

Speaking of Race

Why Everybody Needs to Talk About Racism – and How to Do It

Celeste Headlee

New York: Harper Wave: An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers. 2021.

What is the point?

Racism is everywhere present. We must talk about it, honestly, openly, to have any chance of ever defeating it; even to have any chance of seriously diminishing it.

QUOTES AND EXCERPTS FROM THE BOOK – THE “BEST OF” RANDY’S HIGHLIGHTED PASSAGES:

1. I have come to realize that the majority of people believe they are not biased, that they’re mostly fair and just in their dealings with others. I’ve also come to understand how wrong that assumption is, how our understanding of bias is hampered because of our insistence that the problem lies in other people’s attitudes, and not our own. pg. 2
2. First, everyone is a work in progress when it comes to prejudice and human diversity... ..Second, racism has wasted enough of our time. pg. 2
3. As Vivian Chou of Harvard University wrote in 2019, “In the biological and social sciences, the consensus is clear: race is a social construct, not a biological attribute.” pg. 2
4. As Baldwin wrote, “Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced. . . . Most of us are about as eager to change as we were to be born, and go through our changes in a similar state of shock.” pg. 3

SPEAKING OF RACE

WHY EVERYBODY
NEEDS TO TALK
ABOUT RACISM –
AND HOW TO DO IT

CELESTE
HEADLEE

AUTHOR OF WE NEED TO TALK

WHY IS THIS BOOK WORTH OUR TIME? – WHY THIS BOOK MATTERS!

#1 – This book compels us to have an honest discussion within ourselves about our own biases.

#2 – This book teaches us how race is not really real; and yet, how race is very real...

#3 – This book is something of a conversational, practical guide to help us talk about racism.



Urban Engagement Book Club
is sponsored by CitySquare.
citysquare.org



5. We are, after all, human. We don't like changing our minds or being told we're wrong. pg. 4
6. Regardless of political party or affiliation, everyone is equally susceptible to confirmation bias when it comes to politics. pg. 4
7. No one wins in these conversations, and no progress is made by reinforcing the opinions of a racist. pg. 4
8. **"Yelling at white supremacists seems unlikely to make them less racist. ..."****"We Need to Start Befriending Neo Nazis."** pg. 5
9. In truth, few of us engage in casual chats about race with strangers... pg. 5
10. In the end, we can choose friends based on shared perspectives and we can end friendships when our values don't align, but we're mostly stuck with our family members. pg. 5
11. **As the Yale social psychologist Michael Kraus says, "We want to move past issues of race all the time because they are difficult to talk about, because they bring up really painful pasts that we have lived in this country. It's much more comfortable for us to avoid those thoughts."** pg. 6
12. So, in this book about conversation, let me begin by addressing one of the worst questions you can ask another human being: "What are you?" pg. 7
13. At that time, people were dragging mixed-race families out of their beds and beating them, or even setting their homes on fire. pg. 7
14. **Kids at my elementary school called me a "nigger" sometimes. This would have been the late 1970s and my progressive principal told me that if anyone else called me that name again, I should punch them, too.** pg. 8
15. "One drop of Negro blood makes a Negro" and "puts out the light of intellect." pg. 8
16. "You are descended from multitudes, from all around the world, from people you think you know, and from more you know nothing about. You will have no meaningful genetic link to many of them. These are the facts of biology. ..."for humans, there are no purebloods, only mongrels enriched by the blood of multitudes." pg. 9
17. The nineteenth-century Cherokee chief Guwisguwi, called "the Moses of his people" by white supporters, was just one-eighth Cherokee, with the rest of his ancestors mostly Scottish. Yet he led the Cherokee Nation for nearly four decades. pg. 10
18. Most people still operate under the false ideas that a person's race is knowable, that having that knowledge helps us understand them, and that racial identity can be granted or denied. pg. 10
19. **In years past, I would have been called a "quadroon."** (That label and others like it are offensive, of course, and no longer acceptable to use.) About nine million people in the United States identify as multiracial, as I do. Our histories are part of America's racial story. pg. 12

20. This is a book for optimists, those who believe we don't have to exclude people who see things differently. pg. 12
- 21. We don't have to accept the racists' view of the world or allow their ideas to govern policy, but we also don't have to ostracize them. pg. 12**
22. A debate will not change someone's opinions, no matter how devastating your statistics or eye-opening your data. pg. 13
23. When you are wrong-spotting, you will always feel vindicated because everyone makes mistakes or says things that seem wrong from your perspective. pg. 13
- 24. I've read the books, not just the recent ones, but going back more than 230 years to the slave narratives of Olaudah Equiano and Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs. If I get something wrong, it's a matter not of ignorance, but of different understanding. ...Even civil rights activists make mistakes. pg. 14**
25. "Even he didn't understand that language was part of identity," she said. "It's like asking an African-American to straighten his hair because that's the way Americans do it." pg. 14
26. If your goal is to have an honest discussion, rather than to prove someone wrong and create a viral video of your victory, then you must let go of the temptation to wrong-spot. pg. 14
27. In many countries, race determines where you're born, what school you attend, what job you get, how much money you make, and even how you die. pg. 14
28. Talking about race in America makes Black people feel angry and, often, makes white people feel leery. pg. 14
29. I see headlines that read, "Inequality in Health Care Is Killing African Americans," and think, "Well, someone had better arrest inequality for murder." pg. 15
30. We can't keep race in our peripheral vision anymore. What's needed are honest conversations that lead to greater understanding. pg. 15
31. Fewer than 40 percent of whites thought racial discrimination was the main reason white Americans become successful more easily than Blacks. pg. 15
- 32. Over and over, in survey after survey, white Americans underestimate the role that racism plays in the lives of Blacks and downplay the severity of inequality in our society. pg. 15**
- 33. As the Yale professor Jennifer Richeson says, "People will not attempt to solve problems that they are either unaware of or believe do not exist." pg. 15**
34. This book is about talking to friends, family members, neighbors, people you bump into at the hardware store or the library. pg. 15
35. I want you to talk about race more often, and I want you to learn to be as honest as you can. pg. 16

36. As Ibram X. Kendi has written, “The heartbeat of racism is denial, the heartbeat of antiracism is confession.” pg. 16

37. Some believe Black people can't be racist. I don't agree. ...Can gay people be homophobic? We know they can. Can women be sexist? Yes. pg. 16

38. “Prejudice is one of the inescapable consequences of living in a racist society. Cultural racism . . . is like smog in the air. ...but always day in and day out, we are breathing it in.” pg. 17

39. I walked into an Apple store not long ago, saw two people at the counter, and immediately turned to the East Asian man to ask my question. Turns out, he was a customer. The young Latinx woman beside him was the clerk. My error was based on my own racism. I have implicit biases; we all do. I have unconscious biases; we all do. pg. 17

40. If you know someone who bristles every time they hear the word “privilege,” this book is for you. pg. 18

41. The psychologist Angela Bell said that “understanding why people fail to recognize their own racism—even when confronted with evidence of racism by their own definition—is a necessary step to reduce prejudice.” pg. 22

42. Our state of denial is not new; its history is as long as that of racial bias. pg. 23

43. I will never reach the point where I can sit with Black people and be unaware of their being Black.” pg. 23

44. When we say that we are “not racist,” we assure ourselves that nothing we do could possibly be discriminatory. We give ourselves blanket absolution. pg. 24

45. If we are to move forward, we must stop denying our own biases. pg. 24

46. Despite the very clear impact of bias on our decision making and our judgments, we're often unaware of our own racism. pg. 25

47. We can only begin to make progress when we acknowledge that, while some people are worse than others, none are free from the taint of prejudice. pg. 26

48. Being an anti-racist is not a status you achieve, but a skill you must constantly practice. pg. 26

49. My friend Wynton Marsalis is making music and making people happy, but he's in New York. How many Jackie Robinsons, how many Oprah Winfreys, how many Louis Armstrongs left the South and took all of that talent and went someplace else with it? That's what we lost because we sent it away. pg. 28

50. We've never practiced having a productive conversation. How can we be good at it? Germany did it. South Africa did it. We've never done it. pg. 29

51. **My family has been harmed by racism again and again. It has cost us our safety and our security and our jobs. Racist comments are never funny to me, and if you care about my feelings, you won't make jokes about something that has hurt me.** pg. 32
52. **Would you make a joke about cancer to someone who's going through chemotherapy?** pg. 33
53. If someone tells you that something you've said is racist, "It was only a joke" is never an appropriate defense. pg. 33
54. **As Ibram X. Kendi wrote in How to Be an Antiracist, "'Racist' is not . . . a pejorative. It is not the worst word in the English language; it is not the equivalent of a slur. It is descriptive, and the only way to undo racism is to consistently identify and describe it—and then dismantle it.** pg. 33
55. Perhaps you're interacting with someone who has made racist comments in the past or behaved in a manner you felt reflected racist beliefs. Before you openly label them a racist, are you sure they still feel the same way now? Minds can change. pg. 34
56. **It's a truism that the first step toward change is acceptance, and if we are to eradicate racism, or even lessen its death grip on our world, we must accept that it is everywhere, even our own homes.** pg. 34
57. The Reverend Jesse Jackson once said, "There is nothing more painful to me at this stage in my life than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start thinking about robbery and then look around and see it's somebody white and feel relieved. How humiliating." pg. 35
58. **"American women, without exception," bell hooks wrote in her 1981 book, Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism, "are socialized to be racist, classist and sexist, in varying degrees."** pg. 36
59. **Racism among people of color causes self-harm; racism among whites perpetuates oppression. Racial bias may be universal, but the damage caused is almost entirely borne by communities of color.** pg. 36
60. Your thoughts and feelings are not you; it's your actions that determine who you are. Let me put it this way: We all have thoughts that are best left unexpressed. pg. 41
61. The only thoughts we control are the thoughts we can control. pg. 42
62. **Research shows that the smarter you are, the more susceptible you are to bias. ..."If anything," one study reads, "a larger bias blind spot was associated with higher cognitive ability."** pg. 43
63. **Values are formed using some particles of what we learned from our parents, a smidgeon from teachers, a scrap from childhood friends, plus a hint of the books we've read and the movies we've watched. Society has been feeding us racist images and stories for generations.** pg. 44
64. **"No one knows so little about a man's ability to be fair," Darrow said, "as the man himself. To a man himself all his opinions, attitudes, and prejudices are fair or he would not hold them."** pg. 45

65. Over the course of his speech, he returned again and again to the idea that prejudice doesn't respond to evidence and that values are often too deeply planted to be uprooted. pg. 45
66. "Our communities are being destroyed by racial tension, and we're too polite to talk about it. I'm not asking you to be tolerant of each other. Tolerance is for cowards. Being tolerant requires nothing from you but to be quiet and to not make waves, holding tightly to your views and judgments, without being challenged. Do not tolerate each other. Work hard, move into uncomfortable territory, and understand each other." pg. 46
67. Scientists estimate that one in five of us is emotionally reactive and has difficulty self-regulating our emotional responses. pg. 49

68. All adults have the ability to self-regulate... pg. 50

69. Opinion is really the lowest form of human knowledge; it requires no accountability, no understanding. The highest form of knowledge, according to George Eliot, is empathy, for it requires us to suspend our egos and live in another's world. pg. 85
70. As one person said in my survey, "It's difficult for me to see it as a legitimate disagreement when people deny others' experience or make others' humanity a subject of debate." pg. 106
71. Translation: When whites leave a neighborhood, they assume crime will rise. pg. 125
72. If, however, a white person says, "I've suffered more than any Black person has"—something that I was once told by a white man sitting in first class during a flight to Vancouver—you can address the comparison because they brought it up. Respond specifically to what they say, not to the implication or your assumption about what they really mean. pg. 141
- 73. If you say you "want your country back," be prepared for the other person to ask, "Who do you think took your country?" If you say you want to "return to normal," don't be surprised if you're asked to define what "normal" is. If you want to "defund the police," be prepared to explain exactly what that means and how communities would enforce laws if your ideas were enacted. pg. 142**
74. Specificity is powerful because it keeps us focused on the person in front of us—this person instead of "Asian people," for example—and it holds people accountable for what they say. pg. 142
75. Keep in mind that people readily respond to requests for help and phrase it this way: "Can you help me with something? I'm trying to get better at communicating on racial issues and I would very much appreciate it if you let me know if I say something insensitive." pg. 197
76. The first step is to set an intention to react gracefully should someone make a mistake. pg. 198
77. Perhaps you'll be tempted to lecture them and explain why they shouldn't be upset by what you've said. That's the wrong approach, as no one gets to decide what upsets someone else. pg. 198
- 78. I talked in chapter 7 about switch tracking. It's the tendency to respond to a complaint by bringing up another, and it's a common method used to circumvent the need to apologize. pg. 199**

79. I've used many words in the past that I later discovered were inappropriate and possibly offensive, words like "gyp" (derived from "Gypsy," itself a pejorative for the Romani people), "Eskimo" (a word imposed on Native peoples of Alaska and other arctic regions), and "peanut gallery" (which originally referred to people, mostly Black, who sat in the cheap seats in a theater). It's humbling to be called out for using a racist term, but it's also far better to know that it's racist than to continue using it, unbeknownst. pg. 199

80. Whether you meant to hurt them or not, whether you realized you were saying something inappropriate or you didn't, it's best to accept responsibility for the error without excuses. pg. 200

81. Blanket denial -- "That wasn't racist" -- is not a productive way to respond. pg. 200

82. HEADLEE: Are there people who simply can't be reasoned with? TATUM: Sometimes you get to that place, but you shouldn't start there. pg. 202

83. A strong apology would sound something like this: I'm very sorry that I called you angry and told the group you complain too much [expression of regret]. I understand now that saying these things about a woman of color not only plays into racial stereotypes but also encourages others to downplay your concerns [explanation of what went wrong]. It was a disrespectful and racist thing to say, and you were right to call me out [acknowledgment of responsibility]. I am sorry that I've hurt you, and I assure you that I will never say such things again [declaration of repentance]. I would also like to invite you to join me at the next senior managers' meeting, if you're interested, so we can talk about the issues you've raised and discuss the right strategies for addressing them [offer of repair]. I value you as a colleague and hope you can pardon my mistake [request for forgiveness]. pg. 205

84. However, if you knowingly discriminated against someone, or have discriminated in the past and failed to take substantive action to change your ways, you should be removed from power because you can't be trusted not to abuse that power. There is no way to sugarcoat this: Discrimination is an abuse of power and it is disqualifying for leadership. What's more, while everyone should be afforded the right to employment, positions of power are a privilege. pg. 206

85. But remember, no one is entitled to a position of power. pg. 207

86. We should never hesitate to remove someone from power, especially political power, if they've proven they are willing to abuse that power for racist (or sexist, ableist, ageist, etc.) reasons. pg. 207

87. However, human beings are more likely to cooperate if they are solving a problem together. There is ample research to show that presenting two people with a puzzle is an effective strategy for encouraging teamwork. ...This is where group discussions must start: with a clear articulation of the problem at hand and a stated goal of finding solutions, not just airing grievances. pg. 210

88. One researcher has found that asking people to think about a happy moment in their lives increased their accuracy on cognitive tests. pg. 211

89. It's not enough to say that you value diversity and you're not racist. You need to be anti-racist. ...Everyone has to be focused on creating an anti-racist organization. ...Our entire society is built on racism and prejudice. It's everywhere, in the very fabric of our society. It will require a massive effort from all sides to break it down. That's what is needed. pg. 215
90. **The tactics that have been proven to be effective—targeted recruiting, robust mentoring programs, and empowered task forces—are focused on reforming policies and practices, rather than simply relaying information. pg. 218**
91. To embed diversity into a group's culture, organizations must discourage tribalism and isolation whenever possible. Therefore, the next skill to teach people is cross-silo communication and collaboration. pg. 222
92. If there are issues with inequality and racial harassment within an organization, it's likely they are on the undiscussable list. pg. 225
93. If white people are truly invested in having these conversations and becoming anti-racist, they will ultimately have to carry some of the emotional burden that people of color have carried for so long. pg. 228
94. Discrimination based on skin color is the standard... pg. 231
95. Conversations about race are only easy when you're talking to someone who agrees with you. pg. 232

Speaking of Race

Why Everybody Needs to Talk About Racism – and How to Do It

Celeste Headlee

New York: Harper Wave: An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers. 2021.

THE MOST IMPORTANT QUOTES – (THE “THESIS” QUOTES).

When we talk about racism, we’re talking about actual trauma that African Americans have experienced and are still experiencing.

Systemic racism is like a disease. Some of us are infected. Some of us have no side effects, some of us are asymptomatic, but one way or another, all of us are affected.—Denise Horn, Director of Inclusion Marketing and Communications at Warner Media

That’s where this book lives: in the awkward and painful space many of us know too well and have been trying to navigate for years. It’s a space that makes us uncomfortable, gets us upset, and leaves us struggling to find the right words. But in that space it’s possible to build connections among people who will seemingly never agree and therefore believe there is nothing to be said.

In this book, we will confront racism: the tendency to make assumptions about a person’s character and personality (even positive assumptions) based on their race.

It is impossible for one book to tell you everything you need to know about the lived experience of people who have survived as a different race in a different culture and perhaps a different era. That’s why I want not to teach you about race, but how to learn about race.

Racist comments should never be allowed to stand without opposition. Racist remarks are not just idle chatter—they reinforce harmful attitudes and policies, and they can damage the people who hear them.

There is no white race. There is no Black race. How could Asian even be considered a race when it’s used to describe Indians, Koreans, Japanese, Cambodians, Pakistanis, Filipinos, Thai, Chinese, and more? Yet race exists because racism exists. So long as our systems separate people into castes, race will be real.

There are two kinds of people in this world: those who have said the wrong thing about race and those who will.

To talk about race in a productive and constructive way is to hold tight to a belief that racism can be faced and defeated. We can do this, one conversation at a time.

We know enough about racism to know that it must end. – Not talking about it has not made it go away.

SOME OF THE KEY CONTENT AND IDEAS FROM THE BOOK

• **About Celeste Headlee**

- NPR journalist; multiple assignments/roles
- speaker
- *Because I am a light-skinned Black Jew, sometimes called “racially ambiguous,” I’ve been talking about race for as long as I can remember. – Mostly, I’m Black. My grandfather was William Grant Still, known widely as the dean of African American composers. He couldn’t stay at the white hotels because he was Black; he couldn’t stay at the Black hotels because his wife was white. It still makes me angry. – ... My grandparents had to get married in Tijuana, Mexico, because marriage between a Black man and a Jewish woman was illegal in California, where they lived. That’s personal.*
- *I have roughly the same amount of Black ancestry as Sally Hemings, slave to Thomas Jefferson and mother to at least six of his children. (Side note: Three of those children lived their adult lives as white. They “passed.”)*
- *Regardless of how I see myself, I am not far removed from a time when I would have had no option to think of myself as anything other than Black.*
- *I’m also white. That means I share DNA with the man who owned my great-grandmother. People don’t always look at me and think I’m part Black. ...I hope you can see, as I lay out this “evidence,” how absurd this debate really is.*
- *My heritage and my non-race-specific features have allowed me to see the racial underpinnings of our society in a way that most can’t, or don’t.*
- *My light skin has protected me; there is no denying that.*
- *Going back generations, my family members chose light-skinned mates, partly because light skin is associated with higher rank, better opportunities, more safety. ...and think about how my racially ambiguous appearance was not an accident, but the result of intentional, racist choices made by my ancestors. ...I doubt I’ve ever made people nervous or fearful just by walking into a room.*
- *Yes, I’m the descendant of slave owners as well as slaves.*

• **Definition:**

- *a racist is someone who makes assumptions about another person (either positive or negative) because of their perceived race or ethnicity.*
- *the racist behavior that is most common and affects the largest number of people is not the behavior that breaks laws, but that which harms others incrementally: the casual racist comments thrown out over dinner, the choice to look at your phone while a person of color is speaking in a meeting, the unconscious decision to avoid looking at Black people as they pass you on the sidewalk. Those behaviors are rooted in racist beliefs.*
- *a racist is someone who makes assumptions about another person (either positive or negative) because of their perceived race or ethnicity.*

• **You - yes, you - are biased... – Because the truth is that everyone is biased. Everyone.**

- *Stop for a moment, take a breath, and pay close attention to what I’m about to tell you: you are biased. Whether you enjoy talking to highly attractive people more than to less attractive people, or take advice more seriously when it’s dispensed by someone who is educated, or assume dog owners are nicer than people who don’t own dogs, you are biased.*
- *If you grew up in the United States, you’re probably sexist, too.*
 - *I’m sure it comes as no surprise that the same is true of race. It is, after all, our original sin.*

• **We need conversations...not debates; conversations.**

- *You can’t solve a problem you can’t talk about.*
- *Debates have changed very few minds, but conversations have the power to change hearts.*
- *I will never ask you to endure abuse or offensive language. ...However, there are people willing to talk, even if they don’t expect to modify their opinions. There are many willing to discuss race, and to do so respectfully. These are the people whom I hope you’ll seek out.*
- *A discussion cannot be productive unless both participants are interested in a productive discussion.*

- **Don't "wrong-spot;" instead "difference-spot."**
- **"I'm definitely not racist..."**
 - After all, says Wilkerson, "Who is racist in a society where someone can refuse to rent to people of color, arrest brown immigrants en masse, or display a Confederate flag, but not be 'certified' as a racist unless he or she confesses to it or is caught using derogatory signage or slurs?" ..."I'm sorry that I used that word, but I'm definitely not racist."
- **You are either anti-racist or racist.**
 - Either you are actively working to dismantle the systems that disadvantage some and benefit others, based solely on perceived ethnicity, or you are contributing to those systems through action or inaction.
- **Vocabulary matters -- label racist actions, but beware of labeling a person racist:**
 - It's generally possible to label a statement or action as racist without labeling the person, and that's important because calling someone a racist tends to shut down the conversation.
 - That said, it's imperative that we call out racist actions and behaviors when we see them, so it can be helpful to learn how to do this in a noncombative way. I find that I'm most likely to tell someone they're racist in response to their claim that they aren't.
 - The secret is, I try to use my pushback as an invitation to a conversation instead of a slammed door after an angry exit line. Not, "You're racist, you piece of crap!" but "Wow, that was a racist thing to say. Where did that come from?" If they respond, as they often do, by avowing that they're not racist, I ask if I may explain why their remark was inappropriate.
- **White people have a major role to play**
 - That means it's the duty of white people to acknowledge their racism and work to dismantle the systems that weaponize bias.
 - White communities have more power than communities of color, regardless of income or status. ...Yet research shows that white people are rewarded when they raise issues of diversity and inclusion, at least in the workplace, while BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, or other persons of color) individuals are often viewed more negatively when they draw attention to inequities.
- **Think about it...carefully...**
 - The only way to truly thwart racist thoughts is to slow down so that our more mature and logical mind can weigh in before we speak or act. "System 1 thinking" is a term coined by the psychologist Daniel Kahneman to describe the instantaneous, automatic thoughts—our "gut instinct"—versus "System 2 thinking," which is more considered and more careful. ...System 2 requires more energy and time because it is slower, more measured, and more analytical. It requires focus.
 - You have control over System 2, but not System 1.
 - Our values and loyalties are often based in System 1 thinking.
- **Cultivate empathy - (not sympathy; empathy)**
 - When you sympathize with someone, you feel for them. When you empathize, you feel with them. You can imagine how difficult it's been for them, or how painful their experience.
- **Apologize!**
 - Saying you're sorry requires little effort and is the best way to handle accusations of racist language or phrasing.
 - Apologizing in person is the most effective method, if your goal is to settle the issue and repair the relationship.

- **The book:**

- Introduction
- Part I: The Context
 - Chapter 1: Who Is Racist?
 - Chapter 2: The Science
 - Chapter 3: The Stakes
 - Chapter 4: When It Has Worked
- Part II: The Conversation
 - Chapter 5: First, Get Your Head Straight
 - Chapter 6: Respect and Acceptance
 - Chapter 7: Take Turns and Be Specific
 - Chapter 8: Location and Language
 - Chapter 9: Common Ground and Good Questions
 - Chapter 10: Keep It Personal and Don't Rush
 - Chapter 11: I Screwed Up. What Now?
 - Chapter 12: Talking About Racism in the Workplace
- In Closing: Good Luck

SOME LESSONS AND TAKEAWAYS

#1 - You are biased. We all are. Accept that. Pay close attention to your own biases.

#2 - A major bias is racial bias.

#3 - It hurts our society, and, it hurts real people, that racism is everywhere present.

#4 - Racism will not be defeated, even diminished, without many, many, many honest and real conversations.

#5 - Have those real conversations.

#6 - Build bridges wherever possible; but do not tolerate the worst when it comes to racism!