Contents

Introduction 1

Part I. Racism and Its Remedies 7

1. Overt and Institutional Racism 9
   Overt Racism 11
   Institutional Racism 14
   Personal Connections 14
   Qualification Requirements 18
   Seniority Systems 24
   Summary: The Ties of Race-Neutral Procedures to Overt Racism 26

2. Remedies for Racism 28
   The Complaint Remedy for Overt Discrimination 28
   Affirmative Action—The Background 31
   Unspecific vs. Specific AA: Good Faith vs. Numerical Goals 33
   AA and Qualification Requirements 38
   The "Basically Qualified" Strategy 41
Contents

Remedies for Racial Impact of Seniority-Based Layoff: Work-Sharing and Preferential Treatment 44
A Remedy for Racial Impact of Seniority-Based Advancement 46
Remedies for the Effects of Departmental Seniority 47
The Beneficial Impact of AA Programs 48
After 1980: The Decline of AA 49

Part II. Criticisms of Affirmative Action 53

3. Instrumental Criticism 55
   Arguments against Statistical Representation 55
   The Success of Other Minorities 57
   Does Preference Reinforce White Prejudice? 61
   Has AA Helped Only Advantaged Blacks? 63
   AA and the Black “Underclass” 65

4. Moral Perspectives on Affirmative Action 73
   Compensation as Counterproductive? 76
   Affluent Blacks as Undeserving 77
   Unqualified Blacks as Unaffected by AA 79
   The Rights of Employers 80
   The Rights of White Candidates 81
   Compensating Whites for Black Preferential Treatment 84
   Meritocratic Critics 88
   Preferential Treatment and Black Self-Respect 93

Part III. Documents 95

5. Overt and Institutional Racism 97
Contents


6. Remedies for Institutional Racism  109

7. A Response to Moral Critics of Affirmative Action  132

Index  135
Racism and Justice