

Chapter 1

Demystifying Skin Color and “Race”

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Abstract Historical confusion in thinking about skin color and race derives from the state of science at the time human classifications were proposed, and from our incomplete understanding of the genetics of human pigmentation and human ancestry. The pervasiveness of racism reflects the universal human desire for kinship, in settings of competition for resources, where it is common to devalue and harm other groups for the benefit of the group with which one identifies. To gain insight into the biological basis of skin color, scientists have studied the structure of pigmented tissues, hundreds of pigment variants in vertebrates, and a range of enzymes and molecules that affect melanin formation. We have learned that most population-specific traits can be explained by evolutionary chance, and that a small minority of traits, including skin color, have exerted a selective advantage during evolution. The selective advantages of dark and light skin color in the equatorial and more polar geographic regions, respectively, antedate sun screen and Vitamin D supplementation. Since modern technology has largely rendered these evolutionary advantages irrelevant, skin color has become a sociological issue that is amenable to reason. Education can play a central role in work toward a society free of racism, as long as that education is firmly grounded in critically evaluated science and is free of tribalism.

This work is written from my perspective as a geneticist and physician whose curiosity led to unexpected insight into the genetic basis of skin color. Until our discovery of the zebrafish *golden* gene, I had no professional intent to study either skin color or race. The presented considerations are informed and motivated by issues faced by minorities.

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Introduction

Scientific advances profoundly affect our worldviews. Advances in physics allowed us to realize that the earth is not flat. The discovery of microbes allowed us to abandon beliefs in spirits and humors as the cause of human disease. Similarly, as argued in this chapter, knowledge of the biological and genetic basis of skin color and ancestry will allow humanity to correct misconceptions about skin color and race that have contributed to some of the greatest injustices in human history.

In deciding upon specifics to include in this chapter, I asked what aspects of scientific understanding and thinking about the concept of race might, most likely, suggest solutions to the problems of racism. It was clearly important to address the concerns of today's scientists about even using the term "race." This concern is based on the poorly defined sociological components and violence-laden history of race (Marks 1995, Sankar & Cho 2002, Bamshad et al.2004, Mountain & Risch 2004, Sternberg et al. 2005, Gould & Lewontin 1979). Awareness of the historical, anthropological, and philosophical aspects of "race" and racism are also essential to attain any real understanding of the complexities of race and racism.

After a brief historical overview of human classifications and racism, we will cover some of the basic cell biology, genetics and medical implications of skin color as it affects our thinking about ancestry and race. In order to add insight into the mechanisms of modern science, I will share the story of the recent discovery of a likely genetic mechanism underlying the evolution of light skin in peoples of European ancestry (Lamason et al. 2005). I will then explain how the issues raised by this discovery, combined with the awareness of issues associated with being part of an ethnic minority, led me to believe that scientists, while justified in their avoidance of the use of race in scientific investigation, do not need to avoid the issue of race. A main point of this chapter is that a healing process is critical to diminishing racism, that scientists can help this process by active engagement in calm, logical and scientifically accurate discussions of race and ancestry with the lay public.

Historical Context

Much of the confusion in thinking about skin color and race derives from the state of science at the time human classifications were proposed and from our incomplete understanding of the genetics of human pigmentation and human ancestry. Classifications of humans from the 18th and 19th centuries were created by physicians with minimal knowledge about the biology of skin color. The practice of medicine was based more on humors and spirits than current concepts of pathophysiology. The idea that all living things are composed of cells was only beginning to be understood. The idea that cells

91 contained organelles (such as those containing pigment) would only be possible
92 with advances in microscopy that came in the 20th century. Although thoughts
93 about inheritance were postulated, DNA and genes were unknown concepts.
94 The first classifications of humans were based on the available small samples of
95 people. Within this context, it is not surprising that the founder of today’s form
96 of biological taxonomy, Carolus Linnaeus (Linné 1767), and the founder of
97 anthropology, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1865) wrote classifications that
98 contained concepts typical of their era, but known to be incorrect today.
99 Linnaeus succumbed to the assignment of negative personality features to
100 human groups. Blumenbach, despite his prominent and positive role in the
101 Enlightenment, unscientifically assigned aesthetic value to the physical features
102 of skulls. These mistakes, which fed ethnocentric assumptions about intelli-
103 gence, carried on through Western scientific history even into the 20th century
104 and were unfortunately used to justify bad science (reviewed by Gould 1996)
105 and centuries of human atrocities across the globe.

106 Modern scientists, armed with modern knowledge and education in mod-
107 ern philosophies of equality, are finally able to distance themselves from the
108 evils of racism. However, we still have a large distance to travel. Even in this
109 modern day, many people, including at times notable scientists, forget that
110 there are two primary and separate determinants of the state of any living
111 thing: the genetic and the environmental, otherwise known as “nature” and
112 “nurture”. Whenever both roles are not simultaneously considered, or dis-
113 tinctions clouded, erroneous conclusions are drawn. Hence today’s contin-
114 uing struggle with race and racism.

117 Whence Racism?

118 Racism has been a pervasive form of tribalism in human societies of all times
119 and places. Why this is the case is the subject of abundant and vociferous
120 debate. To provide a starting point for discussion, I offer a personal perspec-
121 tive on this question that is based on reading of scientific literature, personal
122 experience, and discussions with psychologists and anthropologists. The
123 pervasiveness of racism is consistent with the human desire for kinship that,
124 in settings of competition for resources, leads to the practice of actively
125 devaluing and harming other groups for the benefit of the group with which
126 one identifies. Tribalism is associated with all manner of distinctions, ranging
127 from skin color to religion to regional/ethnic groups to sport team allegiance.
128 Since parts of tribalism have evolutionary benefit, it is also reflected in other
129 animals (Lorenz 1966). Any solution to racism must therefore acknowledge
130 our instincts, and use the power of reason to teach ourselves how related we
131 actually all are. There is reason to believe that greater understanding of skin
132 color, ancestry, genetics, and the sociology of race will lead to greater toler-
133 ance and equality.
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136 A conclusion of overriding importance for public policy is that the *social*
137 *environment, not the genetics*, of underprivileged peoples must be the relentless
138 focus of successful governments and societies—good societies will provide
139 opportunity for every human regardless of ancestry, thereby allowing everyone
140 in their society the opportunity to reach his or her full potential. It is the *social*
141 *environment*—not the genetics—that is the primary variable that determines
142 human achievement and development of intelligence by learning. What we now
143 know about what it takes to achieve excellence, together with what we now
144 know about the neurobiology of learning, converge on this conclusion. If this
145 writing accomplishes its purpose, it will contribute in some manner to increas-
146 ing acceptance between peoples regardless of color, thereby facilitating the
147 equitable distribution of opportunity.
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150 **The Cell Biology of Pigmentation**

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152 In all humans, regardless of “race,” skin is colored by a mixture of pigments
153 called melanin (Jablonski 2004, 2006, Sturm 2006, Barsh 2003). The predomi-
154 nant form of melanin is black eumelanin, and the body’s factories for generat-
155 ing melanin are pigmented cells called melanocytes—*G. melas*, black; *G. kytos*,
156 cell. The study of pigmented tissues under the electron microscope showed that
157 melanin is packaged within melanocytes in membrane-bound subcellular struc-
158 tures called melanosomes—*G. soma*, body. As more melanin is generated by the
159 cell, the number, size, pigment density, and elongation of these melanosomes
160 increase. The melanocytes of human skin, which are approximately equal in
161 number regardless of the degree of skin pigmentation, are responsible for
162 generating all of the melanosomes in human skin. Most of human skin is
163 comprised of keratinocytes—*G. keras*, horn. The melanocytes deliver melano-
164 somes to the keratinocytes by packing their fingerlike cellular projections with
165 melanosomes, and then “feeding” them to the keratinocytes. The melanosomes
166 we see in keratinocytes thus derive from melanocytes, rather than the keratino-
167 cytes themselves. For reasons we do not yet understand, the greater melanin
168 production seen in darker skin is associated with larger, darker, longer, and
169 more numerous melanosomes. A key point to learn here is that the most
170 common differences in pigmentation appear to be due to differences in the
171 level of activity of the involved genes or proteins, rather than their presence or
172 absence.
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174 To gain insight into the biological and genetic basis of pigmentation, scient-
175 ists have studied the structure of pigmented tissues, hundreds of pigment
176 variants in mice and other organisms, dozens of genetic abnormalities that
177 diminish pigmentation in all vertebrates (including humans), and a range of
178 enzymes and molecules that affect melanin formation (Sturm 2006). The cellu-
179 lar and molecular mechanisms of biological processes, including pigmentation,
180 have shown remarkable conservation in evolution. Despite vast amounts of

181 work, the genes determining the key skin color differences between races had
182 been elusive (Barsh 2003). In the last decade, we have begun to identify genes
183 underlying the largest difference in human skin color—that between peoples of
184 African versus European descent. The discovery of this key to understanding
185 skin color differences between people of West African and European ancestry
186 came from the study of a light-skinned variant of a popular pet, the zebrafish
187 (Lamason et al. 2005, Sturm 2006).

190 Zebrafish and the Genetics of Human Skin Color

192 Our new insight into the genetics of human skin color was serendipitous,
193 coming from two seemingly unlikely sources—cancer research (Lamason
194 et al. 2005) and zebrafish, a common pet store fish that has become a favorite
195 of researchers interested in the biology of vertebrates (Lieschke & Currie 2007).
196 In brief, since mutations in body cells are responsible for turning normal cells
197 into cancer cells, we were interested in finding genes involved in the process of
198 mutation. We used a powerful scientific tool for finding genes that are involved
199 in any biological process—making and studying mutants in the context of what
200 are called genetic screens. For our genetic screen in zebrafish, we used a lightly
201 colored variant of zebrafish, called *golden*, which the founder of the field,
202 George Streisinger, had found in a pet store in Oregon. What Dr. Streisinger
203 did was to develop a visual test to detect mutation in which mutant cells appear
204 as light cells on a dark background in the eye (Streisinger 1984)—figuratively
205 “stars in the sky.” We used that test in our genetic screen to find genes involved
206 in susceptibility to cancer (Moore et al. 2006). Now that we have indicated our
207 original reason for our use of *golden* fish, we can focus back on the nature of the
208 variation itself. The populations of zebrafish from pet stores are derived from
209 companies in warm parts of the country, such as Florida, that raise them by the
210 tens of thousands—in populations that represent to some degree the variation
211 in nature. We know from a multitude of DNA studies and photographic studies
212 that humans vary in a multitude of subtle ways. The fact is that the continent
213 with, by far, the greatest variation of any population is Africa. That variation
214 includes variation in a large number of characteristics, such as shapes and
215 lengths of noses, ears, limbs, and pigmentation. Zebrafish populations also
216 vary in many ways, including patterns of pigmented cells, lengths of fins, and
217 pigmentation; *golden* zebrafish may be viewed as one might view a lighter-
218 skinned individual in Africa. For our research, we wanted to find the sequence
219 of the *golden* gene because it would potentially help us to characterize the
220 mutants we had derived from our cancer project. But beyond cancer research,
221 this work would yield an unexpected insight into the evolution of human skin
222 color variation.

224 The central finding leading to our discovery about human skin color derived
225 from curiosity about the *cellular process* affected in *golden* zebrafish. To satisfy

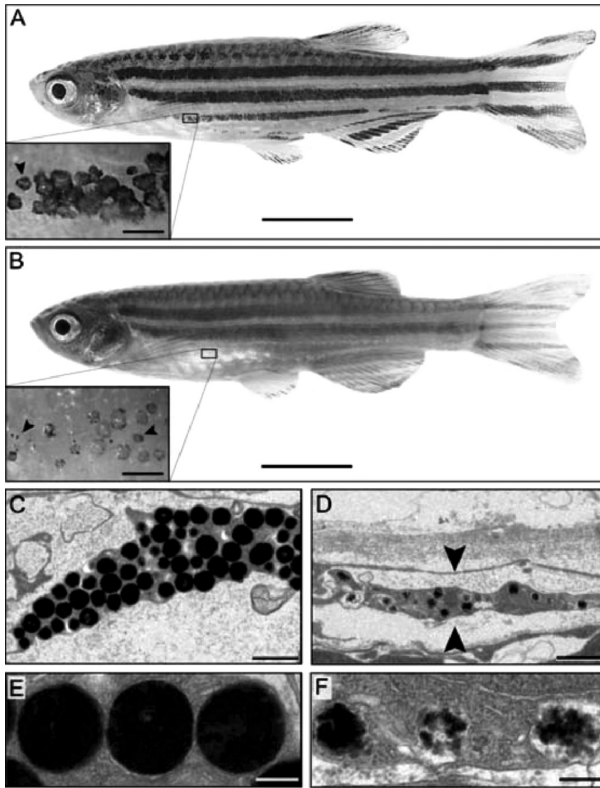


Fig. 1.1 Phenotype of Golden Zebrafish

Lateral views of adult wild-type (A) and *golden* (B) zebrafish. Insets show melanophores (arrowheads). Scale bars: 5 mm (inset 0.5 mm). *gol^{b1}* mutants have smaller melanophores with fewer, dysmorphic melanosomes. Transmission electron micrographs of skin melanophore from 55 hpf wild-type (C and E) and *gol^{b1}* (D and F) larvae. *gol^{b1}* skin melanophores (arrowheads show edges) are thinner and contain fewer melanosomes than wild-type. Melanosomes of *gol^{b1}* larvae are smaller, less pigmented and irregular compared to wild-type. Scale bars: (C, D) 1000 nm; (E, F) 200 nm. (Reprinted with permission from *Science* magazine.)

that curiosity, we first studied adult *golden* fish under a light microscope to look closely at their skin. We noted that the pigmented *cells* in the dark stripes are present in the most common number and pattern, but lighter in color and often smaller in size (Fig. 1.1, A and B)—the pigmented cells were just smaller in size and lighter in color. But why were the pigment cells lighter in color? We used the electron microscope to determine what might have happened to the melanosomes (Fig. 1.1, C and E) in the skin cells of *golden* fish. The light color of *golden* pigmented cells could be due to one or more of three changes—a reduction in the number of melanosomes per cell, in the average size of the melanosomes, or in the amount of pigment deposited in the average melanosome. As a rule of

thumb in biology, individual gene functions are frequently quite specific, so we expected only *one* feature (number *or* size *or* pigment intensity) of melanosomes to be changed in *golden* fish. Thus, it was to my great surprise that *all three* of these features were diminished in the melanosomes of *golden* zebrafish (Fig. 1.1, C–F). Nothing in my entire career in science was more striking than the moment in which I came to understand that these *same three qualitative changes* had long been known to be associated with the differences between light and dark *human* skin (Bologna & Orlow 2003)! This finding directly suggested that whatever gene or mechanism is involved in causing the light skin of golden zebrafish would also prove to be important in humans—this motivated our subsequent studies.

In everyday life, the lay public has historically developed its views of the world based on single types of “evidence”—if a source we consider authoritative tells us that the sun goes around the earth, or that the earth is flat, we are apt to accept the contention as fact without looking at alternative explanations that are just as or even more possible, especially if it is said to dictate our fate or otherwise serves our interests. If we are taught that everyone in another “race” or political party is inferior we tend to accept that too. If we are taught that humans have nothing to do with global warming we may listen more to individuals with no scientific training and clear conflicts of interest. We must even look harder at falsified documents by politicians and non-scientists than at evidence generated by scientists who understand the dangerous trends and who suggest positive and responsible courses of action. In good science, however, we make models based on evidence, and then test as many predictions of those models as possible in such a way that the evidence can *support or contradict* each model. As applied to skin color, we began from an observation—that cellular changes associated with light skin in both zebrafish and humans are similar, I asked what multiple forms of evidence could be found that support or eliminate the idea that a mutation in the human gene corresponding to the zebrafish *golden* gene played an important role in the light skin of one or more human populations. That would first require finding the zebrafish gene and then the human gene.

We identified the gene responsible for the color of *golden* zebrafish after years of molecular analyses, whose specifics are not important to this discussion. What you do need to know, however, is that genes can be thought of as segments of DNA that, from bacteria to humans, most frequently encode the sequences of amino acid subunits in the corresponding proteins (which include the structural units that hold us together, make up our hair, and facilitate all of the biochemical reactions that make life possible). After finding the sequence of the zebrafish gene, we searched on-line databases, and found a single human gene whose amino acid sequence was 68% identical to that of the zebrafish gene. Similar genes *within* a species, molecular cousins, if you will, are called members of gene families, or *paralogs*. Genes of similar structure and function *between* different species, typically of the most identical function, are called “*orthologues*.” The 500 amino-acid human *golden* gene, also called *SLC24A5*, encodes what is called a “sodium, calcium exchanger,” based upon similarity

316 with its similarly named paralogs. The presence of one corresponding human
317 orthologue to the zebrafish *golden* gene reflects its strong evolutionary conserva-
318 tion in at least all vertebrates. The next task was to find evidence for or
319 against conserved function of the human protein in pigmentation. Since there is
320 a large evolutionary distance between fish and humans, a stringent test would
321 be to determine whether the human protein could function in zebrafish. The
322 *golden* mutant in this gene allowed us to test that possibility. To do this test, we
323 could inject the RNA or DNA that would be expected to be made into protein,
324 and see whether the pigmented cells in *golden* embryos would become as dark as
325 those in zebrafish without the mutation in the *golden* gene. Strikingly, we found
326 that the human homologue can cause the light *golden* cells of zebrafish to
327 darken. In fact, *both* European and African versions of the gene caused *golden*
328 cells to darken. Upon studying the new “HapMap” database (HapMap 2007)
329 of human genetic variation (a catalogue of single letter changes commonly
330 found in human DNA), we discovered in a particular place in this gene, a
331 guanine, or “G” is present in nearly all African and East Asian (Chinese and
332 Japanese) sample populations, and that adenine, or “A” was present in every
333 individual in the European HapMap population (from Utah, derived from
334 northwestern Europe). Among the ten places where there was known variation
335 between populations in this gene, this change was the *only* one causing a
336 change in the genetic code resulting in a change in amino acid in the correspond-
337 ing gene—the 111th amino acid, alanine, which is invariant in vertebrate
338 evolution, was changed into a threonine in all of the European individuals
339 tested (Lamason et al. 2005). Since *Ala* is the abbreviation for alanine (pronounced
340 “al’—a—neen”) and *Thr* the abbreviation for threonine (pronounced
341 “three—o—neen”), this amino acid change is abbreviated *Ala111Thr*. This
342 nomenclature is common in genetics.

343 344 **A Key Role for SLC24A5 in the Lightening of Skin Color** 345 **in Europeans**

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348 Using the zebrafish, we had discovered an important gene that affects the
349 number, size, and depth of staining of melanosomes. We also found that the
350 human gene could contribute to pigmentation by replacing the corresponding
351 gene’s function in zebrafish. After noting the similarity between the skin of
352 *golden* zebrafish and the skin of Europeans, we searched for and found a one-
353 letter change in the DNA sequence in the human version of the zebrafish gene
354 that changed amino acid 111. But for what fraction of measured skin color
355 differences between Africans and Europeans does the *Ala111Thr* change in
356 *SLC24A5* account? In our collaboration, anthropologist Mark Shriver and
357 colleagues used DNA and quantitative machine-based measurements of skin
358 color to correlate the presence of this change in people with so-called “admixed”
359 European-African ancestry to corresponding skin color measurements. To
360 have admixed European-African ancestry is to have both European and

361 African parentage. From this work, we were able to calculate that the
362 *Ala111Thr* change accounts for 25–38% of the skin color difference between
363 West African and northern European skin (Lamason et al. 2005). This range of
364 effect was subsequently confirmed by studying the skin and DNA of popula-
365 tions from South Asia (the Indian subcontinent) (Stokowski et al. 2007).

366 We then looked for specific evidence of selection for light skin in the popula-
367 tion of European ancestry by studying the patterns of variation across the pages
368 of our genetic code book—our DNA. Here, we are looking to see whether
369 evidence exists for biological selection for a DNA change corresponding to
370 lighter skin color conveyed by a variation in a very specific point in a specific
371 gene on a specific chromosome. We know that most variation in DNA is due to
372 genetic variation within groups, and has no biological effect (Collins 2004). In
373 the case of the *Ala111Thr* change in *SLC24A5* in Europeans, however, we have
374 a very rare situation—a wide constellation of evidence consistent with selection.
375 To understand this evidence you need to know that we have one set of chromo-
376 somes from our mothers and a second set from our fathers. In the case of the
377 *golden* gene, for both zebrafish and humans, two copies of the mutant chromo-
378 some are necessary for the lighter skin color. If we expect that there is selection
379 for light skin color, *both* copies of the gene will be mutant, and *nearly variations*
380 present on the original mutated chromosome will be indirectly selected for—a
381 genetic “hitch-hiking,” if you will. This leads directly to less variation in the
382 region around *SLC24A5*. The size of the region showing decreased variation
383 around *SLC24A5* is larger than anywhere else in the genome, and only for the
384 European population. This is the strongest evidence one could have expected, in
385 support of the idea that there was *selection* for light skin color in the northern
386 latitudes of Europe.

387 If there is selection for lighter skin as humans move to northerly latitudes,
388 there has to be some *biological reason* for having light skin in those regions.
389 There exist two types of complementary evidence that have to do with essential
390 nutrients and sunlight (Jablonski 2004, 2006). Sunlight is needed for one
391 essential nutrient (vitamin D). However, sunlight is less intense and less lengthy
392 in northern latitudes—it would therefore be predicted that light skin is favored
393 in those latitudes. But why is there darker skin in Africa? Since intense sunlight
394 destroys another nutrient (folate) that is essential for proper fetal development,
395 darker skin is favored for survival in equatorial regions. If there is selection for
396 light skin, the European allele of *SLC24A5* should also be found across all of
397 Europe. That is indeed the case and is consistent with selection for light skin
398 within Europeans peoples (Lamason et al. 2005, Norton et al. 2007), perhaps
399 after the last glacial retreat some 15,000 years ago (Fig. 1.2). *When* the mutation
400 arose is an open question—existing evidence is consistent with a model in which
401 the mutation was present in Africa long before humans migrated into Europe.
402 The mutation in the human *golden* gene may have been a naturally occurring
403 variant in Africa. Similarly, in zebrafish, we find *golden* mixed in with popula-
404 tions of zebrafish. In humans there was selective pressure for the lighter variant,
405 but not in zebrafish.



Fig. 1.2 World Distribution of the *Ala111Thr* Allele of *SLC24A5*

World distribution of the *Ala111Thr* allele of *SLC24A5*. This representation is derived from data from a collaboration with Ken Kidd (Yale University), combined with data from Norton et al. (2007), and from Soejima & Koda (2007). The proportion of alleles in each population is represented by a pie chart in which the ancestral allele is represented in grey, and the new, derived allele is represented in white. It is readily apparent that the *Ala111Thr* derived allele of *SLC24A5* becomes more predominant in Europe as the population is further northwest. Notably, the derived allele is nearly absent in East Asia, where the evolution of light skin was derived by other genetic mechanisms, in a process called convergent evolution. The small proportion of this allele in Mexican and Vietnamese populations might be accounted for by admixture with European (Spanish/Portuguese and French populations, respectively). When the DNA variations associated with light skin color in East Asians are found, we expect the corresponding diagram to show white circles in East Asia and the Americas, grey circles in Africa, and unpredicted proportions among European populations. Figure generated with Jason Mest and Victor Canfield. (Figure courtesy of the author.)

What other genetic variations are associated with light skin color in Europeans? Pigment variants in animals helped scientists to find another gene important in the evolution of human light skin: *MATP* (“membrane-associated transporter protein,” also called *SLC45A2* or *AIM1*—“antigen in melanoma 1”). Among the animals informing us about the pigmentary function of this gene were the so-called *underwhite* mutation in mice (Newton et al. 2001) and the “b” mutation in the medaka fish (Fukamachi et al. 2001). In humans, a specific mutation in this gene, *Leu374Phe* mutation (the ancestral amino acid leucine is replaced in the variant by phenylalanine at amino acid 374) is present in most but not all Europeans (less frequent than the *SLC24A5* mutation) and contributes about an equal amount to skin color as the European *Ala111Thr* variant in *SLC24A5*. But what relative contribution did the variations in *golden* and *MATP* play in selection for skin color? Compared with the 150,000 base-pair region of diminished variation in *SLC24A5*, *MATP* is associated with a smaller, 40,000 base-pair region of diminished variation in Europeans. This smaller region may be evidence of lesser selection for this mutation in *MATP* compared with that in *SLC24A5*, or simply that the *golden* variant is necessary

451 to see a significant effect on skin color mediated by *MATP*. This question
452 remains to be resolved. Nonetheless, the single-letter changes in *SLC24A5*
453 and *MATP* alone are estimated to contribute to half or more of the difference
454 in skin color between Africans and Europeans—two single-letter changes
455 among the three billion in our DNA. These changes influence skin color, but
456 have no other known implications—in particular, implications about
457 intelligence.

458 At the time of publication of our work with *golden*, there were no published
459 data on the frequency of the European allele among individuals on the Indian
460 subcontinent. In their pursuit of genetic markers of European versus Sri
461 Lankan populations, however, Soejima and Koda showed that the European
462 allele of *SLC24A5* can be found at frequencies of about 50 and 30% in the
463 lighter Sinhalese and darker Tamil populations, respectively (Soejima & Koda
464 2007). The focus of their chapter was on the fact that the northern European
465 allele of *MATP* discussed below is nearly absent in Sri Lankans. Their work
466 suggests the possibility that Europeans originated in South Asia, becoming
467 lighter in skin color through adaptive mutations such as that in *MATP*, as
468 descendants moved into the more northerly latitudes. A monumental study of
469 thousands of Icelanders published late in 2007 identified other mutations,
470 presumably subsequent to that in *SLC24A5* that seem to have contributed to
471 the extra-light skin of Scandinavian peoples (Sulem et al. 2007). Together the
472 data suggest the possibility that the gradation of light skin toward that of
473 Scandinavians required a genetic foundation laid by *SLC24A5*, upon which
474 additional mutations may be added to further lighten the skin.

475 We have learned from the above that when a trait is selected for, it can be
476 expected that the amount of genetic variation around the selected variation will
477 show less change around it. While this diminished variation applies to
478 *SLC24A5* in Europeans, there is no diminished variation in the region around
479 *SLC24A5* in the light-skinned East Asians of Beijing and Tokyo, both of whom
480 are light peoples. This indicates that variation in *SLC24A5* has nothing to do
481 with their lighter skin color. East Asians (Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans)
482 evolved light skin independently from Europeans, via mutations in different
483 genes that remain to be identified (Lamason et al. 2005, Norton et al. 2007).
484 This finding of “convergent evolution” for light skin color in northern latitudes
485 by different genetic mechanisms comprises compelling evidence that, during the
486 migration of humans into northerly latitudes, light skin color is biologically
487 necessary.

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491 **Health Implications of Light Skin Color**

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493 Light skin in Europeans is associated with skin cancer susceptibility (SEER
494 2004). Skin cancer is of several types corresponding to the cell types normally
495 present in the epidermis—the layer of skin covering our entire bodies.

496 Squamous cell carcinoma of the skin arises from its predominant cell type, the
497 keratinocytes. Basal cell carcinoma arises from the cells at the bottom layer of
498 the epidermis, the basal cells. Melanoma arises from the cells making all the
499 pigment of skin, the melanocytes. The incidence of all of these types of skin
500 cancers is increased in Europeans. All are thought to arise from lack of protec-
501 tion of the DNA of the skin cells from the sun, which is known to cause specific
502 types of mutations. The cancer of pigmented cells, melanoma, is one of the most
503 deadly human cancers. After it spreads, it kills four out of five patients within
504 five years due to a dearth of effective treatments (Terando et al. 2007). One of
505 the greatest hopes in melanoma treatment is immunotherapy, in which anti-
506 bodies or specialized “killer” cells are directed to attack proteins on the cancer
507 cell (Terando et al. 2007). Once development from the egg to adult is complete,
508 pigmented cells are no longer essential for life (other than for protection from
509 the sun and to enhance vision). Proteins that are particularly abundant in
510 pigmented cells are potentially good targets for immunotherapy. In support
511 of the use of this protein for targeting, we were able to show that the *SLC24A5*
512 protein is expressed primarily in pigmented cells and at levels thousands of
513 times higher in melanoma than in non-pigmented cells (Lamason et al. 2005).
514 By attaching fluorescent “flags” into the protein, we determined that it likely sits
515 in the melanosome membrane or its precursor. Work primarily by others has
516 since revealed that some 1500 other proteins are associated with melanosomes
517 (Chi et al. 2006). Which of these are specific to melanosomes and common in
518 most or all melanomas will have to be determined to help choose the best target.
519 An important unanswered question is why East Asians (e.g. Chinese, Japanese,
520 and Koreans) have lighter skin but do not show the degree of increase in the risk
521 of skin cancer that is characteristic of people of European ancestry. Finding the
522 genes underlying the light color of East Asian skin, and comparing the mechan-
523 isms of decreased pigmentation with that of Europeans, will be key to under-
524 standing skin cancer susceptibility. We might also mention that European
525 ancestry is associated with the most common form of acquired blindness in
526 humans, age-related macular degeneration (Yates & Moore 2000), suggesting
527 that *SLC24A5* might contribute to this disease (Cheng & Canfield 2006).

528 The field of pharmacogenomics studies how variations in our DNA cause
529 variations in our responsiveness to drugs. The Race, Ethnicity, and Genetics
530 Working Group (2005) is part of the National Human Genome Research
531 Institute (NHGRI) at the National Institutes of Health, dedicated to ensuring
532 proper consideration of the connections between race, ethnicity, and genetics
533 (Race, Ethnicity, and Genetics Working Group 2005), such as those associated
534 with the finding of the *golden* gene. At the time of publication of our work in
535 2005, we met them in part to discuss the question of whether the group agreed or
536 disagreed with the idea that discussing the finding about *golden* with the public
537 would derive the best societal benefit by presenting it as *demystifying* skin color
538 and race (primarily associated with skin color). In short, the committee agreed.
539 Now for the details.
540

541 Part of the inspiration for our discussion was the publicity around BiDil, the
542 first medication tailored for a specific racial group—in this case African Amer-
543 icans with heart failure. BiDil had been approved because black patients
544 frequently respond inadequately to beta-blockers and ACE inhibitors, both of
545 which are used to treat heart disease (Kahn 2005). However, the drug may work
546 better in African Americans not because of skin color but because, it is said,
547 heart failure is more commonly due to hypertension in African Americans,
548 while, in people of European ancestry, ischemic damage associated with athero-
549 sclerosis is more frequently responsible. It has thus been argued that the drug
550 should be prescribed for heart failure secondary to hypertension, regardless of
551 skin color. It is of course important to develop drugs that work most effectively
552 in subpopulations. In Africans, or any subpopulation, genetic variations affect-
553 ing specific disease susceptibility or drug responsiveness variations may be
554 unique or common. It is important to note that African Americans are partly
555 European in genetic background. The fraction of European ancestry in African
556 Americans can be estimated to be between 9 and 27%, as suggested by the
557 frequency of European alleles of *SLC24A5* or *MATP* in three African Amer-
558 ican populations in the Single Nucleotide Polymorphism database (dbSNP)
559 database found in the HapMap website (<http://www.hapmap.org/>). Gene vari-
560 ations associated with drug responsiveness have no reason to be particularly
561 associated with skin-color genes. Rather, such traits would be expected, most of
562 the time, to be inherited independently from skin-color genes, making skin
563 color, and therefore race, an unreliable substitute for knowing the real gene
564 variations that correlate with drug responsiveness. Only after we know what
565 specific sequences correlate with drug responsiveness can we begin to measure
566 the strength of correlations between skin color and drug responsiveness. Unless
567 a skin-color gene variant is directly responsible for drug responsiveness, skin
568 color will never be a guarantee of such an association. These arguments apply to
569 variations associated with disease susceptibility as well. A similar view has been
570 stated by *New England Journal of Medicine* editor Robert Schwartz (Schwartz
571 2001).

572 Psychological and psychiatric issues are also associated with skin color.
573 Lighter skin color has become so desirable among non-European peoples that
574 self-esteem and social behavior are significantly impacted by skin color (Hall
575 1995, Butts 2003). This phenomenon is so strong that in essentially all non-
576 European societies, and particularly among women, the use of skin-lightening
577 creams has become commonplace, even when such use is known to be harmful
578 to both the skin, and also to other organs (Ntambwe 2004). For example, more
579 than half of women in Nigeria and Senegal have been reported to use harmful
580 skin-lightening creams (Ofili et al. 2006, Ajose 2005, Mahé et al. 2003). Even
581 more tragic is the fact that darker-skinned individuals *within* families are *not*
582 given the same respect or opportunities as siblings who are born with lighter
583 skin (Rangel 2007).

584 Perhaps the most important health implications of skin color have to do with
585 race-associated health care disparities. These disparities are in turn related

largely to income, education, job opportunity and access to health care, and are well-known to be associated with skin color (James et al. 2007). The relationship between skin color, race, and racism is discussed elsewhere in this book. The complex interplay between demographics, generations of racism, socio-economics, and human behavior are separate issues that require additional study, long-term planning, and implementation if we are to ameliorate race-determined health care disparities. We should take pause to realize that the social consequences of negative attitudes toward skin color *alone* have had, and will continue to have, a huge and largely adverse global impact on human health.

Sociology of the SLC24A5 Story

Discussion of any gene change that helps to define the light skin color of Europeans can be expected to elicit controversy. Accordingly, before the *golden* story even appeared, several scientific colleagues warned me that discussing race would amount to walking a minefield—that I should stick with the science and avoid discussions of race. Many expressed the viewpoint that race is a social construct with no scientific merit (Tishkoff & Williams 2002, Bamshad et al. 2004, Sternberg et al. 2005, Gould & Lewontin 1979).

Ancestry is a much more specific and useful scientific term than race. As confirmed by continuing work on human variation (HapMap 2007), there exists far more variation between individuals within most populations than between traditional major population groups. However, there is no denying that variation is greatly diminished in small inbred populations, or that *SLC24A5* is a gene clearly associated with a key physical feature associated with the traditional concept of race. I felt it would not be helpful to deny a direct answer to the public's most frequently asked question—the implications of the finding with regard to race an area in which society must have help from scientists.

Given that discussion of race is inherently controversial, there is wisdom in avoiding hurtful controversy. However, as a member of an ethnic minority affected by racism, were I to deny discussion of the relevance of the new science to race I would be disingenuous—denying inherently social implications of this knowledge in order to stay comfortable in my ivory tower. Furthermore, I strongly sensed that this was an unusual opportunity for the public to gain a deeper understanding of the problems of thinking and acting in terms of “race.” At best, a positive new perspective and even a redefinition of race could then be shared with others and possibly contribute to increasing understanding and diminishing racism. Initially, a convincing way of dealing with the issue of race and skin color was not evident. In my search for the best path to follow, I was fortunate to find the work of Stephen Oppenheimer, who is known for his scholarly exposition of the scientific basis of human origins in Africa (Oppenheimer 2004). Dr. Oppenheimer kindly corresponded with me by email

631 as a complete stranger. He validated my discomfort about denial, saying that, in
632 his opinion, self-censure is often worse than addressing difficult issues. He shared
633 an approach that had worked well for him: Before engaging in a discussion about
634 human differences, determine the purpose of the discussion. Enhancing under-
635 standing of diversity is acceptable; whereas racism, which devalues a group by
636 being competitive, exclusive, or derogatory, is unacceptable (Oppenheimer 2004).
637 Melanoma researcher John Pawelek shared with me words of his son, Unitarian
638 Universalist minister, Joshua Pawelek (Pawelek 2006), “. . . the denial of race will
639 not work, for it leads to a denial of racism—and you can’t address a problem if
640 you don’t think it exists.” These ideas supported my decision to stand behind the
641 notion that informed discussion about the genetics of human skin color could
642 clarify our thinking about race, and diminish racism among our youth. These
643 discussions laid the foundation for using the *golden* story to demystify skin color
644 and race during my travels to present our work.

645 Among the more challenging questions were, “Is *SLC24A5* the ‘race’ gene?”
646 and “Is this the ‘white’ gene?” My answer was that *SLC24A5* is neither the
647 “race” nor “white” gene because it is only one factor in both race and skin color.
648 One of my scientific colleagues has pointed out that “Skin color does not equal
649 race” (Schneider *et al.* 2002). *As traditionally used, race is a sociological concept*
650 *with both genetic and non-genetic components.* The inclusion of these two differ-
651 ent components contributes greatly to making the term so controversial. The
652 obvious physical (and therefore most commonly genetic) features of race
653 include skin color, facial features, hair and eye color; the sociological aspects
654 of race, or tribe, include nationality, language culture, and social advantage/
655 disadvantage—and are not genetically determined. It is also simplistic to call
656 *SLC24A5* gene the “white” gene since the *SLC24A5* protein is present and
657 active in the pigment cells of all races. The European variant is simply less
658 active. Since the different type of mutation in *golden* zebrafish is most likely to
659 result in lack of any function, and the fish still develop some pigment, it is most
660 likely that *SLC24A5* acts by modifying the degree, rather than determining the
661 presence or absence, of pigmentation.

662 663 664 **Demystifying Skin Color and Race**

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666
667 In discussions with the Race, Ethnicity and Genetics Working Group of the
668 National Human Genome Research Institute and with Institute Director Francis
669 Collins on the day of release of the *Science* magazine story on 16 December
670 2005 (Lamason *et al.* 2005), I suggested, on the basis of the above arguments,
671 the possibility that the most responsible thing for us to do, as scientists, would
672 be to face the challenge of the relationship between race and skin color, rather
673 than to avoid it. After discussion, we all agreed that we could use this type of
674 molecular understanding to begin, as Dr. Collins put it, to “demystify” skin
675 color for the lay public. This viewpoint began to be conveyed that very

676 afternoon during interviews that appeared in the next 24 hours on the television
677 programs, ABC's *World News Tonight* and *Good Morning America*, and in
678 radio and newspaper coverage. Theodore Shaw, President of the NAACP
679 Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said in the *Good Morning America*
680 segment that the average person would not care about the finding, or funda-
681 mentally change his behavior even if he did learn about it (Shaw 2005). While
682 this is likely true of adults, *our children, before they learn tribal attitudes, are*
683 *more likely to be receptive to learning that skin color is determined by just a few*
684 *letters out of the instruction book of life.* While this hypothesis remains to be
685 proven, there is reason to believe that teaching our youth to recognize tribalism,
686 and to distinguish between genetic and environmental impacts on human out-
687 comes, will diminish the systematic injustices of racism perpetrated on the basis
688 of skin color. In the face of a vast potential benefit of pursuing this course of
689 action and no significant negative consequences, such a course of action, as long
690 as it responsibly managed and polished along the way, would seem wise to
691 follow.

692 693 694 **Skin Pigmentation, Science, and Race** 695

696 At this point in human and scientific history, it is clear that human pigmen-
697 tation is determined by a finite number of genes that affect one or more aspects of
698 how melanin pigments are formed, the morphology of the organelles containing
699 that pigment, and the transport of those organelles to the bulk of our skin cells
700 (*keratinocytes*), resulting in the color of our hair and eyes. The evidence suggests
701 that the most extreme natural differences in pigmentation may be due to
702 biological advantages of dark skin in habitats with extreme sun exposure, and
703 the advantages of diminished pigmentation in habitats of limited sun exposure.
704 Skin color may be one of just a small number of specific human traits that differ
705 between traditional racial groups, and are associated with clear genetic mechan-
706 isms and genomic evidence of selection.

707 In contrast to the selective forces apparent for skin color, most—perhaps
708 all—other physical and biochemical traits characteristic of each group exist
709 solely on the basis of random genetic variation within large populations,
710 followed by population bottlenecks—that is, the small number of individuals
711 (the “founder population”) who gave rise to each group outside of Africa.
712 Within human tribes that have historically been limited to specific regions,
713 distinguishing physical characteristics of each population are stronger, not
714 because of selection but rather because of the limited range of genetic variation
715 that is associated with small founder populations. Other traits for which there
716 are both biological mechanisms for and genomic signatures of selection, such as
717 the sickle cell trait based on resistance to malaria, are common within individual
718 populations (Tishkoff & Williams 2002) but far from universal within those
719 groups. No matter how many variations are eventually found to determine
720

721 physical traits, such as pigmentation, we already know that there will be but a
722 small minority of traits that exist by evolutionary chance within each major
723 human population.

726 Education

728 There are at least three reasons as to why education serves as an antidote to
729 racism. First, by educating our youth about the biological basis of skin color
730 and the genetic components of race, and the environmental determination of
731 values, cultures and habits of mind, it becomes obvious that social advantages
732 associated with light skin are based on biologically false assumptions that are
733 grounded in tribal emotions. Students can become aware of the complex but
734 well-documented history of social prejudice-driven pseudo-science (Gould
735 1996) that underlies our heritage of discrimination, and learn to recognize the
736 associated fallacies.

737 The second major reason is that education is now necessary for success in our
738 new information-based society. Less educated populations are marginalized in
739 modern society. No matter what importance we may place on more traditional
740 forms of social or cultural education, functioning in modern society requires a
741 minimum set of knowledge and habits of mind that are facilitated by education
742 in problem-solving fields such as science, mathematics, and engineering,
743 together with the acquisition of self-management and people management skills
744 required for handling of today’s volumes of data and personnel—these skills are
745 required for smoothly functioning modern societies to be built and maintained.
746 Societies, from the national level to local communities to the family, must work
747 together to fulfill the compelling responsibility for educating the currently
748 underprivileged. It is of equal importance that the leaders of the underprivileged
749 stir up an unwavering commitment to education—an education that plays an
750 important role in the acquisition of knowledge and skills that increases the
751 likelihood of success. It is important to note a key responsibility that only the
752 underprivileged can control, and that must be fulfilled in every location where
753 educational solutions are developed. This responsibility is to inculcate positive
754 attitudes toward education. The motivation for consistency in such an attitude
755 is especially great, since academic success is the single best way to put to rest
756 claims that lack of achievement is due to genetically determined intellectual
757 ability.

758 The third reason education is so important is something that is obvious to
759 any musician: the so-called “intelligence” that matters—the ability to solve
760 problems—is created by opportunity, a commitment to solving those problems,
761 learning functional habits of mind, and making a commitment to disciplined
762 practicing of learned and creative ways to solve those problems. The biological
763 basis of this view is our knowledge that learning creates new neural circuits
764 (Gase & Schlaug 2003) and may even increase neuronal volume (Schneider *et al.*
765

2002). Lack of education deprives people of knowledge needed for the best jobs and impedes development of the ability to solve problems; therefore, depriving people of education is an effective manipulation to keep people down. Even with the highest possible motivation, a potential Einstein cannot make contributions without proper education and academic opportunity. Thus, anyone not blinded by competitive tribalism can see that a sweeping range of abilities is present in all populations, and that discussion about the genetics of intelligence has been a poor excuse for not taking responsibility for providing opportunity for subjugated peoples. It is heartening to see that there is significant motion today toward making education possible for everyone. Our very survival may depend upon our ability, across the globe, to choose modes of education that are dedicated to universal, not tribal, interests.

Conclusions

The term *race* derives from a natural human interest in categorizing the components of our world. From the beginning, the concept of race has been contaminated by scientifically incorrect assumptions that seem to have been motivated by our tribal tendencies to justify how “us” is better than “them.” As used today, race refers to both physical features that are genetically determined and other features that are environmentally determined. Racism is now deeply and insidiously embedded within our societies. It seems reasonable to act on the possibility that resolving the societal problems of racism will benefit from a direct and open acknowledgement of our natural tendency toward tribal motivations and the irrational justifications that follow. Scientists can help discredit racism by teaching about the depth of fundamental biological similarities between all humans, breaking down the construct of race into components that are more precise and less burdened by tribalism, such as “ancestry,” “genetics,” and “environment.” To further the equal treatment of humans regardless of ancestry, scientists can persistently remind society that genetics and race are invalid excuses for not attending to the social inequalities stemming from racism. Education can play a central role in work toward a society free of racism if it includes a firm grounding in the method and practice of the sciences and is freed of misanthropic expressions of tribalism. For this approach to succeed, we must work hard toward ensuring that education is accorded the importance it deserves, and that non-tribal, evidence-based education becomes the ideal sought by all. Furthermore, education can and should cultivate habits of mind that improve the capacity to exploit opportunity and achieve self-fulfillment, while promoting greater harmony in the societies of the future. There is reason for optimism: when in the last 1000 years might we have imagined a discussion of such a touchy topic as race, put together by scholars of globally diverse ancestry, dedicated to the common good?

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