

Abigail M. Thernstrom

1445 Massachusetts Avenue
Lexington, MA 02420
781-861-7634
Fax: 781-860-9045
thernstr@fas.harvard.edu
www.thernstrom.com

Current Positions

Vice-Chair, appointed by the president, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2004—
Commissioner, appointed by Congress, 2001-- (Term will expire in 2013.)
Adjunct scholar, American Enterprise Institute,
Board of Advisors, U.S. Elections Assistance Commission, 2006-

Other Positions of Note

Senior Fellow, The Manhattan Institute, New York, 1993--2009
Member, Equal Rights National Advisory Board, chaired by Ward Connerly, March
2007--
Member, Massachusetts state Board of Education, May 1995-November 2006.

Education

1975	Ph.D.	Department of Government, Harvard University
1961	A.M.	Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard
1958	B.A.	Barnard College

Awards

One of the four 2007 Bradley Foundation prizes given annually for “outstanding intellectual achievement.” Shared with Stephan Thernstrom. The other winners in 2007 were: James Q. Wilson, Martin Feldstein, and John Bolton.

For *Whose Votes Count? Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

The 1987 Anisfield-Wolf Book Award (best book on race and ethnicity, nonfiction category, shared award).
American Bar Association (Gavel Awards Committee), the 1988 Certificate of Merit.

Policy Studies Organization (affiliate of the American Political Science Association), best policy studies book published in 1987.
 Benchmark Book Award, Center for Judicial Studies, best book in 1987 on a constitutional issue, shared award.

For *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

The Caldwell Award for Leadership in Higher Education from the Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, October 2000.

For both *America in Black and White* and *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning* (Simon & Schuster, 2003)

The Peter Shaw Memorial Award, National Association of Scholars, May 2004.

For *No Excuses* alone:

The Fordham Foundation 2007 award “for distinguished scholarship...awarded to a scholar who has made major contributions to education reform via research, analysis, and successful engagement in the war of ideas.” We shared the prize with Paul Hill of the University of Washington. Announced January 22, 2007. Panel discussion and dinner in D.C., February 12.

Publications

Books

Abigail Thernstrom and Stephan Thernstrom, *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning* (New York: Simon & Schuster, October 2003).

Named by the *Los Angeles Times* as one of “The Best Books of 2003.”

Named by the *American School Board Journal* as one of “The Notable Books”—“The Must Reads of 2003.”

Award: See above.

Abigail Thernstrom and Stephan Thernstrom, eds, *Beyond The Color Line: New Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press and Manhattan Institute, 2002).

Stephan Thernstrom and Abigail Thernstrom, *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

Named by the *New York Times*, in their end-of-the-year review, as one of the "notable books" of 1997.

Awards: See list above.

Whose Votes Count? Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Awards: see above.

School Choice in Massachusetts (Boston, MA: Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research, 1991).

(With Diane Ravitch) *A Democracy Reader: Classic and Modern Speeches, Essays, Poems, Declarations and Documents on Freedom and Human Rights Worldwide* (New York: Harper/Collins, 1992).

Work in Progress

Two books:

Voting Rights—and Wrongs: The Elusive Quest for Racially Fair Elections (AEI press, 2009). Preface by Juan Williams.

Co-authored with Stephan Thernstrom, *Don't Call It Segregation: The Myth of Contemporary Apartheid*.

This volume will dispel the common misconception that African Americans today are highly "segregated," and even becoming more so. A mountain of census and other statistical data suggests that the process of racial integration is proceeding rapidly in many social realms. On the other hand, the African American ethnic group will surely not disappear, as social scientists like Gunnar Myrdal expected. In the post-Jim Crow era, waves of immigration of an unprecedented scale vastly increased the ethnic complexity of the social order, and blacks were displaced by Latinos as the nation's largest ethnic group.

In these decades, we will demonstrate with comparative data, blacks came increasingly to resemble other American ethnic minorities. Their concentrations in certain neighborhoods and their distinctive institutions—churches, colleges, and a variety of social organizations—can be expected to endure well into the future. Just as there are still identifiably Jewish neighborhoods, religious and other institutions, and something that can be called American Jewish culture, so too there are and will continue to be African American neighborhoods, institutions, and a distinctive black subculture.

The presence of ethnic groups that lead a partially separate existence has long been an indelible part of our pluralistic social structure. However, our tolerance of the impulse to self-segregate should not entail support for current race-driven public policies that sharpen group consciousness and reinforce group boundaries—preferential

admissions in higher education, racial preferences in hiring, and the racial gerrymandering of legislative districts. We expect to have a full draft of this study ready in the spring of 2009.

Articles/Book Reviews/Reports

- “Saying Goodbye,” *National Review Online*, January 21, 2009.
- “One Journey Ends,” *New York Post*, January 21, 2009.
- “Racial Gerrymandering Is Unnecessary.” (With Stephan Thernstrom.) *Wall Street Journal*, November 11, 2008.
- “Great Black Hope? The reality of President-Elect Obama.” An NRO Symposium. *National Review Online*, November 6, 2008.
- “Gerrymandering Democratic Votes.” *Forbes.com*, October, 23, 2008.
- “Victory in the voting rights battle Barack Obama's candidacy is one of many signs that the U.S. has turned a page.” *Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 2008.
- “Obama in Black & White: Candidate as inkblot.” (With Stephan Thernstrom.) *National Review Online*, August 29, 2008.
- “Examining the United Church of Christ.” (With Stephan Thernstrom.) *Real Clear Politics*, May 06, 2008.
- “Voters Are Far from the Biggest Losers: Life after Crawford.” *National Review Online*, April 30, 2008.
- “Subtle, Serious, Patriotic: Barack Obama and a 'long march.’” *National Review Online*, March 20, 2008.
- “Beyond Black Politics,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 14, 2008, A18.
- “Taking Race Out of the Race,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 2, 2008 (with Stephan Thernstrom).
- “Separation Anxiety,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 30, 2007, W13 (with Stephan Thernstrom).
- “At Duke, the Massacre of Innocence,” Review of Stuart Taylor and KC Johnson, “Until Proven Innocent,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 6, 2007, D7
- “Supreme Gibberish,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 2, 2007, A15.
- “Racial Politics As Ever: Democrats will be demagogic; when will Republicans counter them?” *National Review*, March 19, 2007.
- “Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: By Now, a Murky Mess,” *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy*, Winter 2007 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 41-78.
- “Reviewing (and Reconsidering) the Voting Rights Act,” *Engage* (the flagship publication of the Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy), October 2006.
- “Michigan Prefers Equality,” Rule of Law column, *Wall Street Journal*, November 11, 2006.
- “A Culture of Choice,” in Robert C. Enlow and Lenore T. Ealy, eds, *Liberty & Learning: Milton Friedman's Voucher Idea at Fifty* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 2006), 35-49.
- “The Souls of American Folk,” review of Juan Williams, “Enough: The Phony Leaders,

- Dead-End Movements, and Culture of Failure That Are Undermining Black America and What We Can Do About It," *National Review*, November 6, 2006
- "Steele Sense: From White Racism to White Guilt, America Still Struggles with Race," *National Review Online (NRO)*, May 10, 2006.
- "Moving Out: The Stable Poverty of New Orleans Has Been Shaken Up, and That's Good," *National Review Online (NRO)*, April 13, 2006.
- "Bad Standards: The ABA goes to the Grutter," (with Roger Clegg), *National Review Online (NRO)*, March 16, 2006
- "Birth of a Gerrymander: The Supreme Court can finally bring sanity to voting rights law," *The Weekly Standard*, February 20, 2006.
- "Who's Playing Politics? It's the Left, not the Right, that's out of order in Texas," (with Roger Clegg and Edward Blum), *NRO (National Review Online)*, January 24, 2006.
- "Gerrymander Slander: Democrats Cry Foul on Texas Redistricting," (with Edward Blum), *National Review Online (NRO)*, December 6, 2005.
- "One Person, One Vote," *Wall Street Journal*, December 5, 2005, A21. (On Judge Alito and reapportionment.)
- "Busting Busing Myths: Stephan Thernstrom and Abigail Thernstrom say 'school segregation' is a diversion," *New York Sun*, November 1, 2005, A9.
- "Lessons Not Learned: Jonathan Kozol's analysis of American schools is worthy of a third-grader," (book review), *Wall Street Journal*, September 29, 2005.
- "Minority Political Power is a Fact of Life," *Boston Globe* (debate with Senator Edward Kennedy), August 21, 2005.
- "Roberts Misjudged," *Los Angeles Times*, August 11, 2005.
- "March of Dreams: Crossing over to freedom. Civil Rights Act worth celebrating, but it was never justified in Texas situation," (with Edward Blum), *Houston Chronicle*, August 7, 2005.
- "Voting Rights Act: After 40 Years, It's Time for Virginia to Move On . . .," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (with Edward Blum), August 1, 2005 (with Edward Blum, on the Voting Rights Act reauthorization).
- "Emergency Exit," *New York Sun*, July 29, 2005 (on the Voting Rights Act reauthorization)
- "Talk about Affirmative Action: John Roberts could make a big difference on the Court," *National Review Online* (with Stephan Thernstrom), July 28, 2005.
- "Do the Right Thing," *Wall Street Journal*, July 15, 2005, A10 (with Edward Blum on the Voting Rights Act reauthorization)
- "Closing the Racial Gap in Education (with Stephan Thernstrom), *The Ripon Society's Congressional Report: Public Policies for Debate, 2005*, pp. 41-50.
- "Secrecy and Dishonesty: The Supreme Court, Racial Preferences, and Higher Education," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Constitutional Commentary*, (Symposium: From Brown to Bakke to Grutter: Constitutionalizing and Defining Racial Equality), "Spring 2004, pp 251-274.
- "Wasted Vote? There Is No Such Thing," *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 2004.
- "Have We Overcome?" (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Commentary*, November 2004, pp. 49-53.

- "Redefining Rights in America," *Wall Street Journal*, op-ed, October 18, 2004, p. A18.
- "No Excuses: Closing America's Racial Gap in Learning," *American Experiment Quarterly*, Spring 2004, pp. 45-53.
- "Closing the Racial Gap," *The Ripon Forum*, Summer 2004 (Vol. 38. #11), p. 22.
- "Close the gap by teaching social skills," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 27, 2004.
- "The *Brown* Decision: A Shining Moment," *Education Week*, May 19, 2004, p. 52 (back cover), debate with Derrick Bell.
- "No, Brown Isn't a Bust: Fifty years after the monumental decision, it's popular to say that segregation is back. That's hogwash," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 2004, p. A13.
- Contribution to symposium, "Brown 50 Years Later: Reflections on the Ongoing Struggle," *American School Board Journal*, April 2004, p. 63.
- "One Drop of Blood," review of John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution*, (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, April 16, 2004, p. 27.
- "Codifying a Double Standard," Symposium: The Supreme Court's Michigan Decisions, "*Academic Questions*, Summer 2003, pp. 8-12.
- Guest Editorial "Deconstructing the urban NAEP results," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *The Education Gadfly* (weekly bulletin of News and Analysis from the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, January 22, 2004 (Vol. 4, # 3), p. 1.
Reprinted in *Education Matters*, published by the Association of American Educators, April/May 2004.
- "Martin Luther King's unfinished legacy," *The Boston Globe*, January 16, 2004, p. A16.
- "Those who can't do," Review of Vivian Troen and Katherine C. Boles, *Who's Teaching Your Children? Why the Teacher Crisis Is Worse Than You Think and What Can Be Done About It* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) in *Commonwealth Magazine*, Summer 2003.
- "College Rulings Add Insult to Injury," *Los Angeles Times*, Sunday June 29, 2003, op-ed.
- "Affirmative Action is a Side Issue," *Ann Arbor News*, June 10, 2003.
- "Is affirmative action needed? Preferences don't fix the problem," *New York Daily News*, January 14, 2003.
- "High Stakes Testing: Point-Counterpoint," *Connections* (New England Board of Higher Education), Fall 2002, pp. 38-40.
- "Trent Lott's Blow to Civil Rights," *New York Times*, op-ed, December 18, 2002, A33.
- "Schools That Work," (co-authored with Stephan Thernstrom) in John E. Chubb and Thomas Loveless, eds., *Bridging the Achievement Gap* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002), 131-156.
- "Schools: Confronting the Race Gap," *New York Post*, March 29, 2002, p. 29.
- "The Racial Gap in Academic Achievement," in Thernstrom and Thernstrom, eds., *Beyond The Color Line: New Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002).
- "Racial Preferences in Higher Education: An Assessment of the Evidence," (with Stephan Thernstrom), essay in Stanley Renshon, ed., *One America? Political Leadership, National Identity, and the Dilemmas of Diversity* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), pp.169-231.
- Review of *Reaching Beyond Race* by Paul M. Sniderman and Edward G. Carmines,

- Journal of Politics*, May 2001 (v. 63 #2), 638-640.
- "Admissions Impossible: California Without the SAT," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *National Review*, March 19, 2001, pp. 42-43.
- "Affirmative Action," entry, *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavior Sciences*, 2001.
- "Even in This Election, It Is Not Class Warfare" (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Los Angeles Times*, November 27, 2000.
- "California Makes College an Entitlement," *New York Times*, op-ed, September 26, 2000, p. A31.
- "Testing and Its Enemies: At the Schoolhouse Barricades," *National Review*, September 11, 2000, pp. 38-41.
- "Diversity Yes, Preferences No," *Academe* (Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors), September-October 2000, pp. 30-33.
- "Race-Based Programs and Good Schooling," *Society*, July/August 2000, pp. 44-46.
- "Shooting the Messenger," review of Nicholas Lemann, *The Big Test* and Peter Sacks, *Standardized Minds*, (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 2000, pp. 7-8.
- "Trial Lawyers Target Three Michigan Judges up for Election," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 2000, A 43.
- "Answer the Census: The Alternative Is Worse," (with Stephan Thernstrom) *The Wall Street Journal*, April 6, 2000, A22.
- "No Excuses," a reply to Deborah Meier, in *Will Standards Save Public Education?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), pp. 35-39.
- "Racial Preferences in Higher Education: What We Now Know," *Visions & Values* (the Alumni Association publication of Grove City College), April 2000. (Based on a talk given at the college.)
- "We Need Answers on Metco," *Boston Globe*, March 27, 2000, A 13.
- "Civil Rights: What Went Wrong" (with Stephan Thernstrom), *The Wall Street Journal*, January 17, 2000, p. A18.
- "A Taboo Erodes: The Truth About Blacks and Education," *National Review*, December 20, 1999, pp. 22-24.
- "Black Progress," (co-authored with Stephan Thernstrom) in Christopher H Foreman, Jr., ed., *The African American Predicament* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 1999), pp. 29-44.
- Review of Jonathan Coleman, *Long Way to Go: Black and White in America in Journal of American Ethnic History*, Fall 1999 (Vol. 19, # 1), pp.109-110.
- "The End of Meritocracy: Should the SAT Account for Race? No," (Debate with Nathan Glazer) *The New Republic*, September 27, 1999, pp. 27-29.
- "The Kids Are All Right: Why Fears that America Has Lost Its Moral Compass are Misplaced," a review of William Finnegan, *Cold New World*, cover article, (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, July 30, 1999, pp. 3-4
- "Reflections on *The Shape of the River*," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *UCLA Law Review*, June 1999 (Vol. 46, #5), pp. 1583-1632.
- "Courting Disorder in the Schools," *The Public Interest*, Summer 1999 (Number 136), pp. 18-34.
- "Testing, The Easy Target," *New York Times*, op-ed, June 10, 1999, A 31.

- "Where Did All the Order Go? School Discipline and the Law," in Diane Ravitch, ed., *Brookings Papers on Education Policy, 1999* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 1999), pp. 299-327.
- "Racial Preferences: What We Now Know," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Commentary*, February 1999 (Vol. 107 #2).
- "The Breakfast Table," (thoughts/columns on impeachment and other current news, published in the form of letters to Stephan Thernstrom) *Slate Magazine* (online), December 9-11 and 14-18, 1998.
- "A Flawed Defense of Preferences," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 2, 1998, A 14.
- "The Consequences of Colorblindness" (with Stephan Thernstrom), *The Wall Street Journal*, April 7, 1998, A17.
- "Black Progress: How Far We've Come--and How Far We Have to Go" (with Stephan Thernstrom), *The Brookings Review*, Spring, 1998 (special issue on "Black America), 12-16.
- "American Apartheid? Don't Believe It," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Wall Street Journal*, March 2, 1998, A18.
- Contribution (with Stephan Thernstrom) to a symposium, "Is Affirmative Action on the Way Out? Should It Be?," *Commentary* March, 1998, 51-53.
- "Good News About Racial Progress," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Reader's Digest*, March 1998, 74-78.
Reprinted in a variety of places including *The Rocky Mountain News*, Sunday, March 22, 1998, B1.
- "Treat People as Individuals, Not As Members of a Group," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sunday, January 25, 1998, E7.
- "Dialogue" with Prof. Randall Kennedy (Harvard Law School) on the subject of race in the on-line magazine, *Slate*. Five exchanges that ran from October 14 to December 16, 1997.
- "Going Toe to Toe with Bill," *Newsweek*, December 15, 1997, 35.
- Review of W. Avon Drake and Robert D. Holsworth, *Affirmative Action and the Stalled Quest for Black Progress* in the *American Political Science Review*, December, 1997 (Vol. 91, #4), pp. 962-963.
- "Who's Afraid to Debate Affirmative Action?" *New York Times*, November 22, 1997, A 29.
- "We Have Overcome: The Good News About Race Relations," (with Stephan Thernstrom), *The New Republic*, October 13, 1997, 23.
- "Black Progress: The Greatest Gains Came Before Affirmative Action," (with Stephan Thernstrom) *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 21, 1997. (Reprinted in a number of newspapers.)
- "The Real Story of Black Progress," (with Stephan Thernstrom) *Wall Street Journal*, September 3, 1997, A20.
- "The Overlooked Story," *New York Times*, June 18, 1997, A 29.
- "One-Sided Race 'Dialogue,'" *New York Post*, June 17, 1997.
- "Caught in the Skills Gap: Why the Progress of Young Black Americans Has Gone Into Reverse," (with Stephan Thernstrom) *Times Literary Supplement*, June 6, 1997.

- "The Prescience of Gunnar Myrdal," (with Stephan Thernstrom) *The Public Interest*, Summer 1997 (No. 128), pp. 36-54.
- "End the Double Standard," *USA Today*, May 22, 1997, 12A.
- "Shaw v. Reno: Notes from a Political Thicket," in Roger Clegg and Leonard Leo, eds., *The Public Interest Law Review* (National Legal Center for the Public Interest, 1994), pp. 35-56. Reprinted in Anthony A. Peacock, ed., *Affirmative Action and Representation: Shaw v. Reno and the Future of Voting Rights* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1997), pp. 97-126.
- "Voting Rights: Another Affirmative Action Mess," *UCLA Law Review*, symposium on affirmative action, Vol. 43, #6 (August 1996), pp. 2031-2057.
- "Don't Mend It, Defend It," a greatly shortened version of the CEO report listed below. *National Review*, September 2, 1996, pp. 45-48.
- "Don't End It, Don't Mend It, Defend It: Reviewing the Clinton Record on Racial Preferences," Center for Equal Opportunity (Washington, D.C.), Policy Brief, July 1995
- "The Real Problem," (Remarks at the Eighth Annual Federalist Society Lawyers Convention, Washington D.C., September 23, 1995, panel on affirmative action), *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, Vol. 19, #3 (Spring, 1996).
- "On the Hill: Dole's Pass, A GOP Wimp-Out on Preferences," *The New Republic*, April 1, 1995, pp. 11-12.
- "Captive Voters," in the "Soundings" section, *City Journal*, Winter 1996, pp. 12-13.
- "From Scottsboro to Simpson," (with Henry D. Fetter), *The Public Interest*, Winter 1996 (No. 122), pp. 17-27. Reprinted in Center of Equal Opportunity, *Race and the Criminal Justice System: How Race Affects Jury Trials* (1996)
- "Voting Rights at a Crossroads," *Civil Rights Journal* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights publication), Fall, 1995, p.37, 40-41. Reprinted in *Leadership and Government: A Reference Guide*, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Youth Leadership Council, 1995).
- "Two Nations, Separate and Hostile?" *New York Times*, October 12, 1995, A23.
- "More Notes from a Political Thicket," *Emory Law Journal*, Vol. 44, #3 (Summer 1995), pp. 911-941.
- Review of Michael Dawson, Behind the Mule in *The Public Interest*, Summer 1995.
- "No, It's a Race-Based Game," (on a racial set-aside at the Boston Latin School), *Boston Sunday Globe*, August 20, 1995, A 87.
- "Why Change What Works?" (on majority-rule), *USA Today*, June 30, 1995, 12A.
- "Two Views. Racial Affirmative Action Is On The Way Out. Should Income-Based Preferences Replace It?," *The American Enterprise*, (a debate with Clint Bolick) July/August 1995.
Partially reprinted in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 14, 1995, B2.
- "A Class Backwards Idea: Why Affirmative Action for the Needy Won't Work," *Washington Post* (Sunday "Outlook" section), June 11, 1995, C1. Reprinted in A.E. Sadler, ed. *Affirmative Action* (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1995, "At Issue": An Opposing Viewpoints Series.)
- "Losing Race; California vs. Affirmative Action," *The New Republic*, (with John J. Miller), June 26, 1995.

- "The Promise of Racial Equality," (with Stephan Thernstrom) in Lamar Alexander and Chester E. Finn, Jr., eds., *The New Promise of American Life* (The Hudson Institute, Indianapolis, 1995).
- "Racial Gerrymanders Come Before the Supreme Court," *The Wall Street Journal*, "Rule of Law" column, April 12, 1995, A15.
- "The Twenty-Fourth Amendment" and "The Voting Rights Act of 1965," (separate articles) in Donald C. Bacon et al, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), pp. 1998 and 2089-90.
- "Endangered Species: Their Habitats Destroyed, White Southern Democrats are a Vanishing Breed," *The New Democrat*, January/February 1995, pp. 17-18 (With Andrew Hazlett, co-author.)
- "Redistricting, in Black and White: By Any Name, It's a Quota," *The New York Times*, December 7, 1994, A23.
- "Reflections on Race, the Central City and the Economy," (with Stephan Thernstrom) *The Aspen Institute Quarterly*, Winter 1994 (vol. 6 #1), pp. 88-104.
- Review of Hugh Pearson, *The Shadow of the Panther* in *The Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 1994, p. A 9.
- "Beware Electoral Apartheid," *The Wall Street Journal*, "Rule of Law" column, July 6, 1994, p. A 19.
- Review of Nathan McCall, *Makes Me Wanna Holler*; Ellis Cose, *The Rage of a Privileged Class*; Brent Staples, *Parallel Time*, review essay, entitled "The Futility of Black Rage," in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London), June 10, 1994, p. 14.
- Review of Lani Guinier, *The Tyranny of the Majority* in *The Wall Street Journal*, March 24, 1994, p. A 12.
- Review of Stephan Leshner, *George Wallace: American Populist* in *The Washington Post Book World*, March 20, 1994, p. 1.
- Review of Paul M. Sniderman and Thomas Piazza, *The Scar of Race* in *The Wall Street Journal*, November 11, 1993, p. A 12.
- Review of David Brock, *The Real Anita Hill* in *The Times Literary Supplement* (London), July 23, 1993, p. 26.
- "Guinier Miss," *The New Republic*, June 14, 1993, pp. 16-19.
- "Affirmative Action Backfires at Harvard Law Review," *The Wall Street Journal*, November 18, 1992, p. 17.
- Symposium on "The Voting Rights Act and the Politics of Redistricting, Comments by Abigail Thernstrom," *La Raza Law Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1993), pp. 85-91.
- "The Voting Rights Act 25 Years Later," *Civil Rights Division Journal*, United States Department of Justice, December 9, 1992.
- Review of Herman Belz, *Equality Transformed: A Quarter-Century of Affirmative Action* in *The Journal of Southern History*, Nov. 1992 (Vol. 58, No. 4), pp. 754-755.
- Review of John H. Bunzel, *Race Relations on Campus: Stanford Students Speak in Academic Questions*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 97-99.
- Review of Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* in *National Review*, November 16, 1992, pp. 58-59.

- "The Drive for Racially Inclusive Schools," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, special issue on "Affirmative Action Revisited," September 1992, pp. 131-143.
- Review of Mickey Kaus, *The End of Equality* in *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1992, p. A 10.
- "Education Beyond Politics: A Symposium," *Partisan Review*, Summer 1992 (Vol. LIX, No. 3), pp. 343-419.
- "Protect Black Voters' Rights, Not Black Officeholders' Power," *The Wall Street Journal*, "Rule of Law" column, June 10, 1992, p. A 15.
- Review of Ronald P. Formisano, *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol.22, No.4 (Spring, 1992), pp. 762-764.
- "The Right to Vote," in Kermit L. Hall, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 899-902.
- "The Vile Circus at Harvard Law," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 1, 1992, p. A 14.
- Focus on Children: The Beat of the Future*, Report of the 1992 Media Conference at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, February 3-5, 1992, panel on "Education: The Search for Solutions," pp. 130-146.
- "Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections," in A.E. Dick Howard and Melvin I. Urofsky, eds., *Virginia and the Constitution* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, Center for Public Service, University of Virginia, 1992).
- "Beyond the Pale: The Limits of Racial Role Models," *The New Republic*, December 16, 1991, pp. 22-24.
- "Rough Justice: The Plot That Failed," *The New Republic*, November 11, 1991, pp. 14-16. Reprinted in *The New Republic's Guide to the Candidates* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), pp. 99-101.
- "Race-based Education Implies Inequality," *Boston Sunday Herald*, September 29, 1991, p. 31.
- "A Republican-Civil Rights Conspiracy," *Washington Post*, op. ed., September 23, 1991, p. A11 (Reprinted in the *Atlanta Constitution*.)
- "Hobson's Choice: The Trouble with Vouchers," *The New Republic*, July 15-22, 1991, pp. 13-16.
- Review of Thomas Sowell, *Preferential Policies: An International Perspective* in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (June 1991), pp. 600-601).
- "Why Catholic Schools Work," *New York Newsday*, June 6, 1991
- "Out-Classed: Why Parochial Schools Beat Public Ones," *The New Republic*, May 13, 1991, pp. 12-14.
- "Affirmative Action: Solution or Problem?" *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 18, 1991, p. 19.
- "The Will of the People: A Current Assessment," in George R. Johnson, Jr., ed., *The Will of the People: The Legacy of George Mason*, Vol. VI (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1991).
- Review of John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets and America's Schools* in *The Public Interest*, Fall 1990 (No. 101), pp. 142-132.

- "On the Scarcity of Black Professors," *Commentary*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (July 1990), pp. 22-26.
- "The 1990 Civil Rights Bill Is Wrong," *Wall Street Journal*, May 4, 1990, p. A 10.
- "Bilingual Miseducation," *Commentary*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (Feb. 1990), pp. 44-48.
- "Permaffirm Action," *The New Republic*, July 31, 1989, p. 17.
- "Power Bases, Or Little Ghettos?" *New York Newsday*, June 15, 1989, p. 82.
- Review of William M. Lurch, *The Nationalization of American Politics in Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 1988 (Vol. 103, #3).
- "Justice Hugo Black: Local Control and Federalism," *Alabama Law Review*, Vol. 38, No 2 (Winter 1987). Reprinted in Tony Freyer, ed., *Justice Hugo Black and Modern America* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1990), pp. 279-304. (With Timothy G. O'Rourke.)
- "Statistics and the Politics of Minority Representation: The Evolution of the Voting Rights Act Since 1965," in William Alonso and Paul Starr, eds., *The Politics of Numbers* (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1987).
- Review of Howard Schuman, Charlotte Steeh, and Lawrence Bobo, *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations in The Public Interest*, Fall 1986 (No. 85), pp. 96-101.
- "Voting Rights Trap: The Resegregation of the Political Process," *The New Republic*, September 2, 1985.
- "The Right of Ethnic Minorities to Political Representation," in Charles Fried, ed., *Minorities: Community and Identity* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1983).
- "Voting Rights Act: Time to Think," *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1981, op.ed., II, 5 (a longer version of the *Washington Post* piece).
- "Voting Rights: To What Are Minorities Entitled?" *Washington Post*, August 4, 1981, op. ed., A 15.
- Review of Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* in *The New Republic*, July 25, 1981.
- "Bilingual Mis-Education: It's Spanish for Segregation," *The New Republic*, April 18, 1981.
- "E Pluribus Plura--Congress and Bilingual Education," *The Public Interest*, No. 60, Summer 1980.
- "Language Issues and Legislation," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 619-629.
- Review of Robert O'Neil, *Discriminations Against Discrimination in The Times Literary Supplement*, April 1, 1977.
- Review of Jerold Auerbach, *Unequal Justice in The New Republic*, May 22, 1976.
- Misc. pieces for *The Economist* (American survey section, unsigned). Among the topics covered: health insurance in Massachusetts; universities and donors; the elderly as a political lobby; racism on the campus; English-only referenda; sister cities; universities and censorship.

Other

- Testimony before the Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Property Rights, U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Building Room 226. Hearing on “Renewing the Temporary Provisions of the Voting Rights Act: Legislative Options after *LULAC v. Perry*,” July 13, 2006, 2:00 PM.
- Testimony before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Building Room 226. Hearing on “Understanding the Benefits and Costs of Section 5 Preclearance,” May 17, 2006, 9:30 AM.
- Testimony Before the Committee on Rules and Administration, United States Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Room 301, June 27, 2001. On allegations of black disfranchisement in Florida in the 2000 election.
- Testimony Before the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, September 23, 1999, Rayburn House Office, Building 2226, Regarding, H.R. 1173, “States' Choice of Voting Systems Act.”
- U.S. Supreme Court, October 1994 Term, *State of Louisiana v. Ray Hays*, Brief of the Institute for Justice as Amicus Curiae in Support of Appellees, written by me, signed by IJ.
- U.S. Supreme Court, October 1995 Term, *Bush v. Vera*, Brief of the Institute for Justice as Amicus Curiae in Support of Appellees, written by me, signed by IJ.
- U.S. Supreme Court, October 1995 Term, Brief of amici curiae in support of respondents, *U.S. v Commonwealth of Virginia* (the Virginia Military Institute equal protection case). I am listed as one of five individual amici; Anita K. Blair of the Independent Women's Forum was the counsel of record.
- U.S. Supreme Court, October 2007 term, Brief of Abigail Thernstrom and Stephan Thernstrom as Amici Curiae in support of appellants, *Honorable Bob Riley. Governor of the State of Alabama v. Yvonne Kennedy et al.*
- U.S. Supreme Court, October 2008 term, brief of Pacific Legal Foundation, Center for Equal Opportunity, Hans A. Von Spakovsky, Project 21, Abigail Thernstrom, and Karl S. Bowers, Jr. as Amicus Curiae in Support of Respondents, *Gary Bartlett v. Dwight Strickland*.

Membership on Committees & Boards, etc.

- Member, Equal Rights National Advisory Board, 2007--
(This is the advisory board to Ward Connerly's campaign to end racial preferences in five states through ballot initiatives in November 2008.)
- Member, Board of Advisors, U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC), which is a national clearinghouse and resource for information and review of procedures with respect to the administration of federal elections. It was established by HAVA (the Help America Vote Act of 2002). December 2005, for a two-year term.
- Co-Chairman, Closing the Achievement Gap Study Group, National Association of State Boards of Education, 2004.

Member, Academic Advisory Committee, The Pope Center for Higher Education Policy, 2003--

Honorary Vice-Chairman, The Becket Fund's Sixth Annual Canterbury Medal Dinner, Metropolitan Club, New York, May 22, 2002.

Board of Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts (appointed by Gov. Weld), May 1, 1995-January 24, 2000. Reappointed August 13, 1996-August 9, 2001 after the reconstitution of the board. Reappointed again (by Gov. Jane Swift); expired November, 2006.

Commissioner, U.S. Commission for Civil Rights, January 2001-February 2002; reappointed for an additional six years. Assumed the position of Vice Chair, December 2004.

Member, Board of Advisers, Center of the American Experiment, Minneapolis, 2001--

President, Massachusetts Association of Scholars, 1999-

Board of Advisory Editors, *Society* (Transaction Publishers), 1997--

Board of Directors, Mass Insight Education and Research Institute, Inc. (MERI), 1997-2007

Education Leaders Council, Washington, D.C.), 1995-2004

Board of Academic Advisors, Pioneer Institute (Pioneer is a Massachusetts-oriented public policy think tank), Boston, summer 1995-summer 2003.

Board of Trustees, The Equal Opportunity Foundation, 1995-- (The Center for Equal Opportunity--see below--is a project of the Foundation.)

Board, Campaign for a Color-Blind America, 1994-2000.

Education Policy Committee of the Educational Excellence Network, Hudson Institute, 1994-1996

Board of Directors, Institute for Justice, Washington, D.C., 1993--

Advisory Board, American Friends of the Institute of United States Studies, University of London, 1993-2003.

Mass Insight Group (Mass Insight provides corporate clients with information on public policy matters of interest to the Massachusetts business community), 1993--

Board of Trustees, Women's Freedom Network, 1993--

National Advisory Board, Independent Women's Forum, 1993--

Board of Directors, American Academy for Liberal Education, Washington, D.C., 1993—1999.

The Aspen Institute's Domestic Strategy Group chaired initially by William Bennett and Senator Bill Bradley, and later by former-congressman Vin Weber and Bradley, 1992--1997.

Board of Directors and Executive Committee, Landmark Legal Foundation, 1992-1993 (resigned to join the board of the Institute for Justice, a competing organization).

Technical advisory committee to assist a three-year study of the Educational CHOICE Charitable Trust program under the auspices of the Hudson Institute, 1992—1995.

Board of Advisors, Center for the New American Community, Manhattan Institute, 1992-1995; and of The Center for Equal Opportunity, Equal Opportunity Foundation, 1995-- (same organization, different auspices and name).

Chair, 1992 Edward S. Corwin Award Committee of the American Political Science

Association.
 Prize Committee, Policy Studies Organization, 1989.
 Program Committee, 1989 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association.
 Chair, advisory committee, The Bunting Institute, Radcliffe College, 1981--1990

Employment as an Expert Witness in Voting Rights Litigation

Barnett v. City of Chicago (districting of aldermanic wards),
 July, 1995--
Reed v. Town of Babylon, report prepared June, 1994; trial, July 1995.
NAACP v. Austin, March/April 1994 (redistricting for the Michigan Senate and House).
 Prepared report, testified at trial.

Teaching Experience (Post-Doctoral)

Spring 1990 Visiting Lecturer in Political Science, Boston College
 1988-1989 Visiting Lecturer in Government, Harvard University
 1975-1978 Lecturer on Social Studies, Harvard
 1975-1978 Teaching Assistant in Expository Writing, Harvard

Other Fellowships, Grants and Employment (Post-Doctoral)

A variety of grants, 1990-1996, to write *America in Black and White* from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Carthage Foundation, the Earhart Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Smith Richardson Foundation.

1990-1992 Grants from the Olin Foundation, for book on Boston University's Chelsea project, which lost out in the competition with *America in Black and White* and became difficult, in any case, to complete as a consequence of the difficulty of tracking the story once the city of Chelsea went under state receivership.

1989-1992 Stringer for *The Economist* (London). Wrote articles on a wide range of topics—on crime, health care policy, education, and the like.
 1986-1988 Senior Research Associate, Gordon Public Policy Center, Brandeis University
 1980-1987 Project Director, Project on Minority Voting Rights, The Twentieth Century Fund, New York.
 1985-1986 Consultant, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, redistricting project.
 1979-1980 Fellowship, Institute for Educational Affairs.