

# **P** Brookings Institution Press

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In its conferences, publications, and other activities, Brookings serves as a bridge between scholarship and policymaking, bringing new knowledge to the attention of decision makers and affording scholars greater insight into public policy issues. The Institution's activities are carried out through five core research programs (Economic Studies, Foreign Policy, Governance Studies, Metropolitan Policy, and Global Economy and Development), as well as through the Brookings Institution Press, which publishes about forty books a year.

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# **Blowout**

Inside the BP Deepwater Horizon Disaster

#### **Daniel Jacobs**

The inside story of the worst environmental disaster in American history.

Blowout is the first comprehensive account of the legal, economic, and environmental consequences of the April 2010 blowout at a BP well in the Gulf of Mexico. The accident destroyed the *Deepwater Horizon* oil rig and killed eleven people. The resulting offshore oil discharge, the largest ever in the United States, polluted much of the Gulf for months, wreaking havoc on its inhabitants.

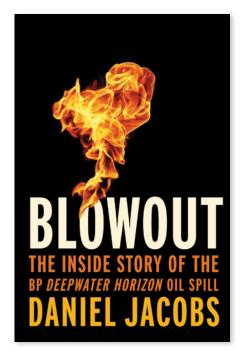
A former Justice Department lawyer responsible for enforcing environmental laws, Daniel Jacobs tells the story that neither BP nor the federal government want heard: how the company and the government fell short, both in terms of preventing and coping with the accident.

All-important details about the cause and aftermath of the disaster have emerged through court proceedings and with the passage of time. The key finding of the federal judge who presided over the civil litigation arising out of the disaster was that the Deepwater Horizon blowout resulted from BP's gross negligence.

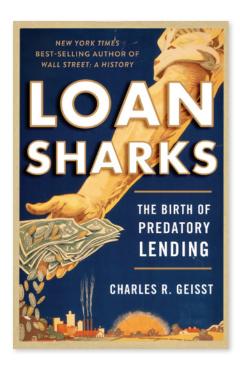
BP has paid tens of billions of dollars to settle claims and lawsuits arising from the accident. The company also has pled guilty to manslaughter in a separate criminal case. Yet, no one responsible for the accident itself is headed to prison. On the other hand, hundreds of people have been prosecuted for filing false claims against BP, some seventy-five of whom have been sentenced to prison.

*Blowout* is an important book for readers interested in the environment, sustainability, public policy, leadership, and the consequences of poor risk management.

September 2016, 6 x 9, 210 pp. cloth, 9780815729082, \$23.00t ebook, 9780815729099, \$22.99



Daniel Jacobs is a graduate of Middlebury College, Cambridge University, and Duke Law School and has served as lead counsel in highprofile environmental enforcement litigation brought by the same Justice Department office that handled the landmark civil case against BP. After entering academia, Jacobs became the founding director of the first interdisciplinary graduate business program in sustainability management in the United States.



Charles R. Geisst is a former investment banker who currently is the Ambassador Charles A. Gargano Professor of Finance at Manhattan College in Riverdale, New York. He is the author of nineteen other books. including, most recently, Collateral Damaged (2009) and Beggar Thy Neighbor: A History of Usury and Debt (2013).

# Loan Sharks

The Birth of Predatory Lending

#### Charles R. Geisst

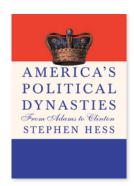
*Predatory lending: A problem rooted in the past that continues today.* 

Looking for an investment return that could exceed 500 percent annually, maybe even twice that much? Private, unregulated lending to high-risk borrowers is the answer, or at least it was in the United States for much of the period from the Civil War to the onset of the Great Depression. Newspapers called the practice "loan sharking" because lenders employed the same ruthlessness as the great predators in the ocean. State and federal governments finally adopted laws and regulations curtailing the practice, but organized crime took over much of the business. Lending to high-margin investors contributed directly to the Wall Street crash of 1929.

Loan Sharks is the first history of predatory lending in the United States. It traces the origins of modern consumer lending to much older practices, such as salary buying and hidden interest charges. Yet, as Geisst shows, no-holds-barred loan sharking is not a thing of the past. Many current lending practices employed today by credit card companies, payday lenders, and providers of consumer loans would have been easily recognizable at the end of the nineteenth century. Geisst demonstrates the still-prevalent practice of lenders charging high interest rates, especially to risky borrowers, despite attempts to control the practice by individual states. Usury and loan sharking have not disappeared a century-and-a-half after the predatory practices first raised public concern.

December 2016, 6 x 9, 401 pp. cloth, 9780815729006, \$26.00t ebook, 9780815729013, \$25.99

# Brookings Press and the 2016 Election



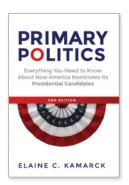
# America's Political **Dynasties**

From Adams to Clinton

#### Stephen Hess

The Constitution states that "no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States." Yet, as Stephen Hess has written, it seems political nobility is as American as apple pie.

December 2015, 6 x 9, 800 pp. cloth, 9780815727088, \$38.00t ebook, 9780815727101, \$28.99



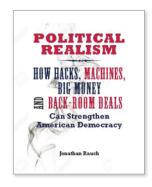
# **Primary Politics**

Everything You Need to Know about How America Nominates Its Presidential Candidates Second Edition

### Elaine C. Kamarck

A primer on the presidential primaries.

January 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp. paper, 9780815727750, \$20.00t ebook, 978-0-8157-2776-7, \$19.99



### Political Realism

How Hacks, Machines, Big Money, and Back-Room Deals Can Strengthen American Democracy

#### Jonathan Rauch

A free eBook that asks hard questions about why politics once worked, and how today's politics do not.

May 2015, 36 pp. ebook, 9780815727392, FREE pdf, 9780815727408, FREE



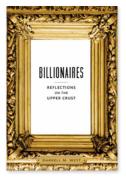
### Get Out the Vote

How to Increase Voter Turnout Third Edition

#### Donald P. Green and Alan S. Gerber

The most important element in every election is getting voters to the pollsthese get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts make the difference between winning and losing an office.

September 2015, 6 x 9, 260 pp. paper, 9780815725688, \$22.00 ebook, 9780815725695, \$21.99



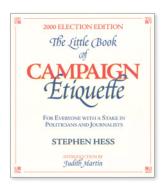
### **Billionaires**

Reflections on the Upper Crust

#### Darrell M. West

Darrell M. West reveals what the other 99.99998% of us need to know about the 1,645 men and women who control global assets worth \$6.5 trillion.

September 2014, 5.5 x 8.5, 269 pp. cloth, 9780815725824, \$27.00t paper, 9780815725961, \$21.00t ebook, 9780815725817, \$20.99



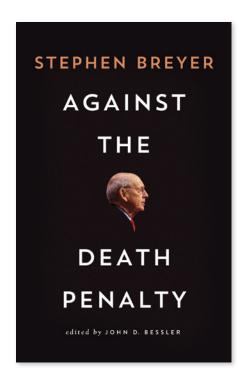
# The Little Book of Campaign Etiquette

For Everyone with a Stake in Politicians and Journalists

Stephen Hess, introduction by "Miss Manners" Judith Martin

This shrewd and amusing series of observations provides a political etiquette for campaign behavior on the part of both politicians and journalists.

March 2000, 6.75 x 7.75, 160 pp. paper, 9780815735779, \$15.95



Stephen Breyer has been an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court since 1994. He received his law degree from Harvard Law School. clerked for Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg in the 1964-65 Supreme Court term, and taught at Harvard for nearly two decades before joining the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit in 1980. President Clinton nominated Breyer to succeed Harry Blackmun on the Supreme Court in 1994.

John D. Bessler is a law professor at the University of Baltimore School of Law and an adjunct professor at the Georgetown University Law Center. He is also of counsel to the Minneapolis law firm of Berens & Miller, P.A., which handles complex commercial litigation.

# Against the Death Penalty

Stephen Breyer John D. Bessler, editor

A landmark dissenting opinion arguing against the death penalty.

Does the death penalty violate the Constitution? In Against the Death Penalty, Justice Stephen Breyer argues that it does; that it is carried out unfairly and inconsistently and, thus, violates the ban on "cruel and unusual punishments" specified by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution.

"Today's administration of the death penalty," Brever writes, "involves three fundamental constitutional defects: (1) serious unreliability, (2) arbitrariness in application, and (3) unconscionably long delays that undermine the death penalty's penological purpose. Perhaps as a result, (4) most places within the United States have abandoned its use."

This volume contains Breyer's dissent in the case of Glossip v. Gross, which involved an unsuccessful challenge to Oklahoma's use of a lethal-injection drug because it might cause severe pain. Justice Breyer's legal citations have been edited to make them understandable to a general audience, but the text retains the full force of his powerful argument that the time has come for the Supreme Court to revisit the constitutionality of the death penalty.

Breyer was joined in his dissent from the bench by Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Their passionate argument has been cited by many legal experts—including fellow Justice Antonin Scalia—as signaling an eventual Court ruling striking down the death penalty. A similar dissent in 1963 by Breyer's mentor, Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, helped set the stage for a later ruling, imposing what turned out to be a four-year moratorium on executions.

August 2016, 5 x 8, 146 pp. cloth, 9780815728894, \$14.95t ebook, 9780815728900, \$14.99

# Megachange

Economic Disruption, Political Upheaval, and Social Strife in the 21st Century

### **Darrell M. West**

Big, unexpected changes are here to stay.

Slow, incremental change has become a relic of the past. Today's shifts come fast and big, what Darrell West calls megachanges, in which dramatic disruptions in trends and policies occur on a regular basis.

Domestically, we see megachange at work in the new attitudes and policies toward same-sex marriage, health care, smoking, and the widespread legalization of marijuana use. Globally, we have seen the extraordinary rise and then collapse of the Arab Spring, the emergence of religious zealotry, the growing influence of nonstate actors, the spread of ISIS-fomented terrorism, the rise of new economic and political powers in Asia, and the fracturing of once-stable international alliances.

Long-held assumptions have been shattered, and the proliferation of unexpected events is confounding experts in the United States and around the globe. Many of the social and political institutions that used to anchor domestic and international politics have grown weak or are in need of dramatic reform.

What to do? West says that we should alter our expectations about the speed and magnitude of political and social change. We also need to recognize that many of our current governing processes are geared to slow deliberation and promote incremental change, not large-scale transformation. With megachange becoming the new normal, our domestic and global institutions must develop the ability to tackle the massive economic, political, and social shifts that we face.

October 2016, 5.5 x 8.25, 200 pp. cloth, 9780815729211, \$24.00t ebook, 9780815729228, \$23.99

### ALSO BY THIS AUTHOR

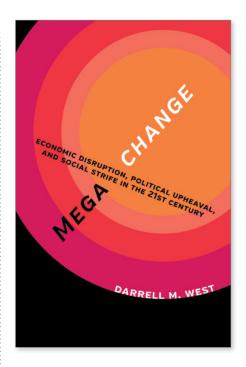


### **Billionaires**

Reflections on the Upper Crust

Darrell M. West

September 2014, 5.9 x 8.9, 269 pp. cloth, 9780815725824, \$27.00t paper, 9780815725961, \$21.00t ebook, 9780815725817, \$20.99



Darrell M. West is vice president of governance studies and director of the Center for Technology Innovation at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of twenty-one books on contemporary politics, including, most recently, Billionaires: Reflections on the Upper Crust (Brookings, 2014).

# Peace through Entrepreneurship

Investing in a Startup Culture for Security and Development



Steven R. Koltai is a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution and managing director of the entrepreneurship consultancy Koltai and Co. He is a successful entrepreneur in the telecommunications and event management industries, and from 2009-11 served as senior adviser for entrepreneurship under Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

Matthew Muspratt is a writer and consultant with expertise in Sub-Saharan Africa. He consults on entrepreneurship with Koltai & Co. and has worked in several African countries as a legal adviser to banks, social enterprises, and an access-tojustice organization.

# Peace through Entrepreneurship

Investing in a Startup Culture for Security and Development

### Steven R. Koltai with Matthew Muspratt

Joblessness is the root cause of the global unrest threatening American security. Fostering entrepreneurship is the remedy.

The combined weight of American diplomacy and military power cannot end unrest and extremism in the Middle East and other troubled regions of the world, Steven Koltai argues. Koltai says an alternative approach would work: investing in entrepreneurship and reaping the benefits of the jobs created through entrepreneurial startups.

From 9/11 and the Arab Spring to the self-proclaimed Islamic caliphate, instability and terror breed where young people cannot find jobs. Koltai marshals evidence to show that joblessness—not religious or cultural conflict—is a root cause of the unrest that vexes American foreign policy and threatens international security.

Drawing on Koltai's stint as senior adviser for entrepreneurship in Secretary Hillary Clinton's State Department, and his thirty-year career as a successful entrepreneur and business executive, Peace through Entrepreneurship argues for the significant elevation of entrepreneurship in the service of foreign policy—not rural microfinance or mercantile trading but the scalable stuff of Silicon Valley and Sam Walton, generating the vast majority of new jobs in economies large and small.

Peace through Entrepreneurship offers a nonmilitary, long-term solution at a time of disillusionment with Washington's "big development" approach to unstable and underdeveloped parts of the world—and when the new normal is fear of terrorist attacks against Western targets, beheadings in Syria, and jihad. Extremism will not be resolved by a war on terror. The answer, Koltai shows, is stimulating entrepreneurial economic opportunities for the virtually limitless supply of desperate, unemployed young men and women leading lives of endless economic frustration.

August 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp. cloth, 9780815729235, \$24,00t ebook, 9780815729242, \$23.99

#### THE MARSHALL PAPERS

As part of the Order from Chaos project, the Brookings Foreign Policy program is launching the Marshall Papers, a series of short monographs that will provide accessible accounts of some of the critical international challenges of our time.

# The \$650 Billion Bargain

The Case for Modest Growth in America's Defense Budget

Michael E. O'Hanlon

U.S. defense spending isn't excessive and, in fact, should continue to grow because it's both affordable and necessary in today's challenging world.



The United States spends a lot of money on defense-\$607 billion in the current fiscal year. But Brookings national security scholar Michael O'Hanlon argues that is roughly the right amount given the overall size of the national economy and continuing U.S. responsibilities around the world. If anything, he says spending should increase modestly under the next president,

remaining near 3 percent of gross domestic product.

Recommendations in this book differ from the president's budget plan in two key ways. First, the author sees a mismatch in the Pentagon's current plans between ends and means. The country needs to spend enough money to carry out its military missions and commitments. Second, O'Hanlon recommends dropping a plan to cut the size of the Army from the current 475,000 active-duty soldiers to 450,000.

Michael E. O'Hanlon is research director for the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, where he specializes in defense policy.

August 2016, 5 x 8, 168 pp. paper, 9780815729570, \$20.00 ebook, 9780815729587, \$19.99

# The Consequences of Chaos

Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect

Elizabeth Ferris and Kemal Kirisci

The massive dimensions of Syria's refugee crisis and the search for solutions.



The Consequences of Chaos looks beyond the ever-increasing numbers of Syria's uprooted to consider the long-term economic, political, and social implications of this massive movement of people. Neighboring countries forced to host thousands or even millions of refugees, Western governments called upon to provide financial aid and even new homes

for the refugees, regional and international organizations struggling to cope with the demand for food and shelterall have found the Syria crisis to be overwhelming in its challenges.

This latest failure by the international community to prevent and resolve conflicts raises fundamental questions about how the world responds to large-scale humanitarian disasters. The continuing divisions between development and humanitarian approaches, and questions of political will, have become even more obvious in Syria.

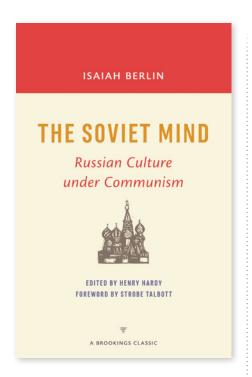
Elizabeth Ferris is a senior research associate in Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and a nonresident senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution.

Kemal Kirişci is the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD) Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Program at Brookings.

April 2016, 5 x 8, 203 pp. paper, 9780815729518, \$20.00 ebook, 9780815729525, \$19.99

#### **BROOKINGS CLASSICS**

Thoughtful, important, and timely books have been the hallmark of the Brookings Institution Press since its founding, and we've been fortunate to count among our ranks of authors some of the most important thinkers of the twentieth century. As part of the 100th anniversary of the Brookings Institution, we honor the press's most notable authors and their works through the Brookings Classics series, so that new readers may discover these important books for the first time and past readers may revisit them.



Isaiah Berlin (1909-97) was a Russianborn British philosopher, educator, and theorist, famed for his intellectual brilliance but also for his ability to explain complex ideas in a remarkably accessible style. He taught social and political theory for most of his life at Oxford University, where he was the founding president of Wolfson College.

# The Soviet Mind

Russian Culture under Communism

#### Isaiah Berlin

Revised foreword by Strobe Talbott *New introduction by Henry Hardy* 

"Berlin's great powers of observation combine with his great knowledge and literary gifts to provide us with a fascinating series of insights." -Geoffrey Riklin

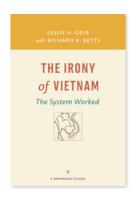
George Kennan, the architect of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union, called Isaiah Berlin "the patron saint among the commentators of the Russian scene." In The Soviet Mind, Berlin proves himself worthy of that accolade. Although the essays in this book were originally written to explore tensions between Soviet communism and Russian culture, the thinking about the Russian mind that emerges is as relevant today under Putin's post-communist Russia as it was when this book first appeared more than a decade ago.

This Brookings Classic brings together Berlin's writings about the Soviet Union. Among the highlights are accounts of Berlin's meetings with Russian writers in the aftermath of the war; a celebrated memorandum written for the British Foreign Office in 1945 about the state of the arts under Stalin; Berlin's account of Stalin's manipulative "artificial dialectic"; portraits of Pasternak and poet Osip Mandel'shtam; Berlin's survey of Russian culture based on a visit in 1956; and a postscript reflecting on the fall of the Berlin Wall and other events in 1989.

Henry Hardy prepared the essays for publication; his introduction describes their history. In his revised foreword, Brookings's Strobe Talbott, a longtime expert on Russia and the Soviet Union, relates the essays to Berlin's other work.

The essays and other pieces in *The Soviet Mind*–including a new essay, "Marxist versus Non-Marxist Ideas in Soviet Policy"—represent Berlin at his most brilliant and are invaluable for policymakers, students, and anyone interested in Russian politics and thought—past, present, and future.

August 2016, 5.5 x 8.5, 336 pp. paper, 9780815728870, \$25.00t ebook, 9780815728887, \$24.99



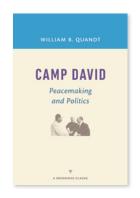
# The Irony of Vietnam

The System Worked

#### Leslie H. Gelb with Richard K. Betts

New introduction by Leslie H. Gelb Foreword by Fareed Zakaria

September 2016, 5.5 x 8.5, 486 pp. paper, 9780815726784, \$25.00t ebook, 9780815726791, \$24.99



### Camp David

Peacemaking and Politics

#### William B. Quandt

Foreword by Martin S. Indyk

December 2015, 5.5 x 8.5, 538 pp. paper, 9780815726753, \$25.00t ebook, 9780815726760, \$24.99

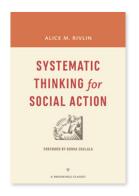


### **Development Projects** Observed

#### Albert O. Hirschman

Foreword by Cass R. Sunstein and afterword by Michele Alacevich

December 2014, 5.5 x 8.5, 200 pp. paper, 9780815726425, \$18.00t ebook, 9780815726432, \$17.99

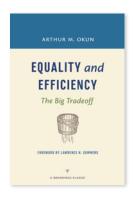


# Systematic Thinking for **Social Action**

Alice M. Rivlin

New preface by Alice M. Rivlin Foreword by Donna Shalala

March 2015, 5.5 x 8.5, 142 pp. paper, 9780815726449, \$18.00t ebook, 9780815726456, \$17.99



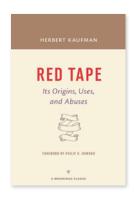
# **Equality and Efficiency**

The Big Tradeoff

#### Arthur M. Okun

Foreword by Lawrence H. Summers

April 2015, 5.5 x 8.5, 125 pp. paper, 9780815726531, \$18.00t ebook, 9780815726548, \$17.99



# **Red Tape**

Its Origins, Uses, and Abuses

#### **Herbert Kaufman**

Foreword by Philip K. Howard

May 2015, 5.5 x 8.5, 100 pp. paper, 9780815726609, \$18.00t ebook, 9780815726616, \$17.99

#### **SHORT HISTORY SERIES**

The Short History Series is a collection of books on the most important social, cultural, economic, and political concerns we face. Written by leading scholars and thinkers, these slim volumes provide an understanding of today's important topics and how they are transforming our world.

# Marijuana

A Short History

#### John Hudak

From Reefer Madness to legal purchase at the corner store.



With long-time legal and social barriers to marijuana falling across much of the United States, the time has come for an accessible and informative look at attitudes toward the dried byproduct of Cannabis sativa. Marijuana: A Short History profiles the politics and policies concerning the five-leaf plant in the United States and around the world.

Millions of Americans have used marijuana at some point in their lives, yet it remains a substance shrouded by myth, misinformation, and mystery. This book offers an up-to-date, cutting-edge look at how a plant with a tumultuous history has emerged from the shadows of counterculture and illegality. Today, marijuana has become a remarkable social, economic, and even political force, with a surprising range of advocates and opponents.

Public policy toward marijuana, especially in the United States, is changing rapidly. Marijuana: A Short History provides a brief yet compelling narrative that discusses the social and cultural history of marijuana but also tells us how a once-vilified plant has been transformed into a serious, even mainstream, public policy issue. Focusing on politics, the media, government, and education, the book describes why public policy has changed, and what that change might mean for marijuana's future place in society.

John Hudak is a senior fellow in Governance Studies and deputy director of the Center for Effective Public Management at the Brookings Institution.

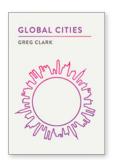
October 2016, 4.38 x 7, 100 pp. paper, 9780815729068, \$14.95t ebook, 9780815729075, \$14.99

# **Global Cities**

A Short History

### **Greg Clark**

Why have some cities become great global urban centers, and what cities will be future leaders?



From Athens and Rome in ancient times to New York and Singapore today, a handful of cities have stood out as centers of global economic, military, or political power. In the twenty-first century, the number of truly global cities is greater than ever before, reflecting the globalization of both economic and political power.

In Global Cities: A Short History, Greg

Clark, an internationally renowned British urbanist, examines the enduring forces—such as trade, migration, war, and technology—that have enabled some cities to emerge from the pack into global leadership. Much more than a historical review, Clark's book looks to the future, examining the trends that are transforming cities around the world as well as the new challenges all global cities, increasingly, will face.

Which cities will be the global leaders of tomorrow? What are the common issues and opportunities ahead? What kinds of leadership can make these cities competitive and resilient? Clark offers answers to these and similar questions in a book that will be of interest to anyone who lives in or is affected by the world's great urban areas.

Greg Clark is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a global fellow on the Global Cities Initiative, a joint project of Brookings and JPMorgan Chase.

November 2016, 4.38 x 7, 110 pp. paper, 9780815728917, \$14.95t ebook, 9780815728924, \$14.99

# The Presidential Appointee's Handbook New and Revised

#### G. Edward DeSeve

A guide to the competencies needed by the federal government's new top officials.

The transition from one president to another, regardless of which party wins the 2016 elections, will mean many things, one of which is that some 3,000 to 4,000 new senior presidential appointees will take office in the first months of 2017. They will join some 6,000 members of the Senior Executive Service and nearly 1,000 admirals and generals already working in the top ranks of government.

But the little-known truth is that the federal government has no formal, or even informal, continual learning program for its new high-level managers. If history is a guide, many of the next president's appointees will never have served in the federal government or, indeed, at any level of government. This means that they will need to hone their considerable skills to meet new challenges.

This new, revised, and updated edition of the *The Presidential Appointee's* Handbook is intended to fill the need for learning by helping new presidential appointees develop the knowledge, skills, and capabilities they will need in their challenging assignments. Additionally, the new edition provides frameworks for success in areas such as strategic foresight, planning for results, risk management, and resilience that are designed to give appointees templates for achieving their goals.

Blending theory with the demands of day-to-day practice, the book clarifies the roles and responsibilities of top government executives, helps them build a network of shared experiences and relationships, and lays out common competencies and codes of proper behavior for government leaders at all levels.

October 2016, 6 x 9, 130 pp. paper, 9780815728931, \$18.00 ebook, 9780815728948, \$17.99

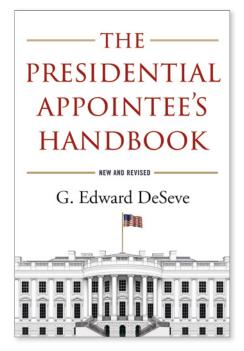
### **Brookings Executive Education** program. He is also the cochair of the National Academy of Public Administration's Transition 2016 program. As special adviser to President Barack Obama, DeSeve oversaw the successful implementation of the \$787 billion American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. His career has

included work in finance, academia,

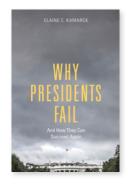
and government.

G. Edward DeSeve is currently

the Executive in Residence at the



#### OF RELATED INTEREST



Why Presidents Fail and How They Can Succeed Again

Elaine C. Kamarck

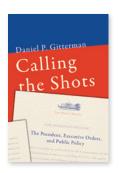
July 2016, 6 x 9, 224 pp. cloth, 9780815727781, \$22.00t ebook, 9780815727798, \$21.99

# Calling the Shots

The President, Executive Orders, and Public Policy

Daniel P. Gitterman

Modern presidents are CEOs with broad powers over the federal government.



The United States Constitution lays out three hypothetically equal branches of government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial-but over the years, the president, as head of the executive branch, has emerged as the usually dominant political and administrative force at the federal level. In fact, Daniel Gitterman tells us, the

president is, effectively, the CEO of an enormous federal bureaucracy.

Using the unique legal authority delegated by thousands of laws, the ability to issue executive orders, and the capacity to shape how federal agencies write and enforce rules, the president calls the shots as to how the government is run on a daily basis. Modern presidents have, for example, used the power of the purchaser to require federal contractors to pay a minimum wage and to prohibit contracting with companies and contractors that knowingly employ unauthorized alien workers.

Presidents and their staffs use specific tools, including executive orders and memoranda to agency heads, as instruments of control and influence over the government and the private sector. For more than a century, they have used these tools without violating the separation of powers. Calling the Shots demonstrates how each of these executive powers is a powerful weapon of coercion and redistribution in the president's political and policymaking arsenal.

Daniel P. Gitterman holds the Thomas Willis Lambeth Distinguished Chair in Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

October 2016, 6 x 9, 200 pp. paper, 9780815729020, \$30.00 ebook, 9780815729037, \$29.99

# Public Policymaking by Private **Organizations**

Challenges to Democratic Governance

Catherine E. Rudder, A. Lee Fritschler, and Yon Jung Choi

How private groups increasingly set public policy and  $regulate\ lives-with\ little\ public\ knowledge\ or\ attention.$ 



From accrediting doctors and lawyers to setting industry and professional standards, private groups establish many of the public policies in today's advanced societies. Yet this important role of nongovernmental groups is largely ignored by those who study, teach, or report on public policy issues. Public Policymaking by Private Organizations sheds light on policymaking by private

groups, which are not accountable to the general public or, often, even to governments.

This book brings to life the hidden world of policymaking by providing an overview of this phenomenon and in-depth case studies in the areas of finance, food safety, and certain professions. Far from being merely self-regulation or selfgovernance, policymaking by private groups, for good or ill, can have a substantial impact on the broader public—from ensuring the safety of our home electrical appliances to vetting the creditworthiness of complex financial instruments in the run-up to the 2008 financial crisis.

From nonprofit associations to multinational corporations, private policymaking groups are everywhere. They certify professionals as competent, establish industry regulations, and set technical and professional standards. But because their operations lack the transparency and accountability required of governmental bodies, these organizations comprise a policymaking territory that is largely unseen, unreported, uncharted, and not easily reconciled with democratic principles. Anyone concerned about how policies are made—and who makes them—should read this book.

Catherine E. Rudder is professor emeritus in the School of Policy. Government, and International Affairs at George Mason University.

A. Lee Fritschler is professor emeritus in the School of Policy, Government, and International Affairs at George Mason University.

Yon Jung Choi is a Ph.D. candidate and holds a master's degree in public policy from the School of Policy, Government, and International Affairs at George Mason University.

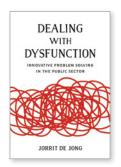
July 2016, 6 x 9, 224 pp. paper, 9780815728986, \$29.00 ebook, 9780815728993, \$28.99

# Dealing with Dysfunction

Innovative Problem Solving in the Public Sector

Jorrit de Jona

Congressional impasse, financially untenable social programs, and fiscal crises are hallmarks of bureaucratic dysfunction today.



Jorrit de Jong explains that bureaucratic dysfunction reflects a breach of contract between the government—not only as a provider of services, but also as a catalyst for improved social outcomes—and a public comprised of clients, professionals, managers, and policymakers. Dealing with Dysfunction embarks on a conceptual, theoretical, and empirical

investigation to understand why bureaucratic dysfunction is a public problem and what can be done to solve it.

Jorrit employs real-world data from the Kafka Brigade, a research team he founded. Building on this research, he presents fourteen case studies that provide typical examples of larger problems applicable to a broad base of clients to illustrate how stakeholders can enact an inclusive process for identifying, defining, diagnosing, and remedying incidents of red tape.

Dealing with Dysfunction highlights the failings of standard approaches to solving institutional dilemmas and offers conceptual frameworks, theoretical insights, and practical lessons for dealing with bureaucratic dysfunction in practice. It challenges conventional approaches of "fighting bureaucracy" and "reducing red tape" and emphasizes rigorous public problem solving for making government more effective, efficient, and equitable.

Jorrit de Jong is lecturer in public policy at Harvard Kennedy School. He is also academic director of the Innovations in Government Program at the Kennedy School's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation.

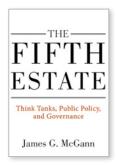
November 2016, 6 x 9, 304 pp. paper, 9780815722069, \$28.95 ebook, 9780815722076, \$28.99

### The Fifth Estate

Think Tanks, Public Policy, and Governance

James G. McGann

What role do think tanks play in shaping public policy and public discourse in the United States?



In The Fifth Estate: Think Tanks, Public Policy, and Governance, James G. McGann illustrates how policymakers have come to value the independent analysis and advice provided by think tanks and why their influence has become one of the defining characteristics of the American political system. Drawing on case studies in both

foreign and domestic policy, McGann clarifies the correlation between think tank research and the policies enacted by the past three presidential administrations. He also describes a phenomenon known as "the revolving door," where think tanks provide former government officials an opportunity to share insights from public service, remain involved in policy debates. and continue to provide advice and commentary.

Based on the history and the level of involvement seen today, the influence of think tanks is unlikely to diminish in the coming years.

James G. McGann is senior lecturer in international studies and director of the Think Tank and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania.

September 2016, 6 x 9, 280 pp. cloth, 9780815728306, \$32.00 ebook, 9780815728313, \$25.99

### The Water Problem

Climate Change and Water Policy in the United States

Pat Mulroy, editor

Building water resilience is the single biggest challenge in a changing global climate.



The United States faces a water crisis as critical as the energy crisis that once dominated headlines. Like the energy crisis, a solution can be found. Pat Mulroy, for many years general manager of the Southern Nevada Water Authority, the lead negotiator on the Colorado River for the State of Nevada, and a Brookings fellow, has gathered a number

of practitioners and scholars to show us why we face a crisis caused by climate change and what we can do to alleviate it.

While the focus recently has been on California, with its water restrictions and drought, many other parts of the United States are also suffering from current and potential water shortages that will only be exacerbated by climate change. The Water Problem takes us to Miami and the problem of rising oceans fouling freshwater reservoirs; Kansas and Nebraska, where intensive farming is draining age-old aguifers; and to the Southwest United States, where growing populations are creating enormous stresses on the already strained Colorado River.

Mulroy and her contributors explore not just the problems, but also what we can do now to put in place measures to deal with a very real crisis.

Pat Mulroy is a Brookings nonresident senior fellow for climate adaptation and environmental policy at the Metropolitan Policy Program located at the University of Nevada Las Vegas, Boyd School of Law.

March 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp. paper, 9780815727842, \$35.00 ebook, 9780815727866, \$34.99

# **Achieving Regulatory Excellence**

Cary Coglianese, editor

What defines success for a regulator?



Whether striving to protect citizens from financial risks, climate change, inadequate health care, or the uncertainties of the emerging "sharing" economy, regulators must routinely make difficult judgment calls in an effort to meet the conflicting demands that society places on them.

Operating within a political climate of competing demands, regulators need a lodestar to help them define and evaluate success. Achieving Regulatory Excellence provides that direction by offering new insights from law, public administration, political science, sociology, and policy sciences on what regulators need to do to improve their performance.

Achieving Regulatory Excellence offers guidance from leading international experts about how regulators can set appropriate priorities and make sound, evidence-based decisions through processes that are transparent and participatory. With increasing demands for smarter but leaner government, the need for sound regulatory capacity—for regulatory excellence—has never been stronger.

Cary Coglianese is the Edward B. Shils Professor of Law and professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, where he currently serves as the director of the Penn Program on Regulation and has served as the law school's deputy dean for academic affairs.

October 2016, 6 x 9, 260 pp. cloth, 9780815728429, \$35.00 ebook, 9780815728436, \$27.99

# **Escaping Jurassic Government**

How to Recover America's Lost Commitment to Competence

#### Donald F. Kettl

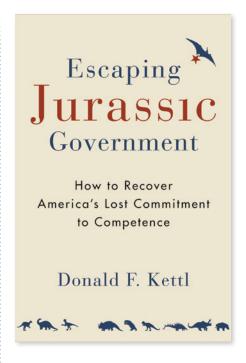
Why big government is not the problem.

The Progressive government movement, founded on support from Republicans and Democrats alike, reined in corporate trusts and improved the lives of sweatshop workers. It created modern government, from the Federal Reserve to the nation's budgetary and civil service policies, and most of the programs on which we depend.

Ask Americans today and they will tell you that our government has hit a wall of low performance and high distrust, with huge implications for governance in the country. Instead of a focus on government effectiveness, the movement that spawned the idea of government for the people has become known for creating a big government disconnected from citizens. Donald F. Kettl finds that both political parties have contributed to the decline of the Progressive ideal of a commitment to competence, by feeding gridlock and creating a government that does not work the way citizens expect and deserve.

Kettl argues for a rebirth of the original Progressive spirit, not in pursuit of bigger government but with a bipartisan dedication to better government, one that works on behalf of all citizens and that delivers services effectively. He outlines the problems in today's government, including political pressures, proxy tools, and managerial failures. Escaping Jurassic Government details the strategies, evidence, and people that can strengthen governmental effectiveness and shut down gridlock.

June 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp. paper, 9780815728016, \$25.00 ebook, 9780815728023, \$24.99



Donald F. Kettl is a professor and former dean of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland. He is also a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

#### POLICY ENTREPRENEURSHIP SERIES

Each short book in the series will explain a specific aspect of the politics, policies, and processes of Washington—the ins and outs of, for example, introducing a bill in Congress, how committees work, and how policies are both formulated and implemented.

### **Inside Congress**

A Guide for Navigating the Politics of the House and Senate Floors

Trevor Corning, Reema Dodin, and Kyle W. Nevins

Required reading for anyone who wants to understand how to work within Congress.



The House and Senate have unique rules and procedures to determine how legislation moves from a policy idea to law. Evolved over the last 200 years, the rules of both chambers are designed to act as the engine for that process. Each legislative body has its own leadership positions to oversee this legislative process.

To the novice, whether a newly elected

representative, a lawmaker's staff on her first day at work, or a constituent visiting Washington, the entire process can seem incomprehensible. What is an open rule for a House Appropriations bill and how does it affect consideration? Why are unanimous consent agreements needed in the Senate?

The authors of *Inside Congress*, all congressional veterans, have written the definitive guide to how Congress really works. It is the accessible and necessary resource to understanding and interpreting procedural tools, arcane precedents, and the role of party politics in the making of legislation in Congress.

Trevor Corning spent more than four years at Brookings educating professionals at all levels of government and the private sector on how to engage with the U.S. government while also managing the Brookings Legislative Fellows program.

Reema Dodin serves as floor director to the assistant Democratic leader, Senator Richard Durbin, where she runs the whip operation for the Senate Democratic caucus.

Kyle W. Nevins is cofounder and partner at Harbinger Strategies, a government relations firm based in Washington, D.C.

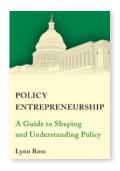
January 2017, 4 x 7, 60 pp. paper, 9780815727323, \$12.00 ebook, 9780815727347, \$11.99

# Policy Entrepreneurship

A Guide to Shaping and Understanding Policy

Lynn C. Ross

Examining the impact of policy entrepreneurs at all stages of policymaking.



Public policymaking in the United States is a dynamic, complex, and even circuitous process. That's where policy entrepreneurs come in. These critical catalysts and shapers of change are the engines that drive the whole policy process. Lynn C. Ross, director of the Master of Policy Management Program (MPM) at Georgetown's McCourt School of Public Policy and an executive branch

veteran, lays out what it takes to be a policy entrepreneur.

Building from John W. Kingdon's classic streams model (Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies), Ross uses prominent case studies to assess the impact of policy entrepreneurs on policy change and shares their strategies.

Anyone who hopes to have any impact on policymaking will benefit from learning how to think and act like a policy entrepreneur.

Lynn C. Ross is director of the Master of Policy Management Program (MPM) and associate teaching professor at Georgetown's McCourt School of Public Policy.

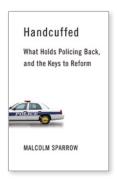
February 2017, 4 x 7, 60 pp. paper, 9780815727361, \$12.00 ebook, 9780815727378, \$11.99

### Handcuffed

What Holds Policing Back, and the Keys to Reform

#### **Malcolm Sparrow**

Whatever happened to community and problem-oriented policing? How the current crisis in policing can be traced to failures of reform.



The police shooting of an unarmed young black man in the St. Louis suburb of Ferguson, Missouri, in August 2014 sparked riots and the beginning of a national conversation on race and policing. Much of the ensuing discussion has focused on the persistence of racial disparities and the extraordinarily high rate at which American police kill civilians (an average of roughly three per day).

Malcolm Sparrow, who teaches at Harvard's Kennedy School and is a former British police detective, argues that other factors in the development of police theory and practice over the last twenty-five years have also played a major role in contributing to these tragedies and to a great many other cases involving excessive police force and community alienation.

Sparrow shows how the core ideas of community and problem-solving policing have failed to thrive. In many police departments these foundational ideas have been reduced to mere rhetoric. The result is heavy reliance on narrow quantitative metrics, where police define how well they are doing by tallying traffic tickets (Ferguson) or arrests for petty crimes (in New York).

Sparrow's analysis shows what it will take for police departments to escape their narrow focus and perverse metrics and return to making public safety and public cooperation their primary goals. Police, according to Sparrow, are in the riskcontrol business and need to grasp the fundamental nature of that challenge and develop a much more sophisticated understanding of its implications for mission, methods, measurement, partnerships, and analysis.

Malcolm Sparrow is professor of the practice of public management at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and faculty chair of the school's executive program, Strategic Management of Regulatory and Enforcement Agencies.

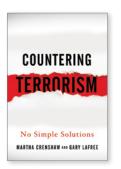
April 2016, 5.6 x 8.5, 270 pp. cloth, 9780815727811, \$25.00t ebook, 9780815727828, \$18.99

# **Countering Terrorism**

No Simple Solutions

Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree

Can We Construct a Grand Strategy to Counter Terrorism?



Fifteen years after September 11, the United States still faces terror threatsboth domestic and foreign. After years of wars, ever more intensive and pervasive surveillance, enhanced security measures at major transportation centers, and many attempts to explain who we are fighting and why and how to fight them, the threats continue to multiply. So, too,

do our attempts to understand just what terrorism is and how to counter it.

Two leaders in the field of terrorism studies, Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, provide a critical look at how we have dealt with the terror threat over the years. They make clear why it is so difficult to create policy to counter terrorism. The foes are multiple and often amorphous, the study of the field dogged by disagreement on basic definitional and methodological issues, and the creation of policy hobbled by an exacting standard: the counterterrorist must succeed all the time; the terrorist only once. As Countering Terrorism shows, there are no simple solutions to this threat.

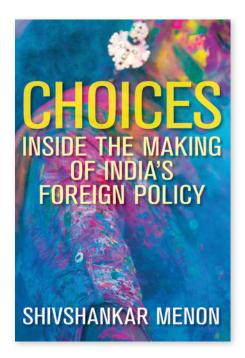
Martha Crenshaw is a senior fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, as well as professor of political science, by courtesy, at Stanford University.

Gary LaFree is professor of criminology and criminal justice and director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland.

November 2016, 6 x 9, 260 pp. paper, 9780815727644, \$32.00 ebook, 9780815727651, \$31.99

#### **GEOPOLITICS IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

This series of important books from the Order from Chaos project at Brookings will analyze the major dynamics at play and offer ideas and strategies to guide critical countries and key leaders on how they should act to preserve and renovate the established international order to secure peace and prosperity for another generation.



Shivshankar Menon is a former foreign secretary and national security adviser to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India. He also served as India's ambassador to China, Sri Lanka, Israel, and Pakistan. He is presently a distinguished fellow at the Brookings Institution and chair of the Advisory Board of the Institute of Chinese Studies in New Delhi India.

# Choices

Inside the Making of India's Foreign Policy

### **Shivshankar Menon**

A look behind the scenes of some of India's most critical foreign policy decisions by the country's former foreign secretary and national security adviser.

Every country must make choices about foreign policy and national security. Sometimes those choices turn out to have been correct, other times not. In this insider's account, Shivshankar Menon describes some of the most crucial decisions India has faced during his long career in government—and how key personalities often had to make choices based on incomplete information under the pressure of fast-moving events.

Menon either participated directly in or was associated with all the major Indian foreign policy decisions he describes in Choices. These include the 2005-08 U.S.-India nuclear agreement; the first-ever boundary-related agreement between India and China; India's decision not to use overt force against Pakistan in response to the 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai; the 2009 defeat of the Tamil rebellion in Sri Lanka; and India's disavowal of the first-use of nuclear weapons. Menon examines what these choices reveal about India's strategic culture and decisionmaking, its policies toward the use of force, its long-term goals and priorities, and its future behavior.

Choices will be of interest to anyone searching for answers to questions about how one of the world's great rising powers makes its decisions on the world stage, and the difficult choices that sometimes had to be made.

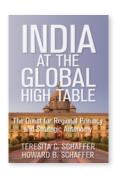
October 2016, 6 x 9, 213 pp. cloth, 9780815729105, \$26.00 ebook, 9780815729112, \$25.99

# India at the Global High Table

The Quest for Regional Primacy and Strategic Autonomy

Teresita C. Schaffer and Howard B. Schaffer

An integrated picture of India's global vision, its foreign policy, and the negotiating practices that link the two.



In recent decades, India has taken on a growing global presence. India at the Global High Table is an insightful and integrated analysis of how India is managing its evolving role. Both former U.S. ambassadors to countries in South Asia, Teresita Schaffer and Howard Schaffer shine light on the country's strategic vision and foreign policy and the negotiating behavior that links the two.

The four concepts woven together throughout the book offer an exploration of India today: its exceptionalism; its nonalignment and drive for "strategic autonomy"; its determination to maintain regional primacy; and, more recently, its surging economy. With a specific focus on India's negotiating practices, India at the Global High Table provides a unique, comprehensive understanding of India as an emerging international power player, the choices it will face between its classic view of strategic autonomy, and its desire to find partners in a fast-evolving world.

Teresita C. Schaffer served for thirty years in the U.S. Foreign Service, at the U.S. embassies in India and Pakistan and in senior positions in the U.S. Department of State, and as ambassador to Sri Lanka.

Howard B. Schaffer served for thirty-six years in the U.S. Foreign Service, in senior positions in the U.S. embassies in India and Pakistan and in the U.S. Department of State, and as U.S. Ambassador in Bangladesh.

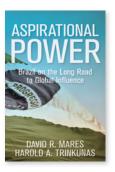
April 2016, 6 x 9, 350 pp. cloth, 9780815728214, \$32.00 ebook, 9780815728221, \$25.99

### **Aspirational Power**

Brazil on the Long Road to Global Influence

David R. Mares and Harold A. Trinkunas

Brazil's soft power path to major power status.



The largest country in South America by land mass and population, Brazil has been marked since its independence by a belief that it has the potential to play a major role on the global stage. Set apart from the rest of the hemisphere by culture, language, and history, Brazil has also been viewed by its neighbors as a potential great power and, at times, a threat. But even though domestic

aspirations and foreign perceptions have held out the prospect for Brazil becoming a major power, the country has lacked the capabilities, particularly on the military and economic dimensions, to pursue a traditional path to greatness.

Aspirational Power examines Brazil as an emerging power. It explains Brazil's present emphasis on using soft power through a historical analysis of Brazil's three past attempts to achieve major power status. Though these efforts fell short, this book suggests that Brazil will continue to try to emerge, but that it will only succeed when its domestic institutions provide a solid and attractive foundation for the deployment of its soft power abroad. Aspirational Power concludes with concrete recommendations for how Brazil might improve its strategy, and why the great powers, including the United States, should respond positively to Brazil's emergence.

David Mares holds the Institute of the Americas Chair for Inter-American Affairs at the University of California, San Diego, and is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Harold Trinkunas is the Charles W. Robinson chair and senior fellow and director of the Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings.

June 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp. cloth, 9780815727958, \$32.00 ebook, 9780815727965, \$25.99

### Five Rising Democracies and the Fate of the International Liberal Order

**Ted Piccone** 

Five nations could determine the fate of the global democracy and human rights order.



The spread of democracy and human rights over the last three decades has dramatically changed the international landscape. In 1989, just over 2 billion people lived in the sixty-nine countries considered an electoral democracy. Today, there are more than 4 billion people living in 125 democracies. Political reforms in places like the Philippines, Chile, Poland, South Korea, and Mexico

have inspired renewed hope for an international liberal order founded on democracy, peace, and development.

But recent shifts in power balances are shaking the foundations of the international liberal order and disrupting movements toward human rights. Established democracies are falling victim to apathy, polarization, and rising nationalism; others are at a plateau or are backsliding on their path to liberal democracy. In Five Rising Democracies and the Fate of the International Liberal Order, Brookings Senior Fellow Ted Piccone examines how five countries—India, Brazil, South Africa, Turkey, and Indonesia-represent critical examples of liberal ideas and practices. These rising stars, according to Piccone, stand out for their shift to more representative government systems; their progress in improving living standards for their citizens; and for the diversity of their populations.

Filled with a data-rich analysis of the recent progress and setbacks—of these five countries, along with practical recommendations for building a North-South consensus on human rights and democracy, Five Rising Democracies is an important book for understanding links between democracy and foreign policy, and how these important countries will affect the future of the international liberal order.

**Ted Piccone** is a senior fellow in the Project on International Order and Strategy and Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings.

December 2015, 6 x 9, 250 pp. cloth, 9780815727415, \$32.00 paper, 9780815725794, \$26.00 ebook, 9780815725787, \$25.99

### The Future of Land Warfare

Michael E. O'Hanlon

What happens if we bet too heavily on unmanned systems, cyber warfare, and special operations in our defense?



In today's U.S. defense policy debates, big land wars are out. Drones, cyber weapons, Special Forces, and space weapons are in. Accordingly, Pentagon budget cuts have honed in on the army and ground forces; this, after long wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, seems appealing. No one really wants American boots on the ground in bloody conflicts abroad. But it is not easy to declare an end to messy

land wars. A survey of the world's trouble spots suggests that land warfare has more of a future than many now believe.

In The Future of Land Warfare, Michael O'Hanlon offers an analysis of the future of the world's ground forces: Where are future large-scale conflicts or other catastrophes most plausible? Which of these could be important enough to necessitate a U.S. military response? And which of these could require significant numbers of American ground forces in their resolution? O'Hanlon is not predicting or advocating big American roles in such operations—only cautioning against overconfidence that we can and will avoid them.

O'Hanlon considers illustrative scenarios in which large conventional forces may be necessary: deterring Russia from contemplating attacks against the Baltic states; deterring China from an unfriendly future role on the Korean peninsula; handling an asymmetric threat in the South China Sea with the construction and protection of bases in the Philippines; handling the aftermath of a major complex humanitarian disaster superimposed on a security crisis; addressing a further meltdown in security conditions in Central America.

Michael O'Hanlon is research director for the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, where he specializes in defense policy.

August 2015, 6 x 9, 220 pp. cloth, 9780815726890, \$32.00 paper, 9780815727422, \$26.00 ebook, 9780815726906, \$25.99

# **Reflections on Progress**

Essays on the Global Political Economy

### **Kemal Derviş**

Now, more than ever, the world needs growth-oriented and socially inclusive policymaking.

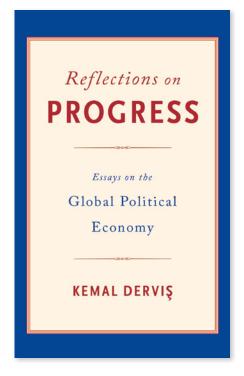
Is the world giving up on the promise of ever-greater prosperity for all, on functioning democratic institutions, and on long-term peace? Is the special set of circumstances that led to the recent rapid growth in emerging markets unlikely to be present in the future? Will the second decade of the twenty-first century end with "secular stagnation"? Does the rise of authoritarianism, populism, and fanatic nihilism—all experienced over the last few years—threaten to unravel what has been built painstakingly since the catastrophe of World War II?

Kemal Derviş addresses these and similar questions in this thought-provoking series of essays written for Project Syndicate from 2011 to 2015. The essays are organized in three sections: global economic interdependence, inequality and the political economy of reform, and the specific challenge of Europe.

The common theme is the need for growth-oriented and socially inclusive policymaking in an interdependent world. These kinds of policies offer the potential for another wave of unprecedented human progress aided by breathtaking new technologies. However, a huge and destabilizing disruption is possible if policymaking is not globally cooperative and is not focused on inclusion and greater equity.

These essays synthesize the experience and analysis of a scholar and policymaker with national, regional, and international experience at the highest levels. Derviş exhibits a passion for combining strongly held values with political feasibility.

August 2016, 6 x 9, 208 pp. cloth, 9780815729617, \$20.99 ebook, 9780815729624, \$19.99



Kemal Derviş is vice president and director of Global Economy and Development at the Brookings Institution. Formerly head of the United Nations Development Program and minister of economic affairs of Turkey, he focuses on global economics, emerging markets, development, and international institutions.



Kent E. Calder is director of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies at the School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. Prior to assuming this position in 2003, he taught for twenty years at Princeton University, where he is an emeritus faculty member, while serving also as special adviser to the U.S. ambassador to Japan (1997-2001); and Japan Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (1989-93 and 1996). Calder has also taught at Harvard University, Seoul National University, and the University of Yangon. He is the author or coauthor of ten previous books on East Asian political economy.

# Singapore

Smart City, Smart State

#### Kent E. Calder

How Singapore's solutions to common problems can provide examples for other societies.

Nearly everyone knows that Singapore has one of the most efficient governments and competitive, advanced economies in the world. But can this unique city-state of some 5.5 million residents also serve as a model for other advanced economies as well as for the emerging world? Respected East Asia expert Kent Calder provides clear answers to this intriguing question in his new, groundbreaking book that looks at how Singapore's government has harnessed information technology and data and has focused on innovative, adaptive governance to become a model smart city, smart state.

Calder describes Singapore as a laboratory for solutions to problems experienced by urban societies around the world. In particular, he shows how Singapore has dealt successfully with education, energy, environmental, housing, and transportation challenges; many of its solutions can be adapted in a wide range of other societies.

Singapore consistently ranks at the top in world surveys measuring competitiveness, ease of doing business, protection of intellectual property, and absence of corruption. Here, Calder explains how Singapore offers lessons that other governments can use to adapt their economies to the contemporary demands of global commerce.

The book offers concrete insights and a lucid appreciation of how Singapore's answers to near-universal problems can have a much broader relevance, even in very different societies.

August 2016, 6 x 9, 220 pp. paper, 9780815729471, \$28.00 ebook, 9780815729488, \$27.99

# Hong Kong in the Shadow of China

Living with the Leviathan

#### Richard Bush

A close-up look at the struggle for democracy in Hong Kong.



Hong Kong in the Shadow of China is a reflection on the recent political turmoil in Hong Kong during which the Chinese government insisted on gradual movement toward electoral democracy and hundreds of thousands of protesters occupied major thoroughfares to push for full democracy. Fueling this struggle is deep public resentment over growing inequality and how the political system—established

by China and dominated by the local business community reinforces the divide between those who have profited immensely and those who struggle for such basics as housing.

Richard Bush, director of the Brookings Institution's Center on East Asia Policy Studies, takes us inside the demonstrations and the demands of the demonstrators and then pulls back to critically explore what Hong Kong and China must do to ensure both economic competitiveness and good governance, and he further explores the implications of Hong Kong developments for United States policy.

Richard Bush is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution and director of its Center on East Asia Policy Studies.

August 2016, 6 x 9, 170 pp. paper, 9780815728122, \$30.00 ebook, 9780815728139, \$30.00

# Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era

Reassessing Collective Leadership

#### Cheng Li

Chinese politics are at a crossroads as President Xi Jinping amasses personal power and tests the constraints of collective leadership.



In the years since he became general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party in 2012, Xi Jinping has surprised many people in China and around the world with his bold anti-corruption campaign and his aggressive consolidation of power. Given these new developments, we must rethink how we analyze Chinese politics—an urgent task as China now has more influence on the global economy and

regional security than at any other time in modern history.

Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era examines how the structure and dynamics of party leadership have evolved since the late 1990s and argues that "inner-party democracy," the concept of collective leadership that emphasizes deal making based on accepted rules and norms, may pave the way for greater transformation within China's political system. Xi's legacy will largely depend on whether he encourages or obstructs this trend of political institutionalization in the governance of the world's most populous and increasingly pluralistic country.

Cheng Li addresses the recruitment and composition of the political elite, a central concern in Chinese politics. China analysts will benefit from the meticulously detailed biographical information of the 376 members of the 18th Central Committee, including tables and charts detailing their family background, education, occupation, career patterns, and mentor-patron ties.

Cheng Li is director and senior fellow at the John L. Thornton China Center at Brookings Institution.

December 2016, 6 x 9, 528 pp. paper, 9780815726920, \$30.00 ebook, 9780815726937, \$29.99

# China's Offensive in Europe

Philippe Le Corre and Alain Sepulchre

A portrait of China's new economic interest in Europe.



For years China's international investment interests focused on a search for natural resources in Africa. Asia. and Latin America. Recently China's focus has shifted to Europe, as well as the United States, and to new fields as diverse as real estate, energy, hospitality, transportation, and heavy industry.

Chinese foreign investment is expected to grow throughout Europe in the years

to come. For instance, the financial crisis centered in Greece and the fall of the euro have helped China and some of its corporations create a new partnership within the European Union, working to expand the country's power through finance and infrastructure.

China's Offensive in Europe studies the trends, sectors, and target countries of Chinese investments in Europe. It looks at cases of outbound investment trajectories and journeys by some key Chinese private and state-owned companies. It also takes a look at European perceptions of China, a country with a very different history and very different traditions from the Western world.

Philippe Le Corre and Alain Sepulchre examine how China's presence in Europe can serve as a benchmark to other developed economies—especially the United States, which is also seeing a rise in Chinese investments.

Philippe Le Corre is a visiting fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution, where he specializes in China-Europe relations.

Alain Sepulchre is a senior adviser with BCG in Hong Kong, formerly with McKinsey Company.

May 2016, 6 x 9, 208 pp. paper, 9780815727989, \$22.00 ebook, 9780815727996, \$21.99

### Latin America and the Asian Giants

Evolving Ties with China and India

Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz, editors

How an evolving relationship with China and India is changing Latin America's political and economic dynamics.



In the years since China has adopted a "going global" strategy to promote its overseas investment, expand export markets, and gain much-needed access to natural resources abroad, Sino-Latin American relations have both deepened and broadened at an unexpectedly rapid pace. The main driver behind this sea change in bilateral relations has been economic complementarity, with resource-

rich countries in Latin America exporting primary goods to the Asian giants' growing market and China exporting manufactured goods back into the region. In recent years, Sino-Latin American relations have matured considerably, becoming far more nuanced and multifaceted than ever before.

India is a relatively new player in the region, but has slowly strengthened its ties. As one of Asia's largest markets, it offers interesting parallels to the Chinese case. Will Indo-Latin American ties follow a similar path? The main areas of growth include trade and investment, mining, energy, information technology, motor vehicle production, and pharmaceuticals. To what extent these changing dynamics will redefine Latin America's relations with India is a question of increasing relevance for policymakers.

This volume offers a review of key cross-regional trends and critical policy issues involving the changing relationship between these two Asian giants and Latin America. Selected country case studies-Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico-provide a more in-depth analysis of the implications of China's and India's evolving interaction with the region.

Riordan Roett is a professor and director of the Latin American Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C.

Guadalupe Paz is an assistant research professor and the associate director of the Latin American Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C.

September 2016, 6 x 9, 352 pp. paper, 9780815726968, \$32.00 ebook, 9780815726975, \$31.99

### Trade in the 21st Century

Back to the Past?

Bernard M. Hoekman and Ernesto Zedillo, editors

Despite troubled trade negotiations, global trade—and trade policy—will thrive in the twenty-first century, but with a bow to the past.



The repeated failures since 2001 of global trade negotiations and continuing uncertainties about the ultimate success of mega-regional trade agreements, like the recently concluded Trans-Pacific Partnership, have raised widespread questions about the future of global trade policy. In Trade in the 21st Century, two distinguished experts argue that despite appearances to the contrary, not only is

trade policy alive and well, but there are grounds for optimism about the prospects for international trade and investment growth in the twenty-first century.

Trade in the 21st Century, with contributions by some of the world's leading writers on the subject covers key topics in the field: trade policy dynamics in the European Union and the United States; policies by and toward emerging economies, including China; incentives for governments to further open trade or reject past liberalization; implications of mega-regional trade agreements; and issues around digital trade, trade in services and agricultural trade policies; and trade and climate change policies.

Bernard M. Hoekman is professor and director of global economics at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, and research fellow at the Center for Economic Policy Research.

Ernesto Zedillo is director of the Center for the Study of Globalization and professor in the field of international economics and politics at Yale University.

October 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp. paper, 9780815729044, \$35.00 ebook, 9780815729051, \$34.99

### Open for Business

Building the New Cuban Economy

Richard E. Feinberg

An expert guide to Cuba's economic opening to the outside world.



Ninety miles across the Straits of Florida, an exciting new revolution is afoot. This time, instead of guerillas marching down the streets of Havana, it is a global economy that will upend Cuba. Now opening to the world, what new forms is this nascent economy likely to take?

Open for Business: Building the New Cuban Economy, Richard E. Feinberg's new book, examines the Cuban economy

as it takes its early steps into developing a more dynamic market economy. He examines key issues, like the role foreign investors will play, how Cubans will forge a path to entrepreneurship, and the road maps suggested by other emerging economies.

As Cuba's economy awakens from the post-Castro dream, it will do so with a flavor that is uniquely Cuban. Feinberg's book enriched by interviews and in-depth field research conducted over the last five years—speaks both to Cuba's legacy and to its new horizons on the world stage.

Richard E. Feinberg is a nonresident senior fellow with the Latin America Initiative at Brookings and a professor of international political economy in the School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California, San Diego.

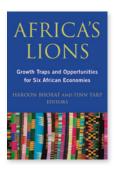
August 2016, 6 x 9, 264 pp. cloth, 9780815727675, \$22.00t ebook, 9780815727682, \$17.99

### Africa's Lions

Growth Traps and Opportunities for the Continent's Six Dominant Economies

Haroon Bhorat and Finn Tarp, editors

Examining the economic forces that will shape Africa's future.



Africa's Lions examines the economic growth experiences of six fast-growing and economically dominant African countries. Expert African researchers offer unique perspectives into the challenges and issues in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, and South Africa.

The growth of the global workingage population to 2030 will be driven primarily by Africa, which means that

the relationship between growth and employment should be understood within the context of each country's projected demographic challenge and the associated implications for employment growth. A better understanding of the structure of each country's workforce and the resulting implications for human capital development, the vulnerably employed, and the working poor will be critical to informing the development policy agenda.

As a group, the six countries profiled in *Africa's Lions* will largely shape the continent's future. Each country chapter focuses on the complex interactions between economic growth and employment outcomes.

Haroon Bhorat is professor of economics and director of the Development Policy Research Unit at the University of Cape Town.

Finn Tarp is professor of economics, University of Copenhagen, and director of UNU-WIDER.

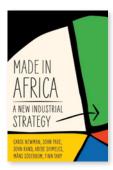
September 2016, 6 x 9, 320 pp. paper, 9780815729495, \$35.00 ebook, 9780815729501, \$34.99

### Made in Africa

Learning to Compete in Industry

Carol Newman, John Page, John Rand, Abebe Shimeles, Måns Söderbom, and Finn Tarp

Why is there so little industry in Africa?



Over the past forty years, industry has moved from the developed to the developing world, yet Africa's share of global manufacturing has fallen from about 3 percent in 1970 to less than 2 percent in 2014. Industry is important to low-income countries; it is good for economic growth, job creation, and poverty reduction. Made in Africa: Learning to Compete in Industry outlines a new strategy to help

African industry compete in global markets. This book draws on case studies and econometric and qualitative research from Africa and emerging Asia to understand what drives firm-level competitiveness in low-income countries. The results show that while traditional concerns such as infrastructure, skills, and the regulatory environment are important, they alone will not be sufficient for Africa to industrialize. The book also addresses how industrialization strategies will need to adapt to the region's growing resource abundance.

Carol Newman is an associate professor in the Department of Economics, Trinity College Dublin.

John Page is senior fellow in the Global Economy and Development program of Brookings, and nonresident senior fellow of UNU-WIDER.

John Rand is a professor in development microeconomics at the University of Copenhagen.

Abebe Shemeles is acting director of the research department of the African Development Bank.

Måns Söderbom is professor of economics, University of Gothenburg.

Finn Tarp is professor of economics, University of Copenhagen, and director of UNU-WIDER.

February 2016, 6 x 9, 306 pp. paper, 9780815728153, \$35.00 ebook, 9780815728160, \$34.99

### What Works in Girls' Education

Evidence for the World's Best Investment

### Gene B. Sperling and Rebecca Winthrop with Christina Kwauk Foreword by Malala Yousafzai

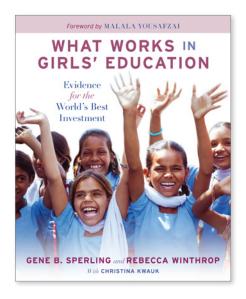
Hard-headed evidence on why the returns from investing in girls are so high that no nation or family can afford not to educate their girls.

Gene Sperling, author of the seminal 2004 report published by the Council on Foreign Relations, and Rebecca Winthrop, director of the Center for Universal Education at Brookings, have written this definitive book on the importance of girls' education. As Malala Yousafzai expresses in her foreword, the idea that any child could be denied an education due to poverty, custom, the law, or terrorist threats is just wrong and unimaginable. More than 1,000 studies have provided evidence that high-quality girls' education around the world leads to wide-ranging returns:

- · Better outcomes in economic areas of growth and incomes
- · Reduced rates of infant and maternal mortality
- · Reduced rates of child marriage
- · Reduced rates of HIV/AIDS and malaria
- Increased agricultural productivity
- · Increased resilience to natural disasters
- · Women's empowerment

What Works in Girls' Education is a compelling work for concerned global citizens, and any academic, expert, nongovernmental organization (NGO) staff member, policymaker, or journalist seeking to dive into the evidence and policies on girls' education.

October 2015, 7.5 x 9.25, 335 pp. paper, 9780815728603, \$22.00 ebook, 9780815728610, \$21.99



Gene B. Sperling is the founder of the Center of Universal Education at Brookings. He was national economic adviser in the White House for President Clinton (1996–2001) and President Obama (2011-14). He was founder of the U.S. Chapter of the Global Campaign for Education, cofounder of the Education Partnership for Children of Conflict (with Angelina Jolie), a member of the U.N. Millennium Task Force on Girls' Education, and represented the U.S. government at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000.

Rebecca Winthrop is a senior fellow and director of the Center for Universal Education and a leading voice on education issues in the developing world. She is the former head of education for the International Rescue Committee, has spent more than twenty years advising international institutions and senior policymakers, and has field experience in many countries across Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Her work focuses on girls' education, learning opportunities for the world's most marginalized children, and innovative education models.

Christina Kwauk is an education specialist focusing on gender, sport, and health in developing countries. She has served as an education consultant at the East-West Center and the Brookings Institution and has field research experience in China and Samoa.

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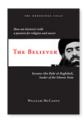


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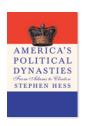
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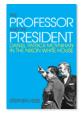


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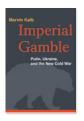
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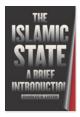


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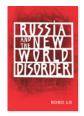


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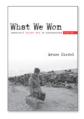


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### Robert D. Behn

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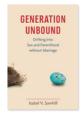


## **Democracy Reinvented**

Participatory Budgeting and Civic Innovation in America

#### Hollie Russon Gilman

January 2016, 6 x 9, 200 pp. paper, 9780815726821, \$28.00 ebook, 9780815726838, \$27.99



### Generation Unbound

Drifting into Sex and Parenthood without Marriage

#### Isabel V. Sawhill

September 2014, 6 x 9, 212 pp. cloth, 9780815725589, \$32.00t paper, 9780815726357, \$25.00t ebook, 9780815725596, \$24.99



### Show Me the Evidence

Obama's Fight for Rigor and Results in Social Policy

### Ron Haskins and Greg Margolis

December 2014, 6 x 9, 319 pp. paper, 9780815725718, \$32.00 ebook, 9780815725701, \$31.99



### The Resilient Sector Revisited

The New Challenge to Nonprofit America Second Edition

#### Lester M. Salamon

August 2015, 6 x 9, 120 pp. paper, 9780815724254, \$19.95 ebook, 9780815724261, \$19.99

### The Housing Challenge in Emerging Asia

Options and Solutions

Naoyuki Yoshino and Matthias Helble, editors



The Housing Challenge in Emerging Asia: Options and Solutions provides new insights and ideas to best design and implement housing policies aimed at improving access to affordable and adequate housing. The book offers an innovative theoretical framework to conceptualize and analyze various housing policies. It also critically

reviews housing policies of various countries and draws lessons for others. The countries studied include advanced economies within and outside Asia, such as Japan, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as emerging countries within Asia, such as the People's Republic of China and India.

Naoyuki Yoshino is the dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute and professor emeritus at Keio University, Tokyo.

Matthias Helble is a research economist at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

October 2016, 6 x 9, 276 pp. paper, 9784899740650, \$33.00 ebook, 9784899740667, \$32.99

### Financial Inclusion, Regulation, and Education

Asian Perspectives

Naoyuki Yoshino and Peter J. Morgan, editors



Financial inclusion is receiving increasing attention as having the potential to contribute to economic and financial development while at the same time fostering more inclusive growth and greater income equality. Although substantial progress has been made, there is still much to achieve. East Asia, the Pacific, and South

Asia combined account for 55 percent of the world's unbanked adults, mainly in India and the People's Republic of China.

This book surveys the experience of a number of advanced and Asian emerging economies to assess factors affecting the ability of low-income households and small firms to access financial services, including financial literacy, financial education programs, and financial regulatory frameworks, as

well as identify policies that can improve financial access while maintaining financial stability.

The book adopts a practical and holistic approach to issues related to financial inclusion. For example, innovative methods of promoting financial access, such as mobile phone banking and microfinance, require corresponding innovations in regulatory frameworks, perimeters, and capacity. Moreover, programs in the areas of financial education and consumer protection are needed to enable households and firms to take full advantage of improvements in financial access.

Naoyuki Yoshino is the dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute and professor emeritus at Keio University, Tokyo.

Peter Morgan is senior consultant for research at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

December 2016, 6 x 9, 300 pp. paper, 9784899740636, \$35.00 ebook, 9784899740643, \$34.99

### SMEs in Developing Asia

New Approaches to Overcoming Market Failures

Paul Vandenberg, Pornpinun Chantapacdepong, and Naoyuki Yoshino, editors



A vibrant stratum of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) is critical for the growth and development of Asian economies. These enterprises generate employment, contribute to investment, participate in value chains, and support innovation. However, SMEs face a variety of "size-induced market failures" that create a role for government policy.

This book focuses on market failures in technology and innovation, credit and finance, education and skills, and market access, and how they can be overcome. The various chapters examine national and multicountry experiences ranging from Pakistan in the east to Japan in the west and including South and East Asia.

Paul Vandenberg is a visiting professor at Thammasat University in Bangkok, Thailand. He is on leave from the Asian Development Bank.

Pornpinun Chantapacdepong is a research fellow at the Asian Development Bank Institute.

Naoyuki Yoshino is the dean of the Asian Development Bank Institute and professor emeritus at Keio University, Tokyo.

November 2016, 6 x 9, 350 pp. paper, 9784899740674, \$35.00 ebook, 9784899740681, \$34.99

## Peace on a Knife's Edge

The Inside Story of Roh Moo-hyun's North Korea Policy

Lee Jong-Seok **Translated by See Woong Koo** 

Lee Jong-Seok served as vice-secretary of South Korea's National Security Council and as its unification minister under the Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003-08). After Roh's tragic death in 2009, Lee resolved to present a record of the so-called participatory government's achievements and failures in the realm of unification, foreign affairs, and national security.

Peace on a Knife's Edge is the translation of Lee's 2014 account of Roh's efforts to bring peace to the Korean Peninsula in the face of opposition at home from conservative forces and abroad from the Bush administration's hard stances of "tailored containment" and its declaration of the North as part of the "axis of evil." Lee's narrative will give American readers rare insights into critical moments of Roh's incumbency, including the tumultuous Six-Party Talks; the delicate process of negotiating the relocation and reduction of United States Forces Korea; Roh's pursuit of South Korea's "autonomous defense"; conflicts with Japan over history issues; and the North's first nuclear weapons test.

October 2016, 6 x 9, 320 pp. paper, 9781931368438, \$28.95





# Responsible Entrepreneurship: **Business and Society**

*Bridging the Gap* 

Meeting the social effects of demographic change, globalization, digitization, and growing social inequality requires collective action on the part of government, civil society, and the private sector. But what do businesses offer in developing effective solutions to the challenges we face as a society? The Bertelsmann Stiftung conducted global research on this question. The findings presented here are accompanied by contributions from experts on the role of business and entrepreneurship in society. They examine how businesses are integrated into international networks and how they help advance society through social innovations. As a contribution to debates on these issues, this volume offers recommendations for a blueprint of responsible entrepreneurship and a policy framework designed to promote it.

July 2016, 7.28 x 10.62, 158 pp. paper, 9783867937450, \$26.00

## Global Agriculture and the American Farmer

Missed Opportunities for U.S. Leadership

#### Kimberly Ann Elliott

The United States is one of the world's largest producers and exporters of a range of agricultural commodities, so U.S. policies have big effects on global food security and other global public goods linked to agriculture. On the positive side of the ledger, President Obama created the Feed the Future aid initiative to promote agricultural development in poorer countries as a tool to achieve the global goals of ending hunger and extreme poverty, which are mostly rural. But that generosity is undercut by U.S. support for farmers and livestock producers that suppresses global prices for developing country producers, increases food market volatility, increases greenhouse gas emissions, and contributes to the spread of antibiotic-resistant bacteria.

In this book, Elliott focuses on three policy areas that are particularly damaging for developing countries: traditional agricultural subsidy and trade policies that support the incomes of American farmers at the expense of farmers elsewhere: the biofuels mandate, which in its current form increases market volatility while doing little if anything to mitigate climate change; and weak regulation of antibiotic use in livestock. While noting that broad reforms are needed to fix these problems, Elliott also identifies practical steps that U.S. policymakers could take in the relatively short run to improve farm policies—for American taxpayers and consumers as well as for the poor and vulnerable in developing countries.

Kimberly Ann Elliott is a senior fellow with the Center for Global Development and the author or coauthor of numerous books and articles on trade policy and globalization, economic sanctions, and food security. Her book, Delivering on Doha: Farm Trade and the Poor, was copublished in July 2006 by the Center for Global Development and the Peterson Institute for International Economics. She served on a National Research Council committee on Monitoring International Labor Standards and on the USDA Consultative Group on the Elimination of Child Labor in U.S. Agricultural Imports, and is currently a member of the National Advisory Committee for Labor Provisions in U.S. Free Trade Agreements.

Fall 2016, 5.5 x 8.25, 200 pp. paper, 9781933286983, \$24.00 ebook, 9781944691004, \$23.99

## **Results Not Receipts**

Counting the Right Things in Aid and Corruption

#### **Charles Kenny**

In the aftermath of the invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. Agency for International Development supported the Afghan Ministry of Public Health to deliver basic healthcare to 90 percent of the population, at a cost of \$4.50 a head. The program played a vital role in improving the country's health; the number of children dying before the age of five dropped by 100,000 a year. But accounting standards at the Ministry of Public Health concerned the United States Special Investigator General for Afghanistan. There was no evidence of malfeasance, nor argument about the success of the program. For all that the results were fantastic, receipts were not in order. The investigator called for the health program to be suspended because of "financial management deficiencies" at the ministry.

This case illustrates a growing problem: an important and justified focus on corruption as a barrier to development has led to policy change in aid agencies that is damaging the potential for aid to deliver results. Donors have treated corruption as an issue they can measure and improve, and from which they can insulate their projects at acceptable costs by controlling processes and monitoring receipts. Results not Receipts highlights the weak link between donors' preferred measures of corruption and development outcomes related to our limited ability to measure the problem. It discusses the costs of the standard anti-corruption tools of fiduciary controls and centralized delivery, and it suggests a different approach to tackling the problem of corruption in development: focus on outcomes.

Charles Kenny is a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development. He has researched and written on topics including economic growth, measuring and reducing corruption in infrastructure, the effectiveness of procurement rules, and the impact of transparency on contracting outcomes. He is the author of the book Getting Better: Why Global Development is Succeeding, and How We Can Improve the World Even More. He was previously at the World Bank, where his assignments included coordinating work on governance and anticorruption in infrastructure and natural resources, and managing a number of investment and technical assistance projects.

Fall 2016. 5.5 x 8.25, 200 pp. cloth, 9781933286976, \$24.00 ebook, 9781933286990, \$23.99

## Irregular Migration, Trafficking, and Smuggling of Human Beings: Policy Dilemmas in the EU

Sergio Carrera and Elspeth Guild, editors



The expert contributors to this edited volume, representing a multidisciplinary selection of academics, examine the treatment of irregular migration, human trafficking, and smuggling in EU law and policy. The various chapters explore the policy dilemmas encountered in efforts to criminalize irregular migration and humanitarian assistance to irregular immigrants. The book aims to provide

academic input to informed policymaking in the next phase of the European Agenda on Migration.

In his foreword, Matthias Ruete, director general of DG Home Affairs of the European Commission, writes: "This initiative aims to stimulate evidence-based policymaking and to bring fresh thinking to develop more effective policies. The European Commission welcomes the valuable contribution of this initiative to help close the wide gap in our knowledge about the smuggling of migrants, and especially the functioning of smuggling networks."

Sergio Carrera is a senior research fellow and head of the Justice and Home Affairs Programme at the Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels. He is also associate professor/senior researcher at the Faculty of Law of the University of Maastricht (The Netherlands).

Elspeth Guild is Jean Monnet Professor ad personam of European Migration Law at the Radboud University Nijmegen, and Queen Mary, University of London. She is an associate senior research fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels and a partner at the London law firm Kingsley Napley.

July 2016, 6 x 9, 114 pp. paper, 9789461385048, \$17.00

## Tomorrow's Silk Road: Assessing an **EU-China Free Trade Agreement**

Jacques Pelkmans, Joseph Francois, Weinian Hu, Federica Mustilli, Mattia Di Salvo, Eddy Bekkers, Miriam Manchin, and **Patrick Tomberger** 



This CEPS book is a first-ever economic and regulatory analysis of a possible Free Trade Area (FTA) between China and the EU, whose design is supposed to be "deep and comprehensive." It first provides an overview of the global economic environment in which EU-Chinese economic relations have developed in recent years, including global value chains linking the two economies. The substance

of the FTA design is then elaborated in nine, largely empirical and technical, chapters ranging from tariff analysis (also at the 6- and 8-digit level) and technical barriers to trade and services, government procurement, and investment. A third part comprises a CGE-model-based empirical simulation of the economic effects on GDP per member state (and on China), bilateral trade in goods and services, wages for workers with three distinct skilllevels, and a series of goods and services sectors.

The year-long study was led by Jacques Pelkmans of CEPS, and the research was carried out by a team of trade specialists at CEPS in partnership with another team of researchers led by Prof. Joseph Francois of the World Trade Institute (WTI) in Bern.

June 2016, 6 x 9, 308 pp. paper, 9789461385185, \$25.00

## The Eastern Question

Russia, the West, and Europe's Grey Zone

Daniel S. Hamilton and Stefan Meister, editors

The future of Europe's east is open. Can the societies of this vast region become more democratic and secure and integrate into the European mainstream? Or are they destined to become failed, fractured lands of grey mired in the stagnation and turbulence historically characteristic of Europe's borderlands? How and why is Russia seeking to influence these developments, and what is the future of Russia itself? How should the West engage? The Eastern Question addresses these questions and presents some surprising answers.

May 2016, 6 x 9, 280 pp. paper, 9780990772095, \$35.00

## Challenges of Democracy in the European Union and Its Neighbors

Aylin Ünver Noi and Sasha Toperich, editors

Democracy, which protects freedom and citizens' rights more than any other regime, is in crisis today. In recent years, it has become exhausted in its European center and along its periphery. Citizen trust of the European Union's democratic institutions has been fading. The EU's "normative power"—its ability to spread its norms and values to other states—and its "soft power"—its ability to attract others to its point of view are now seen as less likely to achieve the expected goals of spreading democracy within EU countries and creating a ring of well-governed states in neighboring countries. Democracy and its institutions need to adapt to these new challenges. Respected authors and experts offer fresh and creative answers to the challenges of democracy in the European Union and its neighboring countries by offering a transatlantic perspective.

May 2016. 6 x 9, 240 pp. paper, 9780990772064, \$18.00

## Transatlantic Economy 2016

Annual Survey of Jobs, Trade, and Investment between the United States and Europe

Daniel S. Hamilton and Joseph P. Quinlan, editors

The Transatlantic Economy 2016 annual survey offers the most up-to-date set of facts and figures describing the deep economic integration binding Europe and the United States. It documents European-sourced jobs, trade, and investment in each of the fifty U.S. states, and U.S.-sourced jobs, trade, and investment in each member state of the European Union and other European countries. It reviews key headline trends and helps readers understand the distinctive nature of transatlantic economic relations. Key sectors of the transatlantic economy are integrating as never before. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership currently being negotiated across the Atlantic could transform the U.S-European relationship. Europeans and Americans have become so intertwined that they are literally in each other's business. These linkages underpin a multi-trillion dollar economy that generates millions of jobs on both sides of the Atlantic. Transatlantic Economy 2016 offers a clear picture of the "deep integration" forces shaping the U.S.-European economic relationship today; explains how TTIP and transatlantic flows of investment, goods and services, people, and ideas affect local communities on each side of the Atlantic; shows how these interdependencies have shifted in recent years; and suggests how decisionmakers can address the accompanying opportunities and challenges. In the context of today's debates about jobs, competitiveness, financial crisis, changing economic fortunes, and rising powers. Transatlantic Economy 2016 provides key insights about the United States and Europe in the global economy, with often counterintuitive connections with important implications for policymakers, business leaders, and local officials.

May 2016, 8.5 x 11, 92 pp. paper, 9780990772088, \$20.00

## **Understanding ALBA**

The Progress, Problems, and Prospects of Alternative Regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean

#### Asa K. Cusack, editor



This edited collection is only the second academic publication dedicated solely to Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA), the "Left Turn" regional project founded by Venezuela and Cuba in 2004 and since expanded to Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and much of the Anglophone Caribbean. As ALBA celebrates its first decade, this book offers a considered, critical, and comprehensive

account of the project. This work provides insights into all manner of unanswered questions: among others, the roles and involvement of member-states both central and peripheral; the nature of ALBA governance; the sustainability of the project; its effect on domestic politics; and the true nature and extent of specific initiatives. Bringing together scholars from across ideological divides, the book provides a comprehensive analysis of ALBA's successes and failures, evaluating the project's viability and mapping possible future trajectories. The opacity of ALBA and its member-states, and the perplexing lack of research into ALBA despite its significance, makes the contribution of this edited volume a particularly valuable one.

Asa K. Cusack's research focuses on the latest wave of regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean, often characterized as "post (neo)liberal," with a specific focus on the implementation of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA). He has been awarded the Andrew Gamble Prize for an Outstanding Ph.D. Thesis (2013–14), with nominations for PSA Lord Bryce Prize for Best Ph.D. (2014) and BISA Michael Nicholson Thesis Prize (2014). He was also awarded the Round Table Commonwealth Award for Young Scholars in July 2009. He is currently a research fellow at the Institute of Latin American Studies.

January 2017, 6 x 9, 200 pp. paper, 9781908857224, \$40.00

## A Return to the Village

Community Ethnographies and the Study of Andean Culture in Retrospective

#### Francisco Ferreira, editor



This edited volume brings together several authors, all producers in the 1970s and 1980s of outstanding ethnographies of Andean communities in the Peruvian highlands. These writers focused on historical continuities, particularly local ritual practices, and took the "longtermist" approach to Andean cultures, as described by anthropologist Olivia Harris (in contrast to "short-termist" studies,

which focus predominantly on social change and development). These books transcended the boundaries normally established by case studies of highland communities and rural areas and became important reference works on aspects of Andean culture: for example, ritual uses of coca by Catherine J. Allen; agricultural rituals and internal social divisions by Peter Gose; social organization and kinship by Billie Jean Isbell; the use of khipus and concepts of literacy by Frank Salomon; and the symbolic and ritual dimensions of water and irrigation by Ricardo Valderrama and Carmen Escalante.

In the 1980s-90s, with the emergence of postmodern and revisionist trends, these works came to be considered limited and subjective, and became largely discredited and perceived as dated. In A Return to the Village, these authors revisit their original works in the light of contemporary anthropology. They explain how they chose the communities they worked in; the personal relations they established during fieldwork; the links they have maintained; and how these communities have changed over time. They also review their original methodological and theoretical approaches and findings, reassessing their validity and explaining how their views have changed since their original fieldwork.

Francisco Ferreira is a researcher specializing in the ethnographic study of Andean culture. After studying for an M.A. in Latin American Studies, he completed a Ph.D. in Andean Ethnography at University of London, Royal Holloway, in 2012. His thesis was an ethnographic study into a Peruvian peasant community in the region of Ayacucho, where far-reaching social change coexists with most traditional aspects of local life. He is currently working as an independent researcher, translator, and teacher in Galicia, Spain.

December 2016, 6 x 9, 200 pp. paper, 9781908857248, \$40.00

## World Trade Report 2016

SME Participation in International Trade



Large companies continue to dominate international trade but, thanks to the Internet, the emergence of new business platforms, and the increasing openness of the global economy. many small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs) now have the potential to become successful and important global traders, as well. World Trade Report 2016 examines the

participation of SMEs in international trade. In particular, it looks at how the international trade landscape is changing for SMEs, where new opportunities are opening up and old challenges remain, and what the multilateral trading system does and can do to encourage more widespread and inclusive SME participation in global markets. Also available in French and Spanish.

**English Edition** October 2015, 8.25 x 11.75, 250 pp. paper, 9789287040763, \$50.00

French Edition October 2015, 8.25 x 11.75, 250 pp. paper, 9789287040770, \$50.00

**Spanish Edition** October 2015, 8.25 x 11.75, 250 pp. paper, 9789287040787, \$50.00

## World Trade Statistical Review 2016

Available in English, French, and Spanish.



This new publication replaces the WTO's annual flagship publication, International Trade Statistics. World Trade Statistical Review 2016 provides a detailed analysis of the latest developments in world trade, focusing on the most recent trends in goods and services trade and the participation of developing economies in world trade. The publication also

looks ahead to future developments. The analytical chapters are complemented by a statistical appendix, which contains over sixty tables providing detailed data on trade by region and sector. The publication serves as an invaluable reference tool for researchers. policymakers, and anyone interested in international trade.

**English Edition** September 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041104, \$50.00

**French Edition** September 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041111, \$50.00

**Spanish Edition** September 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041128, \$50.00

## World Tariff Profiles 2016

World Tariff Profiles 2016 provides a unique collection of data on tariffs imposed by WTO members and other countries. It contains summary tables showing the average tariffs imposed by individual countries and more detailed tables for each country, listing the tariffs it imposes on imports (by product group) and the tariffs it faces for exports to major trading partners. The profiles show the maximum tariff rates that are legally "bound" in the WTO and the rates that countries actually apply. This volume is copublished with ITC and UNCTAD. It is also available in French and Spanish.

**English Edition** November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041166, \$50.00

**French Edition** November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041173, \$50.00

**Spanish Edition** November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041180, \$50.00

### Trade Profiles 2016

Available in English, French, and Spanish.

The annual *Trade Profiles* has been expanded to cover key data on both trade in goods and services. This new edition incorporates Services Profiles, which was previously published separately. Each profile provides the most important indicators for trade in goods, including major imports and exports, and a breakdown of trade in services. Data is provided in a handy double-page format for each of the 180 economies covered by the publication. Tabular data is complemented by charts illustrating the key information.

**Enalish Edition** November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 400 pp. paper, 9789287041135, \$50.00

**French Edition** November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 400 pp. paper, 9789287041142, \$50.00

**Spanish Edition** November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 400 pp. paper, 9789287041159, \$50.00

## **Boxed Set of WTO Statistical Titles 2016**

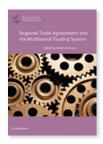
The latest trade data from the WTO is now available in one complete package. The boxed set brings together:

- · Statistical Review of International Trade 2016
- · World Tariff Profiles 2016
- · Trade Profiles 2016

November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 800 pp. paper, 9789287041227, \$120.00

## Regional Trade Agreements and the **Multilateral Trading System**

Rohini Acharya



The book explores bilateral and regional trade agreements and examines how they are changing international trade rules. It offers an important contribution to the current debate on the role of the WTO in regulating international trade and how WTO rules relate to new rules being developed by RTAs. The work is based on what is probably the largest

dataset available. It provides a deep analysis of RTA provisions, identifying which provisions tend to be more liberalizing than others, whether there are any trends that can be identified, and whether RTA provisions are moving ahead of the WTO framework, thereby creating a dual system of standards for international trade. This volume is copublished with Cambridge University Press.

Rohini Acharya is a counsellor with the World Trade Organization. She has a Ph.D. in economics and joined the WTO's Trade Policies Review Division in 1996, becoming chief of its Regional Trade Agreements section in January 2007. Previously she worked as senior research fellow at the International Economics Programme of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London. Her work at the WTO has included the trade policy reviews of several WTO members, including Australia, Egypt, India, New Zealand, and Singapore, and the first Trade Policy Review of China.

September 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 500 pp. paper, 9781316614013, \$70.00 cloth, 9781107161641, \$220.00

## African Perspectives on Trade and the WTO

Domestic Reforms, Structural Transformation, and Global Economic Integration

Patrick Low, Maika Oshikawa, and Chiedu Osakwe



Twenty-first-century Africa is in a process of dynamic economic transformation. However, challenges remain in areas such as structural reform, governance, market turbulence, commodity pricing, and geopolitics. There is a critical need for African economies to assess growth models and strategies to foster increased, sustained,

and inclusive growth.

The book contributes to contemporary debate on key questions facing the continent, such as: How can Africa achieve deeper integration into the rules-based multilateral trading system and the global economy? What approaches and next steps are possible, according to economic and trade policymakers? What supportive roles can multilateral and regional institutions play?

This volume is a product of the Fourth China Round Table, which took place during the WTO's Tenth Ministerial Conference, held in Kenya in December 2015. Supported by independent expert analyses, the book proposes a range of African perspectives on the role of trade, the WTO, and its future agenda.

Patrick Low is a fellow at the Asian Global Institute of the University of Hong Kong where he undertakes research into global supply chains, international trade, and global governance. He was the chief economist at the World Trade Organization from 1997 to 2013.

Maika Oshikawa is counsellor of the accessions division of the WTO, in which she is secretary of the Working Party on the Accessions of Belarus and Kazakhstan. Prior to joining the accessions division, she was head of the Asia and Pacific Regional Desk at the Institute for Training and Technical Cooperation (ITTC) of the WTO.

Chiedu Osakwe is currently director of the WTO accessions division and adjunct professor at the International University in Geneva (IUG) in international trade, diplomacy, and negotiations.

September 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 400 pp. paper, 9781316626528, \$40.00 cloth, 9781107174474, \$100.00

## An Advanced Guide to Trade Policy **Analysis**

The book is a follow-up to A Practical Guide to Trade Policy Analysis, published by the WTO and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 2012. It provides further tools for the analysis of trade policy. Written by experts with practical experience in the field, the publication contains practical guidance on how to apply the major concepts of trade policy analysis to concrete policy questions. The Guide is intended to enhance developing countries' capacity to analyze and implement trade policy. It is aimed at government experts engaged in trade negotiations, as well as students and researchers involved in trade-related study or research. Copublished with UNCTAD.

November 2016, 8.25 x 11.75, 120 pp. paper, 9789287041234, \$40.00

## Trade Costs and Inclusive Growth

Cases Studies from WTO Chair Holders

This book looks at how implementation of the WTO's Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) can help reduce trade costs and promote growth. The publication brings together contributions from ten participants in the WTO Chairs Programme, which supports trade-related activities by academic institutions in developing countries. The book looks into how the Aid for Trade initiative can assist with implementing the TFA, the importance of mainstreaming trade into national development strategies, and the potential impact of the TFA in various regions.

November 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 150 pp. paper, 9789287041241, \$50.00

## Global Value Chains Development Report



This publication provides a detailed map of global value chains (GVCs), enabling policymakers to have a better understanding of the ongoing development and evolution of GVCs and the relationship between economic development and GVC participation. It is copublished with the World Bank, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD),

Institute of Developing Economies—Japan External Trade Organization IDE-JETRO, and the Research Center for Global Value Chain Research. The joint research undertaken by these organizations aims to synthesize the parties' knowledge

and expertise on GVC studies and to contribute to better policymaking by the international community.

November 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 200 pp. paper, 9789287041258, \$60.00

## **WTO Agreement Series**

Agriculture, Third Edition

Available in English, French, and Spanish.



The WTO's agreements are the legal foundation for the international trading system used by the bulk of the world's trading nations. This series offers a set of handy reference booklets on selected agreements. Each volume contains the text of one agreement, an explanation designed to help the user understand the text, and, in

some cases, supplementary material. They are intended to be an authoritative aid for understanding the agreements, but because of the legal complexity of the agreements, the introductions cannot be taken as legal interpretations of the agreements.

This new edition provides an introduction to the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture, outlining its key principles, the work of the Agriculture Committee, and how disputes have interpreted WTO law on agriculture. The publication includes the full text of the Agriculture Agreement, as well as the decisions taken on agriculture at the 2013 Bali Ministerial Conference and the 2015 Nairobi Ministerial Conference, including the historic decision to abolish agricultural export subsidies. It is the latest title in the WTO Agreements series, which aims to assist understanding of the WTO agreements.

**English Edition** September 2016, 5.8 x 8.3, 60 pp. paper, 9789287041098, \$30.00

French Edition September 2016, 5.8 x 8.3, 60 pp. paper, 9789287040237, \$30.00

**Spanish Edition** September 2016, 5.8 x 8.3, 60 pp. paper, 9789287040244, \$30.00

## **Dispute Settlement Reports**

The Dispute Settlement Reports of the World Trade Organization (WTO) include Panel and Appellate Body reports, as well as arbitration awards, in disputes concerning the rights and obligations of WTO members under the provisions of the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization. These are the only authorized paginated reports in English. As such, they are an essential addition to the library of every practicing and academic trade lawyer, and will be widely consulted by students taking courses in international economic or trade law. The publication of the Cambridge printed edition follows the WTO website publication of all new reports.

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 1 February 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 362 pp. cloth, 9781107139237, \$220.00

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 2 February 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 439 pp. cloth, 9781107139220, \$220.00

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 3 February 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 321 pp. cloth, 9781107139213, \$220.00

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 4 February 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 599 pp. cloth, 9781107139206, \$220.00

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 5 February 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 465 pp. cloth, 9781107139190, \$220.00

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 6 February 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 461 pp. cloth, 9781107149069, \$220.00

Dispute Settlement Reports 2014: Volume 7 April 2016, 6.3 x 9.4, 371 pp. cloth, 9781107149076, \$220.00

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