Interculturality:
Practice meets Research

Edited by

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RACE, GENES AND CULTURE

ULRICH KATTMANN

Abstract

The concept of race has no genetic basis. This expert conclusion (UNESCO–Workshop, 1995) is based on biological facts: genetic differences between individuals within a geographic area are larger than genetic differences between the means of populations in different geographical areas; patterns of DNA and genetic patterns are not confined by continental boundaries and are not concordant with any classification of so–called races. The genes that determine traits of appearance are just a small subset of all human genes. Thus appearance, like skin colour, does not show genetic similarity or kinship of human groups. The classification of human groups is a fundamental source of racism. The biological concept of race is essentially associated with racial prejudice. Culturalism emerges directly out of racism and evidently mimics it. Racial conceptions assume that groups of humans developed in isolation. This disruptive conception of evolution and history survived in the claim of entirely different and hostile cultures, which was recently expressed as the "clash of civilisations", a rebirth of the "Kulturkreislehre" of the 19th century. A fundamental element of racism and of culturalism is generalisation. If not deliberated, generalisations become pitfalls of simplification. Simplification may involve types (racial and cultural stereotypes), dichotomies (e.g. "blacks and whites") and median values of groups. Keys to overcoming racist and culturalist thinking are focusing on the individual, thereby abolishing typological thinking and acknowledging the special character of human diversity.

The Scientific "Reality" of Races

Colour as a Racial Stereotype

No other feature is as closely linked to the concept of race as the perception of skin colour. To anthropologists however, the pigmentation of the skin for classifying humans is useless. The pigmentation of the human skin varies continuously with the geographical latitude with few discontinuities and exceptions. This distribution is mainly caused by selection due to UV radiation. As a result human populations of the same latitude show generally the same grade of skin pigmentation, e.g. dark skinned people around the equator in Africa, Asia, Australia and in South America. The distribution of pigmentation is the parallel outcome of convergent evolution, not of common descent. Therefore "colour" does not say anything about kinship of humans.

Nevertheless racial conceptions are dominated by "colours", e.g. the opposition of "black" and "white" or "white" and "coloured". Europeans understand themselves as "Whites" in spite of the fact that the pigmentations of southern Europeans and most Asians (which are called "Yellows") are nearly identical. The discrimination of "Blacks", "Whites", "Yellows" and "Reds" is part of the racial doctrine of colour which is used to indicate essential differences that do not exist at all. Following these racial discriminations, European culture serves as evidence for “White man‘s” pre–eminence.

The Idea of Isolation

Traditionally in science it is thought that differences between human populations and cultures are caused by evolution through isolation and selection. It was claimed that human races originated separately in isolated areas (so called areas of selection: "Züchtungsräume"). This conception was in accord with the concept of evolution in mainstream biology. The idea of isolation did not only dominate evolutionary biology a long time, but was adopted also in other disciplines which influenced racial thinking and racial interpretations of human cultures (table 7-1).

The idea of isolation gave also birth to the ethnological idea of “Kulturkreise” of the early Leo Frobenius (1873–1938) which was reborn in the conception of “major civilisations” in the “Clash of Civilisations” of Samuel Huntington in 1996. With regard to this understanding and the attribution to cultures as "pseudospecies" (Erikson, 2009), it should be pointed out that cultures are not isolated; they are not closed to one

another but live through exchange of materials and ideas. The same is true for "races": Human populations did not evolve in isolation but in frequent und sustained genetic and cultural exchange trough migration (see below).

Tab. 7-1. Isolation as a scientific idea

Discipline	**Conceptions**
Philosophy of History Gobineau (1860-1882) and followers	Theory of culture: High cultures are created and carried by high races. Degeneration of culture by race mixture
Evolutionary Biology	Origin of races and speciation by geographical separation
Psychology Erik Erikson (1902-1994)	Origin of different cultures by apportionment and alienation in order to achieve “identity”. To stress the diversification of cultures they are defined as isolated entities and – in analogy to the diversity of animal species – called “pseudo-species”.
Cultural Studies	Thinking of cultures in plural only: stressing differences and animosities between cultures, cultures are treated as self-contained entities.
Biological Anthropology	Origin of human races by natural selection in geographical isolation. "Races" as evolutionary precursors of true species. Cultures are products of racial traits: Linkage of "higher" culture to "higher" races"

Genetic Studies on "Race"

So far biology is concerned the *definition of race* is based on genetic differences. Those differences are connected to differences in DNA–sequences. They may occur within genes or in "silent" parts of the DNA which are not translated into gene products (like RNA and proteins).

Different DNA–sequences or versions of genes which are located at the same site of a chromosome (gene locus) are called allelic genes or *alleles*. In short: Alleles are genes (or more general: DNA–sequences) of the same gene locus. A human individual has two sets of chromosomes in his or her cell–nucleuses and accordingly two different or two identical alleles.

To give an example: On the chromosome No. 7 of the human genome there is the gene locus which refer to the production a specific protein of the cell membrane. This protein normally regulates the intake of chloride–ions into the cell. If the related gene is mutated, the intake of chloride will be inhibited. The mutated gene and the original gene are located at the same gene–locus of the chromosomes No. 7, thus they are alleles. If an individual has the mutated allele on both of his or her chromosomes No. 7, the combination of two mutated alleles will lead to the disease of Cystic Fibrosis. Cystic Fibrosis is the most frequent genetically determined disease in Western Europe. In other parts of the continent the mutated allele is less frequent. Thus the frequencies of the two alleles are part of the genetic differences between European populations.

This result can be generalised: Genetic differences between human populations are always differences of the frequencies of alleles. Anthropologists are used to speak conveniently of genes, when alleles are meant. To be clear, in the following instead of the term gene the term allele is used in the given definition (also in word combinations, e.g. allele flow).

Formerly geneticist thought that all individuals of the same race may have certain alleles in common which are absent in the individuals of another race. But in nature, genetic differences between populations are only statistical ones. Therefore the population geneticists defined *races* as populations (of the same species) which differ in their allele frequencies (cf. Dunn and Dobzhansky, 1946). Implicitly this definition includes the supposition that—in terms of genetics—the individuals belonging to one race will differ essentially from individuals of another race. But molecular genetics show quite clearly that this is not true for the diversity of human populations. The most important elements of understanding human diversity are the

- higher diversity within, not between human populations,
- continuous variation of allele frequencies all over the globe, and
- striking genetic similarity of all humans.

Accordingly a group of experts points out: "The revolution in our thinking about population genetics and molecular biology has led to an explosion of knowledge about living organisms. Among the ideas that have been profoundly altered are concepts of human variation. The concept of 'race' carried over from the past into the 20th century has become entirely obsolete. ... There is no scientific reason to continue using the term 'race'" (UNESCO, 1995).

When populations of different geographical regions are analysed the most striking result is that most differences are found within not among populations. Molecular analysis of allele frequencies have shown that within any group of humans the differences between individuals are large, in comparison with those differences between groups, which are comparatively small. The differences between populations of different continents (traditionally equalized with "geographical races") contribute at most 10 % of the overall variation of humans (Figure 7-1).

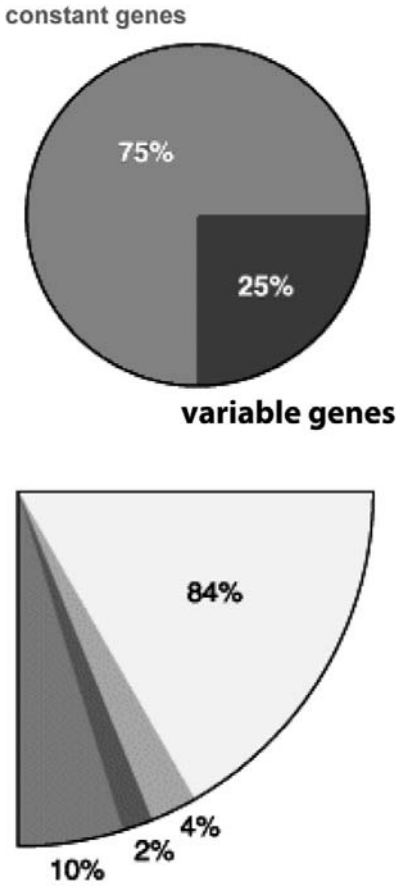
As a consequence the significance of racial classification fades away: For any "white" European you can find a "black" African who is genetically more similar to him than his light skinned neighbour.

Nevertheless, series of studies in genetic variation seem to support the traditional classification into geographical "races". They find clusters of genetic similarity, which correspond to the geographical distribution of the populations. The most voluminous study with this result (Jorde e. al., 1997) was reanalyzed, questioning the sampling (Serre and Pääbo, 2004). The participants of the study originated from regions which are located at the edges of the continents. The US–researchers gathered the data just from those people who frequently immigrated to the US. If the sampling includes the whole continents the continental clusters—by using the same statistics—vanish. They are artefacts of the convenient US–sampling. The authors of the reanalysis conclude:

> There is a great tendency in the literature to use a few populations from the extremes of continental landmasses ... to make worldwide inferences about substructures in the human gene pool. In fact, because human genetic diversity tends to be distributed clinally [continuously, UK], it is especially problematic to sample the extremes of continents because this will create the impression of sharp discontinuities in the distribution of genetic variants. In this regard, it is worth noting that the colonization history of the United States has resulted in a “sampling” of the human population

> made up largely of people from Western Europe, western Africa, and Southeast Asia. Thus, studies in which individuals from Europe, sub–Saharan Africa, and Southeast Asia are used (e.g., Jorde et al., 1997) might be an adequate description of the major components of the U.S. population ... However, it would be incorrect to conclude that such studies necessarily generalize to subdivisions of the human gene pool on a worldwide scale (Serre and Pääbo, 2004: 1683).

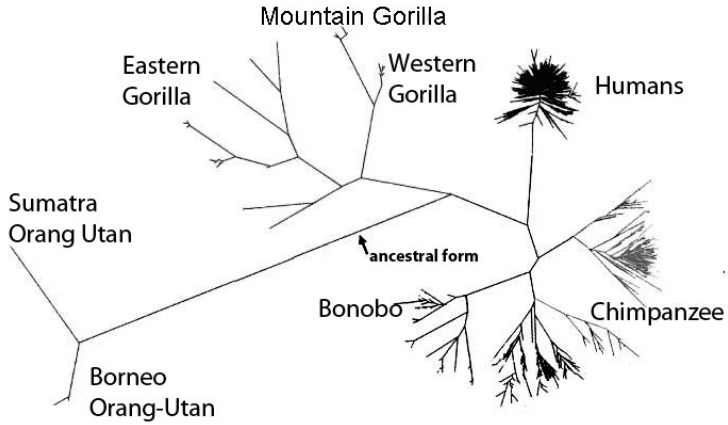
Fig. 7-1. Genetic differences within and between groups of different geographical origin. Variable genes: two or more alleles are known (after Lewontin, 1972; cf. Excoffier and Hamilton, 2003).



Due to the extreme migrations of humans for nearly 100 000 years the continents do not form barriers for allele flow between human populations. In accord with this, genetic patterns are not restricted to but distributed over the continents, thus documenting the migration history of humans.

Great Apes of the same species, but with different geographic origin, cannot easily be distinguished by a layperson, while this is hardly a problem of humans. Nevertheless the genetic distances between humans are astonishingly low: While the pattern of branching in populations of the chimpanzee resembles a wide ranging bush, in the case of humans the short branches are narrowly jointed together. One can speak of a bottlebrush pattern (Fig. 7- 2).

Fig. 7-2. Genetic distances (next neighbourhood) of mitochondrial DNA (Control Region 1) between individuals of populations of the Great Apes and Homo sapiens (after Gagneux et al., 1999)



The frequency of alleles of each population of humans is statistically different from others. This is true e.g. for Austrians and Germans or even for the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities. The differences increase with the geographic distance. But even these differences are still unimportantly small and do not justify racial classification into distinct races (as it is the case of Austrians and Germans).

The migrations of Homo sapiens started from Africa about 90 000 years ago and went through several bottlenecks which reduced the diversity decisively. This development was followed by a rapid population growth. Now we are a global population with the genetic diversity of a

group of 10 000 Africans who migrated and settled on the whole globe and became a number of nearly seven billion: We are all Africans.

In short, the concept of race has no genetic basis: The patterns of DNA are not distributed along the assumed barriers of the continents and do not correlate with any classification of so called races (see Cavalli–Sforza, Menozzi and Piazza,1996; Cavalli–Sforza, 1997; Templeton, 1999; Pääbo, 2001; Royal and Dunston, 2004; Serre and Pääbo, 2004; Stix, 2008).

Racism and Culturalism

Steps to Racism

In spite of the results of genetic studies, racists create their view of races on the basis of their own interests. Even for well–meaning people the knowledge, that the biological concept of race is scientifically obsolete, is not enough to overcome prejudices or racist attitudes and volitions of one‘s own (cf. Janßen, 1998). But the insight into the formation of racist thinking und actions may help to identify and reflect them. In the steps to racism the concept of “race” plays an important role.

Explicitly or implicitly, the concept of race is nearly inevitably associated with racial prejudice. The image of the "stranger" is based on one's self–image: The positive self–image of one's own group creates the negative image of the out–group, i.e. the hetero–stereotype (Nolting; Kattmann, 1997).

The classification of races in biology (including historical approaches) and racial discrimination can be characterized through very similar processes (Table 7-2). The parallels between the mechanisms of group discrimination as described by social psychology and the process of the classification of races are striking and demonstrate that biologically defined "races" are social constructs. This is also shown by the fact that racial classifications differ extremely between cultures and social groups due to strong influences of social interests from the classifying groups (cf. Kattmann, 1999).

The classification of humans into races is by itself a fundamental source of racism which promotes social discrimination and culminates in the crime of genocide (table 7-3).

If connected with social valuation, the classification gives birth to dangerous consequences. This is true for the ideologies of superiority of "Whites" over "Blacks" or "cultural" over "primitive races". The image of the strangers emerges from the image of one's self: The positive self–image of one's own group creates the negative image of the out–group

(hetero–stereotype). This is why out–group images (racial, sexual or cultural stereotypes and prejudices) do not fit to reality, i. e. they do not tell us anything about the features of the out–group (and naturally also of the in–group) (cf. Kattmann, 1980).

Tab. 7-2. Parallels between the formation of racial prejudices and the biological classification of races

Formation of racial prejudices (described by social psychology)	**Racial doctrines (in science)**
Awareness of group membership Culturally determined forming of groups	Sampling of typical racial traits Divergent racial classifications
Apportionment and alienation of groups	Concepts and definitions of “race” Essentialist ideas of “race” as persisting units of evolution
Evaluation of groups The self-image determines the image of the out-group	Linking of “race” to mental und cultural abilities Inferiority of foreign races
Group ideology caused by social conflicts and interests	Social construction of race Dichotomies of “Blacks and Whites”, “Aryan an Jews”

Historically, the connection between biological classification of races and racism is rather strong. The most striking example is the collaboration of German physical anthropologists with the National Socialists in conducting the "race laws". In the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 Jews lost their rights as German citizens and marriages between Jews and persons of „German or kindred blood" were forbidden. In cases of uncertainty of fatherhood, these laws prescribed the task of identifying whether a person was a “Jew”, a “Hybrid” or of "German or kindred blood". Members of the Institutes of Anthropology of the universities claimed that they were the only experts who were able to determine the "race" of a person. In

general these "experts" decided unscrupulously that the persons under study were Jewish—irrespective of their murderers waiting in the extermination camps (cf. Seidler and Rett, 1982).

It should be stressed that the division of groups, and not their evaluation, is the first step of racism. The cohesion of the levels of racism and the consequences should be acknowledged and reflected in culturality research and practice. Furthermore, the same levels apply to culturalism.

Tab. 7- 3. Different kinds of racism and their consequences for human life

Approaches to racism	**Strategies of racists**
Purity Races differ in their essence; races must be kept pure.	Segregation, apartheid, ghettoes
Superiority Races differ in value: “my race is the best”	Social discrimination, political suppression
Selection Races must constantly be improved or they will degenerate. My race must be improved by positive selection and protected from other races by negative selection.	Sterilisation programs, eugenics
Cleansing Strangers are a threat. They must be eliminated from my territory.	Expulsion (“ethnic cleansing”), murder, genocide

Roots of Culturalism

Culturalism is the idea that individuals are determined by their culture, that these cultures form closed, organic wholes, and that the individual is unable to leave his or her own culture, but rather can only realise him or herself within it. Culturalism also maintains that cultures have a claim to

> special rights and protections—even if at the same time they violate individual rights (Erikson & Stjernfelt, 2009: 1).

Culturalism roots primarily in a disruptive view that human cultures are essentially diverse. The diversity of cultures (not the uniqueness of human cultures) was the dominant issue of ethnology. Likewise anthropology focused on races as essential units and not on the human species as a whole. Races were not only defined by traits of the body, but even dominantly by psychological and cultural features. In the 18th century the French Comte Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) built a philosophy of history claiming that the European culture was founded and relies on the noble "Nordic", "Aryan" or Germanic" race, and that race mixture inevitably will destroy the culture. Gobineau had several followers in the 19th and 20th century (e.g. Houston Steward Chamberlain, 1855–1927, who was eagerly read by Adolf Hitler). Elements of this thinking are still virulent. In the footprints of Gobineau a former influential German anthropologist evidently views culture as relying on race: "Each autochthonal culture must originally be grown on the soil of the special abilities and aptitudes of the humans who are carrying it" (Knußmann, 1996: 426, translation UK).

The affinity of culturalism to racism should be recognized in cultural studies: In the definition cited the separation of cultures (like the isolated development of races) and their treatment as entities which determine the individual are not shallow parallels, but the results of the historical conception that race and culture are closely linked together. The idea of isolation and even more the conception of hostile antagonism remain virulent in both, in racism as well in culturalism. This ideology recently got its most influential expression in the postulated "Clash of Civilisations", mainly stressing the confrontation of the "Western" with the Islamic world (Huntington, 1996).

Pitfalls of Simplicity

Generalisation and schemata fundamentally serve as tools of orientation in a complex and diversified world. But generalisations are dangerous too. Unavoidably generalisations are connected with a loss of information: Individuality is lost in average. If this circumstance is not reflected, the results of generalisations will become pitfalls of simplification. Simplicity then evokes the reification of abstract types, such as "human races", "levels of culture", "role of sexes", and may be linked with racist, culturalist or sexist stereotypes. Explicitly or implicitly valuation favours

the development of ideologies like racism, sexism or culturalism. The means of simplification are: types, dichotomies and mean values.

- *Types* are ideal images or statistically derived kinds (classes), which displace the diversity of individuals. The forming of types is based on the concept that individuals with similar features are to be standardized by putting them into one unifying class. A weaker form is the orientation towards prototypes (Rosch et al., 1976). Whether they are type of races, cultures, or sexes: types exist in our brains only. In biology the forming of types is especially inadequate, because variability, spread and continuity of features in groups and between groups are neglected. Furthermore, typology should be fundamentally abolished by evolution, for evolutionary change will alter any type and push it out of existence. In biology types are only instruments which help to describe taxa and to reconstruct the history of phylogenetic groups. In ethnology types of cultures are helpful to sort and overview the diversity of human life. But, if culture is not understood as an entity but as a *process* in the history of humans, change and mutability are to be considered. Regularities, laws or at least so called principles of conservation (conservation of the species or "race" or culture) cannot be deduced from types.
- *Dichotomies* divide the diversity of processes and modes of living into seemingly incompatible alternatives. Then, intermediate forms and evolutionary or historical continuity are often neglected or treated as marginal. This is true for the dichotomy of sexes, where the overlapping of features and, even more serious, intersexes are excluded. This also applies to the politically motivated racist dichotomies of "Blacks" and "Whites" or "Coloureds" and "Whites" and to the distinction between so called primitive and high civilisations.
- *Forming median values* is often an instrument to reduce diversity to simple–mindedness in order to get homogeneous types. Thereby the spread of features is ignored. Once formed and statistically saved by significance, the loss of information is often not reflected, but is usually followed by far reaching scientific assumptions, e.g. deducing the ability of groups from IQ–values.

Pitfalls of simplicity are not the ultimate causes of such social valuations, but they tend to strengthen them. One should be aware that the inveterate tendencies of thinking generate generalizations, types and

dichotomies which are effective mental instruments to justify and enforce of personally or socially motivated interests of one's own. Consequently the issues of educational measures are not only valuation and social discrimination themselves but also the formation and usage of adequate categories of knowledge.

Beyond Races and Clashing Cultures

Only One Human Culture

To prevent racism and culturalism it is not enough to deny the existence of races or to stress cultural commonalities. One has to explain the overt differences between cultures, which were formerly linked to different mental abilities of the populations or "races". It is therefore of highest importance that an alternative explanation is offered. According to Jared Diamond biogeographical conditions made the difference: Agriculture, and as a consequence complex civilization, emerged primarily only in areas inhabited by plants and animals appropriate for domestication. These data should be used to paint a correct picture of the development of human populations and cultures (Kattmann, 2009).

Furthermore different cultures should not be treated as excluding alternatives but it should be stressed that they are complimentary components of the (i. e. one) human culture. *In the inclusive biological view, culture is a specific trait of the human species (Homo sapiens).* Therefore the concept of "culture" should mainly be understood as a unity and consequently the term should be used predominantly in singular. Inclusive thinking should be promoted which seeks to combine opposites to one whole (Schaefer, 1984) and shows that the varieties of cultures are only facets of culture as a unique and universal human feature. This inclusive view can be an effective instrument against racial and culturalist thinking in dichotomies and disruptive group–characteristics: Differences are not denied or overseen, but now valuated as a plurality within the fundamental unity of the human culture. Commonalities are not longer seen as accidental but as essential. Thereby, the differences may lose their separating and sometimes hostile power but will become starting–points towards designing an enriched co–existence.

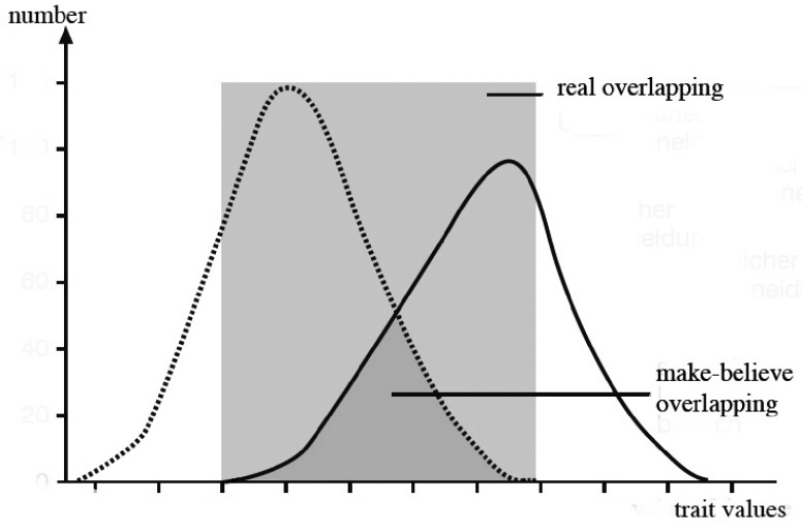
Attributions of studies as inter–cultural, cross–cultural or transcultural or—more overtly the claim of multi–cultural development—still imply the existence of separate cultures and by this back the disruptive thinking of culturalism. Studies in which human culture is the issue, should adequately called just "culturality research".

Interpretation of Bell Curves

The overlapping of normal distributions (bell curves) can help to understand human diversity (figure 7-3). The overlapping zone is spontaneously seen by nearly everyone in the roughly triangular area between the two curves (make–believe overlapping).

This perception of an overlapping places emphasis on group differences and makes believe that the groups have only few values in common. But the real zone of overlapping is the area where both curves have the same values on the x–axis in common. This zone of overlapping mostly includes the median values of both groups. Consequently, the median values do not tell us anything about the individuals of the two groups (i. e. "races" or any other division with a similar distribution pattern).

Fig. 7-3. Overlapping bell curves of two groups or populations.



Focus on the Individual

Presently the conception of “race” seems to revive in regard to some genetic diseases and their therapy. In the US sickle cell anemia is called "black disease", because cases of this illness are frequently found among Afro–Americans. The misleading and dangerous consequences of such

reification of race can be demonstrated by the case of a poor little boy, who was nearly mistreated by his doctors due to his light skin.

> As the following example illustrates labelling of this disease on the basis of the phenotype (skin colour) resulted in serious health consequences to individuals who are not phenotypically 'black' but have the relevant genetic variants. An 8–year–old boy, phenotypically European, was presented with acute abdominal pain and anemia (hematocrit 0.21). Although his body temperature was only 37,9°C surgery was considered. A technician [accidentally] found red corpuscles with hematolytic characteristics in a smear. Surgery was cancelled after the results of a subsequent sickle preparation were found to be positive, and the child was treated for previously undiagnosed sickle cell anemia. His parents were from Grenada and were of Indian, northern European and Mediterranean ancestry. This case highlights the idea that ancestry is better indicator than “race” or “ethnicity” of whether one carries the markers of sickle cell anemia (Rotimi, 2004: 45).

Because the samplings are often oriented on "race" a leading scientist proposes the following statement to be included in each study on human populations: "Allelic frequencies vary between any selected human groups – to assume that those variations reflect `racial categories' is unwarranted" (Duster, 2005: 1051). This can be a reminder also in cultural studies. The most important point in avoiding racial, sexist and culturalist thinking is to focus on the individual. The image of the individual should not be obscured by the stereotype of so called typical characteristics of the group the individual belongs to. Such categorizations can always be harmful for individuals not fitting to the racial or cultural labelling.

The attempt to focus on the individual should be secured in three steps:

1. Be aware of your overall tendency to reduce complexity and to overlook individuality by forming types.
2. Acknowledge that your mental efforts to discriminate against an out–group are means to maintain your self–image (keep in mind: forming a self–image creates the stranger–image).
3. Reflect your deep–routed personal, social or political interests and prejudices and do not allow them to guide your thoughts and actions.

The effect of focussing on the individual and the opposite consequences of the orientation on group images can be demonstrated by two little stories I learnt from the involved persons:

This is Gordon!
The nurse brought a new child into the kindergarten–group. A little girl pointed to the dark–skinned boy and shouted: "O look, a negro". Aware of the situation the nurse told the group:
"This is not a negro, this is Gordon!"

Elly is Jewish.
"I was a good friend of Elly. Suddenly Elly did not appear at school. The teacher told the class that Elly had to leave the school.
When I told my mother, that I'm very sad that Elly is absent and that I don't know, why Elly left the school, my mother told me:
'Elly is Jewish, you know'."

The story of Gordon happened in a kindergarten in Kiel (Germany) several years ago. After the intervention of the nurse, focusing on the individual, the boy was fully accepted by the group. The story of Elly happened in Nazi–Germany. It was told to me by an old lady, who expressed her feelings: "It is strange: nowadays I can't understand, why I was satisfied by this answer and did not ask again." But her reaction is quite understandable: The fixation to group differences blocked further thinking and questioning.

Recommendations to Applied Culturality Research

- Biological concepts of race should be considered as entirely obsolete.
- Reflecting the fact that race has no genetic basis, the most important question is not whether races exist or not, but whether biological concepts of race are adequate for capturing the gradual diversity of humans.
- While biologists should abandon the race concept: Psychologists and cultural scientists cannot neglect "race".
- "Race" is (even in science) a social construct which has atrocious consequences for human life.
- After abandoning the biological concept of race: Be aware of biologically and culturally based racism.
- Racists (and others) create "races" by their beliefs.
- The understanding of the diversity of cultures should be framed by the insight that there is only one human culture and thereby disruptive or even hostile culturalism should be the abandoned.
- If concerned with racial conceptions or even racist, sexist or culturalist beliefs: Focus on the individual.

The keys to overcoming racial, sexist and culturalist thinking lie in:

a) The perception of individuals as concrete and real objects, while types are simply crude abstracts.
b) Enduring ambiguity, commonalities and overlapping of seemingly excluding opposites.
c) Being aware of variation and the reflection the significance of normal distribution.

The connotations of "race" and racism as well as of culturalism must become issues in public discussions, education and mediation as well as in culturality research and practice. The central aim is the respect for the "other". Then the "strange" may become a familiar part of our own.

The overall method to achieve this goal, to meet the pitfalls of simplicity and to overcome racial and culturalist thinking is talking with each other: *It is much better to speak of race, than to be silent about racism*. *Furthermore, it is much more adequate to talk inclusively about cultures as facets of human life, than to argue exclusively about insuperable rifts between human cultures.*

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