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Black And White (Book Review)

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Book Review

Black And White


Reviewed by Anthony V. Alfieri⁶

“SO many dreams dead.”¹

INTRODUCTION

Critical Race Theory dreams in black and white. No rhapsody of color, only charred history and pale hope. Yet the dreams stamp hard,
inspiring a jurisprudential movement of diverse scholars and earning an uneasy place in the postwar scholarship of the American legal academy. Having waged both theoretical and practical battles to gain that place, Critical Race theorists are loath to surrender it, a tribute of remembrance to the "barbaric century" of their shared racial oppression. Nor should they yield. Without the pain of memory, there is no struggle. And without struggle, there is no progress.

In this Essay, I consider the progress of Critical Race Theory ("CRT") symbolized by two inaugural collections of accumulated movement scholarship: Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge and Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement. Both collections represent important, indeed path-breaking work in American law. Parsing works of this magnitude—together the collections comprise some 77 articles and 1,075 pages—poses uncommon challenges. Chief among these is the summons of inclusion. The articles represent a wide range of scholarship that spans doctrinal, jurisprudential, and interdisciplinary subjects. Such far-reaching coverage defies comprehensive, even-handed treatment.

No less of a hurdle is the demand of relevance. The instant scholarship charts the intellectual history of a movement still in development, advancing from an early vanguard period to a middle period of internal fracture and external siege. Granting each period an equal claim of relevance invites summary treatment, which risks diminishing the full texture of the movement's evolution. A predominantly retrospective focus, as here, reduces the risk of loss.

2. See Comel West, Foreword to Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement xi, xii (Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, & Kendall Thomas eds., 1995) [hereinafter Key Writings].
4. Key Writings, supra note 2.
5. See infra notes 9-13 and accompanying text.
6. Assaults come from liberal and conservative fronts at home and abroad. See, e.g., Heather MacDonald, Rule of Law: Law School Humbug, WALL ST. 1, Nov. 8, 1995, at A21 (characterizing CRT as "a dangerous flight from reason and logic in favor of emotion and group solidarity"); Jeffrey Rosen, The Bloods and the Crits: O.J. Simpson, Critical Race Theory, the Law, and the Triumph of Color in America, NEW REPUBLIC, Dec. 9, 1996, at 27 (describing CRT as "a stark challenge to the liberal ideal of the rule of law"); Andrew Sullivan, Truth and Lies in the Language Class, SUNDAY TIMES (London), Jan. 12, 1997, at 1 (complaining that "critical race theorists are acquiring the blessing of the intellectual and political establishments in a way that bodes particularly ill for the future of race relations").
Beyond the choices of inclusion and relevance, historical renderings of this kind hazard errors of essentialism.\(^7\) Doubtless essentialist errors may take many forms. Within the history and jurisprudence of race in American law, however, two forms seem prevalent. Both translate roughly into empirical claims of fact. The first involves the claim of universality. The second concerns the claim of dichotomy. Both employ fallacies.

The universality claim generalizes from blanket assertions of human nature. To essentialize race under the logic of universality is to suggest that people of color possess certain inherent and immutable character traits. Consider, for example, the image of dangerous young black males in contemporary criminal law.

The dichotomy claim, by contrast, distinguishes common or shared categories of the natural world as separate and discrete phenomena. To essentialize race under the logic of dichotomy is to maintain that people of color suffer discrimination as a result of intentional, rather than unintentional, conduct. Consider, for instance, the current distinction between conscious and unconscious racism governing the statutory standards of civil rights liability.

In each of the above respects, I shall confess error from the outset. At its core, this Essay conceives of Critical Race Theory in terms of a black/white paradigm.\(^8\) The early tenor of CRT literature echoes this

\(^{7}\) Clark Freshman, for example, points to essentialist tendencies in Richard Posner's treatment of CRT. See Clark Freshman, Were Patricia Williams and Ronald Dworkin Separated at Birth?, 95 COLUM. L. REV. 1568, 1590-91 (1995) (reviewing RICHARD A. POSNER, OVERCOMING LAW (1995)). However, these tendencies seem less pronounced in Posner's more recent commentary on the subject. See Richard A. Posner, Legal Narratology, 64 U. CHI. L. REV. 737, 743 (1997) (reviewing LAW'S STORIES (Peter Brooks & Paul Gewirtz eds., 1996)).

\(^{8}\) Frank Valdes employs the term “Black/White paradigm” to describe the limitations of traditional CRT analysis in deconstructing the dimensions of race and race-based subordination in a multi-cultural society. See Francisco Valdes, Latina/o Ethnicities, Critical Race Theory, and Post-Identity Politics in Postmodern Legal Culture: From Practices to Possibilities, 9 LA RAZA L.J. 1, 5-7 (1996). Valdes observes:

The “Black/White paradigm” thus signifies the reduction of race relations in American society and law to the relations between “white” Euro-Americans to “black” African Americans. Consequently, this paradigm ignores or denies the existence and relevance of persons hued with other colors, such as Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Latinas/os. In addition, this paradigm marginalizes even persons who are hued white or black but who derive from cultural or geographic destinations other than Europe or Africa, such as persons from Caribbean nations, who identify as both black and Latina/o.

Id. at 5 n.19.

essentialist dichotomy. Although the tone of subsequent literature weakens that dichotomy, it succeeds only by enlarging the category of black identity. Prodded increasingly by the work of feminist, gay and lesbian, Native-American, LatCrit, and Asian-American scholars entering the Critical Race community, the black identity position no longer exclusively frames CRT evaluative judgment. Yet, the black-white opposition remains vibrant, lacking the means of, and motives for, reconciliation.

A slow progress towards reconciliation, however, may be imminent. While the rhetoric of progress no longer echoes through jurisprudential writings on race, evidence of a gathering course-change gives some reason for hope of amelioration. The change, signified by the instant Symposium, is bound up in the emergence of LatCrit theory.

Whatever the ultimate judgment reached on the merits of LatCrit theory, this Symposium plainly captures an extraordinary moment in the jurisprudence of American law. Even if its full ramifications remain unclear, the moment exhibits both the consolidation and the splintering of Critical Race Theory. For movements of any significant political and jurisprudential import, internal and external ruptures often prove fatal.


The rise and fall of the Critical Legal Studies movement offers a case in point.

Surprisingly, acknowledging the internal and external challenges brought by LatCrit theory against Critical Race Theory leads to a contrary result. Instead of weakening Critical Race Theory, the challenges seem to broaden its theoretical scope and enlarge its practical relevance, thereby strengthening its oppositional voice in mainstream jurisprudence. This result follows from the complementary motivations and methodologies of LatCrit theory.

Unlike certain orthodox strands of the CRT literature, LatCrit theory encourages cross-racial and multicultural coalition-building. Two values motivate this impulse: the intrinsic norm of community and the instrumental norm of political action. LatCrit’s application of underutilized methods of cultural and linguistic investigation to more diverse communities of color makes coalition politics viable and racial reconciliation possible.

The theme of reconciliation—political and spiritual—figures prominently in this Essay. From the beginning, it construes Critical Race Theory as an emerging legal-political reform movement of divergent methods and varying goals. Methodologically, the Essay starts from the premise of the postmodern challenge. Vigorously pressed in recent years, the postmodern challenge assails both descriptive and prescriptive modes of legal reasoning. The assault on descriptive methods of legal pedagogy and practice, encompassing formalism and instrumentalism, advances under the charge of incoherence. The attack on similarly controlling prescriptive methods, such as legislative reform and remedial adjudication, rises out of post-Realist anti-foundational instincts. Shared by remnants of the Critical Legal Studies movement, these instincts promote a deep-seated skepticism towards the foundational concepts of racial equality and justice. Applied here, postmodern skepticism precludes Enlightenment faith in the ability to winnow out the objective truth about Critical Race Theory, its proponents, or its subjects. At best, postmodernism allows that standard modes of investigation and reasoning may afford a contingent stance from which to offer a perspective on Critical Race Theory—sometimes correct, sometimes faulty, always idiosyncratic.

Normatively, the Essay proceeds from a vision of CRT as a legal-political movement of activists and ideas dedicated to serving clients and communities of color. That presupposition imagines CRT scholars rushing to enter the fray of legal-political controversy, such as the current disputes over the place of race in crime and criminal justice, the environment, jury selection and deliberation, legal ethics, and court procedure. Put differently, the Essay expects CRT to embrace political engagement on both theoretical and practical planes. What follows then may be fairly described as an activist's critique of activists: political and jurisprudential.

Having given fair warning, it is beneficial quickly to situate this Essay in the larger, ongoing body of work undertaken by others sympathetic to the Critical Race project. For many harboring a shared devotion to the theoretical study of racism and the practical pursuit of racial justice, CRT provides the cardinal framework for understanding the construction of race in American law, culture, and society. For those especially devoted to study of the historical intersection of race and lawyers in American law, CRT demonstrates the utility of interdisciplinary methodologies in deciphering the applied meaning of racial discourse, identity, and power. True to its insurgent history, CRT infuses such methodologies with an oppositional spirit garnered from sustained protest.


Notwithstanding the above-mentioned work, the overall scarcity of studies investigating the historical interconnections of race and lawyers in American law indicates the continuing neglect of CRT as a source for the development of a jurisprudential framework to understand the rhetoric of race or “race-talk” in legal advocacy, rules of law, and judicial decisions. To be useful, that framework must situate racial rhetoric in particularized criminal and civil case contexts. See, e.g., Anthony V. Alfieri, Race Trials, 76 Tex. L. Rev. (forthcoming 1998); Margaret M. Russell, Entering Great America: Reflections on Race and the Convergence of Progressive Legal Theory and Practice, 43 Hastings L.J. 749 (1992).
To ascertain the genesis of that spirit, the Essay opens with a brief genealogy of CRT. First, it tracks CRT’s historical rupture with the civil rights movement. Then, it explores CRT’s modernist disenchantment with Critical Legal Studies. Finally, it examines CRT’s wavering postmodernist renunciation of liberal theory. The Essay next considers the main points of the CRT critique of American law and society. Specifically, it addresses race consciousness and identity, racial power, racialized doctrine and narrative, and modes of race/gender/ethnic intersectionality. Last, the Essay contemplates the CRT espousal of postmodernism, coalition-building, and praxis, analyzing tensions arising from the attempted reconciliation of liberal/postmodern and theoretical/practical commitments to law and legal advocacy.

Constructive engagement in law and legal advocacy demands a liberal faith in reason and incremental reform. Part of that faith entails a tolerance for imperfection and halting progress. Neither faith nor tolerance informs the postmodern sensibility. Like the theoreticians of the Law and Economics and Critical Legal Studies movements, the metaphysicians of law and postmodernism display an impatience with and a distaste for the practical. Rooted in a higher aspiration for law that is laudable, nonetheless, the upshot is a disdain for liberal legalism that condemns the victims of procedural bias and substantive prejudice to hardship. The tensions bearing on the liberal/postmodern and theory/practice divide thus persist unabated.

Although some, Angela Harris most eloquently, exhort CRT activists “consciously to inhabit that very tension,”19 this admonition comes with little or no reference to the constraints of discursive practices, institutional procedures, or social relations encountered in law and lawyering. Legal activists ignore these constraints at their own peril and at grave risk to their clients and surrounding communities.

Even glancing familiarity with the most ordinary advocacy contexts reveals that the practices of constitutional, statutory, and doctrinal discourse regulate attorney-client speech. Similarly, the institutional procedures of federal, state, and local bureaucracies restrict attorney-client freedom of choice in advocacy. Likewise, the social relationships of class, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation limit attorney-client as well as judge-client understanding in advocacy settings.

19. Angela P. Harris, Foreword: The Jurisprudence of Reconstruction, 82 CALIF. L. REV. 741, 760 (1994); see also Anthony E. Cook, Reflections on Postmodernism, 26 NEW ENG. L. REV. 751, 752 (1992) (investigating whether “progressive scholars [can] define postmodernism in a way that simultaneously preserves the hope of progress and transformation . . . and yet remains open and responsive to divergent narratives of oppression”).
The task of finding room to maneuver within, and formulating strategies to overcome, juridical constraints on behalf of people of color is CRT’s greatest challenge. The record to date lacks any substantial evidence that CRT aspires to meet that challenge. The continued failure to come to the aid of the subordinated clients and communities it airily celebrates will undermine CRT, just as it does Critical Legal Studies. This type of failure condemns jurisprudential movements not to death, but to irrelevance or, worse, triviality.

I

Genealogy

Critical Race Theory offers a jurisprudence grafted from the practical ventures of civil rights advocacy and the theoretical forays of Critical Legal Studies (“CLS”) scholarship. This hybrid jurisprudence produces a kind of “left intervention into race discourse and a race intervention into left discourse.” Indeed, within CRT, the concrete pragmatics of civil rights advocacy and the abstract interrogations of CLS scholarship converge to form a powerful engine of socio-legal analysis. Despite such convergence, CRT turns away from both civil rights and CLS antecedents, breaking from the liberal ideology of racial consensus dominant in the era of law reform following Brown v. Board of Education.

Evidence of this break comes from CRT’s rejection of the norms of racial integration. That rejection goes beyond the critique of civil rights advocates for their paternalistic resolution of attorney-client and client-community conflicts over litigation strategy or remedial implementation. Moreover, the rejection skirts the criticism of CLS for its


22. Introduction to Key Writings, supra note 2, at xiii, xix.


repudiation of "rights talk."²⁵ For Critical Race theorists, even the enlightened, liberal discourse of civil rights patronage too often evokes racist ideology.

Nonetheless, like the mainstream civil rights movement, CRT stands as a descriptive and a normative enterprise engaged in critical intervention and transformative remediation.²⁶ The motive force behind that enterprise is not only an ethical commitment to human liberation, but also a moral aspiration for racial justice. To Critical Race theorists, however, the ripening of moral commitment into ideological critique is a necessary precondition for political empowerment and social transformation. The key to that transformation rests on the formulation of oppositional accounts of race in legal-political discourse.

Fundamentally, the Critical Race project focuses on the interrelationship of race and discourse. By exposing racialized narratives embedded within the constitutional, statutory, and common law traditions of American legal discourse, Critical Race theorists seek to ascertain the role of law in the construction of racial hierarchy and racist ideology. To grasp the role of law and its agents (lawyers and judges) in the creation and maintenance of dominant-subordinate race relations, Critical Race theorists search out racialized stories disclosed in socio-legal and cultural contexts. Racialized stories share overt and covert forms. Overtly racialized stories may be found in court opinions, lawyers’ closing arguments, and witness testimony. More shrouded, covertly racialized stories may be detected in judges’ evidentiary rulings, lawyers’ peremptory challenges, and parties’ discovery documents.

To their credit, Critical Race theorists eschew crude forms of racialism²⁷ in rendering those enmeshed textual accounts. Instead, they increasingly gather particularized narratives from individuals and communities of color situated in law-sanctioned hierarchies of race, gender, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation. CRT gains its oppositional voice and liberating vision by revealing these often suppressed incidents of suffering. The attempt to translate that vision into a theory of racial


²⁷ Racialism refers to "accounts of racial power that explain legal and political decisions which are adverse to people of color as mere reflections of underlying white interest." Introduction to Key Writings, supra note 2, at xxiv. Implicit in these accounts is the presumption that "racial interests or racial identity exists [sic] somewhere outside of or prior to law" locked within the instrumental apparatus of the state. Id.
jurisprudence and a practice of progressive racial politics without essentializing racial identity or community creates internal tensions that sometimes explode into wider controversy, such as the recent quarrels over voice, story, autobiography, and racial fundamentalism.

28. Participants in these incendiary controversies sometimes succumb to belligerence, assailing each other for perceived transgressions in demonstrated qualities of integrity, judgment, and tolerance. Compare Mark Tushnet, The Degradation of Constitutional Discourse, 81 Geo. L.J. 251 (1992) ("The flaws in the stories I discuss are, in the end, failures in integrity and judgment..."), and Mark Tushnet, Reply, 81 Geo. L.J. 343, 343 (1992) (characterizing Gary Peller's response to his earlier article as "driven by two intellectual failures, misrepresentation and inconsistency"), with Gary Peller, The Discourse of Constitutional Degradation, 81 Geo. L.J. 313, 314 (1992) ("I believe that the failures of intellectual rigor that mark Tushnet's essay are manifestations of tension about the cultural dynamics underlying his intervention.").

29. Quarrels over voice involve the meaning of authenticity and adequate representation in claims brought on behalf of people of color in legal scholarship. Randall Kennedy derides the notion of black academic authenticity generally, while chiding CRT scholars specifically for making overblown claims of distinction. Moreover, he scorns the idea of a representative black community. Staking out a pluralist position on black history, he rejects the unitary ideal of a single, cohesive black experience. By contrast, both Richard Delgado and Alex Johnson find a special quality in the voice of color individually and collectively enunciated in CRT scholarship. Compare Randall L. Kennedy, Racial Critiques of Legal Academia, 102 Harv. L. Rev. 1745 (1989), with Colloquy, Responses to Randall Kennedy's Racial Critiques of Legal Academia, 103 Harv. L. Rev. 1844 (1990), and Richard Delgado, When a Story Is Just a Story: Does Voice Really Matter?, 76 Va. L. Rev. 95 (1990). See also Alex M. Johnson, Jr., Defending the Use of Narrative and Giving Content to the Voice of Color: Rejecting the Imposition of Process Theory in Legal Scholarship, 79 Iowa L. Rev. 803 (1994); Alex M. Johnson, Jr., The New Voice of Color, 100 Yale L.J. 2007 (1991).


Debates over the authenticity of racial voices, the typicality of racialized stories, the significance of racial autobiographies, and the rise of racial dogma reveal deep fissures in the epistemological underpinnings of academic and practice communities.

At bottom, the conflicts within CRT and the attacks upon it emanate from CRT's own growing antipathy toward the traditional civil rights discourse that animates liberal race reform. To Critical Race theorists, liberal faith in a court-driven, technocratic eradication of racial bias is misplaced. Faith in the rationality of progressive law reform, they argue, rests on principles of neutrality, objectivity, and value-free reasoning. Obtaining a set of nonideological, regulative principles, however, requires a depoliticization of the legal process. Depoliticization, in turn, compels the separation of law and politics. When pushed outside the domain of liberal theory, CLS teaches, the conceptual separation of law and politics collapses in the raw, delegitimating competition for state power. Because of this material inseparability, the depoliticization of law and the liberal state fails. In this way, the CRT politics of race represents a complex variant of the CLS politics of law: power-driven, instrumental, and value-laden.

Critical Race theorists deny the possibility of a consensus-based, formalist, non-instrumental legal process. They instead link the notion of an apolitical juridical process to a naturalistic or a necessitarian vision of white racial dominance. The neutral treatment of racial power hierarchies as normal or necessary, they explain, legitimates racialized forms of speech and inequality, thwarting legal strategies of constitutional
remediation.\textsuperscript{37} But contesting the logic of such hierarchies, they complain, attracts liberal disdain expressed in charges of anti-Enlightenment vulgarity.\textsuperscript{38} This conflict can be seen most vividly in the controversy over the liberal canon of color-blind equality. Dedicated to a vision of formal equality, the liberal canon elevates opportunity over outcome. To ensure equal opportunity, the canon emphasizes the value of process and procedural fairness. Fidelity to process requires the removal of bias and prejudice from legal rules, institutions, and systems. The notion of a color-blind process implies that removal in favor of a race-neutral, merit-based perspective. Controversy regularly erupts over the actual extent of that removal and the genuine neutrality of any alternative posture on race in law and in the assessment of legal merit. The next section presents the CRT critique of color-blind equality.

\section*{II \textbf{Critique}}

The CRT critique of color-blind equality combines an analysis of race, power, and the rule of law. The predicate step of that analysis links racial consciousness and power. The second step ties racial identity to policies and practices of exclusion. The third step strips away the racial form and substance of legal doctrine to reveal both a bias toward and an ambiguity of color. Honing in on that ambiguity, the last step of the analysis opens up race and racial identity to a broader, multifaceted investigation integrating gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

\subsection*{A. Color-Blind Equality}

Liberal theorists rely on the axiom of color-blindness to deduce the principles of formal equality, opportunity, and merit. The constitutional ideal of color-blindness fashions the categories of equal opportunity and merit as neutral and impersonal, located at a distance from the reach of power.\textsuperscript{39} Relying on opportunity and merit, of course, entails the public and private importation of standards. Ministered by largely white-dominated institutions, merit standards operate in a manner apparently free of privilege, yet inimical to the experience and

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{37} See Kendall Thomas, Rouge et Noir Reread: A Popular Constitutional History of the Angelo Herndon Case, in \textsc{Key Writings}, supra note 2, at 465, 476-81, 484-90.
\item \textsuperscript{38} For a broad accounting of these charges, see Daniel A. Farber & Suzanna Sherry, Legal Storytelling and Constitutional Law: The Medium and the Message, in \textsc{Law's Stories} 37, 46-53 (Peter Brooks & Paul Gewirtz eds., 1996).
\item \textsuperscript{39} See \textit{Introduction} to \textsc{Key Writings}, supra note 22, at xv (discussing affirmative action).
\end{itemize}
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identity of people of color. Under the regime of liberal legalism, attributions of individual racial animus or institutional enmity go unconsidered, absent probable evidence of invidious discrimination.

Critical Race theorists challenge the race-neutral ideal of color-blindness and the corollary principles of formal equality, opportunity, and merit. To test the thesis of color-blind constitutionalism, Derrick Bell revisits Herbert Wechsler's attempted postulation of neutral principles in the aftermath of Brown v. Board of Education. Wechsler opines that constitutional legitimacy requires a formal, value-free process of adjudication based on the neutral application of forward-looking, generalizable principles. He insists that constitutional legitimacy by design withstands the harsh consequences of social inequality. The constitutional principle of freedom of association illustrates this insulated notion of legitimacy. Despite evidence that the doctrine of associational right has fostered racial inequality in private employment and public education during the decades since the Brown decision, constitutional legitimacy lies undisturbed.

Rather than attack Wechsler's neutrality paradigm, Bell seeks to satisfy its constitutional requisites. Accordingly, he asserts that Brown clearly enunciates a guiding neutral principle, namely racial equality. What Brown lacks, he observes, is the complementary convergence of racial interest around matters of equitable relief and remedial implementation. As a result, the post-Brown law reform campaign initially
pursued remedies explicitly tailored to implement the mandate of desegregation. When white community defiance frustrated this remedial strategy, the campaign refashioned the anti-segregation mandate to command a discrimination-free environment. This shift generated further acts of evasion in white communities as well as an increasing sense of isolation in black communities. Lamenting this outcome and the uncertain educational benefits extracted from desegregation remedies, Bell urges reconsideration of model black schools, "where black children, parents, and teachers can utilize the real cultural strengths of the black community to overcome the many barriers to educational achievement."

Symbolic of the departure from the liberal integrationist model, Bell's endorsement of model black schools highlights the fact that effective education and racial interest conformity hold central to the fulfillment of the promise of Brown. No doubt effective graduate education in law demands the integration of scholars of color into the legal academy. The racial integration of the legal academy is necessary to satisfy the racial balance requirements of anti-segregation edicts and integrationist sympathies. More importantly, it promises to enrich institutions with the cultural strengths of communities of color and to empower students of color to overcome racial and socio-economic barriers surrounding educational achievement. The twin goals of enrichment and empowerment provide the ground for racial interest conformity between white and black academics.

Searching for common ground in the legal academy, Jerome McCristal Culp finds traditional legal discourse and scholarship unreceptive to the inclusion of race or racial autobiography. Culp's findings are unsurprising given that legal discourse prefers formalist, impartial rhetorical structures, and legal scholarship favors detached, impersonal rhetoric. Race, however, eludes formalist structures and induces partisanship. Moreover, it embroils the emotions in personal and passionate declamations.

50. See id. at 26.
51. See id.
52. Id.
55. See Jerome McCristal Culp, Jr., Autobiography and Legal Scholarship and Teaching: Finding the Me in the Legal Academy, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 409, 411-12, 415-16.
Like Culp, Deborah Post judges the professional norms, values, and aesthetics of legal education to be hostile to the politics of racial diversity and identity. Post warns that depriving the academy or the profession of the ideals of diversity strips each institution of the ability to recognize and to accommodate difference. Amplifying his prior, more thoroughgoing critique of the diversity practices of the legal academy, Richard Delgado asserts that academic "imperialists" employ several mechanisms, including stereotyping, assimilation, and co-optation, to devalue and blunt Critical Race scholarship. The multifaceted process of institutional marginalization results in the failure of ensconced academics to appreciate "race-ed" stories.

The CRT attack on the precepts of color-blind equality, opportunity, and merit indicates a rejection of the overarching, Enlightenment-based rationality of the liberal tradition. Yet, dispensing with the color-blind trope of race-neutrality entirely risks unleashing narratives expressly concentrated in racial, indeed sometimes racist, ideology. Calls for racialized jury nullification encounter this risk in evoking race-based juror empathy. Whether racial empathy increases juridical sensitivity to the rule of law or the moral value of others remains unsettled. Because the presence of race is inescapable, the answer must rely on the principles of race consciousness to overturn past race-neutral regimes.

B. Racial Consciousness and Power

The liberal canon of formal equality produces a civil rights rhetoric of good faith and universal reason that appears race-neutral, apolitical, and integrationist. Bowing to the imperatives of legal formalism, the rhetoric strives to maintain a veneer of value-free, nonpartisan

56. See Deborah Waire Post, Reflections on Identity, Diversity, and Morality, in Cutting Edge, supra note 3, at 419, 421.
57. See id. at 425.
58. See Delgado, supra note 41.
59. See Richard Delgado, "The Imperial Scholar" Revisited: How to Marginalize Outsider Writing, Ten Years Later, in Cutting Edge, supra note 3, at 401, 403-06.
64. See id. at 912. See generally Darryl K. Brown, Jury Nullification Within the Rule of Law, 81 MINN. L. REV. 1149 (1997).
consensus. Implicit in its language is a distrust of race consciousness and racial power.

Critical Race theorists view race as a socially significant category of perception and representation. Acknowledging the cognitive, linguistic, and symbolic import of race and racial difference, they contend, encourages a commitment to political and cultural pluralism. In contrast to the color-blind ideology of integrationism, the concept of multicultural pluralism supports the race-conscious development of norms and discourses of group or community justice. That development admits to a tension between integrationist and black nationalist interpretations of racial domination.

Gary Peller explores integrationist and black nationalist images of racial injustice in communities undergoing public school integration. His exploration reveals how the dynamics of power, subordination, and legitimacy diminish the meaning of black nationalism in civil rights discourse. Duncan Kennedy connects the resulting integrationist ideal to a systemic claim of white entitlement defined by color-blind meritocratic fundamentalism. Posing an alternative theory of cultural subordination in defense of affirmative action, Kennedy sets forth the notion of cultural pluralism to challenge the race-based, ideological content of academic standards. The reigning culture and ideology of race infect scholarly judgment, he insists, and defeat the claim of rational meritocratic judgment.

The corruption of meritocratic judgment subverts integrationist norms applicable to people of color whether defined as individuals or as groups. These norms are not without costs. Alex Johnson, for instance, points to the hidden cultural costs of integration. The costs accrue to individuals in hostile environments and to communities in the loss of identifying norms. A different mix of costs, Kevin Brown adds,
may arise in the context of alternative immersion schools,\textsuperscript{73} even when dedicated to an Afro-centric curriculum.\textsuperscript{74} Here, the costs amass in establishing an empowering educational culture, rather than in mitigating institutional antagonism.\textsuperscript{75}

Both white and black communities suffer the costs of commitment to a race-conscious perspective in the form of perceived racial injustice and exclusion. But the repudiation of race consciousness carries certain costs as well. Peller, for example, mentions the costs of tolerating prejudice and discrimination under the ideology of integrationism.\textsuperscript{76} Tolerance of this kind, he explains, stems from the integrationist norms of neutrality and equal treatment.\textsuperscript{77} The norms suggest, wrongly, that the march of liberal progress toward universal reason, individual freedom, and collective value-consensus ultimately transcends racial bias.

The integrationist logic of racial transcendence treats surviving discriminatory practices either as accidental distortions in social life uncontrolled by post-segregation remedial decrees or as actually unbiased incidents permissible under prevailing civil rights standards. This logic implies that discriminatory practices spring from acts of ignorance and inadvertence largely curable through rehabilitative education. For rational, fair-minded individuals, the logic goes, such practices seem deplorable or farfetched.

Thus perceived, racial bias dissolves into a cognitive defect or a counterfactual instinct. To the extent that the notion of race and the experience of racial bias forge the "social bonds of identity, recognition, and solidarity,"\textsuperscript{78} the integrationist obliteration of bias, feigned or not, hinders the formation of racial community. In this way, liberal integrationist ideology suppresses the emergence of communities of color. The ultimate cost of integrationism, therefore, is the loss of race-conscious community. This result is neither inevitable nor desirable. The optimal result permits integration but preserves racial identity. Conserving identity requires community.

Critical Race theorists relate integrationist ideology to racial power. They find power embedded in color. Unsurprisingly, white is the color

\textsuperscript{73} See Kevin Brown, African-American Immersion Schools: Paradoxes of Race and Public Education, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 373, 383.

\textsuperscript{74} See Sharon Keller, Something to Lose: The Black Community's Hard Choices about Educational Choice, 24 NOTRE DAME J. LEGIS. (forthcoming 1997).

\textsuperscript{75} See Brown, supra note 73, at 380-82.

\textsuperscript{76} See Peller, supra note 65, at 150.

\textsuperscript{77} See id. at 129.

\textsuperscript{78} Id. at 138.
of power-exerted privilege. In this sense, the equation of whiteness to cultural and socioeconomic superiority is simply a function of power. Framed by CRT, whiteness—both as artifact and as metaphor—constitutes a social organizing principle. Ian Haney López examines the doctrinal construction of whiteness and the valuation of white identity.79 Exploding the notion of racial superiority, he calls for a self-deconstructive white race-consciousness.80 This injunction commands more than deliberation or reflection in advocacy and adjudication. Plainly, Haney López is after something greater here. In effect, he seeks a sort of categorical redefinition in the customary methods of social construction that requires a sense of cognitive vigilance, what I call elsewhere “self-paternalism.”81

Thomas Ross pursues a similar analysis, probing the doctrinal rhetoric of affirmative action for the images of white innocence and racism.82 To Ross, the rhetoric of innocence, often heard through allusions to the “innocent white victim,” reveals a powerful and dangerous ideology of unconscious racism.83 Equating racism with white supremacy, Trina Grillo and Stephanie Wildman explore the false appropriation and mistaken inference of essentialist racial identity.84 Wildman and Adrienne Davis note that acts of identity appropriation occur under the cloak of linguistic neutrality and cultural hierarchy.85 They maintain that a categorical pre-understanding of race, gender, and sexual orientation is basic to social and cultural hierarchy.86 Derived originally from the work of Paul Ricoeur, the notion of pre-understanding adverts to the ontological structure that mediates interpretive knowledge and method.87

79. See Ian F. Haney López, White by Law, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 542; see also Ian F. HANEY LÓPEZ, WHITE BY LAW (1996).
80. See Haney López, White by Law, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 548.
82. See Thomas Ross, Innocence and Affirmative Action, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 551.
83. See id. at 557.
84. See Trina Grillo & Stephanie M. Wildman, Obscuring the Importance of Race: The Implication of Making Comparisons Between Racism and Sexism (or Other-isms), in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 564.
86. See id. at 574.
Allied with social construction, pre-understanding operates by applying a standard narrative reading to story.88

A distorted pre-understanding of racial identity, Haney López points out, signifies a categorical practice grounded not in scientific evidence, but upon common knowledge.89 For Haney López, the appeal to common knowledge and its installation as a racial test in the statutory jurisprudence of citizenship “shows that race is something that must be measured in terms of what people believe, that it is a socially mediated idea.”90 Ideological measurement must also take account of the impact of scientific racism on popular belief.91

Racial pre-understanding assigns a socially constructed category to identify individuals and to invest power in their status and relationships. Molded as a legal artifact, the category is mutable, expanding and contracting to accommodate prejudice.92 Race, according to Haney López, thus degenerates into an unstable trope used to shield unequal distributions of power. Distributive patterns hinge on the relational construction of race in terms of superior and inferior attributes. Haney López contends that the “hierarchical fantasy” of white identity “perpetuates and necessitates patterns of superiority and inferiority” in society.93 Those patterns allocate racial power.

Critical Race theorists strive to dislodge the elements of race and racial power entrenched in doctrinal categories. Their endeavors acquire special importance in the fields of employment discrimination and voting rights, where redress hangs on the disclosure of political and socioeconomic inequality and on the demonstration of intentional acts of power-associated discriminatory conduct. Lacking such evidence, the enhancement of minority political power and the enlargement of minority representation in economic decision-making structures slows due to, in part, greater reliance on traditional political and market forces.

Lani Guinier evaluates the possibilities of expanding group representation in voting rights jurisprudence, despite the individualistic

88. See id. at 2123-24.
89. See Haney López, supra note 79, at 544-45.
90. Id. at 546.
92. See Haney López, supra note 79, at 547.
93. Id. at 548.
constraints of liberal legalism. Borrowing from Freudian and cognitive psychology, Charles Lawrence posits unconscious racism as an added, though frequently overlooked, constraint of the liberal legacy. En-
trenched under the regime of color-blind constitutionalism, unconscious racism influences a variety of substantive law areas, such as the constitutional doctrine of equal protection. Neil Gotanda regards the metaphor of color-blind constitutionalism as a means of disguising and legitimat-
ing otherwise mutable categories of subordination across race and eth-
nicity. While conceding that the color-blind trope intimates tolerance and diversity, Gotanda derides this implied model of constitutionalism for fostering cultural genocide.

Cheryl Harris reveals evidence of a different sort of genocide in property doctrines. For Harris, property provides space for the conver-
gence of racial and legal status (e.g., slavery). Out of that joinder, white-
ness and property take on the functions of identity-based exclusion. Such forms of racialized privilege persist, Linda Greene comments, because of the liberal fusion of formalism and equality in contemporary civil rights discourse. Deducing jurisprudential lines of criticism from Legal Realism, Derrick Bell assails the growing formalism insulating civil rights law.

Critical Race Theory’s support of race-conscious, instrumental rules of adjudication implies the rationality of an alternative normative theory of racial justice. Its own critique of normativity, however,

94. See Lani Guinier, Groups, Representation, and Race-Conscious Districting: A Case of the Emperor’s Clothes, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 205.
95. See Charles R. Lawrence, III, The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 235.
97. See Gotanda, supra note 96, at 257.
98. See id. at 270.
99. See Cheryl I. Harris, Whiteness as Property, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 276.
100. See id. at 287.
102. To demonstrate this fusion, Greene cites a recent cluster of formalist Supreme Court opinions in the field of civil rights. See id. at 292-99 (citing Patterson v. McLean Credit Union, 491 U.S. 164 (1989); Martin v. Wilks, 490 U.S. 755 (1989); Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio, 490 U.S. 642 (1989); Patterson v. McLean Credit Union, 491 U.S. 164 (1989); and City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469 (1989)).
103. See Derrick A. Bell, Jr., Racial Realism, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 302.
cogently demonstrates the shortcomings of normative theory-building. Given this showing, together with the inherent inconstancy of identity positions, the prospects for an intelligible race-conscious method of adjudication seem dim.

C. Racial Identity and Exclusion

The liberal canon stands skeptical of racial identity. Skepticism arises from the juridical demands of evidentiary proof in case-by-case adjudication. The "conventional analytic methods" of proof are integral to liberal legalism. Significantly, the unstable, contextual dynamic of identity resists such demands. When mixed with the components of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, that resistance stiffens, leading to misinterpretation and exclusion.

Critical Race theorists seek out racial identity and the socially constructed meaning of race in empirical and anecdotal evidence of exclusion. They discern the imagery and language of exclusion throughout law, culture, and society. Robert Chang, for example, describes the violence against Asian Americans as a manifestation of the nativistic strand of white supremacy, evinced in immigration and naturalization restrictions, disfranchisement, and Japanese-American internment. Chang traces this legacy of discrimination to American immigration and naturalization practices. Indeed, he finds the roots of Asian-American cultural alienation and political powerlessness in long accumulated practices of alien exclusion and denigration. Coupled with evidence of "systemic disfranchisement," this dual sense of alienation and powerlessness inhibits the voice of Asian-American resistance.

105. Cf. Brian Leiter, Heidegger and the Theory of Adjudication, 106 Yale L.J. 253, 281 (1996) (reviewing arguments by Heidegger that "suggest that the prospects for a fruitful normative theory of adjudication may be dim").
108. Cf. Mary L. Dudziak, Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative, in Cutting Edge, supra note 3, at 110-21 (illuminating the impact of both reformist and regnant legal developments on American foreign policy by relocating historical displays of American racism to an international setting).
110. See id. at 329-31.
111. Id. at 331.
Others conduct similar investigations. Richard Delgado, for instance, considers the psychological and sociological harm of racial exclusion and insult.\footnote{112} Peggy Davis reconfigures that harm as a form of cognitive microaggression.\footnote{113} Descriptively, microaggression captures the deep-seated pain of racial animus experienced at the level of human psychology.\footnote{114} Sheri Lynn Johnson links cognition to race, attractiveness, and attributions of guilt and blameworthiness.\footnote{115} Haney López presses further, binding racial illusion to the biology of race and, hence, discovering essentialist distortions in the conceptions of racial community and interracial group conflict.\footnote{116} Robin Barnes cites the same distortions in the biology of skin color.\footnote{117}

For Regina Austin, disclosing and combating the deformities of racial character commands a politics of identification, especially in rebuilding communities of color.\footnote{118} Lisa Ikemoto highlights the need for a politics of racial identification by explicating the white supremacist deployment of racial distancing stories and disorder symbols to strengthen racialized claims of entitlement.\footnote{119} Robert Williams unravels strands of nativistic violence in the denigration of the Cherokees' discourse of tribal sovereignty and the white narrative pronouncement of tribalism's inferior land rights.\footnote{120} Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic collect these disparate, historical strands of white supremacy to assemble narrative

images of the racial outsider. The dominant systems of legal classification, Delgado and Stefancic contend, such as Library of Congress subject headings, legal periodical indexes, and the West Digest System, exclude and obscure innovations in civil rights discourse by retaining a traditional, white-centered approach to legal categorization.

This historical treatment silences people of color, especially in the political arena. Levied by racially motivated violence, the silence permits nativist myths to flourish. Chang points to these myths in the guise of the "foreign" menace and the "model minority." According to Chang, the conjuring of these myths denies the continuing discrimination suffered by Asian Americans and legitimizes the inferior status of other communities of color and even the economic impoverishment of some white communities. At the same time, Chang maintains, recounting the Asian-American experience of identity-based exclusion and recovering the testimony of survivors gives rise to an insurgent voice of protest against essentialist, myth-making constructions of the racial self and racial community.

Ironically, anti-essentialist protest rises along the periphery of CRT itself. Leveled against the CRT movement as a whole, the protest complaints of racial essentialism in the construction of black identity and the black community. Randall Kennedy articulates a version of this accusation when he challenges the claim that black culture and scholarship are racially distinctive. Kennedy's rebuke, however, ignores the chief normative issue raised by Critical Race theorists: the exclusion and exploitation of racial categories in legal storytelling.

122. See Richard Delgado & Jean Stefancic, Why Do We Tell the Same Stories? Law Reform, Critical Librarianship, and the Triple Helix Dilemma, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 206, 208.
123. See Chang, supra note 109, at 325-29.
124. See id. at 327.
Crucial constituents of the law and literature movement tolerate this exclusion. Equally troubling, they fail to account for such exile. Categorical exclusions of this type generally issue from an unchallenged instrumental logic that asserts the narrative credibility, and consequent efficacy, of certain stock racialized stories supplied to audiences composed of majority-race judges and juries.

Critical Race theorists cast suspicion on stock racialized stories. They investigate not only the form and structure of legal argument, but also the stakes of legal narration and the goals of legal storytelling. This investigation uncovers the omission of pivotal interpretive categories from the study of narrative, for example, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and race.

D. Legal Doctrine

The liberal canon severs legal doctrine from its racial and political foundation. Thus severed, doctrine occupies a formalist position of color-blind impartiality. From this culturally detached position, racial hierarchies appear imperceptible and subordinate narratives unfold naturally. Unlike liberal theorists, Critical Race theorists emphasize the utility of naming racial privilege when dealing with legal doctrine. To that end, they envisage narratives and stories as opportunities for "naming one's own reality." Gerald Torres and Kathryn Milun, for example, enumerate the ways of rendering narratives authoritative, explanatory, and relevant. Torres and Milun look to *Mashpee Tribe v. Town of Mashpee* to illustrate the cultural core of evidentiary relevance and reasoning, thereby highlighting the representation, contestation, and inversion of stories in law and legal discourse. Their main focus is the complex process of channeling outsider claims into the "formalized idiom of the language of the state—the idiom of legal discourse." Applied in the Native-American context, this focus highlights the legal translation and evidentiary coding of claims produced by irreconcilable systems of cultural meaning.


128. CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 37.


131. See Torres & Milun, supra note 129, at 48.

132. Id.

133. See id.
For Torres and Milun, the cultural irreconcilability of state and tribal claims within the dominant juridical system of white racial meaning suggests that certain stories may prove untranslatable. These subordinate stories fit poorly within the cultural-legal categories of mainstream discourse. As a result, the doctrinal knowledge of and the adjudicated truth about subordinate cultures remain incomplete. This insufficiency often renders cultural claims of entitlement illegitimate. Courts' discursive ability to delegitimize the entitlement claims of subordinate cultural communities, Torres and Milun explain, signals the power to privilege specific forms of legal narrative and evidentiary proof.

Juridical privileging of narrative occurs in the very text of judicial opinions. Alert to this inscription, Thomas Ross reads opinions as narrative texts of racist ideology. Citing the Supreme Court’s decision in *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*, he weighs the compelling narrative logic of abstract principle against the narrative richness of historical description. Logically deduced but decontextualized narratives, Margaret Russell observes, take on an almost cinematic quality, presenting racial stereotypes under the dominant gaze of American racial hierarchy. Behind the pretense of the American gaze, Delgado remarks, lurks a racialized event and a stock cultural story. Omitted from the telling of that story, according to Bell, is an evaluation of the costs and benefits of racial discrimination. Likewise overlooked, Patricia Williams adds, is a recognition of the multiple perspectives embedded in a single story.

Both the law and literature movement and CRT imagine storytelling to occupy a place in legal discourse. The more dominant liberal vision informing the law and literature movement, however, carves a false

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134. See id. at 48-49.
137. See Ross, supra note 135, at 39-40.
141. See Derrick Bell, *Property Rights in Whiteness—Their Legal Legacy, Their Economic Costs*, in *Cutting Edge*, supra note 3, at 75, 75.
142. See Patricia J. Williams, *Alchemical Notes: Reconstructing Ideals from Deconstructed Rights*, in *Cutting Edge*, supra note 3, at 84, 88.
dichotomy in story that differentiates traditional/legal from oppositionist/nonlegal forms of discourse based on insider and outsider group status. That dichotomy arises from tensions interior to liberal theory that render traditional narratives unstable and open to internal and external contest. Liberal conceptions of community and equality both suffer from such tensions. Understanding how traditional legal discourse overcomes its inherent instability to tell apparently uncontested stories about race requires an analysis of the institutional, relational, and ideological sources of political power. At bottom, power shapes the standards used to evaluate and the techniques applied to translate stories into legal rules governing the treatment of race in American law.

E. Intersectionality

The liberal canon conceptualizes race as a category separate and apart from gender, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation. This categorical partitioning corresponds to broader patterns of exclusion affecting marginalized groups under liberal regimes. Those patterns compromise the liberal search for even a provisional, adjudicated truth in law and legal reasoning, relegating candor to the contingencies of narrative necessity. Those contingencies—law, institutional procedure, and socio-legal relationship—dictate narratives of partial truth and piecemeal candor. Reaching for an imperializing, moralistic mode of historical narrative to stabilize shifting identity categories discredits the claims of liberal tolerance.

143. See generally Robert A. Ferguson, Untold Stories in the Law, in Law's Stories, supra note 7, at 84 (discussing the integrity of storytelling and the repression of untold stories).

144. For a useful catalogue of tensions central to liberal conceptions of equality and community, see Christopher J. Peters, Equality Revisited, 110 Harv. L. Rev. 1210 (1997), and Glen O. Robinson, Communities, 83 Va. L. Rev. 269 (1997).

145. For a discussion on how legal discourse exerts authority and organizes social relationships, see Reva B. Siegel, In the Eyes of the Law: Reflections on the Authority of Legal Discourse, in Law's Stories, supra note 7, at 225.

146. See David N. Rosen, Rhetoric and Result in the Bobby Seale Trial, in Law's Stories, supra note 7, at 110.

147. See generally Schacter, supra note 10, at 719-23 (exploring the relationship between identity categories and equality); Susan H. Williams, A Feminist Reassessment of Civil Society, 72 Ind. L.J. 417, 420-26 (1997) (discussing alternative conceptions of civil society that disadvantage women).


150. See Martha Minow, Stories in Law, in Law's Stories, supra note 7, at 24, 32-36.
Critical Race theorists stress the intersectionality of social and cultural categories in law as well as in legal reasoning. Their primary focus centers on the nexus of race and gender, though the categories of ethnicity\(^\text{151}\) and sexual orientation\(^\text{152}\) increasingly merge into that analysis. The intersection of these categories occurs in contexts where legal actors carry complex representational burdens or inhabit multiple social positions. Black, drug-addicted welfare mothers offer a case in point: not only do they bear the burdens of race, gender, and drug abuse, but they also endure the dehumanization of punitive state welfare measures.

Adopting an anti-essentialist stance, Critical Race theorists increasingly approach identity as the contested product of a socio-legal process of stereotypical character attribution. The components of identity—race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation—thus align in a manner that is neither natural nor mutually exclusive. Instead, identity is constructed out of racial and gendered stereotypes,\(^\text{153}\) exemplified above in the case of black womanhood.

Kimberlé Crenshaw locates the structural intersectionality of race and gender in dominant political conceptualizations of rape and battering, detecting common elements of racial domination and gender subordination in the black experience of domestic violence.\(^\text{154}\) Crenshaw conceives of a culture of opposition fueled by identity politics.\(^\text{155}\) Contrary to liberal conceptions of social justice that override identity-based categories of difference, Crenshaw clasps on to difference as a "source of social empowerment and reconstruction."\(^\text{156}\) Deploying difference to empower people of color to reconstruct systems of domination and violence, she notes, requires an awareness of the intersecting patterns of


\(^{154}\) See Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 357, 358.

\(^{155}\) See id. at 357.

\(^{156}\) Id.
experience and identity in society, especially for women of color combating male violence.

To Crenshaw, the social world furnishes "multiple grounds of identity." To interventions into that world to organize a culture of opposition must build on these disparate grounds. Crenshaw concedes that organizing an oppositional culture entails dealing with issues of physical vulnerability, economic subordination, and political conflict. Failure to resolve these issues, she contends, produces isolation and disempowerment. Reconceiving difference in a guise receptive to multiple identities and organizing around cohort identity groups to engage in politics encourages a culture of opposition and participation.

Dorothy Roberts also discusses race and gender in considering the state's punitive response to drug-addicted black mothers during episodes of a spiraling crack epidemic. Recalling the experience of slavery, Roberts deplores the disproportionate impact of state action on poor black women, citing high rates of punitive criminal prosecutions, the involuntary removal of black children, and coercive sterilization. To Roberts, state disciplinary measures devalue black motherhood and perpetuate racial hierarchy through unconstitutional government intrusions upon individual and family privacy. To fight these incursions, she proposes the design of a new privacy jurisprudence protective of those who are at once fallible and dependent on state largess.

Regina Austin enlarges this proposal, conceiving of a full-blown agenda for black feminist legal scholarship. Sifting the elements of Chambers v. Omaha Girls Club, a twin employment and pregnancy discrimination case, Austin augments the Critical Race analysis of racial hierarchy by shifting her focus away from state encroachment on the rights of black women and toward state abandonment of the protection of black women against discrimination. Austin's study of Chambers

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157. Id. at 358.
159. See id. at 388-92.
160. See id. at 389. Lisa Ikemoto also explores the ideological celebration and devaluation of motherhood. Charting the path of gender ideology during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she uncovers long-standing state regulatory practices of intervention in the lives of pregnant women. See Lisa C. Ikemoto, The Code of Perfect Pregnancy: At the Intersection of the Ideology of Motherhood, the Practice of Defaulting to Science, and the Interventionist Mindset of the Law, in Cutting Edge, supra note 3, at 478.
161. See Roberts, supra note 158, at 403-05.
162. See Regina Austin, Sapphire Bound?, in Key Writings, supra note 2, at 426, 427.
164. See Austin, supra note 162, at 429.
illustrates the continuing oppression of black women in employment as well as the diversity of black women’s cultural practices in the areas of the family and reproductive freedom.

While Richard Delgado makes reference to essentialist theorizing, even among reform-minded oppositional groups,165 Angela Harris’s precise explanation of the interplay of race and essentialism in feminist legal theory isolates the tendency to bracket race and to erase black women from the landscape of gender domination.166 Paulette Caldwell overcomes this tendency in showing the “interlocking figurations” of race and gender167 that give shape to the employment discrimination case of Rogers v. American Airlines, Inc.168 This complex configuration, Caldwell notes, also gives rise to the experience of shame.169

Caldwell’s allusion to shame introduces the concept of spirit injury experienced at the intersection of identity and racialized or sexualized violence. Adrien Wing and Sylke Merchán denote the violence of rape as a spirit injury in Muslim culture.170 Rousing the American history of slavery and miscegenation, Wing and Merchán delineate the transnational symptoms of rape injury in both physical and spiritual terms: defilement, silence, emasculation, trespass, and pollution.171

To be sure, the experience of humiliation conveyed by Jennifer Russell’s personal account of racial antagonism in the legal academy172 constitutes a different order of harm than sexual violence. Nevertheless, the intersectionality thesis demonstrates that the injury of humiliation frequently accompanies racial and ethnic subordination, at times occurring subsequent to assimilation. Margaret Montoya comments that law erects linguistic barriers that effectively mask the pain of bias injuries, thereby silencing outsider narratives of deprivation.173 To remedy such deprivation, even when it afflicts alleged law breakers, Monica Evans


166. See Angela P. Harris, Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 253, 255.


169. See Caldwell, supra note 167, at 275.

170. See Adrien Katherine Wing & Sylke Merchán, Rape, Ethnicity, and Culture: Spirit Injury from Bosnia to Black America, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 516, 518.

171. See id. at 521-25.


recommends building a culture of opposition in communities of color founded on the rhetoric of rights.174

The production and intersection of racialized stories inside and outside the courtroom often enlists spurious claims of objectivity and truth in defense of narrative exclusion. Both liberals175 and Critical Race theorists176 tend to focus their analysis of categorical overlap in identity constructions on trials and the narrative transactions at trials involving lawyers and judges. This focus overlooks the importance of the pretrial activity of law offices, street-level institutions, and clients to case construction.177 Envisioning the socio-legal process of identity construction as a narrative struggle in these broader terms requires a description of how lawyers, clients, and other legal agents experience narrative competition over conflicting evidence and regulation under legal rules. This view also prompts scrutiny of the interpretive methods used by lawyers to present a client’s story that intersects with wider social narratives. The next section considers the resolution of the internal CRT conflict over liberal and postmodern visions of racial equality and emancipation.

III
Reconciliations

The CRT struggle to reform liberal legalism rises from a long-standing vision of racial equality and emancipation. The failure of integration, the persistence of inequality, and the continuing entailments of bondage manifested in black poverty and punitive cycles of probation, prison, and parole increasingly cloud that vision. The turn to postmodernism in CRT indicates less an abandonment of liberal ideals than a keen disillusionment about the likelihood of their fruition. In this way, the turn seems partial and unresolved. For in the alternative rhetoric of

175. See generally Robert Weisberg, Proclaiming Trials as Narratives: Premises and Pretenses, in LAW’S STORIES, supra note 38, at 61 (discussing the role of narrative in law); see also Janet Malcolm, The Side-Bar Conference, in LAW’S STORIES, supra note 38, at 106 (assessing the impact of narrative transactions between lawyers and judges on the result of a trial).
176. See, e.g., Kendall Thomas, Rouge et Noir Reread: A Popular Constitutional History of the Angelo Herndon Case, in KEY WRITINGS supra note 2, at 465, 476-81, 484-90.
postmodernism, CRT mixes antithetical calls for coalition-building and praxis. The battle to reconcile these competing rhetorics will shape the future of CRT in the academy and in the courts.

A. Postmodernism

The liberal canon deems law and legal reasoning to be the ingredients of a carefully honed craft. The notion of craft connotes a stable juridical universe in which norms are fixed and historical truth is realizable, indeed where "what has been constructed is perceived to have been properly construed." The performative rhetoric of craft, both in advocacy and in adjudication, interweaves force and persuasion with the "ascription of trustworthiness." Postmodernism, especially the identity-based and culturally contingent version that Critical Race theorists pull and recast from Continental materials, exalts the play of interpretive practices put into the service of justice. Engrafting race and postmodernism in the field of inequality reconfigures the topics of historical truth and human value to accommodate contingency and context. That reconfiguration revives practical commitments to provisional truth claims and localized normative decision making carried out in the face of tentative, and sometimes temporary, identity categories.
Critical Race theorists, drawing on postmodernism, affirm the contingent, indeterminate, and socially constructed nature of identity categories. Proclaiming legal identity unstable and contradictory, they contend that there is no fixed meaning to "race" apart from social context. But rather than abolish the idea of race or preserve traditional ascriptions, they adopt a new paradigm of cultural pluralism recovered from the "popular memory" of neglected histories of community struggle against racial injustice. This alternative vision of cultural pluralism transforms the character of social space from an apolitical, atomistic realm of isolated individuals to an insurgent, participatory community of connected citizens.

Jayne Chong-Soon Lee advances this popular recovery by locating the possibility of racial resistance in generalized legal contexts, even in the ghettoizing judicial constructions of race. Lee asserts that cultural pluralism precludes conflation of the biological and the racial, and, thus, the reinscription of racial stereotypes and subordination. For Lee, pluralism hinges on the inclusion of racial experiences obtained by granting groups the power of racial self-definition and tolerating the multiple definitions of race that may ensue. Because this self-definitional allowance invites turmoil, it warrants the incorporation of democratic checking mechanisms to insure against community disintegration. Acute circumstances of racial animus or group conflict may prove such mechanisms inadequate to save a community from splintering.

The multiplicity of racial definition under a regime of cultural pluralism, Richard Ford points out, bears on the construction of racially identified political and social space. To Ford, the creation and perpetuation of racially identified spaces, whether for economic-structural or political reasons, holds serious implications for racial harmony. Insofar as pluralism entails elements of community self-definition under a legal conception of space—e.g., exclusionary zoning—the distributive consequences of local racial politics are significant. The segregation of political and social space that results from

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188. See Key Writings, supra note 2, at 440.
189. See Jayne Chong-Soon Lee, Navigating the Topology of Race, in Key Writings, supra note 2, at 441.
190. See id. at 444-46.
191. See id. at 441.
192. See Richard Thompson Ford, The Boundaries of Race: Political Geography in Legal Analysis, in Key Writings, supra note 2, at 449.
193. See id.
194. See, e.g., Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717, 740-41 (1974) (stating that a court may not treat local school district boundaries as "mere administrative convenience" in order to effect its view
local racial politics directs traditional conceptions of autonomy and association toward a legal practice of culturally plural political space where the boundaries of race may be redrawn in terms beside desegregation and integration. 195

The cultural realignment of desegregation and integration requires an effective political language of racial resistance and struggle. That language, Kendall Thomas reminds us, 196 may be culled from the rhetoric of resistance found in the historical trials of contested political rights. Thomas’ account of the historic case of Herndon v. Lowry 197 deciphers the rhetoric of resistance located at the constitutional intersection of race, culture, and politics. Undertaken to revise constitutional historiography, his account presents a cultural history of Angelo Herndon’s political struggle against the State of Georgia to win the right to community organize. For Thomas, the key to the Herndon case is the remembrance of resistance to race-inscribed political repression. The key to resistance is coalition-building.

B. Coalition-Building

The liberal canon suggests that coalition-building unfolds naturally out of the obligations and rituals of democratic citizenship. Under the neo-republican vision of liberalism, civic obligations pertain to the community ethos of collective deliberation and universal debate in decentralized public assemblies. Participatory rituals encircle church, school, and local institutions of cooperative self-government. Fulfilling the obligations of self-rule and civic virtue in small groups or associations coincides with a revival of neo-republican values developing adjacent to and sometimes in tandem with liberal frameworks of political theory. 198 Heralded by liberal reformers, the neo-republican vision proffers to cure the political disenfranchisement and underrepresentation of people of color through cross-cultural coalition-building.

195. See Ford, supra note 192, at 449.
196. See Thomas, supra note 176.
Critical Race theorists approach reformist coalition-building with apprehension. The stylistic allure of neo-republicanism devolves into a distrust well-earned by practices of exclusion. At the same time, the bare admission of methodological commonalities with the CLS movement leaves past quarrels unresolved. Further, charges of CLS-instigated exclusion and exploitation remain unsettled. Even if mediation is available, reconciliation will never come about without correction of the normative and pragmatic deficiencies of the CLS paradigm. The reconstruction of liberalism depends on normative vision and pragmatic advocacy, not merely deconstruction. Under liberal regimes, normative vision must unite conceptions of individual entitlement and community obligation. Pressing this unification in pragmatic advocacy dictates alternative lawyering stratagems linked to community mobilization and ethical precepts based on broadly framed ideals of justice.

The springboard for the normative rehabilitation of CLS is the discourse of civil rights. Kimberlé Crenshaw contends that the indeterminacy and hegemonic function of civil rights discourse in no way prevents self-conscious ideological and political struggle against racism, in spite of the risk of legitimizing court-approved instances of bias and inequality. Mari Matsuda offers the right of reparations in the context of Japanese-American and Native-Hawaiian claims for redress as an example of a critical, transformative discourse grounded in both liberal legalism and historical oppression. More broadly, Harlan Dalton accentuates the importance of rights discourse to the development of a positive, reconstructive program for race reform. Confirming Dalton's pragmatic conception of rights, Anthony Cook adds that a

203. See Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Race, Reform, and Retrenchment: Transformation and Legitimation in Antidiscrimination Law, in Key Writings, supra note 2, at 103.
204. See Mari Matsuda, Looking to the Bottom: Critical Legal Studies and Reparations, in Key Writings, supra note 2, at 63.
reconstructive vision demands a theological center comprised of church teachings. Cook points to the historic role of the African-American church in organizing and mobilizing community opposition to institutional racism. Moreover, he lauds the critical theology of Martin Luther King, Jr., as an important "potential source for alternative conceptions of community." To Cook, critical theology holds the potential for delegitimating authority and for mobilizing a cooperative, participatory community ethos.

Overcoming the justifiable skepticism of Critical Race theorists directed toward republican-minded liberals and CLS activists in order to induce their entry into coalition politics requires the suspension of racial distrust. Scant evidence supports the impulse to set aside suspicion. For people of color, neither empathy nor emotion affords consolation for historical betrayal. The logic of coalition-building boils down to the practical calculations of community organization and mobilization to gain political power. The drive for power commands a problem-solving orientation found in the evolving advocacy traditions of feminist, political, and sometimes affective lawyering. Those traditions strive to fuse the theory and practice of advocacy into a form of praxis.

206. See Anthony E. Cook, Beyond Critical Legal Studies: The Reconstructive Theology of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 85.
207. See id.
208. Id.
212. See, e.g., Linda G. Mills, On the Other Side of Silence: Affective Lawyering for Intimate Abuse, 81 CORNELL L. REV. 1225 (1996). Linda Mills locates “affective lawyering” within the American tradition of progressive advocacy, especially as expressed in the field of poverty law. See id. at 1229 n.14. For Mills, affective lawyering “demands that lawyers understand their own political and social transformation, not intellectually or ideologically, but rather, through their personal experiences of strength and weakness, passion and melancholy, distance and deprivation in all facets of their lives.” Id. at 1228. In terms of methodology, it demands that advocates meet their “emotionally frightened and politically disempowered” clients at an interpersonal level. Id.
C. Praxis

The liberal canon divides theory and practice into rigid categories of discrete analysis. This long-standing division stems from several sources, including the disposition of academic theorists, the nature of advocacy traditions, and the content of legal education, particularly the curricular substance of clinical programs. Although the advent of a theoretics-of-practice movement shows some headway in bridging the theory/practice gap, both the CLS and CRT movements inhibit progress by replicating the theory/practice dichotomy.

This joint tendency casts doubt on the likelihood of achieving the fusion of theory and practice in praxis. Yet, Critical Race theorists persevere, marshaling a critique of liberalism embedded in theory and in pedagogy gleaned from the diverse material and spiritual experiences of people of color. Their collective voice challenges the widespread race-privileging recurrent in the structure of law and legal education and, hence, supplies an alternative culture of resistance and a promise of political liberation.

Evaluating the promise of a CRT liberation politics, Derrick Bell meditates on the associations of hope and despair for people of color. Girardeau Spann espouses the hope of a positive politics, notwithstanding the frustrations of thwarted litigation and electoral majoritarianism. Michael Olivas reiterates that hope, summoning suppressed histories of racial and ethnic community struggle for inspiration.

Although Bell ratifies community, he unsettles the unitary notion of racial community. Charting the local history of civil rights litigation in a battery of school desegregation cases, he unearths conflicts ignited by the incommensurable remedial goals of lawyers, clients, and communities. Efforts to reframe these and other goals or to recalibrate

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216. See Derrick Bell, Racial Realism—After We’re Gone: Prudent Speculations on America in a Post-Racial Epoch, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 2, 2-3.
217. See Girardeau A. Spann, Pure Politics, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 21, 28-29.
219. See Derrick A. Bell, Jr., Serving Two Masters: Integration Ideals and Client Interests in School Desegregation Litigation, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 5.
tactics, Richard Delgado acknowledges, are unlikely to provide full relief.\textsuperscript{220}

For Alan Freeman, the entertainment of conventional relief merely accepts the myths of liberal reform.\textsuperscript{221} To escape these myths, Freeman turns to pedagogy, assessing the potential for subversion under two strategies. The first seeks to achieve remedial gains through the "self-conscious manipulation of legal doctrine" without reinforcing juridical legitimacy.\textsuperscript{222} The second works to politicize legal doctrine in order "to reveal contradictions and limits, promote public awareness, and even win cases."\textsuperscript{223} By Freeman's own judgment, both strategies fail. The alternative, he announces, is to confront the historical underpinnings of legal doctrine and adjudication.\textsuperscript{224}

Historical confrontation presents issues of cultural authenticity. Taunya Banks'\textsuperscript{225} endorsement of life stories as a pedagogical frame of reference comports with the notion of cultural authenticity. For Charles Lawrence, as well, affirming a pedagogy of subjectivity, story, and narrative affords an authentic form of contextual learning rooted in social and historical texts.\textsuperscript{226} John Calmore's vision of oppositional cultural practice is grounded in racial history. Only out of that history, Calmore declares, can a culturally authentic liberating practice successfully emerge.\textsuperscript{227}

Like Banks and Lawrence, Calmore's turn to an oppositional cultural practice lays challenge to the universality of white experience as the authoritative standard of conduct and judgment in law and legal education.\textsuperscript{228} That oppositional stance, however, is not ungrounded, turning instead to cultural experience, class, and community. Those

\textsuperscript{220} See Richard Delgado, Beyond Criticism—Synthesis? Left-Right Parallels in Recent Writing About Race, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 464, 469.

\textsuperscript{221} See Alan D. Freeman, Derrick Bell—Race and Class: The Dilemma of Liberal Reform, in CUTTING EDGE, supra note 3, at 458, 460.

\textsuperscript{222} Id. at 462.

\textsuperscript{223} Id.

\textsuperscript{224} See id. Freeman excuses his belated encounter with history by stating: "The task of unmasking, of exposing presuppositions, of delegitimizing, is easier than that of offering a concrete historical account to replace what is exposed as inadequate." Id.

\textsuperscript{225} See Taunya Lovell Banks, Two Life Stories: Reflections of One Black Woman Law Professor, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 329.

\textsuperscript{226} See Charles R. Lawrence, III, The Word and the River: Pedagogy as Scholarship as Struggle, in KEY WRITINGS, supra note 2, at 336.


\textsuperscript{228} See id. at 318.
context-setting factors ground the subjective orientation of people of color directed toward racial reconstruction.

The reconfiguration of the CRT race-conscious vision of an oppositional cultural practice and pedagogy into a transformative strategy of community-based legal and political advocacy falls on the resolution of complicated, and often puzzling, issues of authenticity, difference, and responsibility. No indicia exist to test the authenticity of client or community opposition to the material edifices of racist ideology. Furthermore, the notion of authenticity presents no clear-cut role for the advocate and no strategy for dealing with difference either in legal rights litigation or in political organizing. At a minimum, CRT urges the race-conscious advocate to take responsibility for his acts of speech and silence and to create and to abide by an ethic of narrative authorship in matters of race.

To be of use to clients and communities of color, the ethic of narrative authorship must translate into a practice of advocacy. American legal history proffers advocacy traditions for both private and public realms of lawyering. Evidently, Critical Race theorists find none of these traditions persuasive, for they relegate lawyering to virtual silence. The posture of silence sacrifices opportunities to integrate theory and practice. Without integration, no legal-political praxis will take shape.

Consider briefly the numerous opportunities for inventing a Critical Race praxis currently available in American law and society. Look,
for instance, to the intersections of race, crime, and the criminal justice system shown in high-profile and low-order trials. Witness the relationship between race and the environment in locating polluting facilities. Further, note the impact of race on jury deliberation and nullification. Additionally, observe the unfolding controversy over the ethical regulation of race in federal and state court challenges and deliberation demonstrated through the use of peremptory challenges and nullification. Additionally, observe the unfolding controversy over the ethical regulation of race in federal and state courtrooms and bar associations. Race infects each of these contexts, generating ample opportunities for theoretical and practical experimentation in law and lawyering.


CONCLUSION

The writings of CRT build on earlier theoretical and practical struggles to open up alternatives to the paradigm of liberal legalism and its canon of color-blind adjudication. Although those alternative models are not yet fully formed, their outlines may be traced through the ongoing scholarly efforts to recast the meaning of race consciousness and power, racial identity and exclusion, and racialized voice and narrative. The recasting of difference and diversity into a pluralist, multicultural vision invites the friends of CRT to move beyond mere sentiment and altruism toward collaborative experience and commitment. Perhaps then we can dream beyond the colors of black and white.

241. Both of the instant CRT collections reflect transformative scholarly efforts. Equally deserving of praise, the two collections nevertheless differ in their structure and purpose. Structurally, The Cutting Edge anthology offers section-by-section summary overviews, issue-oriented commentary, and bibliographies. The sections comprise bundles of closely edited articles. In this way, The Cutting Edge makes an ideal text for an introductory jurisprudence course. It also provides a valuable supplement to a course in a wide variety of substantive and clinical fields.

In the same way, The Key Writings anthology furnishes section-by-section summary treatments and well-integrated clusters of articles. Unlike its allied anthology, however, The Key Writings forgoes substantial editing, allowing for greater elaboration and stylistic distinction. The resulting density makes The Key Writings perhaps more appropriate for an advanced course either in jurisprudence or elsewhere. Unfortunately, limiting the text to this curricular segment narrows the breadth of appreciation for the stunning introductory essay that begins The Key Writings, an essay that stands out even among the many compelling works of the CRT literature.