## Lecture Notes on Racial Classification EC 137, Prof. Glenn C. Loury

- I. Notes on Color-Blindness and Social Justice
  - A. The AA Battle Heats-Up. Not really About achieving a Color-Blind Society
    - 1. Rise of "white" interests
    - 2. Choice of instruments not same as choice of goals. [Latter are what matter, and strong case can be made that goals shouldn't be color-blind]
    - 3. Choice of instruments doesn't determine our consciousness [Attending to racial inequality does not make us race conscious it's other way around]
  - B. De-legitimation of racial equality as a public goal? (This is my main concern)
    - 1. "Color-blind" (CB) means no explicit use of race in decision-making
    - 2. "Color-neutral" (CN) is unconcern for the racial consequences of decisions
    - 3. I claim that the fundamental ethical issues revolve around CN, not CB.
  - C. Some Key Distinctions Regarding Notions of Justice and Society
    - 1. Procedural vs. Distributional notions of justice
    - 2. Individualized/atomized vs. group-based/socialized conceptions of society
    - 3. Advocates of CB embrace procedural and individualistic views
    - 4. Connerly's "race free" zone; Thernstrom's "figment of the pigment"; Steele's reading of Ellison as waging war against "race" and for "individuality", etc.
    - 5. I want to suggest these views are both historically wrong but also incoherent
      - a. Should race-defined data exist? (how else to argue for progress?)
      - b. "race" is reproduced endogenously through choices of association and identity. These are deep facts about our society, not moral errors
      - c. Connerly/Steele/et al. can't exist as political actors in a raceless world
  - D. Social Justice necessitates a concern for racial inequality, per se
    - 1. War on Drugs and it's impact as a case in point (Tonry)
    - 2. Legitimacy of institutions depends on their representativeness.
    - 3. Objective mechanisms of status transmission are inherently race-impacted
    - 4. Hence, must reject CN. Choice on CB guided mainly by prudence
  - E. Further Observations on Matters of Principle
    - 1. "Equal protection of the laws" does not imply equal treatment by the law.
    - 2. [Racial classification "suspect" because of history]
    - 3. Three kinds of racial discrimination:
      - a. "welfare weight" disc -- decision-maker values one group more highly
      - b. "unequal treatment" disc -- decision rule depends on group identity
      - c. "incidence" disc -- decision rule, while race blind, not race neutral
    - 4. "a" is the moral problem. Evidence for "a" may be provided by "b" or "c." CB norm reaches "b," but not "c." Yet, there are (non-"a") reasons for "b." (i). social externalities. (networks); (ii) "identity-based" externalities (BFOQ)
    - generalized-Wertheimer); (iii) "affirmative development"; (iv) Information constraints on EEO enforcement. (discretion; opaqueness)

[See Other Side Please]

## II. Notes on Racial Classification

- A. Introductory Observations
  - 1. "Classification" more fundamental than "discrimination," as latter presupposes former: discerning a difference is logically prior to acting on one
  - 2. There are cognitive and normative aspects of "classification" question these quite different
  - 3. Fundamentally, the "social" is prior to the "economic" or the "political"
- B. "Racial Discrimination" should no longer be the key issue.
  - 1. "discrimination" endemic; essence of choice
  - 2. can't/won't proscribe entirely, especially in intimate sphere [recall James Fishkin's "trilemma"]
  - 3. raw discr. down, yet "race matters" still. See data. Question arises: why view disparities in strictly racial terms? "Figment of the pigment" camp vs. "Enigma of the Stigma" camp. (I'm in latter)
- C. Must moral/ethical claims for racial equality turn on demonstration of discrimination? My answer: No, due to fact that present inequality flows out of past discrimination. But, how to account for the past? This *the* question in field of "race ethics." I doubt there's a satisfactory answer.
  - 1. past effects difficult to measure (eg., Alan Krueger's heroic attempt re. segregated education)
  - 2. historical causality difficult to establish (eg., Orlando Patterson's heroic attempt re. black family)
  - 3. Thus, moral culpability difficult to assign ("reparations" can't be modeled on "tort" concept; what then can it mean?) My view is that general commitment to reduce racial inequality is only meaningful response to past discr.
- D. I focus instead on "racial classification" neither a good or bad thing in itself. Also, it suits economist
  - 1. includes discrimination as one case, but broadens vision
  - 2. Looks at "discrimination" in *contact* as well as *contract*.
  - 3. Raises issues of "Belonging," "wantedness," "empathy"; "'those' vs. 'our' people"; O. Patterson's "infrangibility" principle" race/IQ contro. turns on prior racial classif. which can be questioned
  - 4. Importance of social capital
  - 5. "Selves endogenous to moral problem" implies issue for liberalism: usually "self" is given. Now, fact of historic injustice and ongoing segregation based on racial classification in social sphere forces a consideration of what shapes the (racialized) self.
  - 6. Emphasis on classification shifts attention to information-based factors such as visibility, contractibility, identity (who am I?), identification (who's like me?), expectations (self-fulfilling?)
- E. I further suggest 3-part division of "arenas" in which classification arises:
  - 1. formal (contractual); this classic venue for discrimination study
  - 2. informal (contacts); this where social capital formed, allocated via non-market means; and
  - 3. bureaucratic (both private and public agencies) (AA problem resides here) (data collection issues)