

## **ADVOCATING RIGHTS OR ADJUDICATING WRONGS: THE STATUS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

**JONATHAN L. BLACK-BRANCH**  
*University of Oxford, England*

### **ABSTRACT**

This article presents a methodical assessment of some issues relating to equal rights and affirmative action. It endeavors to set the debate within a broader framework, discussing the positions of various players. It ultimately provides valuable pointers that should be considered while approaching the topic in employment settings.

... one man's passion is another man's poison ...

There has never been a situation to which this old adage has been more applicable than to the question of affirmative action [1]. While certain groups expound the virtues of such programs to assist in achieving equal employment rights, others view them as venomous poisons that invariably disadvantage them in both hiring and promotion in the workplace. While some say affirmative action in effect advocates their rights, others say such programs promote wrongs. Indeed, few employment-related discussions stir as much passionate debate, and indeed bitter feelings, as that of affirmative action.

### **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Affirmative action is a child of the '60s when equality rights activists and civil libertarians stormed across America, parading through the streets, holding vigils on university campuses, and exercising civil disobedience in demand for change in American institutions. At the center of such demands was a more equitable workplace, in which individuals would not be barred from employment

opportunities because of their race or gender. Achieving this goal would mean opening up institutions of all types, and at all levels therein.

Schools, for example, would have to become less segregationist in nature, universities would have to change admissions policies, employers would have to hire people from "all" racial backgrounds, and government would have to promote "all people" within the organization. Such initiatives were to be achieved under what has infamously become known as "affirmative action."

## THE PROBLEM

Some thirty years later this politically loaded concept of the '60s has not relented in contention. Indeed it remains one of the most acrimonious topics in recent history. Today people question the success of such initiatives and the worth of their intentions. While some argue affirmative action programs are necessary to achieve equal employment rights, others feel it is time to move on and level the playing field by not allocating preferential treatment to certain groups of people.

Whether such action is working or not, whether it is good or bad, and whether it is right or wrong, is hard to measure. Statistics vary according to the nature of the work, the geographical area of the country, and the economic conditions of the day. In addition, it is difficult to gauge the feeling of the population; there is no uniform consensus regarding the actual position of affirmative action. Some groups want it, [2] others do not [3]. Moreover, there is division within specific groups as well: some minorities say it is necessary; others say it is degrading.

As a result, as we approach the millennium, there is a lot of talk about affirmative action and very little understanding of the current issues as they pertain to the individual in employment situations. Discussion is often clouded by many well-intended ideas, equally countered with as many passionate reactions thereto. There is no methodical assessment of the issues themselves. The purpose of this article is to do exactly that.

## PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The primary purpose of this article is to present a methodical assessment of some issues relating to equal rights and affirmative action. It endeavors to set the debate within a broader framework from which to approach the topic.

## RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The discussion in this study is based on a series of interviews of senior managers in public and private work settings. Their opinions, perceptions, and beliefs are presented as part of a broader discussion to create greater understanding of the situation today as it relates to affirmative action and equality

rights. This study was conducted in accordance with generally accepted methods of qualitative inquiry [4-9].

## **The Literature**

This project began with an extensive review of the current literature relating to equality rights, affirmative action, and the rights of minorities and women. Materials included a wide range of primary and secondary sources such as research reports, journal articles, federal and state statutes, and the examination of some employers' affirmative action policy statements. Although the literature studied was predominantly American, some European abstracts were viewed for comparative analysis.

## **Interviews**

A list of questions was generated from the related literature focusing on issues relating to affirmative action and equality rights in the workplace. Interviews were based on these questions in a semistructured interview fashion, whereby the interviewer was free to respond to the answers given and to explore issues raised during the interview. Interviews took place in person where possible and via telephone when a personal interview was not possible. Each interview lasted approximately one hour in length.

## **Participants**

Senior managers from public and private work settings were asked to participate in the study. They were asked to discuss their opinions, perceptions, beliefs, and experience to build an understanding of issues relating to affirmative action and equality rights in their respective workplaces. A wide variety of people was selected to gain the views of those representing a wide degree of positions, including male and female participants and those from various ethnic groups and racial backgrounds.

## **Data Analysis**

The interviews were reviewed and transcribed. Summaries were made for each interview. These data were analyzed according to the techniques set by academics such as Eisner [5], Hammersly [6], and Lincoln and Guba [7], specifically looking at common themes, differences, and other salient issues. The data from each of the interviews were treated separately and then together as one large pool of data. In addition, cross-references were made to determine whether there are similarities or marked differences of opinions between public and private sector institutions.

## **Drawing Conclusions**

Conclusions were drawn from an analysis of the overall interview data [4, 9]. The data were analyzed according to Miles and Huberman's twelve tactics for "generating meaning" and making sense of research data [8]. Subsequently, the research incorporated Miles and Huberman's tactics for testing and confirming the findings of the study. Conclusions were verified in accordance with Miles and Huberman's tactics for drawing and verifying conclusions [8].

## **EQUALITY RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION CLARIFIED**

Affirmative action debates are largely couched in equality rights arguments. Those accepting this position contend the ultimate goal of affirmative action programs is to promote a more equitable workplace and hence a more equal society in which wealth and power are more equally distributed. Such programs thus allow people from certain groups and classes to enter a work situation they would not otherwise have been able to do. It enables them to attend certain schools, to register in certain university degree programs, and to enter certain work positions from which they would otherwise have been excluded. In other words, it allows target groups access to opportunities. But, as we approach the millennium, over thirty years on, the debate has shifted; some no longer concede affirmative action is an equal rights issue.

## **THE PITH AND SUBSTANCE OF THE DEBATE**

The pith and substance of the debate today is that there is a split in argument over affirmative action. It is not simply a matter of those who agree therewith and those who do not, albeit that is what it would appear to boil down to. The argument is a bit more sophisticated than that. The split is between those who see affirmative action as an equal rights issue whereby affirmative action is a means of redressing imbalances, and those who believe is not an equal rights issue but an elitist stronghold for minorities. These arguments are elaborated upon somewhat in the following passages. The author realizes such an important debate is far more complex than presented below but feels this quick synopsis will serve as a basis from which to discuss such issues.

### **Affirmative Action as Unequal Rights?**

Many people interviewed do not see, or if they did, no longer see, affirmative action as an equal rights argument. They feel it has moved into a new sphere. It is construed as a protective haven of sorts for those who cannot, or choose not to compete in an otherwise equal society. They feel such programs are unfair and have lingered on the books too long. Their argument is that affirmative action was

originally intended to assist people from certain groups to move into better educational and work situations for a short period of time. Once in those positions, affirmative action participants would have access to power, position, and wealth, and they would become competitive, eventually vying for positions on equal grounds. They, and their children, would then be on a level playing field whereby the “best person for the job” would be hired without “stacking the deck in anyone’s favor.”

The haven created under affirmative action ironically serves as an elitist stronghold, a protective enclave as it were, for those wanting admission to jobs under this classification. Many now argue that time has moved on and they too want to move on by drawing a line under the affirmative action era. This argument has gained increasing support in recent times of fiscal constraint when secure jobs are harder and harder to find and to keep.

### **Affirmative Action as Equal Rights?**

In response to the above argument, those in favor of affirmative action programs argue that many institutions were slow off the mark in implementing affirmative action programs. As a result, it has taken much longer than originally anticipated to get a fair system up and running whereby certain groups of individuals would not have to rely on such programs to be competitive on a level playing field in the broader mainstream society. Moreover, many contend barriers to work still exist, making it impossible for them to compete on an equal basis simply because they are systemically discriminated against. They thus need these programs to gain access to certain institutions, professions, and jobs.

## **DEFINING EQUALITY RIGHTS**

The differences of these opposing views seem to depend on one’s personal perception of the concept of equality. Let us begin by examining the concept of equality in its theoretical form. Equality effectively refers to nondiscrimination. That is, all people are equal. No person is superior to any other and hence should not be given preference or privilege over others. To do so would be discriminatory. Equality in its purest form would mean that “all individuals” are equal and are not to be discriminated against, regardless of any traits, characteristics, or preconditions.

In relation to this meaning, when most Americans today think of equal rights and nondiscrimination, they usually think in terms of race, origin, color, creed, religion, and sex/gender. It is fair to say the concept of equality in America today means that every person “should” be deemed equal without discrimination based on the above-listed traits and/or characteristics. That is not to say everyone abides by this, merely that when they think of rights and equality they generally think of these categories. Questions do remain, however, when it comes to whether

Americans think in terms of other categories of rights, based on other traits and characteristics such as age, mental or physical disability, medical conditions, social class, or sexual orientation. While it is not within the realm of this article to expound the merits of whether Americans should adopt all of the above-mentioned characteristics, it has to be stated that equality in its purest form would mean “all individuals” are equal and should not be discriminated against, based on any of the above-mentioned traits, characteristics, or conditions. That is, according to the pure and unadulterated meaning of the term, nobody should be discriminated against because of these features. That would be pure equality without discrimination.

## **DISCRIMINATION**

Discrimination is defined as: “. . . an unjust or prejudicial distinction” [10, p. 689]. I further contend there are two basic types of “unjust or prejudicial distinction,” namely, overt discrimination and covert discrimination.

### **Overt Discrimination**

Overt discrimination is when decision makers openly exercise, or fail to exercise, their powers in a manner that disadvantages individuals or certain classes or groups. Such moves are usually obvious. So, for example, an interview-admissions panel may accept a higher number of students from a certain gender or ethnic group over others. This is “overt” discrimination. Decisions are made to promote a specific social or political agenda. Rules, regulations, and policies are usually adopted to promote a desired agenda. The political overtones of such agendas are usually quite clear (for example, to promote an “old boy’s club,” or to prevent certain religious groups from entering certain organizations).

### **Covert Discrimination**

Alternatively, covert discrimination is usually subconscious and more subtle. People may not necessarily wish to discriminate against others, but they have built-in behaviors and attitudes that effectively cause them to do so in their everyday affairs. So an interview-admission panel may not accept candidates with a heavy ethnic accent to teach in an elementary education program, for fear the students will not learn how to read properly. They may refuse the applicant on the grounds the candidate was “not sufficiently qualified.” But they do not openly admit they were discriminating on the grounds they believe the candidate to have an inappropriate accent. Indeed, it may be subconscious on their part and not maliciously intended. But, the reality is that it amounts to discrimination based on ethnic origin.

Decision makers, and those in positions of responsibility, exercise covertly discriminatory powers without reflecting on the effects of their practices. They

simply do their job without consciously discriminating against given individuals. But the effect of their actions do so in a systemic fashion. They neither take the initiative to reflect upon their actions nor do they initiate change.

## **LEGAL PROTECTION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION**

Once again, equality is the act of treating all individuals the same. No one is to be given preference or privilege over anyone else. Moreover, equality is the absence of the discriminatory practices described above, be they overt or covert in nature. Indeed, "equal protection of the law" is provided under the Fourteenth Amendment and is well-entrenched in American jurisprudence. But like most things, it is not as simple as it sounds.

## **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AS A FORM OF DISCRIMINATION**

In its purest form of equality, no individual or group is to be given preference or privilege over others. There is no question that affirmative action does exactly that. No matter what employers call it, or how they frame it—affirmative action, positive action, policies of redress, remedial action—theoretically speaking, affirmative action is a form of discrimination. It allows for preferences to be allocated to certain individuals over others. It allows for "an unjust or prejudicial distinction" to be made on the basis of race (and sometimes gender). But, affirmative action is not based on legal equality; it is based on political equality.

## **PURE EQUALITY VERSUS POLITICAL EQUALITY**

As stated above, arguments of equality are not usually examined purely in their theoretical forms. Some would argue everything is political and issues must therefore be examined from a political perspective before final conclusions are drawn. It could be argued affirmative action policies are subsets of equality. They seek to redress inherent discrimination and to dismantle barriers that served to systematically discriminate against certain groups. As a result, affirmative action will eventually achieve a system whereby individuals can compete on equal grounds.

Those opposing affirmative action, however, would state these programs have been intact far too long and it is now time to move on to a purer form of equality. So at this point we conclude that the manner by which we are to define equality depends on how we define equality itself: in its purest form or in its political form. Affirmative action is no doubt political equality and not pure equality. These concepts may be better explored under what may be referred to as horizontal versus vertical equity.

## HORIZONTAL EQUITY AND NONPREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Essentially, pure equality is what I refer to as “horizontal equity,” or the equal treatment of supposed equals (see Figure 1). That is the notion of a level playing field where all people are equal and the “best person” gets the job, based on qualifications and experience. There is no discrimination against any class or group of people whatsoever. There is no form of preferential treatment allocated to any person over another. In other words, under horizontal equity all people are to be treated equally, regardless of, *inter alia*, gender, ability, ethnic or religious background, or sexual orientation. It promotes the equal treatment of supposed equals. It presumes all people are equal and all compete on an equal basis. Qualifications and ability are the key attributes that determine employment positions, not gender, or race, or other factors.

### The Aim of Affirmative Action

Effectively, the aim of affirmative action programs is to “ameliorate” the conditions of those who have supposedly been disadvantaged by mainstream institutions, on the grounds of race, ethnic background, etc. They allow institutions, i.e., schools, universities, and employers to implement action programs which, in essence, give the advantage to minorities, while legally discriminating against other groups and individuals; the group most hit by this to date has been Caucasian males. Thus, the intent of affirmative action, often referred to as positive (or reverse) discrimination, goes beyond providing horizontal equity, a level playing field with equal treatment of presumed equals. It takes the playing field to a different height.

## VERTICAL EQUITY AND PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Affirmative action allows for what I call vertical equity, the differential or preferential treatment of people who are in different circumstances (see Figure 2). They are not placed on a level playing field. Effectively, they are placed in a different division and do not compete with or play against the mainstream players, in terms of direct competition. They compete on their own terms, being placed in a different position, above the starting point of nonaffirmative action

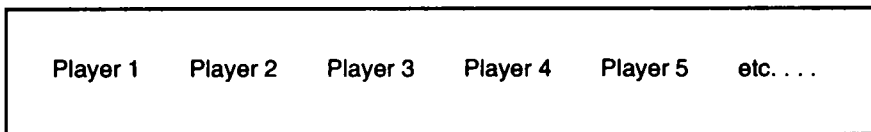


Figure 1. Horizontal equity: a level playing field.



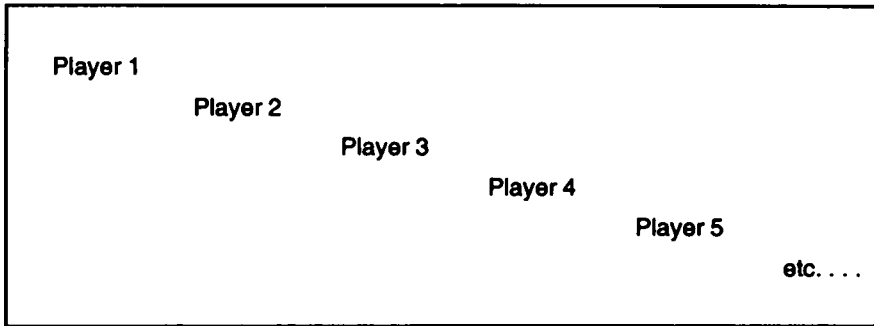


Figure 2. Vertical equity: different divisions.

players. They play according to special rules devised to provide preferential treatment. They take up places that would have otherwise been in open play.

### **Affirmative Action and Employment Equity**

Since the 1960s, federal and state governments have actively encouraged affirmative action programs in accordance with principles of employment equity. Indeed, much affirmative action has gone beyond race and ethnic background (minorities) and applies also to other categories, such as women and the disabled. In fact, these three form target groups for achieving employment equity: 1) minorities, 2) women and 3) the disabled.

Many employers have enacted affirmative action policies of some sort or another. Particularly, many encourage "gender" and "racial" equity through affirmative action to increase the numbers of women and visible minorities in various positions in their systems, including positions of added responsibility. For example, many employers currently advertise in their employment listings they are "equal opportunity employers" and are "committed to employment equity." Some advertisements actually "encourage qualified female candidates to apply," or those of "minority backgrounds." Of the three target groups identified (minorities, women, and the disabled), many people readily agree the initiatives have been most successful for women, albeit the extent of this success is debated.

But, issues of equality and affirmative action are not so clear cut. Many of these programs have created bitterness and resentment in the workplace. Some experts fear a backlash, which has already started in two American states.

### **Backlash Against Affirmative Action**

Recent calls have been for the withdrawal of affirmative action policies. Indeed, the states of Texas and California have already moved to strike such provisions from the books. While it is beyond the intent of this discussion to

weigh the merits of these decisions, the issues are raised here because they relate to an important area of employment law and policy. Needless to say, affirmative action has created a marked discomfort among many people. Disenchantment relates to both job hiring and promotion in the workplace. Disenchantment comes from males and females alike and indeed from people of all racial groups.

### **White-American-Male (WHAM) Syndrome**

Most everyone is familiar with the white-American-male syndrome, where some Caucasian males have experienced difficulty in finding employment opportunities as America gives way to affirmative action. This phenomenon has become increasingly widespread and is thought to be one of the main factors fuelling the backlash against affirmative action programs. But, along with this factor, there is a variation on this theme that serves as another direct source of motivation to this issue. It goes beyond hiring and regards promotion.

### **The Male-Box Phenomenon**

Aside from the disenchantment from those being refused jobs in the first instance, there is also disenchantment among males who actually have jobs and seek promotion. Today, males typically feel disenfranchised by female applicants and minorities alike. They fear the notion of the proverbial "glass ceiling" has been transformed into what I call the "male-box phenomenon." Males feel boxed into their current positions from which they are unlikely to move in terms of promotional opportunities. They have reached a stage in their careers whereby their capacity for promotion is limited by the fact that it is no longer politically correct to promote white males within organizations over minority candidates or females.

### **The White-Cloud Syndrome**

But, females report that it is not as easy for them as one may first think. They themselves face difficulties. Caucasian females, in particular, feel increasingly disenfranchised by females from visible minority backgrounds. Just when they thought they had broken through the "glass ceiling" toward unlimited opportunity in the workplace, they too have hit what I call the "white-cloud syndrome," whereby their future is somewhat foggy and uncertain in terms of promotional opportunities.

### **The Double-Whammy Action Pact**

It is more politically expedient to promote women of minority backgrounds. By hiring minority females instead of Caucasians, employers interested in demonstrating they are equal opportunity employers can hit two check-off points on the target group checklist namely: female and minority. Hence, in terms of numbers

and statistical data, they have higher numbers in two categories of the target groups and thus appear to be more dedicated to affirmative action initiatives. This phenomenon is what I call the double-whammy action pact, whereby employers agree to hire minority females over males and Caucasian females so they will have a double hit on the affirmative action list. But, the issue of affirmative action is not black and white; indeed, it is a rather grey issue.

### **Affirmative Action Issue Not Black and White**

The notion of hiring and promoting visible minorities is not so clearcut. There is some friction between minority communities as various minority groups vie for positions.

### **Race**

For example, those of Asian background are competing against Blacks, Latinos, Native American Indians, and so forth. It would also be naive to think any of these communities is united entirely. In fact, splintered factions contribute to infighting within individual minority groups. In regard to the Black community, for example, there are those of Caribbean extraction and those from African countries, not to mention those who have been in North America for many generations (African-Americans, proper) and do not consider themselves either Caribbean or African.

Similarly, Asians are also divided in terms of those who are Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, and Indian, to name but a few divisions. And, even within such distinctive groups there are those who differ on political issues. For example, Shiks regard themselves as separate from other groups of Indians and Pakistanis.

### **Religion**

In addition, the question of religion presents another division. There are various religious groups and even divisions within broad religious groups. Dutch Reformed Christians may have different views from Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox Catholics, or Protestants, but they are all broadly speaking Christian. Similarly, Jews of different backgrounds, be they Reformed, Conservative, or Orthodox, for example, have competing views. Those believing in Islam also have different views. That is to say, although many Shiite Muslims take similar stands on a number of issues, different sects such as the Druz, the Twelves, the Zaydis, and the Ismailis do not agree on all issues. Similarly, the Sunni Muslim sects, including the Malikis, the Shafais, and the Hanafi, advance different points of view.

## Language

Aside from religious minorities, there are also linguist minorities, such as those who speak Spanish as their primary language. And, it must be noted that even within language groups, there are divisions. For example, the Spanish-speaking residents of Florida of Cuban background typically regard themselves as different from those of Mexican heritage in California and those of Puerto Rican lineage in New York and elsewhere.

## Affirmative Action: Interconflict and Intraconflict

It would seem that problems created by affirmative action are much broader than simply the notion of hiring minority people over those of the Euro-Celtic-Anglo-WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant) majority group, or hiring females over males. In America at this time, there is interconflict, that is, conflict between genders and races in regard to affirmative action, and there is also intraconflict, that is, conflict among genders and races, regarding affirmative action programs.

That is to say, there is conflict between, and indeed among females and males alike. And, there is conflict between, and among those of racial and religious minority groups as well. It is no longer simply a matter of some males feeling disenfranchised by females and some racial groups feeling disenfranchised by others. There is a patchwork quilt of conflict that is difficult to disentangle. Such conflict is both interrelated and intrarelated, based on gender, race, religion, and language (see Figures 3 and 4).

## Elitist Minorities

In teasing out the arguments relating to inter- and intraconflict, an important view surfaces: that certain minorities are gaining power and position over and above others. These are what I call "elitist minorities." That is, affirmative action has done very little to promote broad equity in the workplace but instead has

	Gender	Race	Religion	Language
Gender		X	X	X
Race	X		X	X
Religion	X	X		X
Language	X	X	X	

Figure 3. Interconflict.

	Gender	Race	Religion	Language
Gender	X			
Race		X		
Religion			X	
Language				X

Figure 4. Intraconflict.

created elitist minorities in some minority communities. Certain groups and individuals are promotable while others are not. Some groups have won; others have lost. Affirmative action programs have become a vehicle guaranteeing that children from certain minority groups will attain places in professional degree programs at universities (e.g., law and medicine) and go into lucrative employment positions. There is thus a paradox, in that the very people whom affirmative action is meant to assist (those who are disadvantaged) are being disadvantaged by other individuals in their own racial community. So certain minorities are elbowing out people from their own racial, religious, or linguistic groups to gain affirmative action status.

### CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this article was to discuss issues relating to equality rights and affirmative action. Drawing on the perceptions and experience of those in public and private work settings, it endeavored to set the debate within a broader framework from which to discuss and analyze the topic of affirmative action.

Taken in its purest form equality would mean that all people are equal regardless of their background, characteristics, or personal dispositions. Moreover, they should not face discrimination based on these same traits. But, realistically speaking, grounds of equality tend to be political in nature and cannot effectively be taken in their pure form. They must be viewed in their broader sociopolitical context. From this perspective, affirmative action is a necessary program to redress past imbalances and injustices to eliminate systemic barriers to educational and work opportunities.

While to date such initiatives have been viewed as pitting one interest group against another, that is, one gender against the other or one racial group against another, the results of this study indicate that the situation is much more complex. Upon closer examination we see it is an infinitely more complex issue than simply one side against the other. While there is no doubt that conflict between

different groups exists, there is also conflict within the groups themselves. While these findings do not solve the problems associated with affirmative action, *per se*, they do serve to expand the focus of the debate by indicating the breadth of the issue is much wider, and indeed deeper, than previously discussed. Such problems must be borne in mind when considering the status of affirmative action and whether such programs serve to advocate rights or to adjudicate wrongs.

### PRACTICAL POINTERS

A few practical pointers may be drawn from this study.

1. Issues of affirmative action and equality rights are not black and white. It is not simply the majority population against the minority population.
2. The majority group itself may be divided into other groups; for example, it may be further divided by gender or religion. Therefore, differences of opinion may exist within the majority group itself regarding issues of equality although it may at first glance appear to be a cohesive majority group. It is not.
3. The same may be said for the minority group as well. Its members are not a homogeneous group who agree in a cohesive manner. They too may be divided by gender, religion, and along racial and ethnic lines as well. There are no generalizable views on equality and affirmative action.
4. In addition, it is not simply a matter of one group against the other based on majority/minority lines or male/female lines or religious or linguistic lines. Different individuals have varying political views and philosophic convictions, and thus differ based on their personal dispositions. So a male WASP may actually share a similar political philosophy with a racial minority female with minority religious views. In other words, it is better not to jump to quick conclusions whereby old stereotypes are perpetuated.
5. Issues relating to equality rights and affirmative action remain contentious. They are not going to dissipate soon and therefore must be dealt with in a professional manner and not in a heated reactionary fashion. Ignoring these issues, or sweeping these concerns under the carpet, so to speak, is not going to solve the problem. Constructive dialogue may.

\* \* \*

Dr. Jonathan Black-Branch is a Research Fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford University and lectures in law at Oxford Brookes University. He is a practicing Barrister in England and an Associate of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators. Dr. Black-Branch has worked in the area of discrimination law for some time, conducting a number of research projects in the area of discrimination, equal rights, and social justice.

## ENDNOTES

1. **Author's Caveat:** I wish to state from the outset that it is not my intention to take one side or the other in this debate. The purpose of this article is simply to study the issue and to present current issues and arguments relating to affirmative action. I do not wish to trivialize or simplify the complexities of any side of the argument. If the reader feels I have done so, I apologize in advance and maintain it is neither deliberate nor intentional. The primary intent of this article is to promote dialogue in the area, not to take sides; to enhance understanding, not to hinder progress.
2. For example, it seems that many African-Americans, African-Caribbean and Latino groups tend to favor affirmative action programs in schools, universities, and in the workplace. Please note the use of the word "many" as a small caveat on this statement because it is impossible to generalize; there are invariably those who would not favor such programs.
3. Asian-Americans tend not to favor affirmative action programs, although once again, it is impossible to generalize, and there are invariably those who would favor such programs.
4. R. C. Bogdan and S. K. Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1982.
5. E. Eisner, *Qualitative Inquiry in Education: The Continuing Debate*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1990.
6. M. Hammersly, *Classroom Ethnography*, Suffolk UK: St. Edmundsbury Press, 1990.
7. Y. S. Lincoln and E. G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1985.
8. M. B. Miles and A. M. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*, Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1984.
9. S. J. Taylor and R. C. Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meaning*, New York: Wiley, 1984.
10. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Direct reprint requests to:

Dr. Jonathan Black-Branch  
 University of Oxford  
 Wolfson College  
 Oxford, England OX2 6UO