same people will find it very hard to even discuss the possibility that they may be unconsciously racist in either action or attitude. The only way to give feedback on these people's language or actions, is to not give it at all - they simply cannot allow themselves the possibility that they are in the same category with those horrible racists.

The author describes eleven rules of engagement people set up that are totally contradictory - when looked at somewhat objectively. Their function is to obscure racism, protect white dominance, and regain white equilibrium. In addition to the expected rules of engagement, there are "trust" guidelines we are expected to follow. The guidelines are accommodations made to coddle white fragility. The purpose of white fragility is to maintain white solidarity and punish the person giving feedback (be they either white or of color), pressing them back into silence.

The only way to approach our job to give feedback, is to accept that we will inevitably offend much of our audience and be prepared to accept this; recognizing where they are coming from, while not getting caught up in their responses. If we are to effectively work with white people on racism, we have to accept that we, too, have blind spots and unconscious investments in racism. We have to expect these will be pointed out to us in our discussions and we have to frankly admit and deal with them without the 'rules of engagement' or the 'guidelines' applying to us.

When we accept that white superiority messages circulate 24-7 in our world and have little or nothing to do with intentions, awareness, or agreement, we can stop focusing on 'if' we are racist and focus on 'how' we are racist. At this moment we move beyond the good/bad binary and we can truly make progress in interrupting our racist pattern, rather than concentrating on how others view us. This is the key insight we have to awaken in our audience.

Chapter 11 -- White Women's Tears

The term white tears refers to all the ways, both literally and metaphorically, that white fragility manifests itself through white people's laments over how hard racism is on them.

Our emotions are shaped by our biases and beliefs, our cultural framework. Our emotions are also political, because they are often externalized; driving behaviors that impact other people. White women's tears have a powerful impact in a cross-racial setting, effectively reinscribing, rather than ameliorating racism.

in a cross-racial discussion, something resulting in a white woman's tears changes the dynamics from dealing with racism to comforting her. This creates a situation similar to one where a first responder at the scene of an accident rushes to comfort the person whose car struck a pedestrian, while the pedestrian lies bleeding on the street. A discussion on racism then - all too frequently - becomes about white distress, white suffering, and white victimization. The purpose of the discussion is lost and white fragility has again successfully held racism in place.

If whites want to interrupt the system of racism, we have to get racially uncomfortable and be willing to examine the effects of our racial engagement. Tears driven by white guilt are self-indulgent, and this guilt functions as an excuse for inaction.

Why are women of color so infuriated by white women's tears? Because of the audacity of disrespect to the colored experience that it signifies. "You are crying because you are uncomfortable, but we are not allowed to show any feelings because, if we do, we are being difficult. We are abused daily, beaten, raped, and killed, but you are sad and that is what is important."

Our racial socialization sets us up to respect racist behavior, regardless of our intentions or self image. We must continue to ask **how** our racism manifests itself, not **if** it does.

Chapter 12 -- Where Do We Go From Here?

In a transformed paradigm, when people called us racist, we would have different feelings, resulting in different behaviors, and they would result in different claims than those mentioned in Chapter 9.

Feelings: gratitude, excitement, discomfort, guilt, motivation, humility, compassion, interest

Behaviors: reflection, apology, listening, processing, seeking more understanding, grappling, engaging, believing

Claims (made in openness and humility): oops!, appreciation, helpful, my responsibility to resist defensiveness and complacency, this is hard but stimulating, this pattern is inevitable and I want to change it, it's personal, I will focus on the message and not the messenger, I need to build my capacity to endure discomfort, I have some work to do.

What to do about racism? First, ask what has enabled us to become educated, professional adults and not know what to do about racism? If we take that question seriously and map out all the ways we have come to not know, we will have created our guide. *Examples:* if I was not educated about racism, then I will have to get educated; if I don't know people of color, then I need to build relationships.

Next, we have to work at internalizing the feelings, behaviors, and claims above to change our interpersonal relationships. We cannot end racism from the current paradigm.

Finally, take the initiative and find out on your own. Put in the effort.

We should not depend on people of color for our racial education; it is generally in their best interest not to push us too hard. We can seek the information from books, websites, films, etc. We can get involved with multiracial organizations and white organizations working for racial justice. In our authentic cross-racial relationships we must be willing to watch, listen, and learn - without much comment - this goes for interracial marriages as well.

We will never be completely free of racism or be finished learning - it is a lifelong thing. We must be willing to interrupt our white fragility and tolerate the discomfort associated with an honest appraisal. We will have to continually challenge our own socialization and investments in racism and the misinformation we have learned about people of color. Most important, we must break the silence about race and racism with other white people.