

# R. DOUGLAS ARNOLD

William Church Osborn Professor of Public Affairs, Emeritus

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## Princeton University Affiliations

Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Emeritus, Department of Politics  
Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Emeritus, School of Public and  
International Affairs  
Faculty Associate, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics

## Contact Information

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## Faculty Assistant

Helene E. Wood  
School of Public and International Affairs  
229 Corwin Hall  
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## Degrees

Ph.D.	Yale University	1977
M.Phil.	Yale University	1974
B.A.	Union College	1972

## Faculty Positions

Osborn Professor, Emeritus, Princeton University, 2019-  
Professor, Emeritus, Princeton University, 2019-  
Osborn Professor, Princeton University, 1998-2019  
Professor, Princeton University, 1990-2019  
Associate Professor, Princeton University, 1983-90  
Assistant Professor, Princeton University, 1978-83  
Instructor, Princeton University, 1977-78

## Administrative Positions

Chair, Department of Politics, 1990-93, 1994-95  
Acting Chair, Department of Politics, 2008-09  
Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Politics, 1984-86  
Faculty Chair, Ph.D. Program, Woodrow Wilson School, 1981-83, 1984-87  
Faculty Chair, MPA Program, Woodrow Wilson School, 2009-11, 2012-15

## Awards, Prizes, Grants, and Fellowships

Phi Beta Kappa, 1972  
Fellowship, Yale University, 1972-76  
Research Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1976-77  
Research Support, American Enterprise Institute, 1979-80  
Research Grant, Dirksen Congressional Center, 1981  
Fellowship, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1981, declined  
Research Grant, Dirksen Congressional Center, 1982  
Arthur H. Scribner Bicentennial Preceptor, Princeton University, 1982-85  
Fellowship, The Wilson Center, awarded 1987, declined  
Fellowship, Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1987-88  
Research Grant, Ford Foundation, 1987-89  
Olin Faculty Fellow, Yale Law School, awarded in 1989 for 1991-92, declined  
Richard F. Fenno, Jr. Prize, American Political Science Association, 1991  
Research Grant, Dirksen Congressional Center, 1994  
Research Grant, Earhart Foundation, 1995  
Research Grant, Goldsmith Program, Shorenstein Center, Harvard University, 1995  
Research Grant, National Science Foundation, SBR-9422386, 1995  
Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, 1995-96  
William Church Osborn Professor, Princeton University, 1998  
Member, National Academy of Social Insurance, elected, 1998  
Research Grant, National Science Foundation, SES-0209609, 2002  
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, elected, 2002  
Book Award, Outstanding Academic Title, *Choice*, 2005

## Books

*Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 235 pages. Hardcover: 1979. Paperback: 1980.

*The Logic of Congressional Action* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 282 pages. Hardcover: 1990. Paperback: 1992.

- Richard F. Fenno, Jr. Prize, American Political Science Association, 1991.
- Chinese Edition, Shanghai Joint Publishing Company, 2010.

*Framing the Social Security Debate: Values, Politics, and Economics*. R. Douglas Arnold, Michael Graetz, and Alicia H. Munnell, editors (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1998), 450 pages.

*Issues in Privatizing Social Security: Report of an Expert Panel of the National Academy of Social Insurance*. With Peter Diamond and fifteen coauthors (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 168 pages.

*Congress, the Press, and Political Accountability* (Princeton: Princeton University Press; New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 279 pages. Hardcover: 2004. Paperback: 2006.

- *Choice* Book Award, Outstanding Academic Title, 2005

*Fixing Social Security: The Politics of Reform in a Polarized Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming April 2022).

### Articles and Essays

“The Local Roots of Domestic Policy,” in Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein (eds.), *The New Congress* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1981), pp. 250-287.

“Legislators, Bureaucrats, and Locational Decisions,” *Public Choice* 37 (1981), pp. 107-132.

- Reprinted in Mathew D. McCubbins and Terry Sullivan (eds.), *Congress: Structure and Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 523-548.

“Overtilled and Undertilled Fields in American Politics,” *Political Science Quarterly* 97 (1982), pp. 91-103.

“Political Control of Administrative Officials,” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 3 (Fall 1987), pp. 279-286.

- Reprinted in Susan Rose-Ackerman (ed.), *Economics of Administrative Law* (Cheltenham, UK: Elgar Publishing, 2007), pp. 135-142.

“Congress and Policy Decisions: Strategic Action and the Public Interest,” *Legislative Studies Newsletter* 11 (April 1988), pp. 123-128.

“The Politics of Tax Reform in the United States,” in David F. Bradford and Kent E. Calder (eds.), *Tax Reform in the United States and Japan: Comparative Political and Economic Perspectives*, Monograph Series, Center for International Studies (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991), pp. 13-44.

“Can Inattentive Citizens Control Their Elected Representatives?” in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I Oppenheimer (eds.), *Congress Reconsidered*, 5th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 1993), pp. 401-416.

“Pork Barrel,” in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), volume 3, pp. 1569-1571.

- “The Politics of Reforming Social Security,” *Political Science Quarterly* 113 (1998), pp. 213-240.
- “The Political Feasibility of Social Security Reform,” in R. Douglas Arnold, Michael Graetz, and Alicia H. Munnell (eds.), *Framing the Social Security Debate: Values, Politics, and Economics* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1998), pp. 389-429.
- “Strategies for Coalition Leaders,” in Herbert F. Weisberg, Eric S. Heberlig, and Lisa M. Campoli (eds.), *Classics in Congressional Politics* (New York: Longman, 1999), pp. 437-452.
- “Foreword to the Second Edition,” David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), vii-xii.
- Japanese Edition, translated by Hiroshi Okayama, Keio Shobo classics in political science. 2014.
- “The Logic of Congressional Action,” in Ken Kollman (ed.), *Readings in American Politics* (New York: Norton, 2010), pp. 170-179.
- “Holding Mayors Accountable: New York’s Executives from Koch to Bloomberg,” with Nicholas Carnes, *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2012), pp. 949-963.
- “Politics at the Precipice: Fixing Social Security in 2033,” *The Forum* 13:1 (2015), pp. 3-18.
- “Explaining Legislative Achievements,” in Jeffrey A. Jenkins and Eric M. Patashnik (eds.), *Congress and Policy Making in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 301-323.
- “The Electoral Connection, Age 40,” in Alan Gerber and Eric Schickler (eds.), *Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Political Representation in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 15-34.

**Teaching: Woodrow Wilson School (now School of Public and International Affairs)**

WWS 322	The Politics of Policy Making (undergraduate)
WWS 402a	Task Force: Program Termination (undergraduate)
WWS 402b	Task Force: Interest Groups (undergraduate)
WWS 402c	Task Force: Campaign Finance (undergraduate)
WWS 402d	Task Force: Reforming Social Security (undergraduate)
WWS 500	American Political Institutions (MPA)
WWS 521	Domestic Politics (MPA)
WWS 531	Congress and Public Policy (MPA)

WWS 591a Workshop: Social Security Reform (MPA)  
WWS 597 Seminar in Research Design (Ph.D.)

**Teaching: Department of Politics**

POL 324 Congressional Politics (undergraduate)  
POL 500 Mellon Dissertation Workshop (Ph.D.)  
POL 541 The American Political System (Ph.D.)  
POL 546 Congress and Public Policy (Ph.D.)  
POL 593 Research Seminar in American Politics (Ph.D.)  
POL 736 Congressional Politics (Ph.D.)

**Teaching: Dissertations Advised** (primary or second advisor).

Charles Cameron, 1988, “Calculation and Choice in the Job of the Congressman: An Introduction to the Theory of Service Strategy” (primary advisor), currently Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Princeton University.

Paul Teske, 1988, “Implementing Deregulation: The Political Economy of State Telecommunications Regulation After Divestiture” (primary advisor), currently Distinguished Professor of Public Affairs, University of Colorado at Denver.

Craig VanGrasstek, 1996, “The Political Economy of Trade Policy in the United States Senate: Parochialism and Pluralist Barter” (primary advisor), currently publisher, Washington Trade Report.

Steven Croley, 1998, “Theories of Regulation: Incorporating the Administrative Process” (primary advisor), currently Chief Policy Officer and General Counsel, Ford Motor Company; previously, the Harry Burns Hutchins Collegiate Professor of Law, University of Michigan Law School.

Sanford Gordon, 1999, “Managing Fairness: Procedural Consistency in Regulatory Enforcement” (primary advisor), currently Professor of Politics, New York University.

Mark Stephan, 2000, “Citizens and Civil Servants: The Influence of Citizen Activism on EPA's Superfund Program” (second advisor), currently Associate Professor of Political Science, Washington State University.

Oki Takeda, 2000, “Bill Passage in the United States House of Representatives” (primary advisor), currently Professor of Politics, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo.

- Gregory Huber, 2001, “Interests and Influence: Explaining Patterns of Enforcement in Government Regulation of Occupational Safety” (primary advisor), currently Forst Family Professor of Political Science, Yale University.
- Scott Abernathy, 2002, “Exit, Voice, and Choice: Parents, Principals, and Market Reforms in Public Education” (primary advisor), currently Associate Professor of Political Science and Distinguished Teaching Professor, University of Minnesota.
- Larry Butler, 2002, “Strong Parties and Their Alternatives: The Structure of Winning Coalitions on the House Floor” (primary advisor), currently Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean of the College, Rowan University.
- Andrew Roberts, 2003, “Social Policy Reform in Eastern Europe” (second advisor), currently Associate Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University.
- Jason Casellas, 2005, “Latino Representation in Congress and State Legislatures” (primary advisor), currently Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Houston.
- Jonathan Ladd, 2005, “Hating the Messenger: Attitudes toward the News Media and Political Competition in America” (second advisor), currently Associate Professor of Public Policy and Government, Georgetown University.
- Justin Crowe, 2007, “Building the Judiciary: Law, Courts, and the Politics of Institutional Development” (second advisor), currently Professor of Political Science, Williams College.
- Nicholas Carnes, 2011, “By the Upper Class, For the Upper Class? Representational Inequality and Economic Policymaking in the United States” (second advisor), currently Creed C. Black Associate Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, Sanford School of Policy, Duke University.
- Philip Wallach, 2012, “Contested Constraints: Regulatory Statutes in America’s Modern Administrative State” (second advisor), currently Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute.
- Alex Ruder, 2014, “Attribution, Accountability, and Institutional Design in Bureaucratic Politics” (primary advisor), currently Principal Advisor, Community and Economic Development Group, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

**Service: Woodrow Wilson School**

- Undergraduate Admissions Committee, 1977-78, 1978-79  
Undergraduate Program Committee, 1977-78, 1978-79

MPA Admissions Committee, 1978-79, 1998-99, 2000-01, 2001-02, 2002-03, 2004-05 (chair), 2005-06 (chair), 2006-07 (chair), 2009-10 (chair), 2010-11 (chair), 2012-13 (chair), 2013-14 (chair), 2014-15 (chair)

MPA Program Committee, 1980-81, 1988-89, 1996-97, 1997-98, 1998-99, 2000-01, 2001-02, 2002-03, 2004-05, 2005-06, 2006-07, 2009-10 (chair), 2010-11 (chair), 2012-13 (chair), 2013-14 (chair), 2014-15 (chair)

MPA Field III Committee, 1988-89, 1989-90, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1996-97 (chair), 1997-98 (chair), 1998-99 (chair), 2000-01 (chair), 2001-02 (chair), 2002-03 (chair), 2004-05 (chair), 2005-06 (chair), 2006-07 (chair), 2009-10 (chair), 2010-11 (chair), 2012-13 (chair), 2013-14 (chair), 2014-15 (chair)

MPA Field III Coordinator, 1996-97, 1997-98, 1998-99, 2000-01, 2001-02, 2002-03, 2004-05, 2005-06, 2006-07, 2009-10, 2010-11, 2012-13, 2013-14, 2014-15

MPA Field III, First-Year Advisor, 2013-14, 2014-15

Ph.D. Program Committee, 1980-81, 1981-82 (chair), 1982-83 (chair.), 1984-85 (chair), 1985-86 (chair), 1986-87 (chair), 1989-90, 1992-93, 1994-95, 1996-97, 1997-98

American Politics Search Committee, 1980-81, 1985-86 (chair), 1986-87 (chair), 1997-98, 1998-99, 2000-01 (chair), 2002-03, 2013-14

Formal Theory and Quantitative Methods, Search Committee, 1988-89, 1989-90, 1990-91, 1991-92

Ten Days at Princeton, Lecturer, Executive Education Program, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993

Stuart Chair in Communications and Public Affairs, Search Committee, 1990-91

Reappointment Review Committees, 1985-86, 1988-89, 1992-93 (chair)

Tenure Review Committees, 1984-85, 1986-87, 1990-91 (chair), 2001-02 (chair), 2009-10

Promotion Review Committee, 2002-03, 2016-17

American Politics Seminar Series, 1991-92 (chair), 1996-97 (chair)

Executive Education Committee, 1992-93

Social Science Building Committee, 1997-98

Social Science Library Committee, 1998-99

Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Executive Committee, 1999-2000, 2000-01, 2001-02, 2002-03, 2005-06, 2006-07, 2012-13

Advisory Committee to the Dean, 2008-09

Assistant Dean for Operations, Search Committee, 2009

Faculty Council, 2009-10, 2010-11, 2012-13, 2013-14, 2014-15

MPA Program Review, 2010 (chair)

Priorities and Strategy Committee, 2013-14

**Service: Department of Politics**

Graduate Program Committee, 1978-79, 1980-81, 1981-82, 1982-83, 1984-85 (chair), 1985-86 (chair), 1986-87, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1994-95, 1996-97

Graduate Admissions Committee, 1982-83, 1984-85 (chair), 1985-86 (chair), 1986-87, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1994-95, 1996-97

American Politics, Search Committee, 1980-81, 1984-85, 1985-86 (chair), 1986-87 (chair), 1988-89, 1989-90, 1997-98, 1998-99 (chair), 2000-01 (chair), 2002-03, 2013-14

Formal Theory and Quantitative Methods, Search Committee, 1985-86 (chair), 1986-87 (chair), 1988-89, 1989-90, 1990-91, 1991-92

Public Law, Search Committee, 1985-86 (chair), 1990-91

Computer Committee, 1984-85

Corwin Hall Design Committee, 1986-87

Reappointment Review Committees, 1989-90 (chair), 1992-93 (chair), 2000-01 (chair), 2001-02

Tenure Review Committees, 1985-86, 1990-91 (chair), 1996-97, 2001-02 (chair), 2009-10

Promotion Review Committee, 2002-03, 2016-17

Undergraduate Committee, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1994-95

Executive Committee, James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, 2002-03, 2003-04, 2004-05

Advisory Committee to the Chair, 2006-07

Advisory Committee of Former Chairs, 2006-07

Politics Space Committee, 2007-08

Academic Review Committee, 2009-10

**Service: Princeton University**

Committee on Committees, 1978-79, 1980-81, 1981-82, 1982-83

Graduate School Committee, 1981-82, 1982-83, 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87, 2012-13, 2013-14, 2014-15

Graduate School, Fellowship Subcommittee, 1984-85

Graduate School, Curriculum Subcommittee, 1985-86

Graduate School, Minority Affairs Subcommittee, 1985-86

Graduate School, Policy Subcommittee, 2012-13

Priorities Committee, 1982-83, 1988-89

Alumni Council, Speaker, 1985, 1987, 1993

Committee on the Ferris Professorship, 1990-91, 1991-92, 2008-09

Woodrow Wilson School Dean, Search Committee, 1991

Committee on Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, 1991-92

Benefits Review Committee, 1991-93

Strategic Planning Committee on Faculty Issues, 1992-93

University Research Board, 1997-98, 1998-99

Princeton University Store, Trustee, 2002-03

**Service: The Professional Community**

Advisory Council, Department of Political Science, Union College, 1988

Midwest Political Science Association, Program Committee, 1981

Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1985-88

Editorial Board, *Congress and the Presidency*, 1994-

Reader for: Brookings Institution, Cambridge University Press, Congressional Quarterly Press, D. C. Heath, Prentice Hall, Princeton University Press, Russell Sage Foundation, Twentieth Century Fund, University of Chicago Press, Yale University Press

Referee for: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Congress and the Presidency*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Political Communication*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Polity*, *Public Administration Review*, *Social Science Journal*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *World Politics*

Referee for: National Science Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation

Referee for scores of tenure and promotion reviews at other universities

American Political Science Association:

Schattschneider Dissertation Award Committee, 1984-85 (chair)

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., Prize Committee, 1992 (chair)

James Madison Award Committee, 2001-02 (chair)

Minority Identification Project, Steering Committee, 1990-95

Departmental Services Committee, 1993-96

National Academy of Social Insurance:

Member, Panel on Privatization of Social Security, 1997-98

Co-chair, Tenth Annual Conference, 1998

American Academy of Arts and Sciences:

Membership Panel, Class III, Section 3, 2006-07, 2007-08