THE CASE FOR SYMMETRY IN ANTIDISCRIMINATION LAW

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Antidiscrimination law faces a fundamental design question: the choice between symmetry and asymmetry. A symmetrical law prohibits discrimination on the basis of a trait for a universal class of persons, and for both “sides” of the trait. An asymmetrical law prohibits discrimination on the basis of one “side” of the trait, and for a limited class of persons. Current law is inconsistent in its design. For example, employment discrimination law prohibits race discrimination symmetrically (everyone is protected, and on the basis of any race), but prohibits disability discrimination asymmetrically (only the disabled are protected, and only on the basis of disability). This critical design choice has received scant attention outside of the affirmative action context, leaving this key inconsistency in current law unexplained, and the implications unexplored.

Relying on employment discrimination law and the traits of race, sex, disability, and age as core examples, this Article provides the first systematic study of this design choice. It makes the case for symmetry on three grounds: purpose, practice, and politics. As for the purpose of antidiscrimination law, this Article reaches the counterintuitive conclusion that a symmetrical design that protects everyone is effective not only at reducing classifications on the basis of protected traits, but also at improving the labor market circumstances of subordinated groups. When it comes to practice, a symmetrical law avoids challenges arising from protected-class determinations that limit plaintiffs’ ability to pursue their claims. Finally, symmetrical antidiscrimination laws are more likely to produce positive policy feedback, generating greater support for these laws. After discussing how to optimize symmetry, this Article explores further applications, including additional traits—such as appearance and sexual orientation—and additional areas of law—such as housing, education, and constitutional law.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2015, Senator Tom Harkin, a key proponent of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), shared the experience of his deaf brother becoming employed at a factory. After having the chance to show his worth as a worker, Harkin’s brother performed quite well. In fact, as Harkin explained, the employer was so impressed with the special ability that his brother’s condition conferred—avoiding the noise and distraction of the factory—that he might prefer deaf workers to hearing

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3. Id.
workers in the future. Although the ADA bars employers from discriminating against the disabled, an employer who favors the disabled to the non-disabled faces no legal barrier in doing so.

In contrast, consider a similar case in the context of sex. An employer prefers women rather than men to fill the job of flight attendant because it believes that women are “superior in such non-mechanical aspects of the job as providing reassurance to anxious passengers, giving courteous personalized service and, in general, making flights as pleasurable as possible . . . .” Here, however, such preferences are unlawful, as the prohibition on sex discrimination bans not only discrimination against women in favor of men, but also discrimination against men in favor of women.

These examples highlight a critical design choice for every antidiscrimination law, what this Article terms the choice between symmetry and asymmetry. Under a symmetrical law like Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination on the basis of sex, antidiscrimination protection applies to everyone on the basis of the protected trait. Under an asymmetrical law like the ADA, antidiscrimination protection applies only to a limited class—those identified as disadvantaged—and only on the basis of the disadvantaged “side” of the classification. Antidiscrimination law is divided on this crucial question, with, for example, employment discrimination law

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4. See id.; Linda Federico-O’Murchu, How Employers Are Tapping Talents of Disabled Workers, CNBC (July 24, 2014, 8:24 AM), http://www.cnbc.com/id/101867230 [https://perma.cc/EJR9-UX6G] (documenting how employers prefer autistic employees for some positions because “[t]raits like extreme mathematical, scientific and mechanical aptitude are so coveted by certain industries that accompanying conditions, such as social anxiety, have become an accepted part of the equation”).

5. See 42 U.S.C. § 12201(g) (“Nothing in [the ADA] shall provide the basis for a claim by an individual without a disability that the individual was subject to discrimination because of the individual’s lack of disability.”); Reassignment; Reverse Discrimination; Paralysis, 16 MENTAL & PHYSICAL DISABILITY L. REP. 612, 612 (1992) (highlighting Ortner v. Paralyzed Veterans of Am., No. 91 CA 3146 (D.C. Super. Ct. Sept. 10, 1992), a case dismissing a discrimination suit brought by an able-bodied employee denied promotion by Paralyzed Veterans of America because he was not disabled).


9. Id. at 255–56.

10. 42 U.S.C. § 12201(g).
treatment race and sex symmetrically, and disability and age asymmetrically.11

No law or scholarship explains, let alone justifies, the current divide in the design of antidiscrimination law or its consequences.12 One might attempt to explain the divide based on varying levels of constitutional scrutiny. The traits that are protected symmetrically are subject to heightened scrutiny,13 and some degree of symmetry might be demanded there.14 But this does not explain current law,15—nor, more


14. Because heightened scrutiny applies equally to malign and benign classifications, see Croson, 488 U.S. at 494–95, a law that treated advantaged and disadvantaged groups differently, even to help the latter, might not pass constitutional muster, especially for race classifications, which are subject to stricter scrutiny than sex classifications. Compare Richard A. Primus, Equal Protection and Disparate Impact: Round Three, 117 HARV. L. REV. 493, 585–86 (2003) (suggesting that such a law could survive even under strict scrutiny after Grutter v. Bollinger, 539 U.S. 306 (2003), upheld a facially classificatory regime), with Sullivan, supra note 12, at 1550–55 (suggesting that such a law might fail). See infra note 37 and accompanying text for further discussion. Because this Article proposes more rather than less symmetry, it poses fewer constitutional concerns than current law.

15. The Supreme Court and other courts read these traits to be protected symmetrically before the Court held that heightened scrutiny applied to all classifications on the basis of these traits, and relied not at all on constitutional arguments in doing so. Compare, e.g., McDonald, 427 U.S. at 286–87 (holding that race discrimination protection is symmetrical on the basis of statutory text, legislative history, and administrative practice), with Croson, 488 U.S. at 494 (applying heightened scrutiny to all race classifications). And the Constitution does nothing to explain traits that are treated asymmetrically, as they are subject only to rational basis review, permitting either symmetrical or asymmetrical treatment. See Cleburne, 473
importantly, does it justify it—as constitutional treatment is not dispositive of the normative question of what the design of antidiscrimination law, including constitutional law, should be.

While longstanding debates about affirmative action touch on the symmetry-asymmetry divide, they set up the choice as one between the dueling purposes of antidiscrimination law. On the one side are the anticlassificationists, who oppose all uses of protected classifications and favor a symmetrical ban on any use of a protected trait, whether the use of the protected trait harms a member of a disadvantaged or advantaged group. On the other side are the antisubordinationists, who oppose only those uses of a protected trait that harm the disadvantaged group, and thus favor an asymmetrical ban that would allow only members of the disadvantaged group to utilize the law. The narrow focus of this debate has wrongly rendered symmetry synonymous with the anticlassification view and misses the full range of consequences of the choice between symmetry and asymmetry.

This Article untethers the choice between symmetry and asymmetry from the stunted affirmative action debate. It makes the case for symmetry on novel grounds, including antisubordination goals. Before going further, a word about methodology is in order. To make the analysis tractable, this Article focuses on one area of antidiscrimination law—federal employment discrimination law—which is by far the most common federal antidiscrimination claim. The volume of cases in this area provides substantial data for studying the impact of legal design. Within employment discrimination law, I focus on four protected traits—race/national origin, sex, age, and

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17. See, e.g., Owen M. Fiss, Groups and the Equal Protection Clause, 5 PHIL. & PUB. AFF. 107, 109 (1976) (arguing that antidiscrimination requires a sensitivity to whether a classification disadvantages a subordinated group and arguing for more asymmetry on this basis).

18. See Theodore Eisenberg, Four Decades of Federal Civil Rights Litigation, 12 J. EMPIRICAL L. STUDS. 4, 5 & n.13 (2015) (documenting that litigation under “the employment [discrimination] statutes has constituted the largest fraction of the nonprisoner federal civil docket”). I address other areas of law, and whether the conclusions drawn from employment are generalizable, in infra Part III.C.2.

19. I treat these traits together as it can be difficult to disentangle whether discrimination is on the basis of race, national origin, or both. See Sinai v. New Eng. Tel. & Tel. Co., 3 F.3d 471, 475 (1st Cir. 1993) ("[R]ace and national origin discrimination may present identical factual issues . . . . [and thus] may overlap"); Bullard v. OMI Ga., Inc., 640 F.2d 632, 634 (5th Cir. 1981) ("In some contexts,
disability—which constitute the vast majority of claims,\(^{20}\) and divide evenly between symmetrical (race/national origin and sex) and asymmetrical (age and disability) treatment.\(^{21}\)

This Article’s case for symmetry is made on three grounds: purpose, practice, and politics. As for purpose, the Article shows how, in contrast to the debates surrounding affirmative action, symmetry can serve antisubordination ends. First, by providing universal protection, a symmetrical law can avoid one well-recognized problem of asymmetrical laws: that they make members of the protected group—the disadvantaged group—more expensive to employ, thereby counterproductively harming their employment prospects.\(^{22}\) Second, a symmetrical law more effectively combats subordinating stereotypes by allowing them to be challenged when they are exercised in mirror-image form against privileged groups.\(^{23}\) Finally, even members of advantaged groups can face pockets of systematic disadvantage, for example, younger workers denied promotions,\(^{24}\) or men excluded from caring professions.\(^{25}\) Only a symmetrical law allows disadvantage to be challenged in all of its manifestations.\(^{26}\) As for practice, a symmetrical law avoids the need for the plaintiff to establish membership in the protected class at the outset of each case, a hurdle that has unduly restricted understandings of discrimination and plaintiffs’ ability to

\(\textit{See supra note 11.}\)

\(\textit{See} \textit{Christine Jolls, Accommodation Mandates, 53 Stan. L. Rev. 223, 227 (2000); infra Part II.A.2.a.}\)

\(\textit{See Knussman v. Maryland, 272 F.3d 625, 629–30 (4th Cir. 2001) (addressing a claim of a male plaintiff alleging discrimination based on his supervisor denying child-care leave because “there is no way [he] could be [the] primary care [giver]” unless his wife was “in a coma or dead,” thereby challenging stereotype of both male breadwinner and female caregiver); infra Part II.A.2.b.}\)

\(\textit{See, e.g., Bergen Commercial Bank v. Sisler, 723 A.2d 944, 947 (N.J. 1999) (twenty-five-year-old man demoted from vice president position after his employer learned of his age).}\)


\(\textit{See infra Part II.A.2.c.}\)
prove their claims. Moreover, the protected-class hurdle, which requires a judicial determination of a plaintiff’s identity, is increasingly out of place in an era where the likes of Caitlyn Jenner and Rachel Dolezal complicate static notions of protected class membership and necessitate a more fluid understanding of identity. As for politics, a symmetrical law that provides universal benefits is more likely to generate positive policy feedback that increases support for the law.

After setting forth the case for symmetry, this Article considers a move towards more symmetry in antidiscrimination law. Weighing the benefits of symmetry with its potential costs, I conclude that, while the benefits vary by trait, a symmetrical approach is recommended for each trait. None of the concerns critics might raise—undermining the expressive function of the law, increasing costs imposed by the law, or interfering with affirmative action or disparate impact—should trouble us. In light of the significant benefits of symmetry, this Article proposes not only that currently asymmetrical law—the protections against disability and age discrimination—should be made symmetrical, but that even currently symmetrical law—the protections against race, national origin, and sex discrimination—should be made more symmetrical, and proposes how to do so. Finally, the Article expands its focus, offering thoughts on how the analysis would apply to additional traits that are the subject of pending legislation—appearance and sexual orientation—and additional areas of law—education, housing, and constitutional law.

This Article proceeds in three parts. In Part I, this Article defines its key terms—symmetry and asymmetry—and explains how they map on to current law. Part II catalogues the benefits of symmetry for the purpose, practice, and politics of antidiscrimination law. After evaluating the benefits and costs of symmetry, Part III addresses the optimal level of symmetry, and says a few words about how the analysis of Part II would apply to additional protected traits and areas of law.

I. SYMMETRY AND ASYMMETRY

This Part introduces the symmetry-asymmetry design choice by defining the constituent features of symmetry and asymmetry. It sets forth a typology of protected traits—binary, discrete, and continuous—and explains how symmetry and asymmetry applies to each. This Part then explains how these definitions map on to current law, which,
among the four primary bases for claims—race/national origin, sex, age, and disability—splits evenly between symmetrical and asymmetrical protections.

A. Definitions and Typology

An antidiscrimination law may adopt either a symmetrical or asymmetrical design. Two features distinguish a symmetrical from an asymmetrical law: the direction of discrimination prohibited, and the scope of the protected class. I illustrate these concepts using the example of sex discrimination. As for direction, the law could ban discrimination on the basis of any sex, or on the basis of either female or male sex. As for protected class, the law could protect everyone from discrimination on the basis of sex (a universal protected class), or it could limit protection to just women or just men (a limited protected class). This Article uses the term *symmetrical* to describe an antidiscrimination law that does not limit the scope of persons who are protected on the basis of a given trait, nor does it limit the direction of discrimination prohibited. This Article uses the term *asymmetrical* to describe an antidiscrimination law that limits the scope of persons who are protected on the basis of the trait, as well as the direction of discrimination prohibited.

This Article applies this same terminology not only to binary classifications, like sex, but to classifications with multiple discrete permutations, and to classifications that fall along a continuous spectrum (see Table 1). Binary protected traits are those in which the trait can be divided into two groups. Traditionally at least, the sex classification divides persons into male and female. Discrete protected traits are those in which the trait can be divided into two groups, with a small number who fall between these two categories, either phenotypically, as a result of ambiguous genitalia, or genetically, as a result of multiple or missing sex chromosomes. See Mary Anne C. Case, *Disaggregating Gender from Sex and Sexual Orientation: The Effeminate Man in the Law and Feminist Jurisprudence*, 105 *Yale L.J.* 1, 16 n.36 (1995).

At the sociological level, one conception of gender identity would view it as existing along a continuous spectrum from masculine to feminine, regardless of biological sex. See id. at 18–28. Another conception of gender identity would view it as discrete, with groupings of cis men, cis women, agender, bigender, gender-fluid, transgender, and so on. See Debby Herbenick & Aleta Baldwin, *What Each of Facebook’s 51 New Gender Options Means*, DAILY BEAST (Feb. 15, 2014, 4:45 AM), http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/02/15/the-complete-glossary-of-facebook-s-51-gender-options.html [https://perma.cc/UT59-PUQ4]. Finally, the prevalence and increasing acceptance of transgenderism also complicates the male-female sex binary, with persons increasingly blurring the line. I return to this point in discussing the practical consequences of the choice between symmetry and asymmetry, and
traits are those that contain multiple discrete groups within the classification. Although each discrete group might exist along a spectrum, there are dividing lines that can be drawn between the multiple groupings that exist within the classification. Examples of discrete protected traits include race, national origin, and disability. Race includes groupings of Asian, black, Native American, and white. While there is a spectrum within each grouping of those who might identify as more or less black, or more or less Asian (e.g., someone who is multiracial), we can at least draw rough lines around the various races. So too with national origin and disability. Continuous protected traits are those in which the trait exists along a spectrum with no clear breaking points dividing the different permutations of the trait. Age is a continuous protected trait.

Table 1

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Binary: Sex</th>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Discrete: Race, National Origin, Disability</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Disability</td>
<td>Crohn’s Disease</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuous: Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Old</td>
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A law that banned discrimination against all persons on the basis of any race, whether Asian, black, Native American, or white, would be symmetrical. A law that banned discrimination against only a subset of persons and only on the basis of black, Asian, and/or Native American race would be asymmetrical. A law that banned discrimination against all persons on the basis of any age, whether young or old, would be symmetrical. A law that banned discrimination only against a subset of persons on the basis of old age would be asymmetrical.

While symmetrical antidiscrimination laws take the protected trait as the relevant unit of analysis for determining unlawful discrimination, asymmetrical laws focus on a subset of the protected trait. This subset specifically the difficulty of assessing whether a plaintiff is a member of the protected class, in infra Part II.B.
with which an asymmetrical law is concerned is measured by societal disadvantage.\footnote{While in theory, an asymmetrical law could divide groups in any number of ways, in practice, they are divided in this way. This is best understood in terms of an antisubordination reading of such laws, which is discussed in infra notes 57–58, 66–68 and accompanying text.} When antidiscrimination laws are designed asymmetrically, they ban discrimination on the basis of the societally disadvantaged trait, and limit this protection to the subset of persons who are most likely to experience this societal disadvantage. Racial and ethnic minorities, women, the elderly, and the disabled are the groups that have been viewed to have been burdened in the distribution of societal costs and benefits and thus worthy of protection under an asymmetrical law.

The direction of protection and the scope of the protected class are linked both in theory and in practice. Symmetrical laws adopt a universal protected class to effectuate their universal ban on discrimination on the basis of the protected trait. If a law symmetrically bans discrimination on the basis of black race and on the basis of white race, to effectuate this ban, both black and white individuals need to be subject to its protections. By contrast, asymmetrical laws adopt a limited protected class to effectuate their limited protections. So a law that is meant to protect against discrimination only on the basis of black race would limit the protected class to black persons. Indeed, at first blush, it would not make sense to permit a universal protected class here, as only black persons can be discriminated against on the basis of black race. This means that asymmetrical laws must reach a definition of a protected class.

I say at first blush because a white individual who was perceived as black could be a candidate for protection even under an asymmetrical law. It would be plausible then to disaggregate the scope of the protected class from the direction of discrimination protected. While an antidiscrimination law that bans discrimination in only one direction but adopts a universal protected class is possible in theory, we do not see this in practice.\footnote{Both the ADEA and ADA adopt limited protected classes. See infra notes 41–52 and accompanying text.} Because these features of symmetrical and asymmetrical laws are linked in practice, I treat them as such. I return to a more detailed discussion of the possible disaggregation of these features when addressing the practical consequences of symmetry and asymmetry.\footnote{See infra Part II.B.}
B. Current Law

Federal law provides symmetrical protection against employment discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, and sex. The Supreme Court held that Title VII was symmetrical in the context of race in a surprisingly brief analysis that turned not at all on constitutional scrutiny, but on statutory text, legislative history, and administrative practice.

34. See McDonald v. Santa Fe Trail Transp. Co., 427 U.S. 273, 280, 285–87 (1976) (holding that white persons can sue for race discrimination under Title VII and 42 U.S.C. § 1981, despite the latter’s statutory text: “All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts . . . as is enjoyed by white citizens . . .”) (internal quotation marks omitted).

35. See, e.g., Espinoza v. Farah Mfg. Co., 414 U.S. 86, 88–89 (1973) (indicating that national origin should be interpreted broadly to mean any country from which the person’s ancestors came).

36. See, e.g., Martinez v. El Paso Cty., 710 F.2d 1102, 1104 (5th Cir. 1983) (allowing a male plaintiff to raise a sex discrimination claim). Under Title VII, pregnancy discrimination is defined as a subset of sex discrimination. See 42 U.S.C. § 2000e(k) (2012). The basic protection against pregnancy discrimination is symmetrical: both pregnant and non-pregnant workers are included within the protected class of individuals who may file suit and claim discrimination on the basis of pregnancy status. See Cal. Fed. Savings & Loan Ass’n v. Guerra, 479 U.S. 272, 279 (1987) (allowing non-pregnant workers to raise claim that they were disadvantaged on the basis of non-pregnancy). Nonetheless, the Supreme Court has allowed some amount of preferential treatment of pregnant as compared with non-pregnant workers. Id. at 285 (holding that Title VII does not preempt a state law that mandates benefits for pregnant workers and not for non-pregnant workers because “Congress intended the [Pregnancy Discrimination Act] to be ‘a floor beneath which pregnancy disability benefits may not drop—not a ceiling above which they may not rise’”).

37. Equal protection doctrine subjects race and national origin classifications to strict scrutiny, see City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469, 494 (1989) (O’Connor, J., plurality opinion), and sex classifications to intermediate scrutiny, see Miss. Univ. for Women v. Hogan, 458 U.S. 718, 724 (1982). A classification subject to strict scrutiny can survive only if it is “narrowly tailored” to serve a “compelling government interest.” Croson, 488 U.S. at 497, 507. A classification subject to intermediate scrutiny can survive only if it furthers “important governmental objectives” by means that are “substantially related to the achievement of those objectives.” Hogan, 458 U.S. at 724. It is perhaps unsurprising that the Court reached the conclusion that Title VII was symmetrical without resort to the Constitution given that a dozen years would have to pass before the Court held that race classifications for benign purposes, such as an asymmetrical antidiscrimination law meant to benefit the subordinated race, are subject to the same strict scrutiny as classifications for malign purposes. Thus, the symmetrical reading of Title VII can only be explained as a matter of constitutional law in retrospect, and does not justify the design as a normative matter.

38. McDonald, 427 U.S. at 278–79 (noting that Title VII’s “terms are not limited to discrimination against members of any particular race”).
It is worth spelling out what this symmetry means in practice. For disparate treatment claims, any employee can bring a claim of intentional discrimination on the basis of any of the traits protected by Title VII.41 This means that whites can sue for race discrimination, men can sue for sex discrimination, and so on. When it comes to disparate impact, there is an open question as to whether “reverse” claims are cognizable.42 Even if disparate impact is asymmetrical, this makes only a small dent in the overarching symmetry of Title VII, as there are few disparate impact cases, and even fewer in which plaintiffs prevail.43

By contrast, employment discrimination law protects the traits of age and disability asymmetrically by protecting discrimination only in one direction, and only against a limited protected class.44 So even employer programs or policies that intentionally favor older employees or disabled employees are not subject to challenge under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) or ADA.45

The ADEA protects only employees who are at least forty years of age, and only discrimination against older workers who are disfavored as compared with younger workers.46 The protected class was limited

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39. Id. at 280 (recounting “uncontradicted legislative history to the effect that Title VII was intended to ‘cover white men and white women and all Americans,’ and create an ‘obligation not to discriminate against whites’”) (citations omitted).
40. Id. at 279–80 (noting that the EEOC “has consistently interpreted Title VII to proscribe racial discrimination in private employment against whites on the same terms as racial discrimination against nonwhites”) (citations omitted).
41. Id. While anyone can raise a claim under Title VII, note that not all courts apply the same standard of proof to “reverse” disparate treatment claims as they do to standard disparate treatment claims. For further discussion of this point, see infra notes 323–31 and accompanying text.
42. See Sullivan, supra note 12, at 1506–08 (arguing that the purposes of the doctrine suggest that they should not be, but that an asymmetrical approach would raise constitutional concerns). For further discussion of this point, see infra notes 332–36 and accompanying text.
43. See Michael Selmi, Was the Disparate Impact Theory a Mistake?, 53 UCLA L. REV. 701, 735, 738–40 (2006) (finding that in the span of six years, there were only 171 reported disparate impact cases decided by district courts, and documenting low success rates of these claims).
44. The Constitution plays little to no role in this design choice. Both of these traits are subject only to rational basis review. See supra note 13. This means that a law that classifies on the basis of either of these traits is permissible so long as it is “rationally related to a legitimate state interest.” City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Ctr., Inc., 473 U.S. 432, 440 (1985). Therefore, a symmetrical or asymmetrical law for either of these traits would pass constitutional muster so long as there was some minimum justification for the design choice.
by statute, by statute, and the direction of protection was limited later by the Supreme Court. After concluding that the ADEA’s text was ambiguous, the Court relied on the legislative history, the purpose of the law, and the context in which it was passed to decide that the ADEA prohibits discrimination only on the basis of old age.50

The ADA also protects against discrimination on the basis of disability asymmetrically, meaning that it protects against discrimination only on the basis of the presence of a disability, rather than the absence of one. The ADA limits its protected class to one of three groups: those who have an actual disability, those who are “regarded as” disabled, and those who have a “record of” disability.51 This definition has been notoriously difficult to satisfy.53 The ADA also

47. 29 U.S.C. § 631(a) (limiting the protections of the ADEA “to individuals who are at least 40 years of age”).

48. Gen. Dynamics Land Sys., Inc. v. Cline, 540 U.S. 581, 591 (2004) (employees aged forty to forty-nine claiming that they were disadvantaged as compared with older employees by reduction in health benefits that applied only to those with later retirement dates).

49. Id. at 586 (determining that “discriminat[ion] . . . because of [an] individual’s age,” could be interpreted to ban discrimination on the basis either of old age, or on the basis of any age) (quoting 29 U.S.C. § 623(a)(1) (current version at 29 U.S.C. § 623(a) (2012))).

50. See id. at 587 (noting that the Department of Labor report that underlies the ADEA “was devoid of any indication that the Secretary had noticed unfair advantages accruing to older employees at the expense of their juniors”); id. at 589 (“[F]rom the voluminous records of the hearings, we have found . . . nothing suggesting that any workers were registering complaints about discrimination in favor of their seniors.”); id. (“The findings stress the impediments suffered by older workers . . . .”); id. at 591 (“Common experience” confirms that discrimination against younger workers is not “a social problem requir[ing] a federal statute to place a younger worker in parity with an older one”). But see id. at 602–03 (Thomas, J., dissenting) (reasoning that the plain language of the ADEA dictates a symmetrical reading of the law).

51. 42 U.S.C. § 12201(g) (2012) (“Nothing in this chapter shall provide the basis for a claim by an individual without a disability that the individual was subject to discrimination because of the individual’s lack of disability.”).

52. Id. § 12102(1) (“The term ‘disability’ means, with respect to an individual—(A) a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities of such individual; (B) a record of such impairment; or (C) being regarded as having such an impairment . . . .”).

53. As for actual disability, many scholars agree that “courts have inappropriately applied a restrictive definition of ‘disability’ to squelch ADA cases at the summary judgment stage.” Bagenstos, supra note 12, at 399; see also Robert L. Burgdorf, Jr., “Substantially Limited” Protection from Disability Discrimination: The Special Treatment Model and Misconstructions of the Definition of Disability, 42 VILL. L. REV. 409, 536 (1997); Ruth Colker, The Americans with Disabilities Act: A Windfall for Defendants, 34 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 99, 99–100 (1999). Although recent amendments to the ADA were meant to ease this burden, scholars have found that many courts continue to construe actual disability claims quite narrowly. See, e.g., Stephen F. Befort, An Empirical Examination of Case Outcomes Under the ADA
defines discrimination to include an employer’s failure to provide a reasonable accommodation, but only to those who are actually disabled or who have a record of disability (and not to those “regarded as” disabled).

II. THE BENEFITS OF SYMMETRY

This Part sets forth the underappreciated benefits of symmetry along three dimensions: purpose, practice, and politics. It begins with a reconfiguration of the choice between symmetry and asymmetry, showing how a symmetrical law can further not only anticlassification purposes, but also antisubordination purposes. It next turns to the practical implications of a symmetrical or asymmetrical design, and explains how symmetry avoids problems that arise from a limited protected class, which complicates the discrimination inquiry and narrows the available theories of discrimination and which plaintiffs may proceed. Finally, this Part addresses the politics of legal design, and argues that a symmetrical law will generate greater support for antidiscrimination law.

Two points are worth noting before proceeding further. First, I intentionally sidestep the question of which traits should be protected by law, and instead simply presume that there are some traits that should qualify. Whenever we find a trait worthy of special protection, we are

As for “regarded as” disabled, the ADA does not permit anyone to bring this claim, but narrows it to those who have an actual or perceived substantially limiting impairment that is not minor and transitory. 42 U.S.C. § 12102(3)(A) (defining “regarded as” disabled as having “an actual or perceived physical or mental impairment whether or not the impairment limits or is perceived to limit a major life activity”); § 12102(3)(B) (excepting impairments that are “transitory and minor,” and defining a “transitory impairment” as one “with an actual or expected duration of 6 months or less”). Courts’ unduly restrictive approach to interpreting the definition of disability extends to the “regarded-as” prong. See Arlene B. Mayerson, Restoring Regard for the “Regarded As” Prong: Giving Effect to Congressional Intent, 42 V Ill. L. REV. 587, 588–89 (1997). Again, despite statutory amendments, many courts continue to construe regarded-as disability claims narrowly. See, e.g., Befort, supra, at 2063; Stein et al., supra note 12, at 726–27; Deborah A. Widiss, Still Kickin’ After All These Years: Sutton and Toyota As Shadow Precedents, 63 D RAKE L. REV. 919, 942–46 (2015) (documenting how courts continue to apply restrictive definition of “regarded as” prong even post-amendment).

54. 42 U.S.C. § 12112(b)(5)(A) (2012) (including within the definition of discrimination “not making reasonable accommodations to the known physical or mental limitations of an otherwise qualified individual with a disability . . . unless . . . the accommodation would impose an undue hardship”).
55. § 12201(h).
56. A variety of considerations are thought to be relevant to whether a trait warrants special protection in law. See, e.g., Weber v. Aetna Cas. & Surety Co., 406
faced with whether to protect the trait symmetrically or asymmetrically. Second, each of the benefits discussed below does not apply equally across protected traits. In this Part, I rely on examples across protected traits to make clear the benefit at hand. In the next Part, I address these benefits on a trait-by-trait basis to evaluate how each trait fares under this analysis.

A. Purpose

Two primary theories underlie antidiscrimination law: the anticlassification theory and the antisubordination theory. Under an anticlassification view, the wrong of discrimination is in “classify[ing] people either overtly or surreptitiously on the basis of a forbidden category: for example, their race.” The most familiar instantiation of this view is one of so-called “trait-blindness,” which is skeptical of classifications made on the basis of a protected trait, even when classifications are made for benign purposes. The antisubordination view, by contrast, maintains that the wrong of discrimination is in “practices that enforce the secondary social status of historically oppressed groups.” An antisubordinationist regime would accept and even encourage classifications that expand opportunities for members of traditionally subordinated groups.

I do not seek to choose between the anticlassification and antisubordination rationales for antidiscrimination law. While symmetry has been aligned with the anticlassification perspective, my aim is to show how antisubordination purposes can also be furthered by a

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U.S. 164, 165 (1972) (holding that immutable characteristics, or “accidents of birth,” should be protected because they are unrelated to individual responsibility); United States v. Carolene Prods. Co., 304 U.S. 144, 152 n.4 (1938) (suggesting that protection should apply when “prejudice against discrete and insular minorities . . . tends seriously to curtail the operation of those political processes ordinarily to be relied upon to protect minorities”); In re Marriage Cases, 183 P.3d 384, 442 (Cal. 2008) (holding that protection should apply to traits that are “so integral an aspect of one’s identity, it is not appropriate to require a person to repudiate or change [them] in order to avoid discriminatory treatment”). In infra Part III.C.1, I address additional traits that have been protected in some jurisdictions.

58. See id. at 10.
59. See, e.g., Parents Involved in Cmty. Schs. v. Seattle Sch. Dist. No. 1, 551 U.S. 701, 748 (2007) (in the context of a school assignment program that considered race to promote integration, stating that “[t]he way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race”); Reynolds, supra note 16, at 998 (discussing the application of “colorblindness” in the context of school desegregation).
60. Balkin & Siegel, supra note 57, at 9.
61. See Fiss, supra note 17, at 159–60.
symmetrical design. First, by offering universal protection, a symmetrical law avoids a key shortcoming of asymmetrical laws: that they increase the cost of employing members of the disadvantaged group, thereby damaging their employment prospects, precisely contrary to the goal of such laws. Second, stereotypes that hold subordinated groups back are exercised not only against subordinated workers themselves, but also, in mirror-image form, against privileged groups. Failing to permit privileged groups to challenge these stereotypes limits the law’s ability to dismantle them. Finally, the advantaged and disadvantaged groups cannot always be neatly divided, and only a symmetrical law permits the flexibility to combat subordination in its heterogeneous manifestations. I first briefly explain how symmetry furthers anticlassification objectives, and then set forth the novel case for how symmetry can also further antisuillumination objectives.

1. ANTICLASSIFICATION

The primary concern underlying the anticlassification view is with treating an individual as an individual rather than on the basis of a protected trait. The anticlassification view has long been associated with a symmetrical regime, because the only way to challenge all classifications on the basis of a protected trait is to allow claims for discrimination by both “sides” of the protected trait. Earlier justifications for the anticlassification view focused on the unfairness of limiting important opportunities on the basis of a protected trait, whether it is to the disadvantaged or advantaged side. It is obvious that symmetry is necessary to avoid this harm of unfairness. If the nature of the trait is such that relying on it in any way to distribute important benefits is unfair, then avoiding this unfairness requires a law

62. Note that although anticlassificationists would, at a minimum, support a symmetrical antidiscrimination regime, the anticlassification approach and the symmetry approach are not identical. While anticlassification absolutists would ban all classifications on the basis of a protected trait, symmetry would simply require that whatever doctrines apply to one group should apply equally across all groups. So whereas anticlassification absolutists would ban affirmative action and disparate impact, symmetry absolutists would argue that affirmative action and disparate impact should be available to all on equal terms. I return to this distinction in infra Part III.B.1.

that bans classifications on the basis of the trait symmetrically, allowing members of both disadvantaged and advantaged groups to challenge discriminatory classifications.

Later iterations of the anticlassification purpose focus more on the stereotyping harms that classifications impose on disadvantaged groups. Classifying on the basis of a protected trait reinforces the salience of group membership rather than the qualities of the individual in her own right. Here, too, a symmetrical design that allows employees from either “side” of the trait to challenge classifications is necessary to avoid these harms. For an employer to disfavor white employees, the employer must distinguish employees on the basis of race, thereby making race salient to the employer. And the justification for the race-based distinction must rely on some feature believed to be common to all members of a particular race, which reinforces stereotypical thinking rather than individualized assessments. Under asymmetrical laws, these decisions would never be challenged.

While these concerns have been raised primarily in the context of affirmative action programs, we can see broader application in the choice between symmetry and asymmetry. For example, in the context of disability, technology firms have begun to prefer individuals with autism for positions that require high levels of concentration and attention to detail, like software testing and data conversion. Targeting workers based on their disability rather than their skills relies on stereotypes. While these stereotypes—such as mathematical or other technical skills—may seem benign, they reinforce stereotypical thinking

64. See Siegel, supra note 63, at 38 (explaining that later equal protection jurisprudence described the harm of racial classifications to be how they “can injure racial minorities”).

65. See Parents Involved in Cnty. Schs. v. Seattle Sch. Dist. No. 1, 551 U.S. 701, 746 (2007) (explaining that racial classifications “reinforce the belief, held by too many for too much of our history, that individuals should be judged by the color of their skin”) (quoting Shaw v. Reno, 509 U.S. 630, 657 (1993)); City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469, 495 (1989) (O’Connor, J., plurality opinion) (failing to apply strict scrutiny to all racial classifications “effectively assures that race will always be relevant in American life”); Burgdorf, supra note 53, at 525 (“The classification . . . of people with disabilities as a distinctive status group in society is not merely a cause of discrimination, it is the ‘wellspring’ and the ‘essence’ of discrimination on the basis of disability.”) (footnotes omitted).

66. In the context of affirmative action, there has been a particular concern that such programs stigmatize their intended beneficiaries. See Metro Broad., Inc. v. FCC, 497 U.S. 547, 618 (1990) (O’Connor, J., dissenting) (concluding that race-based affirmative action program justified by the view that a minority is “likely to provide [a] distinct perspective . . . impermissibly value[d] individuals” based on a presumption that “persons think in a manner associated with their race”) (internal quotations omitted); Croson, 488 U.S. at 493 (explaining that “[c]lassifications based on race carry a danger of stigmatic harm”).

about the abilities and characteristics of someone with that disability. So these workers may be assumed to be skilled at certain tasks, but they may also be assumed to have the negative traits that go along with their condition, such as problems socializing and associating with their supervisors and coworkers. The anticlassification perspective judges these classifications as harmful, despite their benign purpose, precisely because they reinforce this type of group-based thinking. Only a symmetrical law allows these classifications to be challenged.

2. ANTISUBORDINATION

The antisubordination rationale views the purpose of antidiscrimination law to be the eradication of policies that contribute to the subordination of disadvantaged groups. Note that the focus is on individuals as members of groups rather than as individuals. Unlike advocates of the anticlassification view, the antisubordination camp has advocated for a more asymmetrical approach to antidiscrimination law. In this Section, I argue instead that symmetry better furthers the goal of antisubordination by reducing the negative distributive consequences of employment mandates that protect only the disadvantaged group; by allowing interlocking stereotypes of advantaged and disadvantaged groups to be challenged from both sides; and by recognizing systematic pockets of disadvantage that even privileged groups face.

a. Costs of Mandates

Many in the antisubordination camp assume that a law protecting the subordinated group will have positive distributive effects on these workers, in terms of raising employment levels and wages. However, mandating protection for an identifiable group of workers can backfire, harming the disadvantaged group that the law is meant to help. This is because an asymmetrical mandate makes the protected group of workers more expensive to employ, which can lead to reduced

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68. See id.
69. For additional examples of antisubordination theories, see Derrick Bell, And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice (1987); Kenneth L. Karst, Belonging to America: Equal Citizenship and the Constitution (1989); Catharine A. MacKinnon, Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law 32–45 (1987).
70. Indeed, Fiss calls the antisubordination view the “group-disadvantaging principle.” Fiss, supra note 17, at 108.
71. See id. at 159.
employment levels and wages for these workers. 72 A symmetrical law can reduce or eliminate these negative distributive consequences, better fulfilling the antisubordination purpose.

In his classic article, Professor Lawrence Summers formalized a framework for understanding the effects of employer mandates directed to workers as a whole, which I refer to as universal mandates. 73 Under a supply-and-demand framework of the labor market, Summers showed that there is little hope that these mandates redistribute resources from employers to employees. 74 Assume that employers are required to bear the entire cost of the mandated benefit. This will have effects on both the demand and supply of labor. As for demand, employers will demand less labor because the mandate makes labor more costly (reflected in a shift of the labor demand curve \( D_0 \) to \( D_1 \) in Figure 1). As for supply, employees will supply more labor because the mandated benefit is a form of additional (typically nonmonetary) compensation. The labor supply curve will shift by the amount that employees value the benefit (reflected in a shift from \( S_0 \) to either of the \( S_1 \) curves). This leads to an equilibrium of reduced wages, but employment levels may increase or decrease, depending on how employees value the benefit. The shift to \( S_1' \) reflects a low employee valuation; the shift to \( S_1'' \) reflects a high employee valuation. Either way, systematic redistribution from employer to employees is unlikely, because “the

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72. See Jolls, supra note 22, at 227. While Jolls makes the point in the context of accommodation mandates, antidiscrimination mandates impose many of the same costs on employers, including the critical cost of litigation. See Daron Acemoglu & Joshua D. Angrist, Consequences of Employment Protection? The Case of the Americans with Disabilities Act, 109 J. POL. ECON. 915, 919–20 (2001); Joanna N. Lahey, International Comparison of Age Discrimination Laws, 32 RES. ON AGING 679, 682 (2010); Gillian Lester, A Defense of Paid Family Leave, 28 HARV. J.L. & GENDER 1, 55 (2005). Indeed, Jolls herself suggests in the context of the ADA that it may be the costs associated with the law’s antidiscrimination mandate, rather than the cost of accommodations, that lead to the consequences she describes. See Jolls, supra note 22, at 277. Therefore, we can expect similar effects with any employment discrimination law, regardless of whether it requires accommodations. See infra notes 118–119 (discussing the negative distributive consequences of the ADEA, even though it has no accommodation mandate).


74. Summers, supra note 73, at 182.
more a mandated benefit is worth to workers, the more wages will decline when it is provided.”

As Professor Christine Jolls has explained, this analysis changes when a mandate affects only a subset of workers rather than all workers. Mandates that protect a limited class typically also bar employers from discriminating against the protected class in hiring and wages. In theory, then, Summers’s predictions should not hold, because it would be unlawful for employers to respond to the mandate by failing to hire employees from the protected group or pay them less. But Jolls recognizes that the actual distributive consequences of a mandate

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75. Dwight R. Lee, Why Workers Should Want Mandated Benefits to Lower Their Wages, 34 ECON. INQUIRY 401, 402 (1996); see also Jolls, supra note 22, at 237 (“As the value of the mandated benefit rises, the amount of the cost that is shifted to workers in the form of reduced wages rises as well, limiting the possibility for distributive gains.”).

76. See Jolls, supra note 22, at 240–53.

77. See id.
depends on whether it effectively constrains employers from discriminating against the protected group in hiring or pay.\textsuperscript{78} If it does, the law will have the intended positive distributive effect on the protected group; if it does not, the law will have a negative distributive effect on the protected group.\textsuperscript{79}

Jolls explains that because of the ineffectiveness of protections against hiring discrimination,\textsuperscript{80} we can assume that, in the general case, only the ban on wage discrimination constrains.\textsuperscript{81} If wage but not hiring discrimination bans are effective, the employment levels of the protected workers will fall.\textsuperscript{82} But in cases of significant occupational segregation, such as by sex, we can expect that hiring but not wage discrimination bans are effective.\textsuperscript{83} In such cases, we can instead expect antidiscrimination mandates to leave the employment level of the protected group relatively unaffected, but to reduce wages.\textsuperscript{84} Those interested in the antisubordination goals of employment discrimination law would be quite rightly concerned about a law with either of these negative distributive consequences.

Note that these consequences turn on the protected trait being discernible to the employer. If a trait is highly visible, like sex, decisionmakers can easily make hiring or pay decisions on the basis of the trait (so long as the law is not constraining). If a trait is not highly visible, this is made more difficult. When a protected trait is truly invisible, even an asymmetrical antidiscrimination mandate will not have the negative consequence on the protected group that Professor Jolls posits.\textsuperscript{85} Of the traits under analysis, disability is the most affected by visibility, as some instances of disability are invisible or difficult to discern.\textsuperscript{86} While this impairs decisionmakers’ ability to discriminate perfectly, they can still discriminate against those with discernible

\textsuperscript{78.} See id. at 254–61.  
\textsuperscript{79.} Id.  
\textsuperscript{80.} Id. at 263–71; see also Naomi Schoenbaum, \textit{It's Time that You Know: The Shortcomings of Ignorance as Fairness in Employment Law and the Need for an “Information-Shifting” Model}, 30 \textsc{Harv. J.L. & Gender} 99, 125–26 (2007) (documenting reasons why bans on hiring discrimination are ineffective).  
\textsuperscript{81.} Jolls, supra note 22, at 227–28.  
\textsuperscript{82.} Id. at 228.  
\textsuperscript{83.} See id. at 268–70. When an occupation is filled with primarily women, employers will continue to hire women, but will be able to pay them less because they will have few male comparators that would allow them to prove a wage discrimination claim.  
\textsuperscript{84.} See id. at 290–99.  
\textsuperscript{85.} Id.  
\textsuperscript{86.} Many physical conditions that might be considered disabilities are not visible, including diabetes, high blood pressure, epilepsy, HIV/AIDS, and cystic fibrosis, similarly to a host of mental disabilities.
disabilities, in which case Jolls' analysis applies. 87 I follow Jolls in assuming that a sufficiently large number of disabilities are visible such that an asymmetrical law would lead to negative employment consequences for disabled persons. 88

It is important to note that Jolls applies her analysis of targeted accommodation mandates even to symmetrical laws that cover all workers if such laws are used disproportionately by one group. 89 This means that she includes as an accommodation mandate the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), 90 even though it is symmetrical, because women use the law’s parental leave accommodation more than men. 91 In so doing, Jolls relies on a rational actor model that assumes not only that employers know the law, but that they know the usage of the law, and incorporate this knowledge into their decisionmaking. Under this view, so long as one group disproportionately relies on an antidiscrimination mandate, the fact that the mandate is formally symmetrical is not relevant in analyzing the employer’s response to the law and the resulting distributive consequences.

Here is where I part company with Jolls. I assume instead a model of bounded rationality, under which information is costly, 92 and “human cognitive abilities are not infinite.” 93 The perceptions of boundedly rational decisionmakers then are shaped by limited access to information and subject to cognitive shortcomings that bias the

87. Note that the ADA bans inquiries about ability and disability at the hiring stage except as to the ability of an applicant to perform job-related functions. 42 U.S.C. § 12112(d)(2) (2012).
88. See Jolls, supra note 22, at 273–82.
89. Id.
91. Jolls, supra note 22, at 232, 290. While more women take FMLA leave following the birth of a child, the FMLA also allows employees to take leave to care for older children, spouses, and parents, 29 U.S.C. § 2612(a)(1)(C), as well as for their own medical conditions, id. § 2612(a)(1)(D). Between these forms of leave, FMLA leave is now taken in almost equal measure by women and men: fifty-six percent women and forty-four percent men. NAT’L P’SHP FOR WOMEN & FAMILIES, A LOOK AT THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR’S 2012 FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT EMPLOYEE AND WORKSITE SURVEYS 1 (2013), http://www.nationalpartnership.org/research-library/work-family/fmla/dol-fmla-survey-key-findings-2012.pdf [https://perma.cc/DQ6Q-244Q].
93. Christine Jolls, Cass R. Sunstein & Richard Thaler, A Behavioral Approach to Law and Economics, 50 STAN. L. REV. 1471, 1477 (1998). Given that Jolls’ later research includes some of the seminal work incorporating behavioral economics into legal analysis, see generally id., she may not disagree with my application of bounded rationality here. Her earlier work simply does not consider these arguments.
processing of information. Under this view, a symmetrical as compared with an asymmetrical law can prompt different employer responses, and thus can have different distributive consequences, even if one group of employees disproportionately uses the law. If a decisionmaker believes that members of the advantaged group make equivalent or substantial use of a symmetrical law, regardless of whether they actually do, this is enough to reduce or eliminate the negative distribute consequences.

Importantly, this beneficial impact of symmetry does not turn on an employer believing that the advantaged and disadvantaged groups use the antidiscrimination law in exactly equal measure. Symmetry can mitigate the negative distributive consequences of an antidiscrimination law so long as the employer believes that the advantaged group uses the law, even if with less frequency than the disadvantaged group. Any use by the advantaged group will increase the cost of employing members of that group, closing the gap between the cost of employing the advantaged and disadvantaged groups, and thereby reducing the disincentive to hire the disadvantaged group. So even if an employer does not believe, for example, that white employees are as likely to sue under Title VII as black employees, the benefit of symmetry is not fully lost so long as the employer believes that whites make some use of the law. The amount of the benefit derived from symmetry will turn on the employer’s perception of how often the advantaged group relies on the law, with a perception of more substantial usage associated with a more substantial benefit.

Despite bounded rationality, there is good reason to believe that decisionmakers would be informed about the basic provisions of the law that governs their decisionmaking, including whether a law is symmetrical or asymmetrical. This information is easy to acquire, and would likely be part of an employer’s equal employment opportunity training. By contrast, decisionmakers are far less likely to have information about the actual usage of symmetrical employment discrimination laws. As an initial matter, this data is not easily accessible. And because making hiring or pay decisions on the basis

94. Id. (describing how such shortcomings mean that “actual decisions” under bounded rationality “often violate the axioms of expected utility theory”); Eisenberg, supra note 92, at 214 (explaining that “human rationality is normally bounded by limited information and limited information processing” and thus that “actors will adopt selective search and processing procedures”).


96. The data is not available on the EEOC’s website. It took even this employment discrimination law scholar some time to find current statistics. In 2012,
of protected traits is unlawful, the employer is unlikely to include this data or guidance on how to act on it in any employer policy or training session. Rather, the decision not to hire someone or to pay them less on the basis of a protected identity trait is likely to be made in a decentralized way based on each decisionmaker’s perception of the probability of a lawsuit or other costs associated with employing members of the different groups. It is unlikely that an individual decisionmaker acting in this capacity will access data about the probability of a lawsuit or other costs. Expensive information-search is made even more costly here where discovering the fact of the search could serve as evidence of discrimination that would subject the employer to liability. Finally, as a general matter, decisionmakers tend to disregard probability when making a decision under uncertainty. Therefore, information about actual usage of symmetrical laws will not be determinative of how employers respond to antidiscrimination mandates.

Instead, these decisions will depend on how decisionmakers perceive the usage of the law. The perception of the usage of antidiscrimination law will differ by protected trait. One factor that matters is the perception of how often the advantaged group faces discrimination. For age, this is likely to lead to a perception of significant usage of antidiscrimination law by young workers. Decisionmakers will be aware of the generally low status accorded to younger workers. Because decisionmakers are either young themselves or were once young, they are likely to be familiar with the stereotypes that younger workers face, and the challenges these stereotypes impose. Indeed, less than half of younger workers believe

approximately 4,000 of the 33,000 race discrimination claims were filed by white individuals and approximately 6,300 of the 30,000 sex discrimination claims were filed by men. See Katie Kuehner-Hebert, How to Avoid Reverse Discrimination, DAILY EXEC. (Sept./Oct. 2013), https://aptmetrics.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/How-to-Avoid-Reverse-Discrimination.pdf [https://perma.cc/DP6A-THJ4].

97. See JONATHAN BARRON, THINKING AND DECIDING 353 (2d ed. 1994) (discussing the phenomenon of “neglect of probability” and conditions under which it holds).

98. We can expect that decisionmakers’ perception will approximate public perception. Given that human resources managers or EEOC compliance officers are not typically making routine hiring and pay decisions, it is unlikely that decisionmakers will be systematically more informed than the average person.

99. See Graham Snowdon, Young and Older People ‘Experience Age Discrimination at Work,’ GUARDIAN (Jan. 16, 2012, 10:05 AM), http://www.theguardian.com/money/2012/jan/16/young-older-people-age-discrimination-work [https://perma.cc/M22W-QRKU] (citing study finding that workers in their forties are viewed as having the highest status, while workers in their twenties are viewed as lower status than workers in their seventies).

100. See infra notes 143–54 and accompanying text.
that they are treated fairly on the job, \(^{101}\) and younger workers are more likely to report experiencing age-related prejudice than older workers. \(^{102}\)

Another factor that affects perception is media attention, and for this reason, decisionmakers would also likely perceive a significant volume of suits raised by men. Discrimination suits by men have been on the rise, accounting now for twenty percent of sex discrimination claims. \(^{103}\) But more than the actual number of suits, the media attention to this increase in litigation matters. \(^{104}\) Given the everyday nature of sex discrimination against women, suits brought by men garner outsized attention, as we can see by the publicity afforded to a variety of claims that men bring: challenges to discriminatory family-leave policies, \(^{105}\) sexual harassment, \(^{106}\) and exclusions based on customer preferences. \(^{107}\)

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102. See Snowdon, supra note 99 (citing research finding those under twenty-five are at least twice as likely to have experienced age discrimination as other age groups).

103. See Kuehner-Hebert, supra note 96.


Because of the availability heuristic, media attention has been known to bias our predictive capacities, making decisionmakers likely to perceive men to be significant users of a symmetrical sex discrimination law.

As for race, a decisionmaker might also perceive whites to use employment discrimination law based on the perception of the prevalence of so-called “reverse” race discrimination. White Americans now view anti-white bias as a more prevalent and a bigger societal problem than anti-black bias. Americans overestimate the impact of affirmative action on historically advantaged groups, supporting a popular conception that white workers are frequently harmed by such policies, which give rise to reverse discrimination lawsuits.


109. See Sarah Lichtenstein et al., Judged Frequency of Lethal Events, 4 J. EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOL.: HUM. LEARNING & MEMORY 551, 556 (1978) (finding that eighty percent of subjects estimated death from accident to be more likely than death from stroke, even though strokes cause eighty-five percent more death than accidents, and attributing this error in part to media attention); Karyn Riddle, Always on My Mind: Exploring How Frequent, Recent, and Vivid Television Portrayals Are Used in the Formation of Social Reality Judgments, 13 MEDIA PSYCHOL. 155, 155 (2010) (finding that more frequent viewing of violent media led subjects to give higher estimates of the prevalence of crime); L.J. Shrum, Media Consumption and Perceptions of Social Reality: Effects and Underlying Processes, in MEDIA EFFECTS: ADVANCES IN THEORY AND RESEARCH 69, 72–76 (Jennings Bryant & Dolf Zillman eds., 2002) (collecting studies finding this effect and explaining it as the impact of media attention on perceptions of frequency, recency, and vividness).


111. See Carol R. Goforth, ‘What Is She?’ How Race Matters and Why It Shouldn’t, 46 DEPAUL L. REV. 1, 75 (1996) (noting that the perception that white males have been denied equal opportunities “has become a cause celebre”); Brian S. Lowery et al., Concern for the In-Group and Opposition to Affirmative Action, 90 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 961, 966 (2006) (finding that opposition to affirmative
perception is not limited to formal affirmative action policies, but to other forms of reverse discrimination as well. The perception of these types of lawsuits is likely to be all the more skewed by the salience of these issues in the media and the public generally, as well as by large damages awards.

As for disability, there would be little reason to expect that decisionmakers would believe that members of the advantaged group would engage in any significant usage of a symmetrical antidiscrimination law. Preferences for those with disabilities are still too rare. However, if the reasonable accommodation mandate of disability law were made available to a universal protected class, such that anybody could seek a needed accommodation, one could expect such a law to be used widely across the spectrum of employees.

I have so far relied on the relevant theoretical literature to explore the impact of a symmetrical or asymmetrical design on the distributive consequences of antidiscrimination mandates. We can also draw lessons from empirical research on the consequences of symmetrical and

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112. By the 1990s, more than seventy percent of whites were convinced that reverse discrimination was a rampant problem, see C.E. "Chuck" Williams, Opinion, Affirmative Action Doesn’t Involve Quotas/Initiative 200—Preferre or Prejudice?, Columbian, Nov. 1, 1998, at B11, and by the 2000s, whites viewed racism against whites as more common and a bigger problem than racism against blacks, see Norton & Sommers, supra note 110, at 216. See generally Anne Laurent, The Great Divide, Gov’t Executive (Apr. 1, 1996), http://www.govexec.com/magazine/1996/04/the-great-divide/235/ [https://perma.cc/W9RM-2F9W] (discussing the growing perception among whites that they are wrongfully denied positions or promotions because of their race).


115. For examples, see infra notes 267–68 and accompanying text.

116. I discuss this possibility in greater detail when addressing how the analysis in Part II applies specifically to disability. See infra notes 272–76 and accompanying text.
asymmetrical antidiscrimination laws. Although data is limited, it tends to confirm the conclusions posited above.

Starting with asymmetrical antidiscrimination laws, the ADEA and the ADA have both been shown to reduce the employment levels of the groups they protect. As for the ADEA, the law’s initial impact may have been favorable to older workers, primarily because it banned the then common practice of advertising age limits for jobs, and perhaps because it helped to change social norms regarding age.117 Research on the later effects of the ADEA paint a far less rosy picture. While the ADEA may help older workers retain jobs, it has also been linked to a reduction in their employment levels.118 As for the ADA, research has likewise shown that this law too has hurt the workers it intended to help by significantly reducing employment levels of disabled workers.119

As for symmetrical antidiscrimination law, since the passage of Title VII in 1964, women and individuals of color have made great

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117. See Lahey, supra note 72, at 685.
118. See Michael C. Harper, A Gap in the Agenda: Enhancing the Regulation of Age Discrimination in Employment, in LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT LAW INITIATIVES AND PROPOSALS UNDER THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION 608–09 (Zev J. Eigen & Samuel Estreicher eds., 2011); Lahey, supra note 72, at 685. One study found these employment effects only for men. Id. at 686. This may be because, as Jolls predicted, occupational segregation may mean that the effect of the mandate on women is on wages rather than employment levels. See supra note 22 and accompanying text. These studies did not assess effects on wages.

Several scholars have sought to undermine these conclusions by offering an alternative account of this data. See David H. Autor & Mark G. Duggan, The Rise in the Disability Rolls and the Decline in Unemployment, 118 Q.J. ECON. 157 (2003); Peter Blanck et al., Calibrating the Impact of the ADA’s Employment Provisions, 14 STAN. L. & POL’Y REV. 267 (2003); Douglas Kruse & Lisa Schur, Employment of People with Disabilities Following the ADA, 42 INDUS. REL. 31 (2003). As disability law scholar Sam Bagenstos has argued, however, these scholars have either unjustifiably critiqued the data on which the initial studies relied. Bagenstos, supra note 119, at 540–50, or wrongly placed too much blame on an alternative cause for the decline, id. at 553–55. Bagenstos instead reads the data as showing that the ADA did have a negative impact on the employment of those with disabilities, although he limits the decline to those persons whose disability limits the kind or amount of work they can do. Id. at 555.
strides in the workplace. The challenge is assigning the causal mechanism of this progress, given the increase in human capital by these groups, as well as changes in societal attitudes towards these groups. It is possible that Title VII served some countervailing function in hindering the progress of disadvantaged groups in the fashion that Jolls’ analysis would predict, but that these other changes overcame this impact. It is thus quite difficult to assess whether Title VII has had any negative impact on these groups.

Another data point comes from the FMLA, which provides leave for the birth or care of a newborn symmetrically to men and women. The data on the FMLA is mixed, but gives some reason to believe that the symmetrical design of the FMLA has protected women from the adverse consequences of a more targeted mandate. The literature suggests that the FMLA has had a modest positive effect on women’s employment levels. Given occupational segregation, this is not surprising under Jolls’ analysis. The question then is whether the FMLA has had a negative impact on women’s wages. One study showed that women did not suffer any negative impact on wages after the passage of the FMLA. However, this study suffers from the fact that many female workers were entitled by state law or firm policy to FMLA-type benefits prior to the FMLA’s passage. Other research, though perhaps relevant, is less helpful. A study of the impact of European leave policies found that short-term (three months) of even paid leave did not reduce women’s wages, but this study lumped together leave policies that applied only to women and those that applied to both women and men. Yet another study found that the

121. Id. at 1605–06.
122. And these potential causes are not independent; there may be interaction between Title VII and the achievement of human capital as well as changes in societal attitudes.
124. If the FMLA does not have adverse consequences on women, it will be hard to disentangle the effect of making child-care leave symmetrical, as compared with the availability of other forms of leave under the law—such as self-care leave—that men are more likely to take than child-care leave. See supra note 91.
125. Lester, supra note 72, at 37–38 (collecting studies).
126. See supra notes 83–84 and accompanying text.
130. Id. at 286 n.1.
FMLA had a negative impact on the wages of women who took leave, but did not assess whether the FMLA affected the wages of women of child-bearing age more generally. But we might not be too surprised with any findings of negative distributive consequences of the FMLA from studies conducted in the 1990s, when decisionmakers would be more likely to assume that women would use the law more than men.

b. Interlocking Stereotypes

Symmetry furthers antisubordination goals by combating harmful stereotypes that contribute to the subordination of disadvantaged groups. The stereotypes that apply to a disadvantaged group are often also manifested—in mirror-image form—in the stereotypes applied to the advantaged group. Effectively dismantling these stereotypes requires the ability to challenge them from both sides, which only a symmetrical law permits.

This phenomenon of interlocking stereotypes is perhaps easiest to see in the context of sex, where heterosexual marriage means that stereotypes about women’s proper family roles (and workplace limitations) are often the flip side of the stereotypes about men’s proper family roles (and workplace expectations). Take the case of a male police officer who sought leave as a primary caregiver under state law. His employer insisted that “God made women to have babies and, unless [he] could have a baby, there is no way [he] could be [the] primary care [giver]” unless his wife was “in a coma or dead.” This example, and others like it, demonstrate how sex stereotypes that

131. Sandra L. Hofferth & Sally C. Curtin, The Impact of Parental Leave on Maternal Return to Work after Childbirth in the United States 14 tbl.1, 17 tbl.3 (OECD Soc., Emp’t & Migration Working Paper No. 7, 2003). In analyzing these results, one must be aware of an additional effect of the FMLA: that it may push women into and keep them in higher-paying jobs. Therefore, a finding of no impact on women’s wages might mask more complex dynamics of at least some women improving their employment, which counteracts wage discrimination. See Jolls, supra note 22, at 299 (explaining that the FMLA “may have a sort of composite effect, moving women into, or keeping them, in better, higher-[paying] jobs”) (citation omitted).

132. Even though the FMLA provides for both self-care and family-care leave, see supra note 91, if decisionmakers assume that self-care leave is taken by equal numbers of men and women, and that family-care leave is taken by many more women, then the FMLA would have a negative impact on women. This is especially so because the family-care provision of the FMLA is likely to be more salient to decisionmakers than the self-care provision.


135. Id. 629–30 (internal quotations omitted).

limit women at work are instantiated not only through the stereotyping of women as mothers first and workers second, but equally through stereotypes of men as workers first and fathers second. Moreover, these stereotypes make it harder for men to participate meaningfully in family life, which in turn contributes to women doing more care work, further reinforcing sex-role stereotypes and limiting women’s workplace opportunities. Precisely because of these interlocking stereotypes, women’s rights advocates, including Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, have relied on male sex discrimination plaintiffs to combat subordinating stereotypes against women.

Interlocking stereotypes on the basis of sex also arise outside of the family. In the landmark Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins case, the Supreme Court held that denying a woman a professional accounting partnership because she was too masculine could violate Title VII. The employer criticized the plaintiff because she was “macho”; “a lady using foul language”; and a “tough-talking somewhat masculine hard-nosed [manager]”; and for failing to “walk more femininely, talk more femininely, dress more femininely, wear make-up, have her hair styled, and wear jewelry.” As we can see from these criticisms, feminine and masculine stereotypes are mirror images. Being masculine means being macho; using foul language, being tough-talking, and being hard-nosed, and not walking femininely, not talking femininely, not dressing femininely, not wearing make-up, not styling one’s hair, and not wearing jewelry. Being feminine means the opposite: being delicate; not using foul language; not talking tough; and not being hard-nosed; and walking femininely, talking femininely, dressing femininely, wearing make-up, styling one’s hair, and wearing jewelry. These stereotypes place women in a double bind in a range of professions that...
require stereotypically masculine traits to get ahead: women must act aggressively to do the job well, but must act femininely to meet gender expectations. While these stereotypes were manifested against a woman in *Price Waterhouse*, they can just as easily arise in cases where men are penalized for being too feminine. Dismantling these subordinating stereotypes requires a symmetrical law that allows challenges from both sides.

We can see interlocking stereotypes for other protected traits as well. Take age, for example. A Department of Labor report that formed the basis for the passage of the ADEA identified the primary obstacle that older workers face as one of “stereotyping.” The stereotypes that hold older workers back include the view that older workers are less flexible, more resistant to change, and not as competent with new or fast-changing technologies. Younger workers

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142. *Id.* at 251 (“An employer who objects to aggressiveness in women but whose positions require this trait places women in an intolerable and impermissible catch 22: out of a job if they behave aggressively and out of a job if they do not. Title VII lifts women out of this bind.”); see also, e.g., Susan T. Fiske et al., *(Dis)respecting Versus (Dis)liking: Status and Interdependence Predict Ambivalent Stereotypes of Competence and Warmth*, 55 J. SOC. ISSUES 473, 477–78 (1999); Madeline E. Heilman & Tyler G. Okimoto, *Why Are Women Penalized for Success at Male Tasks?: The Implied Communality Deficit*, 92 J. APPLIED PSYCHOL. 81, 91 (2007) (finding that women who succeed at male tasks by adopting masculine traits such as aggression are penalized because they are viewed as lacking in feminine traits such as nurturing).


144. Because of Title VII’s symmetry, an effeminate man can argue that he was discriminated against on the basis of sex because a woman who behaved the same way would be treated differently. *See Case, supra* note 30, at 4 (explaining that adding gender to the list of Title VII’s protected traits is not necessary to protect the effeminate man for this reason). While male plaintiffs have historically faced obstacles in bringing these claims, *id.* at 49–51 (collecting cases), such claims are now gaining ground, *see, e.g.*, *City of Salem*, 378 F.3d at 572 (male plaintiff can proceed on discrimination claim based on feminine appearance); *Nichols*, 256 F.3d at 874–75 (same for harassment based on femininity).

145. *The Older American Worker: Age Discrimination in Employment*, *Report of the Secretary of Labor to the Congress Under Section 715 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, at 2 (1965) (finding that employers make “assumptions about the effect of age on [an individual’s] ability to do a job when there is in fact no basis for [such] assumptions”) (emphasis omitted).

face the flip side of these stereotypes. If older workers are viewed as too slow and stuck in the past, younger workers are viewed as too quick and not stuck enough: great with new technology, but less committed, less reliable, and less talented with traditional skills like in-person interviewing and writing. Again, a symmetrical law that allows these stereotypes to be challenged from both sides will be far more effective at rooting them out.

Interlocking stereotypes are present for other protected identity traits like race and national origin, albeit less pervasively. The weaker presence of interlocking stereotypes in these contexts may be due to the difference between binary traits, on the one hand, and discrete traits on the other. For binary traits, it is easy to view one group as the opposite of, or “not” the other. This is so for sex, and while age is a continuous trait, it may be perceived as binary (old and young). In the context of discrete traits, by contrast, there are multiple different groups that fall within the protected identity trait, and so no group serves as the foil for the other group. Nonetheless, interlocking stereotypes do exist in this context as well.

For example, one common stereotype of black workers is that they are cool, stylish, and hip, whereas a common stereotype of white workers is that they are the opposite: uncool and behind-the-times.

http://www.hcamag.com/hr-news/age-discrimination-against-younger-workers-147776.aspx [https://perma.cc/B9PZ-KNUJ] (citing a survey of hiring managers finding that they believe older workers need to improve their technological skills); see also, e.g., 
Hartsel v. Keys, 87 F.3d 795, 802 (6th Cir. 1996) (explaining that the belief that “older workers are more resistant to change and are adverse to learning new methods . . . is the very type of ageist stereotype that the ADEA was enacted to address”); Peterson v. Mid-State Grp., 54 F. Supp. 3d 1039, 1044 (E.D. Wis. 2014) (allowing an ADEA plaintiff to survive summary judgment because employer’s professed nondiscriminatory reasons for termination—that employee was unable to adapt to the computer system and was resistant to change—were consistent with ageist stereotypes).

See Armour, supra note 101 (discussing stereotype of younger workers as “slackers who tend to be less loyal to the company”); HRM, supra note 146 (citing survey of hiring managers finding that younger workers are viewed as less reliable and less professional); see also, e.g., 
Nishi v. Siemens AG, 290 F. Supp. 2d 772, 777 (E.D. Mich. 2003) (reverse age discrimination claim based on maturity concerns); 

Compare ANTHONY J. CORTESE, PROVOCATEUR 117 (3d ed. 2008) (noting that “[b]lack people have traditionally set trends in fashion style, language, and particularly, entertainment” and that “[b]lack images are often used . . . to impart what is considered ‘cool,’ stylish, [or] ‘hip’”), with Lori Kendall, “White and Nerdy”: Computers, Race, and the Nerd Stereotype, 44 J. POPULAR CULTURE 505 (2011) (explaining how whiteness has been linked with nerdiness and uncoolness) (internal citation omitted). Interlocking racial stereotypes also arise in athletics. See Jeff Ston et al., “White Men Can’t Jump”: Evidence for Perceptual Confirmation of Racial Stereotypes Following a Basketball Game, 19 BASIC & APPLIED SOC. PSYCHOL. 291 (1997) (finding that subjects stereotyped black basketball players as more athletic and
Even this seemingly benign stereotype of black workers is subordinating because it may limit employers’ conceptions of the types of jobs that are a good match for black workers. For example, a successful black advertising executive may be poised for a promotion to be the first black vice president at his firm, only to learn that he is to head up the new “urban” division at the company.149 If white workers denied positions in the “urban” division are not allowed to challenge these decisions, the interlocking racial stereotypes that confine black workers to narrower paths for success are fought less effectively, from only one side.

c. Heterogeneity of Disadvantage

This next argument varies from the last two in that the antisubordination purpose that is achieved is not in the form of benefits to a historically subordinated group, but in recognizing the variety of manifestations that disadvantage can take. The antisubordination view relies on a clean division between the advantaged group and the disadvantaged group.150 The early scholarship developing the theory was focused on governmental policies related to race, and it seemed straightforward that blacks were disadvantaged and whites were advantaged.151 But in the employment context, stereotypes of even subordinated groups may systematically work to their advantage in pockets of the labor market. Moreover, the circumstances of naturally talented and white players as more intelligent and hustling more); see also, e.g., Heike v. Guevara, 519 F. App’x 911, 919 (6th Cir. 2013) (white athlete claiming race discrimination based on basketball coach’s preference for “thug” or “ghetto” players).

Interlocking stereotypes have also been identified in Native American and white identities. Whites have long been stereotyped as embracing modern civilization, whereas Native Americans face both an idealized stereotype of avoiding the evils of this civilization, as well as a “negative stereotype of Indians [as] the dupes of missionaries, the drunk ‘hang around the fort’ Indians.” Tod D. Swanson, Through Family Eyes: Towards a More Adequate Perspective for Viewing Native American Religious Life, 21 AM. INDIAN Q. 57, 57–58 (1997). These “mirror image stereotypes” of whites and Native Americans “feed off each other,” and “work[] together [to] create a destructive system of meaning.” Id. at 58, 64.

149. I draw this example from the television show Black-ish. See Black-ish: Pilot (ABC television broadcast Sept. 24, 2104); Ellis Cose, The Rage of a Privileged Class 80 (1993) (describing how many black executives are steered into “black” jobs in areas such as “community relations” or “minority affairs”); see generally John D. Skrentny, After Civil Rights: Racial Realism in the New American Workplace 11–12 (2014) (discussing employer’s reliance on “racial abilities”—“perceptions that employees of some races are better able to perform some tasks than employees of other races due to their aptitude or knowhow”).

150. See supra notes 69–70 and accompanying text.

151. See generally Fiss, supra note 17 (relying on state action based on race to develop seminal antisubordination theory).
subordinated groups and the labor market have changed substantially since the antisubordination theory was developed, calling into question the neat division of advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

For some traits, there are reasons to believe that both “sides” of a protected trait face substantial systematic subordination, but in different ways. The prime example is age. Even the legislative history of the ADEA acknowledges that younger workers may be at a disadvantage to older workers in some circumstances: while older applicants were treated with disdain, older workers were “frequently preferred over the younger” workers when it came to promotions and treatment within the workplace.152 Younger workers have only fared worse since then, even as applicants. Despite the fact that one of the primary concerns of the ADEA was high levels of unemployment among older workers,153 workers between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four now have a higher unemployment rate (4.9%) than workers fifty-five years and older (3.5%).154 Older workers also out-earn younger workers.155

And while the ADEA focused on the negative stereotypes that older workers face,156 younger workers too face negative stereotypes that arguably hold them back just as much. When it comes to skills, younger workers may be viewed as less competent.157 As for personal


153. See Samuel Issacharoff & Erica Worth Harris, Is Age Discrimination Really Age Discrimination? The ADEA’s Unnatural Solution, 72 N.Y.U. L. REV. 780, 783–84 (1997) (explaining that the ADEA was motivated by the problem of long-term unemployment among the elderly and legislative findings that “the burden of unemployment was falling disproportionately on older workers”).


155. See Christine Jolls, Hands-Tying and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, 74 Tex. L. Rev. 1813, 1815 (1996). In light of rising wages for older workers, Christine Jolls has argued that the primary purpose of the ADEA may not be civil rights but employer hands-tying. Under this view of the ADEA, what underlies the law is a bargain between employers and employees, premised on an unstated agreement of rising wages over the course of an employee’s career with the firm. This rising wage is less than the employee’s productivity early on, but more than productivity later in the career. Without protection against termination at the later stage, however, employers would be free to breach the bargain by terminating employees when wages exceed productivity. Under the hands-tying view, the ADEA prevents this. While this may or may not explain current law, compare id. at 1814–15, with Issacharoff & Harris, supra note 153, at 800 (finding this an unsatisfying justification for the ADEA), it is orthogonal to an analysis of how an age discrimination law aimed at promoting antisubordination purposes should be designed.

156. See supra notes 145–146 and accompanying text.

157. See HRM, supra note 146 (noting in particular writing ability); Snowdon, supra note 99; Emily Weller, Discrimination Against Young Workers in the Workplace,
characteristics, younger workers are thought to be less reliable, less professional, and less committed to the job,\textsuperscript{158} as well as less affable, with lower moral standards.\textsuperscript{159} The stereotype of the irresponsible younger worker is only magnified with young adults’ delayed independence from their families of origin well into adulthood.\textsuperscript{160} These stereotypes are particularly problematic in positions seen to require authority.\textsuperscript{161}

Younger workers feel the impact of these stereotypes. According to one recent study, people in their forties were viewed as having the highest status in the workplace, while those over seventy were given a higher status than those in their twenties.\textsuperscript{162} Younger workers are more likely than older workers to report experiencing age-related prejudice, with those under twenty-five at least twice as likely to have experienced it as other age groups.\textsuperscript{163} Just forty-four percent of employees ages eighteen to twenty-four believe they are treated fairly on the job, compared with sixty-four percent of employees ages forty-five to fifty-five.\textsuperscript{164} In circumstances like these, when different “sides” of the trait face different forms of systematic disadvantage, it is especially troubling to wall off a group’s ability to challenge discrimination.

Like age, the neat division of subordination by sex, with men at the top and women at the bottom, has become more muddied in recent

\textsuperscript{158} See Armour, supra note 101; HRM, supra note 146; Scott Wooldridge, \textit{Millennials: The New Victims of Age Discrimination?}, BENEFITSPRO (Sept. 30, 2015), http://www.benefitspro.com/2015/09/30/millennials-the-new-victims-of-age-discrimination [https://perma.cc/3TZ5-6KJ5] (noting that employers often view younger workers as “lazy, unpredictable, unreliable, unprofessional, and not willing to follow the rules of workplace conduct,” and are concerned that younger workers “simply won’t stick with a job once hired”).

\textsuperscript{159} See Snowdon, supra note 99.


\textsuperscript{161} See, e.g., \textit{Bergen Commercial Bank v. Sisler}, 723 A.2d 944 (N.J. 1999) (twenty-five-year-old bank vice president demoted after employer learned of his age). In an anecdote reported by Armour, supra note 101, when a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer stood to argue his case, the judge joked, “Is it bring-your-kids-to-work day?,” and asked if his dad would be arguing the motion.

\textsuperscript{162} See Snowdon, supra note 99.

\textsuperscript{163} See id. (reporting on results of a 2012 survey).

\textsuperscript{164} Armour, supra note 101 (reporting on results of a 2002 survey).
years. 165 Men now attend college at lower rates than women, 166 and skills associated with traditional male jobs are not as valued in the current economy. 167 This does not mean that men in general are moving towards taking on the subordinated position in the labor market, but that a bimodal distribution of male workers may be emerging. Men have remained stably privileged at the highest levels of the labor market, in top management and professional jobs, but are also overrepresented at the bottom of the labor market, leaving them less represented in the middle. 168 While this trend is still emerging, the trajectory should lead us to question our confidence in rigid demarcations of subordination by sex in the labor market, as well as any law that would recognize disadvantage only of women workers.

165. See generally LIZA MUNDY, THE RICHER SEX (2012) (discussing how soon more households will be supported by women than men and the consequences); HANNA ROSIN, THE END OF MEN (2012) (chronicling how women are surpassing men in a number of domains, including many measures of education and labor market achievement). Rosin’s work has generated criticism for missing key ways in which men remain privileged in the labor market, see, e.g., June Carbone & Naomi Cahn, The End of Men or the Rebirth of Class, 93 B.U. L. REV. 871, 871–73 (2013); Michael Selmi & Sonia Weil, Can All Women Be Pharmacists?: A Critique of Hanna Rosin’s The End Of Men, 93 B.U. L. REV. 851, 852 (2013), but these criticisms do not alter the fundamental shifts in the labor market that Rosin does chronicle.

166. See ROSIN, supra note 165, at 4 (“In the United States, for every two men who will receive a BA this year, for example, three women will do the same.”); Gary S. Becker et al., Explaining the Worldwide Boom in Higher Education of Women, 4 J. HUM. CAP. 203 (2010) (documenting and explaining this phenomenon).

167. See ROSIN, supra note 165, at 4–5 (“Of the fifteen job categories projected to grow the most in the United States over the next decade, twelve are occupied primarily by women.”). The decline of men in the labor force is explained by “sweeping structural changes in rich economies [that] have reduced the demand for all less-skilled workers.” Decline of the Working Man, ECONOMIST (Apr. 28, 2011), http://www.economist.com/node/18618613 [https://perma.cc/B6Y7-VEAJ]. “Men have been hit harder than women by these shifts [because] . . . [they] are likelier to work in manufacturing,” whereas “women have been better represented in sectors, such as health care and education, where most job growth has taken place.” Id.; see also ROSIN, supra note 165, at 5 (“In the past, men derived their advantage largely from size and strength, but the postindustrial economy is indifferent to brawn [as a] service and information economy rewards precisely the opposite qualities—the ones that can’t be easily replaced by a machine.”). For a discussion of how technological change has enhanced sex equality in one profession—pharmacy, see Claudia Goldin & Lawrence F. Katz, A Most Egalitarian Profession: Pharmacy and the Evolution of a Family-Friendly Occupation, 34 J. LAB. ECON. 705 (2016).

Occupational segregation by race and sex also challenges the neat division of subordinated groups. While the bulk of this segregation operates to maintain traditional identity-based hierarchies, this is not always the case. Occupational segregation can also lead an advantaged group to be systematically excluded from desirable occupations. Only a symmetrical law allows this type of disadvantage to be challenged.

When it comes to occupational segregation by sex, there are numerous desirable occupations that are dominated by women. Table 2 below provides examples of female-dominated occupations where the median weekly earnings for men in these occupations substantially exceed the national average of median weekly earnings for men, which was $841 in 2014. Of course, earnings are not the only relevant factor for making an occupation desirable (I return to this point below), but earnings provide a simple measure to demonstrate that there are occupations that men might desire to enter that are harder for them to enter than women.

### Table 2

| Occupation                              | Percent Female | Median Weekly Male Earnings
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dental Hygienist</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>$1034*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse Practitioner</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>$1753*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered Nurse</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>$1261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Therapist</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>$1365*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>$1039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary and Middle School Teachers</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>$1126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


170. Id. at 181 (noting that jobs dominated by women and minorities pay less); see also Vicki Schultz & Stephen Petterson, Race, Gender, Work, and Choice: An Empirical Study of the Lack of Interest Defense in Title VII Cases Challenging Job Segregation, 59 U. CHI. L. REV. 1073, 1074–75 (1992) (“Job segregation is not a separate-but-equal arrangement; minorities and women are concentrated in work offering lower wages, less status, and fewer opportunities for advancement.”).


172. All data is from 2016 and derived from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Id.

173. This measure disaggregates the median weekly earnings of men in these occupations as compared with women in these occupations because men earn substantially more. The figures in this column with asterisks represent median weekly earnings for men and women combined, because figures for men alone are unavailable.
One might quibble with my conclusion that men in these desirable female occupations are disadvantaged relative to women. First, most of these occupations require an advanced degree, and men with the same level of education could earn more in another (male-dominated) occupation. While men (and women) with the same level of education could earn more in other jobs, even an antisubordination absolutist would likely measure disadvantage not only in earnings potential, but in life opportunities. Even if a man could get a master’s degree in information technology and earn more than if he had pursued a master’s degree in nursing, this does not negate the fact that some men might prefer nursing to information technology. If men as a group systematically face obstacles to entering nursing, they should be regarded as disadvantaged with regard to this occupation.

Second, men earn more than women in these occupations, and thus they appear to be advantaged in these jobs. Much of the earnings gap in any occupation is attributable to the fact that men work more hours and enjoy fewer interruptions in their careers.\(^{174}\) Even if men in these professions earn more, this does not negate the existence of systematic barriers to men entering and remaining in these professions.\(^{175}\) And,


175. Much of the research comes from the field of nursing. See Christiana Kouta & Charis P. Kaite, *Gender Discrimination and Nursing: A Literature Review*, 27 J. Prof. Nursing 59, 59–60 (2011) (cataloguing stereotyping of men in nursing and its consequences, including that male nurses are held back because of inequitable treatment in nursing school, as well as workplace stereotypes, such as that men are “considered to lack the capacity to provide mothering and caring,” and reporting that “men resign from nursing during the first [four] years after graduation more frequently than women”); see also, e.g., *Miss. Univ. for Women v. Hogan*, 458 U.S. 718, 731 (1982) (holding that denying males the right to enroll in the state nursing school violates equal protection); *Evans v. Principi*, No. Civ.A. 02-2258(GK), 2005 WL 485743, at *1 (D.D.C. Feb. 17, 2005) (male nurse suing for sex discrimination alleging that his supervisor told him that he “did[n’t belong here]” and that he was treated far worse than his female colleagues). Another example comes from the obstetrics and gynecology field, which has become so female-dominated that it is now difficult for men to enter the field. See Tamar Lewin, *Women’s Health is No Longer a Man’s World*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 7, 2001), http://www.nytimes.com/2001/02/07/us/women-s-health-is-no-longer-a-man-s-world.html [https://perma.cc/8KGS-9Z25] (quoting chairman of the Council on Resident Education in Obstetrics and Gynecology that this is “a huge issue for male medical students”); see also, e.g., *Veleanu v. Beth Isr. Med. Ctr.*, No. 98 CIV. 7455(VM), 2000 WL 140965, at *1 (S.D.N.Y. Sept. 25, 2000) (male gynecologist claiming that employer sought to create an all-female staff). And we can see additional examples in other caring professions. See, e.g., *Scott v. Parkview Mem’l Hosp.*, 175 F.3d 523, 525 (7th Cir. 1999) (male social worker claiming that employer favored women by using sex as proxy for caring attitude); *Longariello v. Sch. Bd. of Monroe Cty.*, 161 F.3d 21 (11th Cir. 1998) (male teacher claiming failure to hire); *Keller v. Ind. Family & Soc. Servs. Admin.*, 639 F. Supp. 2d 928, 937 (S.D. Ind.
importantly, the disadvantage that men face in these occupations is linked to the ongoing subordination of women: until it is accepted for men to engage in traditionally feminine jobs, these jobs will continue to confer less status and lower pay, which primarily harms women.176

This pattern of occupational segregation holds less true for other traits. While there is occupational segregation by race, it is less pronounced.177 And race-based occupational segregation should be distinguished from sex-based occupational segregation on two grounds. First, because these are workers from minority races and national origins, even when they are disproportionately represented in an occupation, they continue to make up a minority of that occupation, as compared to the ninety percent or greater saturation of women in the most sex-segregated occupations.178 This means that the degree of exclusion of men in sex-segregated fields is less likely to occur for whites in race-segregated fields. Second, there are fewer occupations that disproportionately employ racial and ethnic minorities that would be deemed desirable by the wage measure relied on above.

One exception is for Asian workers, who are disproportionately represented in a number of desirable occupations, including a variety of technology, mathematical, engineering, and science occupations.179

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176. See Case, supra note 30, at 34 (describing how the devaluation of the feminine, in women or men, will accrue to the disadvantage of women).
177. See Alonso-Villar et al., supra note 169, at 188.
178. Household Data Annual Averages, supra note 171.
179. See id. (listing, inter alia, statistician, computer systems analyst, medical scientist, physical scientist, physicians, and pharmacists); Jay McGregor, 2% of Google Employees are Black and Just 30% are Women, Forbes (May 29, 2014, 10:01 AM), http://www.forbes.com/sites/jaymcgregor/2014/05/29/2-of-google-employees-are-black-and-just-30-are-women [https://perma.cc/GSPJ-VN9Z] (citing Google’s workforce as 30% Asian). Notably, Asian workers’ median weekly earnings are actually higher than white workers’ earnings. Press Release, Bureau of Lab. Stats., Usual Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers Second Quarter 2015 (July 21, 2015), http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/wkyeng.pdf [https://perma.cc/DUQ8-6PXAJ] ($965 per week for Asians as compared with $829 for whites). While Asian workers as a whole out-earn white workers, the distribution of earnings across Asian workers varies, with some subgroups of Asians earning more than whites, and others earning less. See Alonso-Villar et al., supra note 169, at 192, 203. Thus, the relative privilege of Asian workers and white workers must be viewed more granularly. And given the numerical supremacy of whites in the workforce, it is still hard to argue that as a general matter, whites are subordinated as compared with even the privileged subset of Asian Americans. Recent lawsuits against elite universities challenging affirmative action policies as unduly limiting Asian as compared with white acceptance rates demonstrate how Asians may continue to be subordinated, even as model minorities. See, e.g., Harvard’s Asian Problem: A Lawsuit Says Racial Preferences Hurt High-Achieving Minorities, WALL ST. J., http://www.wsj.com/articles/harvards-
aim is not to suggest that Asian Americans do not face harmful stereotyping or discrimination that limits their employment opportunities, but rather to highlight that whites may not be the most privileged race across all occupations. Only a symmetrically designed law allows disadvantage to be challenged in its varied manifestations.

B. Practice

The symmetrical or asymmetrical design of an employment discrimination law matters not only for the purpose of the law, but also for how the law is implemented in practice. Here too there are benefits to symmetry. An asymmetrical law requires a defined protected class. By putting courts in the position of iteratively deciding who is in and who is out of the class, such a requirement runs counter to anticlassification purposes and stands at odds with a more fluid notion of identity that is pressed by transgender and other plaintiffs. Requiring a protected-class determination at the outset of the case unduly restricts understandings of discrimination and plaintiffs’ ability to prove their claims. These practical shortcomings of asymmetry are discussed in turn.

With a symmetrical law, there need be no analysis of whether the plaintiff is a member of a protected class. As one court explained in a Title VII case: “By virtue of being a human being, the Plaintiff satisfies the first element—he belongs to a race and national origin: white, Hispanic.” By contrast, asymmetrical laws define a protected class. Courts must then determine at the outset of each lawsuit whether the plaintiff is a member of the protected class. Under the ADEA, the analysis is quite simple, as age is an easily quantifiable trait.


183. For continuous traits, this is less of a requirement than a sense that an asymmetrical law that is meant to protect the subordinated group would limit the protected class to those within this group. See supra note 46 and accompanying text (discussing how ADEA limits the protected class to those over forty).

However, race, national origin, sex, and disability can require a more complicated analysis, which might be particularly troubling in the era of Caitlyn Jenner and Rachel Dolezal, when the line between male and female and black and white is increasingly blurred. And because there is no natural or accepted definition of disability, this initial classification decision has come to define the field of disability discrimination litigation.

The need for courts to make protected-class determinations at the outset of litigation is troubling. For those who believe antidiscrimination law’s purpose is to limit classifications on the basis of protected identity traits, an antidiscrimination law that required these types of classifications would be in stark tension with this goal. Such classifications recall a disturbing history of race and other identity classifications that have been used to exclude and demean. The volume of employment discrimination cases, and thus the volume of classifications, only further underscores this concern.

Beyond classification concerns, a protected-class requirement will unduly restrict which theories of discrimination courts cognize and which plaintiffs can proceed on their claims by adding yet one more test to an area of law already littered with formal tests. Scholars have explored how these rigid tests have served as roadblocks to new theories of discrimination and to plaintiffs’ ability to establish their claims. As Professor Sandra Sperino has argued, employment discrimination tests, including the protected-class test, have led courts...
to focus too much on the tests and to “dismiss claims . . . that do not fit neatly within recognized structures.” Plaintiffs’ claims have been dismissed, despite substantial evidence of discrimination, simply because they did not meet the technical bounds of the prima facie case.

While at first blush these concerns might sound in the canonical rules-standards debate, there are reasons to be particularly concerned about the unduly rigid application of rules here. It is notoriously difficult to gain traction on the central question in disparate treatment claims: whether the employer engaged in conduct because of a protected trait, which I refer to as the causation inquiry. In the face of this difficulty, judges decide an enormous volume of discrimination cases under a starting assumption that not much discrimination actually occurs in the world. In light of these circumstances, scholars have shown how courts police the boundaries of employment discrimination claims by applying overly strict tests that allow them to avoid the troubling causation question.

Of particular relevance here, we can see the restrictive application of the protected-class test under the ADA. Determining whether a plaintiff is an individual with a “disability” “has become the most

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192. Sperino, supra note 191, at 71.
193. See id. at 88–91; see, e.g., Harmon v. Earthgrains Baking Cos., No. 08-5227, 2009 WL 332705, at *1 (6th Cir. Feb. 11, 2009) (rejecting an ADEA termination claim despite employer comment that “older people are . . . not your best people” because the plaintiff could not show that he had been replaced by a younger worker because his position was eliminated). Professor Suzanne Goldberg raises similar objections to the use of a strict comparator test as part of the plaintiff’s prima facie case. See Goldberg, supra note 191, at 747 n.48 (describing how “plaintiff must show that ‘he was treated less favorably . . . than were other similarly situated employees who were not members of the protected class’”). She argues that this test has “sharply narrow[ed] . . . the possibility of success for individual litigants,” by “miss[ing] important forms of discrimination and foreclos[ing] many individuals from having even an opportunity to be heard . . . .” Id. at 734–35.
195. See Katie R. Eyer, That’s Not Discrimination: American Beliefs and the Limits of Anti-Discrimination Law, 96 MINN. L. REV. 1275, 1278 (2012) (collecting studies showing that “most people, in most factual circumstances, are unwilling to make robust attributions to discrimination”).
196. See Goldberg, supra note 191, at 790 (explaining that courts’ insistence on the comparator test “provide[s] false certainty to the extent that [it is] treated as elemental to, or objectively confirmatory of, discrimination [and that] this false certainty enables courts to elide accountability” for failing to consider other ways of proving discrimination); Sperino, supra note 191, at 71 (explaining that reliance on rigid tests has led to a false certainty as to the dispositive nature of such tests, such that courts “reject new theories of discrimination, without actually analyzing whether such theories are viable”).
contentious issue in the administration of the statute.” Many scholars agree that “courts have inappropriately applied a restrictive definition of ‘disability’ to squelch ADA cases at the summary judgment stage.” Even when genuine issues of material fact regarding a plaintiff’s disability status arise, courts have kicked out such cases on summary judgment at high rates. And even when the statute itself has taken a more expansive approach to the definition of disability, specifically instructing that individuals who are “regarded as” disabled should be covered, courts still take a quite restrictive approach to the definition of the protected class. All told, this means that a substantial portion of ADA lawsuits are lost at the protected-class stage. While amendments to the ADA were aimed at easing these difficulties, scholars are not optimistic that they will achieve this goal.

Eliminating protected-class determinations shifts the key inquiry in a discrimination case to causation, where it is better placed. Consider sex discrimination claims raised by transgender individuals. In such cases, courts have to assess the threshold question of whether discrimination because of transgenderism is discrimination because of sex. Some courts, as well as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), have answered this question in the affirmative. But the symmetry of Title VII provides a substantial benefit in such

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197. Bagenstos, supra note 12, at 398-99; see also Peter David Blanck & Mollie Weighner Marti, Attitudes, Behavior and the Employment Provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act, 42 VILL. L. REV. 345, 352 (1997) (“One of the most contentious aspects of disability law, research and policy involves the definition of disability.”); Mary Crossley, The Disability Kaleidoscope, 74 NOTRE DAME L. REV. 621, 623 (1999) (reporting estimate that disability status is challenged in more than half of ADA cases); Mayerson, supra note 53, at 587 (“[N]o issue has generated more controversy and divergence in judicial interpretation than the definition of disability . . .”).


204. See, e.g., Smith v. City of Salem, 378 F.3d 566 (6th Cir. 2004).

cases: courts do not also need to assess whether the plaintiff is a man or a woman to determine whether she is a member of the protected class. This avoided question is one that not only would be quite difficult to answer, but would present a troubling irony for female-to-male transgender individuals: if the plaintiff’s desired gender identity were accepted, he would be outside the protection of an asymmetrical sex discrimination law.

We can also see the benefits of avoiding the protected-class inquiry in the context of race. Consider what Professor Camille Gear Rich has referred to as “elective race”—the recognition that, in addition to racial ascription by others, individuals engage in “voluntary acts . . . [of] ‘race and ethnic performance’ . . . [that] are equally, if not more, determinative of how an individual is racially categorized by others.”206 When an individual’s elected race does not comport with her perceived race, courts must decide whether to consider the employee’s elected or perceived race in assessing claims of discrimination.207

Under a symmetrically designed law, this question is treated as a question of causation rather than as part of the protected-class inquiry.208 This is a distinction with a difference. The protected-class approach tends to treat identity as a static concept that inheres in an individual. Scholars have questioned this understanding of identity, and instead recognize that identity is more of a process of social construction and ascription. They argue that “society places people into categories with attendant ascribed attributes that effectively constitute a social identity.”209 This means that a trait like race or national origin is not simply a biological category, but one “constructed along cultural,
political, and economic lines.” The process of social identity ascription also includes how others react to an individual’s own identity-related choices and behaviors. Given the fluid nature of identity, properly understanding identity requires a more flexible approach that recognizes that identity may shift depending on context. Assessing these questions as a matter of causation rather than protected class provides this flexibility by focusing more on employer conduct rather than on any fixed quality of the employee.

We can see this in the context of racial classifications, where courts have tended to show more flexible conceptions of racial identity when they are addressed as a matter of causation rather than as a matter of protected class. In _Wood v. Freeman Decorating Services_, the plaintiff claimed that he was harassed on the basis of Native American race. The defendant objected on the ground that the plaintiff “(1) has no evidence establishing himself as American Indian and (2) has previously identified himself as Hispanic rather than American Indian.” The court, addressing this as a question of causation—whether the plaintiff was subject to harassing conduct “because of [his] race [or national origin]”—rather than membership in a protected class, focused on the employer’s ascription of the plaintiff’s race, rather than on any inherent notion of plaintiff’s identity. The court paid little heed to the plaintiff’s birth certificate classifying him as white, or to the plaintiff’s previous reporting of his race as Hispanic in employment records. Instead, the court focused on the fact that the “Defendant’s employees believed that Plaintiff was American Indian.” The court reasoned that harassment on the basis of perceived race does not alter the fact that this is harassment on the basis of race, nor lessen the resulting injury to the plaintiff.

In _Nieves v. Metropolitan Dade County_, by contrast, the restrictive results of a protected-class approach can be seen. The plaintiff claimed discrimination on the basis of Hispanic race, although he had indicated that he was Caucasian on his employment application

210. López, supra note 209, at 27.
211. Rich, supra note 206, at 1513.
213. Id. at *4.
214. Id.
215. Id.
216. Id.
217. Id. at *5.
218. Id.
220. Id.
form. Even though this case was brought under the symmetrical Title VII, the court wrongly treated the plaintiff’s identity as a question of protected class. Instead of assessing the employer’s behavior with regard to its perception of the plaintiff’s race, the court conducted its own analysis of the plaintiff’s race: “the Court notes that neither from observing the Plaintiff nor from listening to his speech patterns, mannerisms and pronunciation of the English language was it apparent that Plaintiff was Hispanic.” In so doing, the court focused on protected-class membership as a fixed characteristic—an objective and static fact—rather than on the employer’s perception and treatment of the employee, and, in so doing, rejected the Plaintiff’s claim.

A “regarded as” provision could be added to the definition of the protected class to address these complicated identity-ascription cases. But experience with these types of rules as part of the plaintiff’s prima facie case should make us skeptical of this approach. Even tests that were intended to make it easier for plaintiffs to pursue their claims have been applied so narrowly as to have precisely the opposite effect. And the test-based approach to employment discrimination has led courts to “reject new theories of discrimination, without actually analyzing whether such theories are viable” under the statute. This is particularly concerning in the context of the protected class, as the law must be able to respond to evolving conceptions of identity. For these reasons, scholars in the field have consistently advocated a more flexible approach focusing on causation rather than the accretion of still more tests that serve as hurdles to rights-claiming.

221. Id. at 957.
222. See supra notes 32–34 and accompanying text.
224. Id. at 961–62; see also Rich, supra note 206, at 1551.
225. See Mayerson, supra note 53, at 590–91 (describing restrictive application of “regarded as” prong under the ADA).
226. See Sperino, supra note 191, at 88–91 (explaining how the prima facie case was meant to ease the difficulty of proving causation but has been applied rigidly to make it harder for plaintiffs to establish claims); Goldberg, supra note 191, at 734 (same for comparator test).
227. Sperino, supra note 191, at 71. See Goldberg, supra note 191, at 734 (the requirement of comparator evidence “sharply narrow[s] . . . the very meaning of discrimination”).
228. See supra notes 209–211 and accompanying text for a discussion of evolving conceptions of race.
229. See Goldberg, supra note 191, at 787–91, 807–12 (advocating for more reliance on the approach taken in the sexual harassment and stereotyping contexts, which flexibly examines the question of causation); Sperino, supra note 191, at 115–18 (advocating for a more flexible approach to the core question of discrimination); Stein et al., supra note 12, at 737 (advocating for shifting the focus of the ADA inquiry from the rigid definition of disability to the more flexible causation question).
C. Politics

A symmetrically designed law also brings political benefits, as the universality of such laws helps to enhance support for them. Several theories of political support relate to what political scientists refer to as “targeted” as compared with “universal” laws. Mapping their language to our task here, asymmetrical laws are targeted, and symmetrical laws are universal. The first theory, median voter theory, predicts that policy choices will tend to align with the preferences of the median voter, and thus that policies will tend to be moderate, eschewing the preferences on one side of the spectrum or another. This leads to the “paradox of redistribution”: that for policies with redistributive consequences, a more universal law will attain more redistribution in the long run because it will garner more political support (by benefiting the median voter). This would suggest that a symmetrical law, or at least one broad enough to capture the median voter, would garner more support.

The second theory, public choice theory, focuses on the costs of organizing and the problem of collective action. It posits that policies with concentrated benefits are more likely to garner support than those with diffuse benefits because of the free-rider problem. If benefits are diffused across a larger population of people, many of the beneficiaries will be tempted to free ride, and thus there will be insufficient mobilization in support of the law. This suggests that an asymmetrical law, which provides more concentrated benefits, would garner more support than a symmetrical law.

The first and second theories can be critiqued for taking preferences to be stable and exogenous to legal design, and failing to consider how policies shape preferences. The third theory, policy


233. See generally Michael T. Hayes, Lobbyists and Legislators: A Theory of Political Markets (1981); James Q. Wilson, The Politics of Regulation, in The Politics of Regulation 357 (1980). Although the dispersion of costs also matters, I focus here simply on the benefits, as the dispersion of costs is relatively constant regardless of symmetry or asymmetry.

feedback theory, posits that policies create politics. As political scientist Theda Skocpol argues: “[P]olicies, once enacted, restructure subsequent political processes.” She further argues: “Policies not only flow from prior institutions and politics; they also reshape institutions and politics, making some future developments more likely, and hindering the possibilities for others.”

This is because policy affects resources and incentives for the mobilization of political actors and groups, and generates interpretive effects that shape how we make sense of a complex political world. For these reasons, individuals and groups may come to define themselves in light of policies and thus seek to reinforce them.

It is this third theory that I am particularly interested in. As we can see, both symmetrical and asymmetrical antidiscrimination laws have garnered sufficient support for passage. My aim is to assess how the design of the law—symmetrical or asymmetrical—affects the politics of antidiscrimination law after the law has passed. And research suggests that symmetry will have positive effects on politics in ways that must be appreciated.

Scholars of policy feedback, including Skocpol and sociologist William Julius Wilson, have highlighted how universalism can generate more positive forms of policy feedback, in particular in the context of race. Skocpol has documented the failure of more targeted welfare programs in the United States, including poorhouses, pensions, and the “war on poverty” of the 1960s and 70s, and blames their failure on the fact that their limited scope led these programs to be politically unpopular, which resulted in low levels of investments, and prompted public backlash. By contrast, she highlights the success of universal welfare programs, such as civil war benefits, health education services for mothers and children, and Social Security, which have enjoyed more political support and entrenchment. Along similar lines, Wilson has argued that from the perspective of improving the position of black Americans, universal programs rather than race-based programs are

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235. This is drawn from E.E. Schattschneider’s famous claim that “[n]ew policies create a new politics.” E.E. SCHATTSCHNEIDER, POLITICS, PRESSURES AND THE TARIFF 288 (1935).


237. Id. at 531.


239. Id.


241. See id. at 259–66.
more likely to be successful. Wilson suggests that race-based redistributional policies generate animosity towards the beneficiaries of these policies and the policies themselves, and thus that universal programs are more beneficial to minorities. With regard to race, Skocpol extends Wilson’s argument by suggesting that universal programs build solidarity that will benefit minorities by avoiding an “‘us’ versus ‘them’” mentality. When their own values and needs are met by a law, “larger numbers of middle-class American citizens would be prepared to go the extra mile for especially needy minorities.”

While these scholars were referencing governmental programs aimed at redistribution, we might adopt lessons from these policies in the context of antidiscrimination law. While employment discrimination law does not rely on any public transfers per se, they do amount to government mandates on private (and public) employers to redistribute the most significant form of private support: work. When viewed in this light, we can see the impact of a symmetrical antidiscrimination law in terms of policy feedback on the basis of the reasoning set forth above. Under this view, a symmetrical antidiscrimination law, by virtue of its universalism, is likely to generate more positive policy feedback, with more successful results. As compared with an asymmetrical law, it is less likely to generate resentment against its beneficiaries, and is more likely to generate a broader sense of solidarity in a universal antidiscrimination project that can bring benefits, at least in theory, to everyone.

In the legal context, we can also see this type of argument working at the level of the individual case, such that a symmetrical law will likely generate more support specifically from judges. A judge may be more inclined to decide for a plaintiff when that judge is able to identify with that person. Judges, especially the federal judges who decide a large portion of employment discrimination cases, are disproportionately white, able-bodied men. They are thus more likely to

242. See William Julius Wilson, The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy 8, 10–11 (2d ed. 1987).
243. Id.
244. Linda Faye Williams, The Constraint of Race 394 (2003); see also Skocpol, supra note 230, at 414, 419, 432–33.
245. Id. at 434.
246. See generally Vicki Schultz, Life’s Work, 100 COLUM. L. REV. 1881 (2000) (discussing the critical role of work for both material and non-support).
247. I thank Aziz Huq for raising this point.
248. See Carol T. Kulik et al., Here Comes the Judge: The Influence of Judge Personal Characteristics on Federal Sexual Harassment Case Outcomes, 27 L. & HUM. BEHAV. 69, 69 (2003); Theodore Ruger et al., The Supreme Court Forecasting Project: Legal and Political Science Approaches to Predicting Supreme Court Decisionmaking, 104 COLUM. L. REV. 1150 (2004).
identify with a person without disfavored traits with respect to race, gender, and disability (although not age). Hence, we are likely to see, all things equal, a larger volume of more favorable precedent with a symmetrical law. In contrast, with an asymmetrical law, we may well see courts crafting an aversive body of precedent that makes recovery difficult.

Note that it is not the case that positive policy feedback invariably results from universal benefits laws. For example, the FMLA, a law that universally provides unpaid family and self-care leave to workers regardless of sex, has not been considered a very effective policy.\textsuperscript{249} Political scientists have attributed the lack of positive policy feedback to weak policy design. The fact that the FMLA is unpaid means that many workers cannot afford to use it, and thus the program did not bring the types of positive changes to beneficiaries’ lives that would lead to support.\textsuperscript{250} Moreover, the complicated design of the law meant that even seven years after the law was passed, nearly half of all workers had not even heard of it, and half did not know if they were eligible for it.\textsuperscript{251} The argument then is that, all else equal, universalism brings political benefits to laws aiming at redistribution.

With this in mind, we can look at our experience with Title VII and the ADA through the lens of policy feedback. The ADA has been far less successful in achieving its goals as compared with Title VII.\textsuperscript{252} As Professor Michael Waterstone chronicles, although the ADA garnered a lot of support in Congress, it has not achieved two of its most important goals.\textsuperscript{253} First, the ADA was meant to restructure workplaces in a way that would increase the employment rates of the disabled.\textsuperscript{254} But ADA cases have had abysmally low success rates, and, as discussed above, the employment rates of the disabled fell rather

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{250} Id. This problematizes the analysis of legal scholar Julie Suk, who blames the FMLA’s relative lack of success on its universalism. See Julie C. Suk, Are Gender Stereotypes Bad for Women? Rethinking Antidiscrimination Law and Work-Family Conflict, 110 Colum. L. Rev. 1 (2010). Suk argues that it was the choice to make the FMLA universal, allowing both men and women to take family leave and self-care leave, that generated more opposition from business interests and thus weakened the FMLA. \textit{Id.} at 17–23. But this argument only addresses how universalism shaped the response of the law’s opponents, and fails to account for how other design choices in the FMLA meant that it generated little support even from its beneficiaries, despite its universalism.
\item \textsuperscript{251} See Howard, \textit{supra} note 249, at 253 n.26.
\item \textsuperscript{253} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{254} \textit{Id.}
\end{itemize}
than rose after the passage of the ADA. Second, the ADA was meant to create a new way of thinking about disability—that those with disabilities are not intrinsically limited, but instead have been held back by environmental features that can be changed. Again, this goal has not been achieved. Courts still conceive of disability in the old medical model. Waterstone attributes the ADA’s failure—what we might think of as the lack of positive policy feedback—in part to the ADA covering a large, amorphous group of those with disabilities. But given the research on policy feedback, it seems more likely that at least one of the factors contributing to the relative failure of the ADA is that its beneficiaries consist of too targeted a group rather than too large a group, particularly when compared with the relative success of the universal Title VII.

III. TOWARDS SYMMETRY

Before endorsing a symmetrical approach, the benefits as they apply to each of the traits under consideration, as well as any costs of symmetry, must be analyzed. This is the task undertaken at the outset of this Part, which concludes that the benefits of symmetry outweigh any costs for each of these traits. And even if we decide that a symmetrical law is preferable, there are still questions as to exactly how symmetrical the law should be across various doctrines. This Part next considers these questions, exploring how symmetry should be implemented at the doctrinal level. This has significant implications for current symmetrical law, as the analysis suggests a move towards more symmetry.

To keep the analysis tractable, this Article has focused on symmetry and asymmetry in the context of four protected traits in the area of employment discrimination law. This Part makes clear the broader implications of the analysis. It concludes by applying the insights of this Article to additional contexts: to additional protected traits—appearance and sexual orientation—that have been adopted or are under consideration in several states, and to additional areas of law—housing, education, and constitutional law.

A. Weighing Benefits and Costs

Before proceeding forward with proposals for more symmetry, two issues must be considered: (1) how the analysis of symmetry and

255. See id. at 616; supra note 118 and accompanying text.
256. Waterstone, supra note 252, at 616–17.
257. Id. at 618.
258. Id. at 620.
asymmetry varies across protected traits, and (2) the possible costs of symmetry. As for the first point, while there are substantial reasons to prefer symmetry to asymmetry in the design of antidiscrimination law, not all of these reasons apply equally to each of the traits under consideration. Therefore, this Part evaluates the arguments for symmetry on a trait-by-trait basis. It concludes that regardless of the trait, there are substantial benefits to symmetry. It then considers the possible costs of symmetry. Because none of the possible costs raise real concerns, this Part concludes that the benefits of symmetry outweigh the costs for each of the traits under consideration.

1. Trait-by-Trait Analysis

a. Age

Perhaps the strongest case for symmetry is in the context of age, a trait that now receives asymmetrical protection. All of the antisubordination reasons supporting symmetry—the cost of the mandate,\textsuperscript{259} the presence of interlocking stereotypes,\textsuperscript{260} and the heterogeneity of disadvantage\textsuperscript{261}—apply strongly to age, in addition to the anticlassification purpose.\textsuperscript{262} The antisubordination arguments for a symmetrical law are so strong here because it is not entirely clear that, all things considered, older rather than younger workers are the disadvantaged group.\textsuperscript{263}

The practical and political reasons to support a symmetrical law are weaker in the context of age. Of all the protected traits, age is the only one that is easily quantifiable.\textsuperscript{264} This makes for a neatly defined protected class,\textsuperscript{265} as well as easy determinations about who falls within

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{259.} See supra Part II.A.2.a.
\item \textsuperscript{260.} See supra Part II.A.2.b.
\item \textsuperscript{261.} See supra Part II.A.2.c.
\item \textsuperscript{262.} See supra Part II.A.1.
\item \textsuperscript{263.} See supra notes 160–164 and accompanying text.
\item \textsuperscript{264.} See Schuck, supra note 184, at 32 n.22.
\item \textsuperscript{265.} An asymmetrical law would still require policymakers to decide where to draw this line, with all of the attendant over- and under-inclusiveness problems associated with line-drawing. See id. at 34 & n.28 (“[C]lassifications embracing large populations will be ‘under-inclusive’ or ‘over-inclusive,’” and “[i]n this respect, age classifications do not differ, except perhaps in degree, from those based upon other characteristics.”). We might understand the line-drawing problems to be harder here because there is no age at which we can be reasonably comfortable that significant discrimination on the basis of old age does not apply. See, e.g., Noam Scheiber, The Brutal Ageism of Tech: Years of Experience, Plenty of Talent, Completely Obsolete, NEW REPUBLIC (Mar. 23, 2014), http://www.newrepublic.com/article/117088/silicons-valleys-brutal-ageism [https://perma.cc/V9P2-AZUW] (reporting on ageism in Silicon Valley starting at age thirty).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the class.266 From a political perspective, age is the one trait that might be thought of as universal by nature. We all expect that we will become older workers one day, and thus even younger workers might view the law as benefiting them, in that it will benefit their future selves. Thus, a symmetrical law may not be necessary to garner political benefits. Moreover, the protected group—those over forty—is the advantaged group when it comes to political power. Nonetheless, the overwhelming benefits for the purpose of the law weigh strongly in favor of symmetry.

b. Sex

The purpose arguments—both anticlassification and antisubordination—apply strongly in the context of sex. Because of the strength of interlocking stereotypes between men and women, allowing men to challenge sex stereotypes is critical to dismantling them.267 Occupational segregation also renders a symmetrical law necessary to address the disadvantage men face in a number of desirable occupations.268 These purpose arguments underscore the key role of symmetry for combatting the subordination of women: if men are not free to express feminine traits, these traits will be maintained in a “female ghetto, [and] may continue to be devalued,” further reinforcing the subordination of women.269 There is also good reason to think that a symmetrical law would reduce the negative distributive consequences of the mandate on women in light of the publicity afforded to the increasing volume of discrimination suits brought by men.270

A symmetrical sex discrimination law also addresses the practical concerns associated with an asymmetrical sex discrimination law that would require determining the sex of transgender plaintiffs. As for politics, one might argue that symmetry is not necessary to gain the support of men because heterosexual marriage intertwines the economic fates of men and women. However, historically marriage has not been enough to lead men to see their economic interests as aligned with women, and the role of marriage here has surely only declined with a decline in marriage rates.271

266. One more complicated determination is whether protection applies to an individual’s perceived rather than actual age. Current asymmetrical law is silent on this question, and ostensibly excludes claims on this basis. See 29 U.S.C. § 631(a) (2012) (limiting application of ADEA “to individuals who are at least 40 years of age”).
267. See supra notes 135–144 and accompanying text.
268. See supra notes 165–178 and accompanying text.
269. Case, supra note 30, at 3.
270. See supra notes 103–109 and accompanying text.
271. See Andrew L. Yarrow, Falling Marriage Rates Reveal Economic Fault Lines, N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 8, 2015, at ST15,
c. Race and National Origin

When it comes to the purpose of antidiscrimination law, the benefits of symmetry in the context of race are weaker than in the context of age and sex. Interlocking stereotypes and heterogeneity of disadvantage are less present here. The benefits of symmetry sound instead in reducing racial classifications, and in distributing the cost of the mandate more equally. There is good reason to think that a symmetrical law will at least make some dent in the cost of the mandate weighing wholly on minorities because of beliefs about the prevalence of reverse discrimination. The anticlassification arguments may weigh more strongly in the context of race not only in light of history, but in continuing distinctions in social acceptability of race classifications as compared with age, sex, and disability classifications.

Benefits of a symmetrical race discrimination law can also be seen when it comes to the implementation of the protected class requirement. Given courts’ tendency to police cases strictly at the prima facie stage, a symmetrical law that avoids the need for classification would lead courts to adopt fluid rather than fixed notions of identity that make it easier for plaintiffs to proceed on their claims. And when it comes to politics, as Wilson and Skocpol argue, universal laws garner more political support, and thus can be more effective than targeted laws at promoting equality.

http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/08/fashion/weddings/falling-marriage-rates-reveal-economic-fault-lines.html [https://perma.cc/T4ND-R4Z7] (reporting on census data showing that the number of married households fell to 50.5% in 2012 from a high of 72% in 1960).

272. See supra notes 147–148, 180–184 and accompanying text.
273. See supra Part II.A.1.
274. See supra notes 110–112 and accompanying text.
275. See id.
276. See, e.g., Mary Anne Case, All the World’s the Men’s Room, 74 U. Chi. L. Rev. 1655, 1656, 1663 (2007) (noting that we still accept sex segregation in schools, athletics, and bathrooms); Schuck, supra note 184, at 31–32 (cataloguing multiple accepted age classifications). You can see this reflected in varying levels of constitutional scrutiny afforded to these traits, from rational basis review for age and disability, to intermediate scrutiny for sex, to strict scrutiny for race. See supra notes 37, 44.
277. See Jones, supra note 188, at 1554 (“Sometimes it is impossible to determine a person’s race, national origin, or ethnicity—especially in a social context where there are a number of racial groups and where race-mixing is on the rise.”).
278. See supra notes 209–215 and accompanying text.
279. See supra notes 240–246 and accompanying text.
d. Disability

Disability presents an admittedly contestable and contingent case for symmetry. At first blush, there might not seem to be any reason to implement a symmetrical disability discrimination law even from an anticlassification perspective, as it might be hard to think of instances when an able-bodied worker might use the law. But there are such instances. Aside from affirmative action programs, the disabled might be favored when the perceived talents of the disabled match the necessary skills for the job, or when a person with a disability is seen as necessary for authenticity or to serve as role model. These instances are enough for an anticlassification purist to support symmetry.

But the few instances of discrimination against the able-bodied means that there is no heterogeneity of disadvantage, and little in the way of interlocking stereotypes manifested in actions against the able-bodied. As for antisubordination purposes then, the primary benefit symmetry can bring is the reduction or elimination of the negative employment consequences of an asymmetrical mandate like the ADA. Note that precisely because of the few instances in which the able-bodied are discriminated against, simply making the law symmetrical by allowing anyone to sue on the basis of disability status—e.g., the hearing employee denied a job by an employer with a preference for the deaf—would be insufficient to distribute the cost of the mandate more equally.

Given the otherwise weak case for symmetry in the disability context, the proposal for symmetry here is of a distinct type. The approach would be to universalize the class of who can be considered


281. See supra note 4 and accompanying text (citing examples of deaf workers in factories and autistic workers in certain technical positions).


283. An anticlassificationist might still allow an exception if disability is necessary to render the individual “qualified” for the position. See 42 U.S.C. § 12111(8) (2012) (permitting employers not to hire those with disabilities if such individuals are not “qualified”).

284. See supra note 119 (citing studies finding that the ADA substantially reduced employment levels of the disabled).

285. See supra note 4 and accompanying text.
disabled. This would be achieved by allowing anyone to claim that she had been discriminated against on the basis of any physical or mental impairment, and along with it the right to seek a reasonable accommodation.\footnote{286} Note that under this approach to symmetry for disability, there would be few true “reverse” discrimination claims of the sort where able-bodied workers challenge more favorable treatment of disabled workers.\footnote{287} Rather, the idea would be to universalize the ability to seek reasonable accommodations based on need or impairment or some other common metric. If disability law adopted this type of symmetry, there is good reason to believe that decisionmakers would not assume that visibly disabled workers were systematically more costly than those without a visible disability. A universal approach to reasonable accommodations for antidiscrimination purposes would not be unprecedented, as the right to a reasonable accommodation on the basis of religion applies to all employees, believers and non-believers alike.\footnote{288} Scholars have suggested benefits of this approach in the context of disability.\footnote{289}

The analysis of disability in Part II allows for a reconsideration of the primary objection to this universal approach to disability law, raised by Professor Sam Bagenstos: that it fails to focus on the category of persons with conditions that have historically been subordinated.\footnote{290} As he writes:

\footnote{286} This would also include the ability to raise a claim that the lack of a disability resulted in discrimination, as in the role model and disability preference cases.

\footnote{287} On the question of whether able-bodied workers could challenge as disparate treatment the provision of a reasonable accommodation granted to a disabled worker, the response is no. The worker instead would have to assert that she was entitled to the same accommodation based on her need for it due to a similar impairment.

\footnote{288} See, e.g., Reed v. Great Lakes Cos., 330 F.3d 931, 935 (7th Cir. 2003) (noting that a hotel manager could seek an accommodation from meetings with religious representatives delivering bibles if they would “offend [the employee]’s religious or antireligious sensibilities”); EEOC v. Townley Eng’g & Mfg. Co., 859 F.2d 610, 621 (9th Cir. 1988) (holding that Title VII prohibits an employer from compelling its atheist employees to attend religious services).

\footnote{289} Such a view of the ADA was first proposed by Professor Robert L. Burgdorf. See Burgdorf, supra note 53, at 536 (arguing, inter alia, that this approach to disability would better comport with civil rights law and that it would avoid the stigma of being labeled “disabled” that might lead some not to make use of the law). Other scholars have also written in favor of this view. See Stein et al., supra note 12, at 750–55 (discussing similar proposal and arguing that it brings structural, expressive, economic, and hedonic benefits, especially in light of an ageing and less able workforce).

\footnote{290} Bagenstos, supra note 12, at 478–81.
While every person at some point has some physical or mental condition that could be described as an impairment, and many may suffer isolated instances of poor treatment as a result, only a smaller group of people is ‘designated handicapped’ in the process . . . [and subject to] systematic disadvantage through the mechanisms of prejudice, stereotypes, and neglect.291

Under my analysis, however, the universal approach to disability law is actually more antisubordinationist in its effect as compared with a disability law that adopts a more limited protected class. This is because a universal law can reduce or eliminate the harmful impact that the ADA has had on the employment levels of disabled persons.

Finally, a symmetrical disability law would also bring practical and political benefits. The protected-class approach under the ADA has been identified as the key impediment to rights-claiming under the ADA.292 And a key reason for the ADA’s relative lack of success may well be that its asymmetry weakened support for law.293 One might suppose that symmetry is unnecessary for political support in the context of disability on somewhat similar grounds to age: because we all might become disabled, we are all potential beneficiaries of the law. However, optimism bias will lead non-disabled individuals not to view themselves as potentially disabled, and thus symmetry would seem to be necessary for broad support.294

2. CONCERNS

Before advocating for a more symmetrical antidiscrimination law, any costs of symmetry must also be considered. Critics are likely to raise the following concerns: (a) diluting the expressive function of antidiscrimination law; (b) increasing economic costs of an expanded antidiscrimination law; and (c) weakening employers’ antisubordination initiatives, such as voluntary affirmative action programs. This Part discusses these concerns in turn, concluding that none present a significant objection to symmetry.

291. Id. at 479.
292. See supra notes 197–202 and accompanying text.
293. See supra notes 252–258 and accompanying text.
294. See Jolls, Sunstein & Thaler, supra note 93, at 1524 (“A common feature of human behavior is overoptimism: People tend to think that bad events are far less likely to happen to them than to others.”).
a. Expressive Function

In arguing above that a symmetrical law provides benefits for both the anticlassification and antisubordination purposes of antidiscrimination law, my claims were grounded in the consequences the law would have on the basis of the liability that it imposes on regulated entities. But there may also be values at stake in regulating discrimination that are not fully captured simply by looking at the impact of imposing liability. The *expressive* function of law—that is, the message that a law conveys—is one such value.\(^{295}\) As Professor Cass Sunstein elucidates, the expressive function can be described as important in two distinct regards: for the consequences that the message the law sends has on social norms and behavior, and for the statement in and of itself as “the expression of the appropriate evaluative attitude” consistent with society’s conception of itself.\(^{296}\)

The expressive function of governmental action has been viewed as particularly important in the area of antidiscrimination law in both regards.\(^{297}\) As for the first function, “[a]ntidiscrimination law is often designed to change norms so as to ensure that people are treated with a kind of dignity and respect that discriminatory behavior seems to deny.”\(^{298}\) As for the second function, “[a] society might . . . insist on an antidiscrimination law for expressive reasons even if it does not know whether the law actually helps members of minority groups.”\(^{299}\)

Here, the concern that an expressivist would raise is as follows. I make the case above that a symmetrical law better enforces the antisubordination goals of antidiscrimination law.\(^{300}\) But for an antisubordination expressivist, an asymmetrical law better expresses the message that disadvantaged groups are most in need of discrimination protection, or perhaps the even stronger proposition that discrimination is wrongful only when it harms a subordinated group. An expressivist focused purely on the second expressive function—the intrinsic value of


\(^{297}\) See Adler, supra note 295, at 1428; Anderson & Pildes, supra note 295, at 1533; Sunstein, *Incommensurability*, supra note 295, at 829.


\(^{300}\) See supra Part II.A.2.
the message—might then prefer an asymmetrical antidiscrimination law, regardless of the law’s consequences.

An asymmetrical antidiscrimination law thus presents “the most important testing case[]” for expressivists, which “arise[s] when (a) people support laws because of the statement made by such laws but (b) the effects of such laws seem bad or ambiguous, even by reference to the values held by their supporters.” The way out of this dilemma, Sunstein suggests, is to recognize that “any support for ‘statements’ [made by a law] should be rooted not simply in the intrinsic value of the statement, but also in plausible judgments about its effect on social norms and hence in ‘on balance’ judgments about its consequences.”

Sunstein illustrates his approach with an example quite close to ours: minimum wage laws. One function of a minimum wage law might be taken to be intrinsically expressive: a statement that human labor is sufficiently valuable that it must be compensated at a particular rate, and that any less compromises human dignity. But, as many economists have posited, minimum wage laws may increase unemployment of the most vulnerable workers. While Sunstein admits that “[i]t is not easy to know how to weigh the ‘statement’ against the bad consequences,” he concludes that “if an increase in minimum wage would really drive vulnerable people out of the workplace in significant numbers, it is hard to see why people should support it.” On this basis, he rightly regards clinging to the intrinsic expressive value of the law, even in the face of harmful consequences, as expressive “fanaticism.” In other words, when expression and effect conflict, expression must give way.

301. Sunstein, Expressive Function, supra note 295, at 2045.
302. Id.
303. Id. at 2046–47.
304. Id. at 2047. As Sunstein recognizes, economists disagree on this point.
305. Id. at 2047 n.84.
306. Id. at 2047. Here is where Sunstein’s work on incommensurability becomes relevant, as the expressive value of the statement and the material value of a decline in employment cannot be weighed on the same scale, making it difficult to compare them. See Sunstein, Incommensurability, supra note 295, at 780.
307. Id. (concluding that “without desirable effects on social norms, there is not much point in endorsing expressively motivated law”).
308. An epigraph to Sunstein’s article sums up the point quite well: We are all Expressionists part of the time. Sometimes we just want to scream loudly at injustice, or to stand up and be counted. These are noble motives, but any serious revolutionist must often deprive himself of the pleasures of self-expression. He must judge his actions by their ultimate effects on institutions.

Id. at 2021 (quoting HERBERT A. SIMON, MODELS OF MY LIFE 281 (1991)).
In the context of a symmetrical antidiscrimination law, the tension between expression and effect is eased by considering the first function of expression: the effect that the law’s message will have on social norms, attitudes, and behaviors. While a symmetrical law may not convey the specific message about discrimination that antisubordinationists would most prefer, a symmetrical antidiscrimination law is unlikely to have harmful consequences for social norms regarding the respect and dignity accorded to subordinated groups, as they too are included within a symmetrical law. In fact, even symmetrical antidiscrimination laws like Title VII have had significant positive effects on social attitudes towards subordinated groups. Therefore, a symmetrical law should trouble only those antisubordinationists who are concerned with the second, but not the first, expressive function of law. And in such cases of tension, expression should give way: the intrinsic expressive objection loses its force when, in fact, “norms are held constant,” or even improved, and the circumstances of those persons the law is intended to benefit improve.

We might also ease the tension between expression and effect by recognizing that even the intrinsic expressive message a law sends may change over time as the consequences of the law become clear. If a symmetrical antidiscrimination law in fact accrues to the benefit of subordinated groups, such laws may come to be seen as incorporating an antisubordination message, or at least a message of respect and dignity for subordinated groups. This has arguably occurred in the context of Title VII. And if a symmetrical law comes to be recognized as better at achieving antisubordination aims than an asymmetrical law, as this Article argues, a symmetrical law may even come to embody the antisubordination message better as well.

b. Economic Costs

A symmetrical law, by expanding the universe of who can bring claims and the types of claims that are cognizable, would be expected to increase the number of discrimination claims. This rise in lawsuits raises cost concerns of two kinds—increased costs for judicial administration, and increased costs for employers—which are discussed in turn.

As for judicial administration, the concern is that the rise in discrimination litigation will burden courts and the agencies responsible for administering these laws. Our experience with Title VII should

309. See id. at 2043.
310. Id. at 2046.
311. See id. at 2043.
alleviate some of this concern. Even though Title VII is symmetrical, there has never been an explosion of “reverse” discrimination suits, although they have grown over the years. 312 Given the heterogeneity of disadvantage in the context of age, and an expanded right to accommodation under disability law, we might expect more reverse suits in these contexts. But the experience of states that have adopted symmetrical age discrimination laws does not show a swamping of their courts with suits by young workers. 313 And the volume of litigation alone should not concern us, particularly if we have reason to believe that employers engage in appreciable amounts of discrimination against the young and against the able-bodied who are impaired. Judicial administration costs are justified if the benefits of allowing such additional suits outweigh the costs, and, as we saw in Part II, the benefits are substantial.

As for the costs imposed on employers, increasing costs for the employer by making the advantaged group as costly as the disadvantaged group—at least as a matter of perception—is precisely one of the goals of a symmetrical law. 314 Therefore, we should not be too troubled if the law in fact does increase costs in this way. Moreover, there is little reason to believe that symmetry will bring any explosion of litigation, as we can see under Title VII or symmetrical state age discrimination laws. 315

The reasonable accommodation mandate under the ADA imposes costs, and suits under this provision might be the most likely to increase substantially under a symmetrical regime. However, accommodations are not as costly as often assumed, 316 and accommodation costs are likely to decline over time. 317 Moreover, the costs can only be

312. See Kuehner-Hebert, supra note 96.

313. See James L. Buchwalter, Cause of Action for Discrimination Against Younger Person in Favor of Older Persons, Causes of Action Second Series § 2 (noting only a “smattering” of reverse age discrimination cases have been filed). Reputation concerns that would linger longer over a younger worker’s career might be an impediment to suit.

314. See supra Part II.A.2.a.

315. See Anne M. Payne, Litigation for Discrimination Against Younger Persons in Favor of Older Persons, 138 Am. Jur. Trials 105, § 1 (discussing research on litigation of reverse age discrimination claims under state law); Kuehner-Hebert, supra note 96, at 30 (citing relatively low figures for reverse discrimination claims under Title VII).


317. See Bagenstos, supra note 119, at 556–57.
appreciated when assessed along with the benefits, and the benefits are substantial.  

Of course, it may be the case that whatever costs symmetrical antidiscrimination laws impose on employers are passed along to employees in the form of reduced employment and/or wages. While a symmetrical law may depress the employment levels or wages of all workers, if one of the key aims of antidiscrimination law is to benefit disadvantaged groups, a symmetrical law at a minimum does not operate contrary to its purposes by placing the burden of equality solely on disadvantaged workers, and instead distributes the cost of the mandate equally, across all workers.

c. Antisubordination Initiatives

From an antisubordination perspective, critics might be concerned that a symmetrical law would present a barrier to antisubordination initiatives. If the advantaged group has a right not to be discriminated against, members of that group can challenge as disparate treatment an affirmative action program meant to benefit a disadvantaged group, or any race-, sex-, age-, or disability-conscious measures taken to alleviate a disparate impact on a disadvantaged group. As an initial matter, it is important to remember that symmetry is not synonymous with a ban on all classifications. Current symmetrical law permits employers to implement an affirmative action program, and requires employers to take actions to avoid a disparate impact on disadvantaged groups. And a symmetrical law can allow privileged groups to take advantage of the same theories: for example, an employer could apply an affirmative action program to attract male nurses, or a nursing program that relies on word-of-mouth recruiting with a disparate impact on men

318. See Stein et al., supra note 12, at 754 (arguing that a universal ADA would reduce sick leave, workers’ compensation and other insurance claims, and post-injury rehabilitation costs); supra notes 280–293 and accompanying text (discussing the benefits of symmetry in the context of disability); supra note 289 (citing scholars highlighting additional benefits of a universal ADA).

319. See supra notes 73–75 and accompanying text for a discussion of the economic impact of universal mandates on workers.

320. See Johnson v. Transp. Agency, Santa Clara Cty., 480 U.S. 616 (1987) (permitting affirmative action under Title VII under appropriate circumstances); Griggs v. Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424 (1971) (providing for disparate impact liability under Title VII); see also Cynthia Estlund, Putting Grutter to Work: Diversity, Integration, and Affirmative Action in the Workplace, 26 BERKELEY J. EMP. & LAB. L. 1, 3–4 (2005) (noting that Johnson is the latest Supreme Court pronouncement on affirmative action under Title VII, although it may have been weakened by later case law). Whether disparate impact liability applies to favored groups under Title VII is unclear. See infra notes 352–356.
could be challenged by men. With this in mind, the concerns regarding affirmative action and disparate impact will be discussed in turn. There isn’t much cause for concern about either.

As for affirmative action, Title VII permits employers to engage in affirmative action so long as the program is “designed to ‘eliminate manifest [identity] imbalances in traditionally segregated job categories,’” and so long as it does not “unnecessarily trammel the interests of [advantaged] employees.” Any new symmetrical law could adopt a similar approach. While this would not satisfy an anticlassificationist purist, who might prefer no different standard for affirmative action, this still provides far more protection against classifications than an asymmetrical law.

The question from the antisubordination perspective is whether employers would be likely to engage in more voluntary affirmative action under an asymmetrical law. While this is an empirical question, there is little reason to think that there would be substantially more affirmative action under an asymmetrical law. Unlike in the education context, where universities have displayed a robust preference to seek diverse student bodies on the basis of voluntary affirmative action programs, employers have never shown this level of enthusiasm for affirmative action. Most firms, unlike most educational institutions, are driven by profit. Their primary concern is efficiency, not diversity. Most employers would view affirmative action to run contrary to efficiency. And aside from legal barriers to

321. See infra notes 332–36 for a further discussion of the symmetrical application of disparate impact liability.
322. Johnson, 480 U.S. at 628.
324. See supra note 62 on the divergence between anticlassification concerns and symmetry.
325. Antisubordinationists might also prefer a laxer standard for affirmative action programs under a symmetrical law than the one that currently applies under Title VII. The analysis below suggests that this would not make much difference for an employer’s likelihood of adopting an affirmative action program.
326. For this reason, this Article sidesteps the question of the precise standard under which affirmative action programs are evaluated under employment discrimination law.
327. See Estlund, supra note 320, at 4–5. Distinct from affirmative action, employers do seek out workers from historically disadvantaged (especially racial) groups because they believe that a more diverse workforce will improve organizational performance. See Skrentny, supra note 149, at 11–12; Estlund, supra note 320, at 4. This is already happening under symmetrical law, and could be justified along the lines of the diversity rationale adopted in the educational context. See id. at 19–38.
328. This might not be the case in two scenarios: (1) if irrational discrimination is leading to inefficient employment decisions, and the best way to address this irrational discrimination is through an affirmative action program, or (2) if
voluntary affirmative action, employers also face social barriers to these programs. Given the contested acceptance of affirmative action by the public generally, firms would rightly be concerned that the adoption of a fulsome affirmative action program might lead to a public backlash against the firm, on the ground that the firm unfairly engages in “reverse” discrimination.329 There is little reason then to believe that employers would engage in substantially more affirmative action under an asymmetrical law. There may of course be outlier firms more sensitive to diversity concerns that would engage in more affirmative action under an asymmetrical regime. But they are too few to alter the conclusion that a symmetrical law would have a minimal effect on affirmative action.

In support of this conclusion, we can look to evidence from current asymmetrical law, and assess whether employers have engaged in substantial affirmative action to benefit older workers or disabled workers. The short answer is no. Aside from the type of mandatory affirmative action that applies to government contractors for all protected traits,330 employers have not engaged in significant affirmative action.331 In any event, the bulk of these voluntary programs would pass muster under a symmetrical law with an affirmative action standard like Title VII.332

Likewise, a symmetrical law is unlikely to have much effect on employers engaging in measures to eliminate a disparate impact on members of the disadvantaged group perform better in the job (e.g., if deaf factory workers actually outperform hearing factory workers), and a bona fide affirmative action program was a way to get around the ban on discrimination in hiring.

Even if not for efficiency purposes, one might imagine that a concern about disparate impact liability by subordinated groups might press employers to engage in more affirmative action under an asymmetrical regime. But even this concern is not likely to make much of a difference, given how few disparate impact lawsuits are brought, and how still fewer succeed. See Selmi, supra note 43, at 738–40.

329. See supra notes 110–112.

330. See 41 C.F.R. § 60.741 (2016) (setting forth affirmative action requirements for federal contractors based on disability similar to other programs for other protected traits).


332. See Estlund, supra note 320, at 5–6 (discussing how employers seeking diversity could justify an affirmative action program under current law).
disadvantaged groups. Alleviating disparate impact is costly, and thus few employers will engage in it voluntarily for the same reason that few employers will engage in voluntary affirmative action. As for the legal mandate that employers avoid imposing a disparate impact, even a symmetrical law will not undermine this mandate as it operates in practice. The disparate impact claim was intended with antisubordination purposes, to target employer policies that have an adverse effect on disadvantaged groups. In theory, a symmetrical law poses a challenge to the disparate impact claim and its antisubordination aim. This is because an advantaged group can challenge as disparate treatment an employer’s protected-trait-conscious actions taken to avoid disparate impact liability. In *Ricci v. DeStefano*, for example, white firefighters challenged the city of New Haven’s decision to disregard tests on which the white firefighters had succeeded to avoid a disparate impact on black firefighters. The Court held that such actions taken to avoid disparate impact constitute disparate treatment “unless the employer can demonstrate a strong basis in evidence that, had it not taken the action, it would have been liable under the disparate-impact statute.”

In practice, however, the potential for advantaged groups to challenge an employer’s actions taken to avoid disparate impact liability will have little impact on the antisubordination effect of employment discrimination law. This is because disparate impact liability is already essentially a dead letter: there are few suits, and even fewer that prevail. The *Ricci* context of employment tests is the outlier circumstance in which disparate impact liability has had an effect. Any cost to disparate impact liability must be weighed against the beneficial effects of symmetry set forth above. Given the rarity of disparate impact suits, the benefits of symmetry are far more important to the antisubordination impact of employment discrimination law.

334. See supra notes 325–328 and accompanying text.
336. Id.
337. Id. at 563.
338. See Selmi, supra note 43, at 738–40. For this reason, this Article sidesteps commenting on the appropriate standard for evaluating disparate treatment suits challenging employer’s actions taken to avoid a disparate impact. And there is reason to believe that even *Ricci*, which some have lamented as permitting employers too little latitude to engage in efforts to avoid disparate impact, is not as restrictive as it appears. See Richard Primus, *The Future of Disparate Impact*, 108 Mich. L. Rev. 1341, 1369 (2010) (arguing that *Ricci* is limited to the exceptional case where the victims of an employer’s efforts to avoid disparate impact are readily apparent).
339. See Primus, supra note 338, at 1369, 1372–73.
A separate question of course is whether the law should require employers to engage in more fulsome antisubordination initiatives, such as affirmative action programs, or more intensive analyses of disparate impact. Such a requirement would raise more of a problem under a symmetrical law, and would require more careful balancing of the benefits and costs of symmetry. Notably, advocates of requiring more extensive antisubordination measures have assumed the benefits of asymmetry, and have missed the countervailing benefits of symmetry raised by this Article.\(^{340}\) In any event, such a requirement is so far from our current approach to antidiscrimination law that it raises only theoretical concerns.

**B. Implementation**

Beyond the basic choice between symmetry and asymmetry, there are additional questions associated with implementing a move towards symmetry. First, once a law is symmetrical, a question arises as to whether each of the theories of discrimination that the law recognizes—disparate treatment and disparate impact—should permit “reverse” discrimination claims, and, if so, whether they should be subject to the same standards of proof. Second, once a law designates a universal protected class, questions remain as to the causation inquiry, that is, whether an act by the employer was taken “because of” a protected trait. This Part addresses these questions in turn.

**1. DEGREE OF SYMMETRY**

Disparate treatment claims are the heartland of employment discrimination law, and a symmetrical law that did not allow reverse claims under this theory could hardly be said to be symmetrical. But a question arises as to whether the primary method of proof for such claims—the *McDonnell Douglas Corporation v. Green*\(^{341}\) burden-shifting test—should be applied symmetrically to all claims.\(^{342}\) Courts

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\(^{341}\) 411 U.S. 792 (1973).

\(^{342}\) This test first requires the plaintiff to set forth a prima facie case: (1) that she belongs to a protected class; (2) that she applied to and was qualified for a position for which the employer was seeking applicants; (3) that she was rejected for the position; and (4) that the position remained open after that rejection or the position was offered to someone else. See id. at 802. Note that the first prong is meaningless for symmetrical laws. See supra note 181 and accompanying text. If the plaintiff sets forth a prima facie case, the burden shifts to the employer to offer a nondiscriminatory
are split on whether reverse discrimination plaintiffs must put forward additional evidence of discrimination—of “background circumstances” that support an inference that the defendant is the “unusual employer who discriminates against the majority”—as part of this test.343

There are two arguments for some level of asymmetry in the application of this standard, but neither holds water. First, the purpose of the burden-shifting test is to weed out the most common non-discriminatory explanations for an adverse employment action.344 When the plaintiff is a member of a subordinated group, once these reasons are eliminated, it is reasonable to infer that the real reason is discrimination, given the prevalence of discrimination against these groups.345 When the plaintiff is a member of an advantaged group, we might think that weeding out the most common non-discriminatory reasons makes an inference of arbitrary decisionmaking by the employer just as or more justified than an inference of discrimination. For this reason, some have argued in favor of requiring additional proof for reverse suits.346 But the heterogeneity of disadvantage suggests that a more nuanced analysis is required to assess when a reverse discrimination claim warrants an inference of discrimination without any additional proof. For example, a younger worker might be entitled to such an inference in a promotion case, and a male worker might be entitled to such an inference in occupations where men have been excluded.347 Because employers who discriminate against advantaged groups in such scenarios are more typical than not, any rule requiring additional evidence that the plaintiff’s employer is somehow “unusual” might unfairly limit these suits.348

Second, for antisubordinationists, the primary purpose of antidiscrimination law is to improve the employment opportunities of


344. See Furnco Constr. Corp. v. Waters, 438 U.S. 567, 577 (1978) (“A prima facie case under McDonnell Douglas raises an inference of discrimination only because we presume these acts, if otherwise unexplained, are more likely than not based on the consideration of impermissibile factors.”).

345. Id.


347. See supra Part II.A.2.c.

348. Mills, 171 F.3d at 455.
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subordinated groups. This might support a heightened burden for applying the law outside of its primary purpose. But, as Part II suggests, making it harder to pursue reverse discrimination suits can actually undermine the antisubordination purposes of antidiscrimination law, in two ways. First, applying a stricter proof standard to reverse discrimination plaintiffs would make it more difficult to challenge the interlocking stereotypes that subordinate disadvantaged groups. For example, if the male plaintiff in *Knussman v. Maryland*, whose employer told him that he could not take leave unless his wife was “in a coma or dead,” had been subject to a heightened proof requirement, he might not have been able to pursue his claim. The plaintiff was a police officer, and there was no reason to believe that men would have been discriminated against in that workplace. More generally, making it harder for reverse discrimination plaintiffs to pursue claims would also interfere with the ability of a symmetrical law to distribute the cost of the mandate more equally. If it is harder for reverse plaintiffs to win claims, they will bring fewer claims, making it less likely that decisionmakers will perceive them as costly under the mandate.

As for disparate impact suits, it is not clear whether reverse discrimination suits are cognizable under currently symmetrical law, like Title VII. Some scholars have argued that permitting reverse disparate impact suits makes no sense in light of the antisubordination origins of the doctrine, which was developed as a way to combat employer policies that disadvantaged black employees. Putting aside whether an asymmetrical standard here would pass constitutional muster, it is questionable whether an asymmetrical regime for

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349. *United Steelworkers of Am., ALF-CIO-CLC v. Weber*, 443 U.S. 193, 204 (1979) (“It would be ironic indeed if a law triggered by a Nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice and intended to improve the lot of those who had 'been excluded from the American dream for so long,' constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private, race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy.”) (internal citation omitted).

350. See Onwuachi-Willig, supra note 12, at 53.

351. 272 F.3d 625 (4th Cir. 2001).

352. Id. at 630.

353. The question has not been before the Supreme Court, and the few cases before appellate courts have resulted in a circuit split. Compare *Craig v. Ala. State Univ.*, 804 F.2d 682, 691 (11th Cir. 1986) (permitting disparate impact claim by white employees), *with Livingston v. Roadway Express, Inc.*, 802 F.2d 1250, 1253 (10th Cir. 1986) (denying disparate impact claim by male employees); see also Sullivan, supra note 12, at 1533.

354. See, e.g., Sullivan, supra note 12, at 1507, 1512 (arguing that “[a]pplying disparate impact beyond minorities and women is profoundly ahistorical and inconsistent with the theoretical underpinnings of the theory”).

355. Compare Primus, supra note 14, at 585–86 (suggesting yes), with Sullivan, supra note 12, at 1508 (suggesting no).
disparate impact suits would further support the antisubordination purposes of the law, except in an expressive way. In fact, there may be instances when symmetry would bring benefits from an antisubordination perspective, for example, a male nurse challenging a word-of-mouth hiring policy.\textsuperscript{356} Moreover, walling off a category of liability from reverse claims might undermine the equalizing purposes of a symmetrical law from the perspective of reducing the cost of the mandate born by subordinated groups. But because disparate impact suits are such a small fraction of antidiscrimination litigation, their treatment will not matter much for redistributing the cost of the mandate, and we might not be overly concerned with the resolution of this question.\textsuperscript{357}

\section*{2. CAUSATION}

While a universal protected class alleviates the most vexing practical concerns with asymmetrical antidiscrimination laws, it does not avoid the problem of defining the protected trait entirely. Even if everyone is permitted to raise a claim of discrimination on the basis of a protected trait, courts still need to determine causation: whether the employer’s action was taken “because of” the trait. This question requires an understanding of which employer justifications fall within the boundaries of the protected trait and which do not. Note that courts already face these types of questions under both symmetrical and asymmetrical laws. For example, this question arises in the context of what have sometimes been called “performance” cases—cases that entail the expression of an identity trait, such as a black worker wearing braids. In such cases, courts must consider whether an employer’s decision on the basis of an employee’s braided hair is a decision on the basis of race.\textsuperscript{358}

In a move from asymmetry to symmetry, determining causation will raise the most new questions in the context of disability, because of

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{356} See \textit{EEOC v. Consol. Serv. Sys.}, 989 F.2d 233, 238 (7th Cir. 1993) (dismissing suit challenging word-of-mouth hiring only on disparate treatment grounds).
\item \textsuperscript{357} Reported cases addressing reverse disparate impact are quite rare. See Sullivan, supra note 12, at 1530–32.
\end{itemize}
the ambiguity of what constitutes a “disability.” 359 Scholars who have urged a universal approach to the ADA have proposed that the causation requirement is met when the employer takes an action on the basis of a physical or mental impairment, whether real or perceived, regardless of whether the impairment is substantially limiting or not, long-term or temporary. 360 Accordingly, a denial of reasonable accommodation amounts to unlawful disparate treatment when an employer fails to provide a necessary accommodation for such an impairment. 361 To be sure, this approach does not eliminate all questions related to the understanding of causation on the basis of disability, including what constitutes an “impairment,” 362 and when an accommodation is “needed.” 363 Regardless of these questions, this approach offers the key benefit of focusing on the employer’s alleged discriminatory treatment rather than on the plaintiff’s identity.

359. See Waterstone, supra note 252, at 605–06 (explaining that while “no movement is monolithic,” that “the disability community is perhaps exceptional in its diffuseness”; and that despite the “big tent” approach of the ADA that defines disability expansively, there “remain significant divisions across and even within groups”).

360. See Burgdorf, supra note 53, at 571–73; Mayerson, supra note 53, at 597.

361. See Burgdorf, supra note 53, at 573; Stein et al., supra note 12, at 737.

362. The law could accept the broad definition of impairment included in the regulations implementing the ADA:

(1) Any physiological disorder, or condition, cosmetic disfigurement, or anatomical loss affecting one or more . . . body systems[, such as] neurological, musculoskeletal, special sense organs, respiratory (including speech organs), cardiovascular, reproductive, digestive, genito-urinary, hemic, and lymphatic, skin, and endocrine; or

(2) Any mental or psychological disorder, such as an [intellectual disability (formerly termed “mental retardation”)], organic brain syndrome, emotional or mental illness, and specific learning disabilities.

29 C.F.R. § 1630.2 (2000). A broader alternative to “impairment” might be “condition,” but impairment has the benefit of already being used and defined.

363. For example, if a worker chooses to run marathons with the known consequence of soreness that renders her unable to complete her job tasks, does this worker “need” an accommodation? Note that this is not a new problem introduced by a universal protected class, as courts already struggle with when an employer must be given an accommodation to a worker whose need for the accommodation might be considered self-induced, such as the failure to take mitigating measures to control disability. See generally Jill Elaine Hasday, Mitigation and the Americans with Disabilities Act, 103 Mich. L. Rev. 217 (2004) (discussing this problem and arguing for a modified duty to mitigate). Courts have already developed approaches to address how worker choice intersects with an employer’s obligation of reasonable accommodation. See id. at 219 nn.7–8 (collecting cases on the duty to mitigate). An amendment to the ADA has clarified the question somewhat by establishing that for most disabilities, the individual should be considered in an unmitigated state. 42 U.S.C. § 12102(4)(E)(i) (2012).
classification, thereby avoiding the harms associated with treating identity as a static concept inhering in the individual. 364

C. Further Applications

This Article’s analysis of symmetry has broader application to different protected traits and areas of law. This Section considers how the analysis applies to two traits that lawmakers are currently considering protecting: appearance and sexual orientation. 365 Because these traits receive no heightened scrutiny under the Constitution, lawmakers are free to protect these traits either symmetrically or asymmetrically. 366 This Part then turns to areas of antidiscrimination law outside of employment—housing, education, and constitutional law—and provides some thoughts about the extent to which this Article’s analysis generalizes to them.

1. TRAITS

a. Appearance

Appearance is now only protected in a few jurisdictions, 367 but there appears to be movement towards more legislation. 368 Here, too, symmetry would be beneficial, primarily due to the presence of interlocking stereotypes and heterogeneity of disadvantage, as well as the practical difficulties with a targeted protected class. In the case of appearance, it is of course the unattractive who are the disadvantaged group. Plain people earn less than average-looking people, who earn less than good-looking people. 369

364. See supra Part II.B.


366. See Romer v. Evans, 517 U.S. 620, 635 (1996) (applying rational basis review to sexual orientation classifications); Katie R. Eyer, Constitutional Crossroads and the Canon of Rational Basis Review, 48 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 527, 533 (2014) (making clear that rational basis review is the default approach unless a trait has been afforded heightened scrutiny); supra notes 35, 42 and accompanying text (discussing relationship between constitutional scrutiny and symmetry).


Symmetry is needed here to combat interlocking stereotypes. The positive stereotypes that attractive workers benefit from are the flip side of the negative stereotypes that hold unattractive workers back. This is because of the “halo effect:” the better an individual looks, the better a person we think she is.370 We consider attractive people “more sociable, dominant, sexually warm, mentally healthy, intelligent, and socially skilled . . . .”371 The flip-side of this—the negative halo effect—means that we also assume that unattractive people are less “sociable dominant, sexually warm, mentally healthy, intelligent, and socially skilled.”372

Given the benefits that accrue to attractive workers, there might seem to be few if any occasions for attractive workers to challenge these stereotypes. But the halo effect may not always lead to positive outcomes for workers. While attractive men may be considered better leaders, the “sexually warm” part of the halo effect can work against attractive women, making them less likely to be hired for high-level jobs that require authority.373

Other instances in which attractiveness can serve as an impediment in the labor market highlight the need for symmetry. Attractive people may prompt jealousy that holds them back in their careers. Interviewers are less likely to extend an offer to candidates of the same sex deemed unattractive worker by an average of $230,000 over a lifetime and that even an average-looking worker is still likely to earn $140,000 more over a lifetime than an unattractive worker; Markus M. Mobius & Tanya S. Rosenblat, Why Beauty Matters, 96 AM. ECON. REV. 222, 225 (2006) (finding that subjects were willing to pay workers of above-average beauty 10% to 15% more than workers of below average beauty, and on this basis commenting that the gap is comparable for race or gender); Sean P. Salter et al., Broker Beauty and Boon: A Study of Physical Attractiveness and Its Effect on Real Estate Brokers' Income and Productivity, 22 APPLIED FIN. ECON. 811, 821 (2012) (finding that attractive real estate agents earn more and achieve higher selling prices and extended marketing times).

370. See Tonya K. Frevert & Lisa Slattery Walker, Physical Attractiveness and Social Status, 8 SOC. COMPASS 313 (2014); Mobius & Rosenblat, supra note 369, at 228.


372. Feingold, supra note 371, at 304; see also Eagly et al., supra note 371, at 109.

373. See Frevert & Slattery Walker, supra note 370, at 316, 320; Elizabeth Dwoskin, Is This Woman Too Hot to Be a Banker?, VILLAGE VOICE (June 1, 2010, 4:00 AM), http://www.villagevoice.com/news/is-this-woman-too-hot-to-be-a-banker-6429442 [https://perma.cc/U56Z-TJQP] (describing lawsuit alleging that female banker was fired because she was too attractive).
to be more attractive than themselves.\textsuperscript{374} An attractive worker may even be fired because her appearance makes her boss’ spouse jealous.\textsuperscript{375}

And when it comes to implementation, it is not easy to draw a line between an attractive and an unattractive worker.\textsuperscript{376} This raises a substantial challenge in determining who is in and who is out of the protected class, both as a matter of defining the protected class, and in applying this definition to the plaintiff in each case. Economists who study the labor market impact of appearance use raters to provide assessments of appearance.\textsuperscript{377} In a lawsuit, this would likely require dueling experts of appearance fighting over whether the plaintiff is attractive. As with concerns raised in the disability context, some plaintiffs might not want to come forward to claim their rights if it required proving that they were unattractive.\textsuperscript{378}

\textit{b. Sexual Orientation}

Federal legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is proposed almost every year.\textsuperscript{379} For this discrete trait, multiple identities would be considered subordinated, including gay men, lesbian women, and bisexual persons. Anticlassification concerns could arise in cases where gay and lesbian workers are preferred, either as role models, or on the basis of stereotypical customer preferences.\textsuperscript{380}

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\item \textsuperscript{374} See Frevert & Slattery Walker, supra note 370, at 319–20.
\item \textsuperscript{375} See Nelson v. Knight, No. 11–1857, 2012 WL 6652747, at *5 (Iowa Dec. 21, 2012), aff’d on r’hg, 834 N.W.2d 64 (Iowa 2013) (holding that a married dentist’s termination of his dental assistant because he found her an “irresistible attraction” did not violate sex discrimination law).
\item \textsuperscript{376} We might think that there is little agreement on what is attractive or unattractive in the first place. But it turns out that beauty is not so much in the eye of the beholder. As economist Daniel Hamermesh who studies the economics of appearance explains: “[M]ost beholders view beauty similarly. Some people are consistently regarded as above-average or even beautiful, while others are generally regarded as plain or even downright homely.” Sue Shellenbarger, \textit{On the Job, Beauty Is More than Skin-Deep}, \textit{Wall St. J.}, http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203687504576655331418204842 [https://perma.cc/S34Z-39AQ] (last updated Oct. 27, 2011, 9:28 PM).
\item \textsuperscript{377} See Hamermesh & Biddle, supra note 369, at 1174.
\item \textsuperscript{378} See Burgdorf, supra note 53, at 536.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
A symmetrical law would be necessary to challenge such employer classifications.

Given the largely invisible nature of sexual orientation, and the phenomenon of “passing,” or “covering,” there is a question as to whether the cost of an asymmetrical mandate would be born by the subordinated group. If decisionmakers cannot discern sexual orientation, they will be unable to discriminate against the subordinated group in hiring. In light of changes in attitudes about sexual orientation, as well as the right to gay marriage, it is likely that fewer members of the subordinated group will “pass,” and instead will either overtly indicate membership in the group (e.g., note an affiliation with gay or lesbian groups on a resume, or refer to a same-sex partner), or will fail to “cover” (e.g., allow a wedding announcement of a same-sex marriage or images of a same-sex partner on a social media profile). The likelihood of the cost of the mandate falling on the subordinated group, and thus the need for a symmetrical law, turns on precisely how apparent sexual orientation has become.

Perhaps the greatest concern in the context of sexual orientation comes in the realm of the practical. A protected-class approach would require pinning down sexual orientation to a static identity. A tendency to recognize sexual orientation as an unchanging biological phenomenon—that one is “born this way” has been associated with a greater recognition of gay rights. Nonetheless, we might still be troubled by a protected-class approach. First, it does not take account of the fluidity of sexual orientation. Some would-be plaintiffs may not be willing to accept a static conception of their sexuality. Second, the judicial classification of persons by sexual orientation reinforces traditional concepts of sexuality. When courts decide an individual’s sexual orientation, they tend to equate gay and lesbian identity with expressions of desire that accord with conventional heterosexual notions.


382. Employers are increasingly conducting social media searches on prospective employees, which can allow them to find out information about job candidates that antidiscrimination laws may bar them from inquiring about. See Yuki Noguchi, Can’t Ask That? Some Job Interviewers Go to Social Media Instead, NPR (Apr. 11, 2014, 4:06 PM), http://www.npr.org/sections/alltechconsidered/2014/04/11/301791749/cant-ask-that-some-job-interviewers-go-to-social-media-instead [https://perma.cc/RWG3-4P39].

383. Lady Gaga, Born This Way, on Born This Way (Interscope Records 2011).


385. Id.

of intimacy. Moreover, there is the risk of “undercounting those who do not fit neatly into the[ ] categor[y]” of lesbian, gay, or bisexual. When an individual has not openly identified as gay, courts may only be willing to recognize her sexual orientation if she has expressed some form of same-sex desire in the workplace. In one case brought under state law, the plaintiff’s coworkers harassed him for enjoying “gay boy music” and referred to him as a “dick smoker.” The court dismissed the claim because the plaintiff testified that he was a “heterosexual male, was married, [and] fathered a child . . . .” Of course, this worker could have been harassed on the basis of sexual orientation whether or not he was actually gay. As discussed above, a symmetrical law, which would put the focus on employer conduct rather than membership in a protected class, would address these challenges.

2. AREAS OF LAW

Areas of law outside of the employment context, including education law, housing law, and constitutional law, also face the same design question of symmetry or asymmetry. Certain considerations from the employment context translate better than others to these contexts. As for anticlassification concerns, they apply regardless of the context in which these classifications arise. For anticlassificationists, classifying individuals by protected trait to distribute access to valuable goods is harmful, whether at work, school, or otherwise. And the practical and political concerns also transcend domains. The practical concerns stem from conditioning relief on establishing membership in a protected class, which would occur across domains with an asymmetrical law. The political concerns too cut across domains because the policy feedback mechanism could be expected to play out similarly whenever there is redistribution of important goods.

Where the analysis shifts is the antisubordination purpose. The phenomena of interlocking stereotypes and heterogeneity of disadvantage can be seen in other areas of law, and would support at least some measure of symmetry. As noted earlier, in her role as an

387. Id.
388. Id. at 618.
389. See id.
391. Id. at *11 n.12; see also Akoidu v. Greyhound Lines, Inc., No. B147046, 2002 WL 399476, at *5–7 (Cal. Ct. App. Mar. 15, 2002) (rejecting claim by plaintiff who testified that “he was not homosexual” because he failed to establish that he a member of a protected class).
392. See supra Part II.B.
393. See Reynolds, supra note 16, at 998.
advocate developing constitutional sex equality jurisprudence, Justice Ginsburg consistently brought cases with male plaintiffs to challenge state rules that relied on interlocking sex-based stereotypes.\textsuperscript{394} Heterogeneity of disadvantage can be seen in the education context, where one of the seminal sex discrimination cases involved a man challenging his rejection from an all-female nursing school.\textsuperscript{395}

The real divergence arises when it comes to the cost of the mandate. This is much less of a concern outside of employment. Most employers, unlike most educational institutions, are aiming to maximize profits, making cost a far more salient consideration.\textsuperscript{396} A decisionmaker in the education context is far less likely to consider a prospective student’s cost as a reason not to admit her as compared with a decisionmaker in the employment context. Moreover, many educational institutions are specifically aiming to further diversity.\textsuperscript{397} Still further, the costs of antidiscrimination mandates are far more salient in the employment context than the education context, and even the housing context, because there is far more employment litigation than education or housing litigation.\textsuperscript{398} Because of these differences between the employment and education contexts, there is more reason to believe that an asymmetrical law would lead to more progressive and aggressive forms of affirmative action to achieve the diversity that many schools, and many antisubordinationists, prefer.

The bottom line then is that it is harder to reach a conclusion that a symmetrical design is superior in these other areas of antidiscrimination law. While a full analysis and final recommendation for these other contexts is beyond the scope of this paper, the point here is that the design of any antidiscrimination law must take into account the particulars of the domain in which it is operating. Reaching a conclusion for constitutional law, which covers public action across multiple domains—employment, education, housing, and beyond—is particularly complex. This suggests that, at least from a normative rather than a purely doctrinal perspective, the choice between symmetry

\textsuperscript{394.} See Franklin, supra note 12, at 104–06. We can also see interlocking race-based stereotypes in the context of school-based athletic programs. See Heike v. Guevara, 519 F. App’x 911, 919 (6th Cir. 2013) (white student alleging discrimination by college basketball coach based on interlocking racial stereotypes); Stone et al., supra note 148, at 291 (finding interlocking stereotypes in basketball).

\textsuperscript{395.} See Miss. Univ. for Women v. Hogan, 458 U.S. 718 (1982).

\textsuperscript{396.} See supra notes 325–328 and accompanying text.


\textsuperscript{398.} See Eisenberg, supra note 18, at 5 & n.13.
and asymmetry in constitutional law should vary depending on the context. While this is a far cry from current law, it may nonetheless be justifiable from a more purpose-driven interpretive view.

CONCLUSION

This Article offers the first study of the design choice between symmetry and asymmetry in antidiscrimination law. In so doing, it takes steps towards understanding the consequences of an ongoing puzzle of antidiscrimination law: the divide between symmetry and asymmetry. For many proponents of antidiscrimination law, and especially for advocates of subordinated groups, the results are counterintuitive: that a symmetrical employment discrimination law that protects everyone from discrimination in all directions is more effective in achieving equality and improving the plight of disadvantaged groups than an asymmetrical law targeted specifically at the group.

This surprising conclusion not only upends longstanding thinking in the area of antidiscrimination law, but also provides an important practical tool for advocates, one that is especially needed in light of ongoing drives for legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, appearance, marital status, and a host of other grounds. For those who are seeking to improve the circumstances of subordinated groups in the labor market through antidiscrimination law, far more serious consideration must be given to the choice between symmetry and asymmetry.