

JEFFREY M. BERRY

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**EDUCATION:**

Ph.D., The Johns Hopkins University, 1974  
M.A., The Johns Hopkins University, 1972  
A.B., University of California, Berkeley, 1970

**EXPERIENCE:**

Chair, Board of Directors, Alzheimer's Association of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 2008-09; Treasurer 2004-2006; Vice-Chair 2006-2008  
Tenure and Promotion Committee, Tufts University, 1995-1996, 2005-2008; Chair 2007-2008  
Scholar in Residence, Tufts European Center, Talloires, France, summer, 2005  
Faculty, Salzburg Seminar, Political Processes and Institutions of Government and Politics, July, 1995  
Chairman, Department of Political Science, Tufts University, 1990-1993; 2006  
Visiting Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1988  
Co-founder and Director, Graduate Program in Public Policy and Citizen Participation, 1980-82, 1984-85  
Governing Board, Common Cause/Massachusetts, 1983-86; Issue Manager, Campaign Finance Reform, 1979-1980  
American Specialist Lecturer, U.S. Department of State, 1978; Lectures in Osaka, Kyoto, Sapporo, Nagoya, Fukuoka, and Singapore  
Assistant Professor (1974-) to Professor of Political Science, Tufts University  
Brookings Institution Guest Scholar, 1973-74, 1976-77, 2000

**PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:**

Invited Lectures/Presentations (partial listing): Johns Hopkins University, 2010; Harvard School of Public Health, 2010; Hewlett Foundation, 2010; Texas A&M, 2009; Colby College, 2008; University of Chicago, 2008; University of Minnesota, 2008; Yale University, 2007; Massachusetts Mayors Association, 2007; MASSCAP, 2007; Kennedy School of Government, 2006; American Public Health Association, 2006; Public Affairs Council, 2005; Hudson Institute, 2005; Boston Foundation, 2004; Harvard University, 2002; Independent Sector, 2000; National Press Club, 1999; Governing Council, American Political Science Association, 2010-2012  
Academic Advisory Board, Journeys for Humanity, 2009-  
Editorial Board, *Party Politics*, 2008-

Committee on Civic Education and Engagement, American Political Science Association, 2002-2005  
President, section on Political Organizations and Parties, American Political Science Association, 1999-2001  
Division Head, annual conference American Political Science Association, 1995, panels for the section on Political Organizations and Parties  
Testimony, United States House of Representatives, Committee on Administration, Task Force on Elections, July, 1983  
Associate Editor, *Citizen Participation* magazine, 1979-1986  
Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom, American Political Science Association, 1974-76

## HONORS

Leon D. Epstein Best Book Award, American Political Science Association, Political Organizations and Parties Section, for *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses and Why* (with Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)  
Samuel J. Eldersveld Career Achievement Award, 2009, American Political Science Association, Political Organizations and Parties Section  
Distinguished Scholar Award, Tufts University, 2006  
Leon D. Epstein Best Book Award, American Political Science Association, Political Organizations and Parties Section, for *A Voice for Nonprofits* (with David F. Arons), 2004  
John Richard Skuse, Class of 1941 Chair, Department of Political Science, Tufts University, 2001-  
Aaron Wildavsky Award (Best Book Award), Policy Studies Organization, for *The New Liberalism*, 1999  
Best Book Award, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, for *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (with Kent Portney and Ken Thomson), 1994  
Gladys Kammerer Award, American Political Science Association, Best Book on American politics for *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (with Kent Portney and Ken Thomson), 1994  
Ph.D. awarded with "Distinction," The Johns Hopkins University, 1974

## RESEARCH GRANTS

Senior Faculty Research Fellowship, Tufts University, 2009  
Bernstein Faculty Fellows Program, The Outrage Industry (with Sarah Sobieraj), 2008  
National Science Foundation grant, Lobbying and Issue Definition (with Frank Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball), 2001  
David and Lucile Packard Foundation grant, Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy (with David Arons and Gary Bass), 2000  
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation grant, Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy (with David Arons and Gary Bass), 2000  
Surdna Foundation grant, Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy (with David Arons and Gary Bass), 1999  
Aspen Institute, Nonprofit Sector Research Fund grant, Strengthening Nonprofit Advocacy (with David Arons and Gary Bass), 1999

National Science Foundation grant, Collaborative Research on Lobbying (with Frank Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, Beth Leech, and David Kimball), 1999  
Ford Foundation grant Participation and Democracy in Five American Cities, (with Kent Portney and Ken Thomson), 1986-1988  
Tufts University Faculty Fellowship, 1978  
Moody Grant, Lyndon B. Johnson Foundation, 1977  
Ford Foundation grant in Government and Law, Administrative Rulemaking and the Food Stamp Program, 1976-1977

## **PUBLICATIONS:**

### *Books:*

*The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*, ed. (with L. Sandy Maisel) (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010)

*Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why* (with Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)

*Democracy at Risk: How Political Choices Undermine Citizen Participation and What We Can Do About It* (With Stephen Macedo et al) (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2005)

*A Voice for Nonprofits* (with David F. Arons) (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2003)

*Surveying Nonprofits: A Methods Handbook* (with David F. Arons, Gary D. Bass, Matthew Carter, and Kent Portney) (Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute, 2003)

*The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1999). Japanese translation, Minerva Shobo, 2009.

*The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson) (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1993)

*The Challenge of Democracy* (with Kenneth Janda and Jerry Goldman), (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987); eleventh edition, 2011 (Boston: Wadsworth). Abridged version translated and published in Russian, Czech, Korean, Hungarian, and Georgian.

*Feeding Hungry People: Rulemaking in the Food Stamp Program* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984)

*The Interest Group Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984); fifth edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2009) (from 4<sup>th</sup> ed., with Clyde Wilcox)

*Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977)

*To Enact a Law: Congress and Campaign Financing* (with Robert L. Peabody, William G. Frasure, and Jerry Goldman), (New York: Praeger, 1972)

Articles:

- “Studying Organizational Advocacy and Influence: Reexamining Interest Group Research,” (with Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, and Beth L. Leech,” *Annual Review of Political Science* (forthcoming)
- “Understanding the Rise of Talk Radio” (with Sarah Sobieraj), *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44 (October 2011)
- “From Incivility to Outrage: Political Discourse in Blogs, Talk Radio, and Cable News” (with Sarah Sobieraj), *Political Communication* 28 (February 2011)
- “Participation and the Pursuit of Sustainability in U.S. Cities” (with Kent E. Portney), *Urban Affairs Review* 46 (September 2010)
- “Urban Interest Groups,” in L. Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- “The State of Research on Political Parties and Interest Groups” (with L. Sandy Maisel), in L. Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- “An Ever Fainter Voice,” in Gary King, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Norman Nie, eds., *The Future of Political Science* (New York: Routledge, 2009)
- “Nonprofit Organizations as Interest Groups: The Politics of Passivity,” in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007)
- “Neighborhoods, Neighborhood Associations, and Social Capital,” (with Kent E. Portney), in Susan Ostrander and Kent Portney, eds., *Acting Civically: From Local Neighborhoods to Higher Education* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2007)
- Power and Interest Groups in City Politics* (with Kent E. Portney, Robin Liss, Jessica Simoncelli, and Lisa Berger), Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, December, 2006
- “Nonprofits and Civic Engagement,” *Public Administration Review* 65 (September/October 2005)
- “Who Will Get Caught in the IRS’s Sights?,” *Washington Post* Sunday Outlook section, November 21, 2004. Distributed to other newspapers by the *Washington Post* wire service. Reprinted by Independent Sector, *Perspectives* (December 2004)
- “Charities of the World—Unite!”, *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, September 2, 2004
- “The Lobbying Law Is More Charitable Than They Think,” *Washington Post* Sunday Outlook section, November 30, 2003. Reprinted in Elizabeth Schmidt, *Nonprofit Law* (New York: Wolters Kluwer, 2011)

- “Nonprofit Groups Shouldn’t Be Afraid to Lobby,” *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, November 27, 2003
- “Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 35 (December 2002)
- “Interest Groups and Gridlock,” in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002)
- “Organized Interests and Issue Definition in Policy Debates” (with Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, and David C. Kimball), in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002)
- “Lobbying,” in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford, England: Elsevier, 2001)
- “Effective Advocacy for Nonprofits,” in Elizabeth J. Reid and Maria D. Montilla, eds., *Exploring Organizations and Advocacy* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 2001)
- “Die Vereingten Staaten im Zeitalter des Postmaterialismus,” in Ulrich Willems and Thomas von Winter, eds., *Politische Repräsentation schwacher Interessen* (Opladen, Germany: Leske and Budrich, 2000)
- “The Rise of Citizen Groups,” in Theda Skocpol and Morris Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution and the Russell Sage Foundation, 1999)
- “Liberalism’s Transformation,” *Washington Post* Sunday “Outlook” Section, July 11, 1999. Distributed to other newspapers by the *Washington Post* wire service. Reprinted as “A Look at Liberalism’s Transformation,” in Mark J. Rozell and John Kenneth White, eds., *Contemporary Readings in American Government* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2002)
- “Technology, Participation, and Community,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63 (Spring 1997)
- “Citizen Groups, Political Parties, and Electoral Coalitions” (with Deborah Schildkraut), in Anne N. Costain and Andrew S. McFarland, eds., *Social Movements and American Political Institutions* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998)
- “Mobilizing Minority Communities: Social Capital and Participation in Urban Neighborhoods,” (with Kent E. Portney), *American Behavioral Scientist* 40 (March/April 1997). Reprinted in Bob Edwards, Michael W. Foley, and Mario Diani, eds., *Beyond Tocqueville* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001)
- “The Real Powers on Capitol Hill,” *Boston Globe* Sunday “Focus” section, December 15, 1996
- “Patrons and Entrepreneurs: A Response to ‘Public Interest Group Entrepreneurship and Theories of Group Mobilization’” (with Douglas R. Imig), *Political Research Quarterly* 49 (March 1996)

- "Centralizing Regulatory Control and Interest Group Access: The Quayle Council on Competitiveness" (with Kent E. Portney), in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 4th ed, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1994)
- "Citizen Groups and the Changing Nature of Interest Group Politics in America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (July) 1993. Abridged version reprinted in George McKenna and Stanley Feingold, eds. *Taking Sides*, 9th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin Publishing, 1995).
- "The Political Behavior of Poor People" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), in Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1991)
- "Subgovernments, Issue Networks, and Political Conflict," in Richard A. Harris and Sidney Milkis, eds., *Remaking American Politics* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1989). Reprinted in Robert Forester, ed., *American Politics: The Pluralist Tradition* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1993). An earlier version of this essay is reprinted in Peter Kobrak, ed., *The Political Environment of Public Management*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 2002)
- "Empowering Citizens" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), in James L. Perry, ed., *Handbook of Public Administration* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989)
- "Public Involvement in Administration: The Structural Determinants of Effective Citizen Participation" (with Kent E. Portney, Mary Beth Bablitch, and Richard Mahoney), *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 13 (April 1984)
- "Consumers and the Hunger Lobby," in Don F. Hadwiger and Ross B. Talbot, eds., *Food Policy and Farm Programs* (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1982)
- "Beyond Citizen Participation: Effective Advocacy Before Administrative Agencies," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 17 (October 1981)
- "Public Interest vs. Party System," *Society* 17 (May/June 1980)
- "Lessons from Chairman Ralph: Nader's Secrets of Success," *Citizen Participation* 1 (November/December 1979). Reprinted in the *Boston Globe* Sunday "Focus" section, January 20, 1980
- "On the Origins of Public Interest Groups: A Test of Two Theories," *Polity* 10 (Spring 1978)
- "Food Stamps: The Recurring Issues," in Don F. Hadwiger and William P. Browne, eds., *The New Politics of Food* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1978)
- "Grievance Procedures Available from the Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom," *PS* 9 (Fall 1976); reprinted (Winter 1982); reprinted (Winter 1984)
- "Electoral Economics: Getting and Spending," *Polity* 7 (Fall 1974)
- "Congress and Public Policy: A Study of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971" (with Jerry Goldman), *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 10 (February 1973)

## CONFERENCE PAPERS

- “Civil Society and Sustainable Cities” (with Kent E. Portney), paper to be delivered at the Princeton Conference on Environmental Politics,” Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance, Princeton University, December, 2011
- “Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda?” (with David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and Bryan Summary), delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September, 2011
- “The Group Basis of City Politics” (with Kent E. Portney), paper delivered at the Conference on Nonprofits and Advocacy, Georgetown University, March, 2011. A revised version of this paper was delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September, 2011
- “Urban Advocacy Groups, City Governance, and the Pursuit of Sustainability in American Cities” (with Kent E. Portney), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 2010
- “Advocates and Interest Representation in Policy Debates” (with Marie Hojnacki, Kathleen Marchetti, Frank R. Baumgartner, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 2010
- “Lessons from the *Lobbying and Policy Change* Project” (with Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, and David Kimball), paper delivered at the Conference on Interview Methods in Political Science, Duke University, January, 2010
- “Urban Nonprofits, City Governance, and the Pursuit of Sustainability in American Cities” (with Kent E. Portney, Kelli Farrington, and Kathryn Bond), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September, 2009
- “Mapping the Outrage Industry: Political Discourse in Blogs, Talk Radio, and Cable News” (with Sarah Sobieraj), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 2009
- “Advocacy Behavior and Conflict Expansion in Policy Debates” (with Marie Hojnacki, Frank R. Baumgartner, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 2008
- “Community, Participation, and Sustainability” (with Kent E. Portney), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 2008
- “The Outrage Industry” (with Sarah Sobieraj), paper delivered at the conference on Going to Extremes: the Fate of the Political Center in American Politics, Rockefeller Center, Dartmouth College, June 2008
- “Interests, Organizations, and Lobbying” (with Éric Montpetit), paper prepared for the Conference on the North American Experiment, University of British Columbia, March 2008

- “Lobbying, Advocacy, and Democracy” (with Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper delivered at the Connex Thematic Workshop, University of Antwerp, September 2007
- “Washington: The Real No-Spin Zone” (with Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 2007
- “Does Money Buy Power? Interest Group Resources and Policy Outcomes” (with Beth Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, and David Kimball), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2007
- “Power and Interest Groups in City Politics” (with Kent E. Portney, Robin Liss, Jessica Simoncelli, and Lisa Berger), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August, 2006
- “Goals, Salience, and the Nature of Advocacy” (with Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August, 2006
- “The Structure of Conflict” (with Frank R. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 2006
- “The Inequality of Representation,” paper delivered at the Wiener Seminar on Inequality and Social Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, December 2005. Available at: [www.ksg.harvard.edu/inequality/Seminar/Papers/Berry05.pdf](http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/inequality/Seminar/Papers/Berry05.pdf)
- “Ensuring Nonprofit Passivity,” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2005. Revised for the Conference on Institutional Barriers to Mobilizing Democracy, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, January, 2006
- “Nonprofits and Civic Engagement,” paper delivered at the conference on “Civic Engagement in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Politics, University of Southern California, October, 2004
- A Political Science of Citizenship*, a report of the APSA Standing Committee on Civic Education and Engagement (with Stephen Macedo et al), delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 2004. A revised version was delivered as *Democracy at Risk: Renewing a Political Science of Citizenship* at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September, 2004. Principal author of sections on the nonprofit, voluntary, and philanthropic sectors.
- “Report of the Working Group on the Nonprofit, Voluntary, and Philanthropic Sectors,” ASPA Standing Committee on Civic Education and Engagement, (with Rob Reich, Michael Brintnall, Margaret Levi, and Meira Levinson), paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August, 2003. A revised

version was delivered at the Workshop on Civic Education and Engagement, Princeton University, February, 2004.

“Empowering Nonprofits,” paper presented at the Urban Seminar Series on Children’s Health and Safety, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, May 2003. An expanded and revised version of this paper was delivered as “Government Regulation and Nonprofit Advocacy,” at the annual meeting of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Denver, November 2003

“Issue Advocacy and Interest-Group Influence” (with Frank Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper presented at the First General Conference, European Consortium for Political Research, University of Kent, Canterbury, England, September, 2001

“Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing,” paper presented at the Workshop on Elite Interviewing, Political Organizations and Parties section, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August, 2001

“Building an Effective Lobby,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August, 2001

“Organizational Capacity and Nonprofit Advocacy” (with David Arons), paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, New Orleans, November, 2000. A version of this paper was also presented at the Workshop on Organized Interests, Penn State University, March, 2001

“Advocacy and Policy Argumentation” (with Frank B. Baumgartner, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech), paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 2000

“Effective Advocacy for Nonprofits,” paper presented at the Center for Nonprofits and Philanthropy, Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., September, 2000

“The Nonparticipation of Nonprofits,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action,” Washington, D.C., November, 1999

“Neighborhoods, Neighborhood Associations, and Social Capital” (with Kent E. Portney), paper presented at the conference on Civil Society and Good Governance, Georgetown University, June, 1999

“Nonprofits and Advocacy: The Best of Times or the Worst of Times?”, paper presented to the Nonprofit Sector Strategy Group, Aspen Institute, Wye River, Maryland, November, 1998

“Interest Groups and Gridlock,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September, 1998

“Interest Group Democracy or Participatory Democracy?”, paper presented at the conference on Revitalizing Urban Democracy, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, April, 1998

- "America in the Age of Postmaterialism," paper presented at the Conference on Political Representation of Minority Interests, Study Group on Organized Interests, German Political Science Association, Hamburg, Germany, January, 1998
- "Christians and Environmentalists in the 104th Congress," paper presented at the conference on American Democracy Entering the 21st Century, Northeastern University Centennial, Boston, October, 1997
- "The Rise of Citizen Groups," paper presented at the conference on Civic Engagement in American Democracy, Portland, Maine, September, 1997
- "The Changing Face of American Liberalism," paper presented at the conference on The Politics of Equality in the Twentieth Century, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, September, 1996
- "The Rise of Postmaterialism in American Politics," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September, 1996
- "Parties, Citizen Groups, and Political Change" (with Deborah Schildkraut), paper delivered at the Conference on Party Politics in the Year 2000, Manchester, England, January, 1995. A revised version of this paper, "Citizen Groups, Political Parties, and the Decline of the Democrats," was delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September, 1995
- "The Dynamic Quality of Issue Networks," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September, 1994
- "Centralizing Regulatory Control and Interest Group Access: The Quayle Council on Competitiveness" (with Kent E. Portney), paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 1993
- "Race and Strong Democracy" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), paper presented at the Conference on Race, Ethnicity, Representation, and Governance, Harvard University, January, 1993
- "An Agenda for Research on Interest Groups," paper presented at the Workshop on Representing Interests and Interest Representation, Chicago, September, 1992
- "Strong Democracy and Governmental Responsiveness" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson) paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association," Chicago, September, 1992
- "Interest Groups and Systemic Bias" (with Kevin Hula) paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1991
- "The Political Behavior of Poor People" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), paper presented at the conference on "The Truly Disadvantaged," Social Science Research Council, Evanston, Illinois, October, 1989; A revised version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September, 1990

- "Expanded Participation and Representative Democracy" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September, 1990
- "Conflict, Alienation, and Delay: Is Citizen Participation Poison?" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 1989
- "In Search of the Link Between Citizen Participation and Policy Responsiveness in Five American Cities" (with Kent E. Portney and Ken Thomson), paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November, 1988
- "Citizen Groups and Regulatory Reform," paper presented at the Symposium for Change in Regulatory Policy, Chicago, December, 1979
- "Advocates and Bureaucrats: Food Stamp Groups and USDA Policy Making," paper presented at the Hendricks Symposium on Agriculture Politics, Lincoln, Nebraska, April, 1979
- "Citizen Participation and the Future of the Public Interest Movement," paper presented at the National Conference on Citizen Participation, Washington, D.C., September, 1978
- "Regulations and the Legislative Process," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, August, 1978
- "Citizens Approach Government: The Strategies of Influence of Public Interest Groups," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 1974