

SPRING 2018
POLITICAL SCIENCE



PRIMARY POLITICS

Everything You Need to Know
About How America Nominates Its
Presidential Candidates

2ND EDITION

ELAINE C. KAMARCK

INSIDE CONGRESS

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

Trevor Corning, Reema Dodia, and Kyle Nevins

EXCEPTIONS^{*} TO THE RULE

MOLLY E. REYNOLDS

* * * * *
THE POLITICS OF FILIBUSTER
LIMITATIONS IN THE U.S. SENATE

#Get ut the Vote

How to
Increase
Voter
Turnout

DONALD P. GREEN AND ALAN S. GERBER

Inside Congress

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

TREVOR CORNING, REEMA DODIN, and KYLE NEVINS

“Corning, Dodin, and Nevins provide a “pocket guide” for anyone interested in learning about the legislative process. It is particularly useful for undergraduate students and “political junkies” who care to understand how rules and maneuvers are used to fashion legislation. Highly recommended.”
—CHOICE

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.

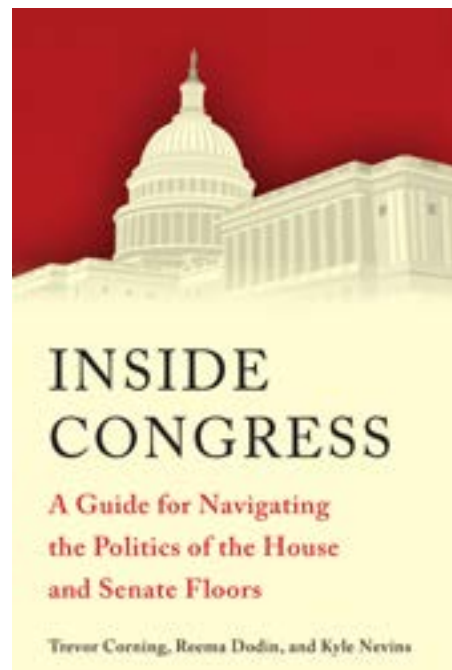
To the novice, whether a newly elected representative, a lawmaker’s staff on her first day at work, or a constituent visiting Washington, the entire process can seem incomprehensible. What is an open rule for a House Appropriations bill and how does it affect consideration? Why are unanimous consent 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 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, and runs the whip operation for the Senate Democratic caucus.

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



July 2017, 5 x 7, 60 pp.
paper, 9780815727323, \$12.00
ebook, 9780815727347, \$8.99

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

Exceptions to the Rule

The Politics of Filibuster Limitations in the U.S. Senate

MOLLY E. REYNOLDS

"Focusing on the budget reconciliation process, Reynolds brings to light the ways by which majorities can enact legislation, ratify agreements, and alter executive regulations. Recommended for legislative scholars and those wishing to gain a better understanding of how laws are made in the US Congress. Recommended."

—CHOICE

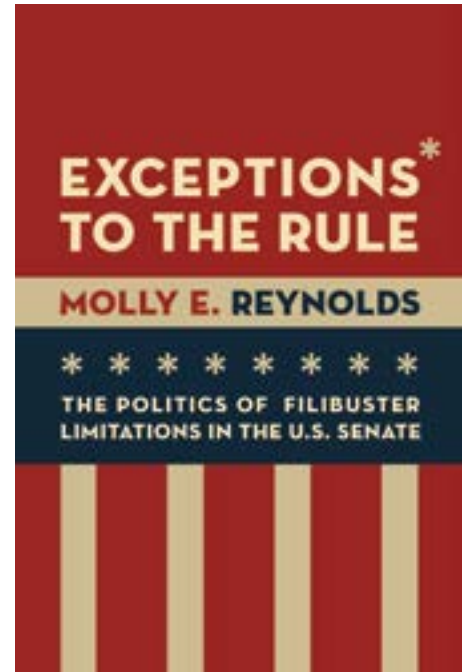
Most people believe that, in today's partisan environment, the filibuster prevents the Senate from acting on all but the least controversial matters. But this is not exactly correct. In fact, the Senate since the 1970s has created a series of special rules—described by Molly Reynolds as "majoritarian exceptions"—that limit debate on a wide range of measures on the Senate floor.

The details of these exemptions might sound arcane and technical, but in practice they have enabled the Senate to act even when it otherwise seemed paralyzed. Important examples include procedures used to pass the annual congressional budget resolution, enact budget reconciliation bills, review proposals to close military bases, attempt to prevent arms sales, ratify trade agreements, and reconsider regulations promulgated by the executive branch.

Reynolds argues that these procedures represent a key instrument of majority party power in the Senate. They allow the majority—even if it does not have the sixty votes needed to block a filibuster—to establish policies that will improve its future electoral prospects and thus increase the chances that it remains the majority party.

As a case study, *Exceptions to the Rule* examines the Senate's role in the budget reconciliation process, in which particular congressional committees are charged with developing procedurally protected proposals to alter certain federal programs in their jurisdictions. Created as a way of helping Congress work through tricky budget issues, the reconciliation process has become a powerful tool for the majority party to bypass the minority and adopt policy changes in hopes that it will benefit in the next election cycle.

Molly E. Reynolds is a fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution, where she studies Congress, with an emphasis on the policy consequences of congressional rules and procedures.



July 2017, 6 x 9, 233 pp.
paper 9780815729969, \$29.99
ebook 9780815729976, \$23.99

**Special rules enable
the Senate to act despite
the filibuster—sometimes**

Is Congress Broken?

The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock

WILLIAM F. CONNELLY JR., JOHN J. PITNEY JR., and
GARY J. SCHMITT, EDITORS

"Taken as a whole, *Is Congress Broken?* is an important contribution to our understanding of Congress and the ways in which it is really broken. The contributors' willingness to engage the debate over what role Congress ought to play brings the institution's underlying problems into sharper relief." —*Congress & the Presidency*

Congress for many years has ranked low in public esteem—joining journalists, bankers, and union leaders at the bottom of polls. In recent years there has been good reason for this public disregard with the rise of hyper-partisanship and the increasing inability of Congress to carry out its required duties, such as passing spending bills on time and conducting responsible oversight of the executive branch.

Now, some of the country's foremost experts on Congress are reminding us that tough hyper-partisan conflict always has been a hallmark of the constitutional system. Going back to the nation's early decades, Congress has experienced periods of division and turmoil. But even during those periods Congress has been able to engage in serious deliberation, prevent ill-considered proposals from becoming law, and, over time, help develop a deeper, more lasting national consensus.

The ten chapters in this volume focus on how Congress in the twenty-first century can once again fulfill its proper functions of representation, deliberation, legislation, and oversight. The authors offer a series of practical reforms that would maintain, rather than replace, the constitutional separation of powers that has served the United States well for more than 200 years.

William F. Connelly Jr. is the John K. Boardman Professor of Politics at Washington and Lee University.

John J. Pitney Jr. is Roy P. Crocker Professor of American Politics at Claremont McKenna College.

Gary J. Schmitt is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, where he directs the Program on American Citizenship.



May 2017, 6 x 9, 272 pp.
paper, 9780815730361, \$34.99
ebook, 9780815730378, \$27.99

**Can Congress work
again within the
constitutional system?**

Primary Politics

Everything You Need to Know About How America Nominates Its Presidential Candidates

Second Edition

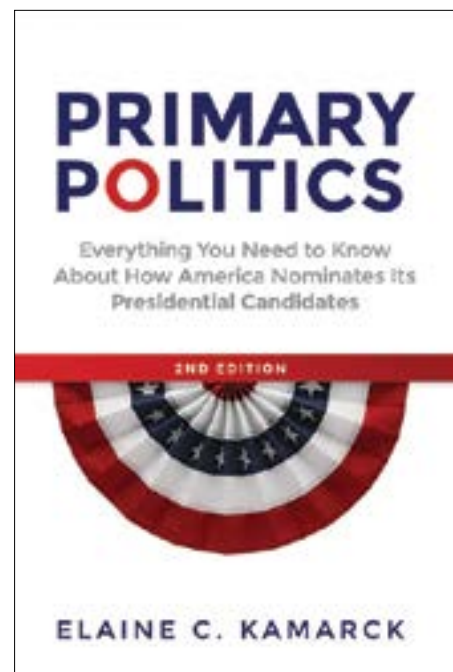
ELAINE C. KAMARCK

"Covering the history of nominations, strategies, front loading, proportional representation rules within each party, delegate counts, and conventions, this comprehensive work addresses questions raised by the American public, undergraduate students, graduate students, and practicing academics and professionals alike. Highly Recommended."
—CHOICE

In *Primary Politics*, political insider Elaine Kamarck explains how the presidential nomination process became the often baffling system we have today. Her focus is the largely untold story of how presidential candidates since the early 1970s have sought to alter the rules in their favor and how their failures and successes have led to even more change. She describes how candidates have sought to manipulate the sequencing of primaries to their advantage and how Iowa and New Hampshire came to dominate the system. She analyzes the rules that are used to translate votes into delegates, paying special attention to the Democrats' twenty-year fight over proportional representation.

Drawing on meticulous research, interviews with key figures in both parties, and years of experience, this book explores one of the most important questions in American politics—how we narrow the list of presidential candidates every four years.

Elaine C. Kamarck is a senior fellow in the Governance Studies program at Brookings and the founding director of the Center for Effective Public Management. She is a public sector scholar with wide experience in government, academia, and politics. Kamarck is an expert on government innovation and reform in the United States, OECD countries, and developing countries. In addition, she focuses her research on the presidential nomination system and American politics and has worked in many American presidential campaigns.



January 2016, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
paper, 9780815727750, \$20.00
ebook, 9780815727767, \$19.99

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 polls—these get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts make the difference between winning and losing office.

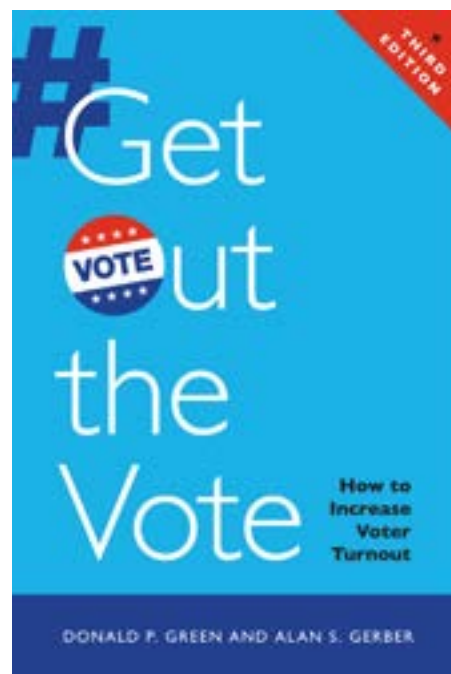
With the first two editions of *Get Out the Vote*, Donald P. Green and Alan S. Gerber broke ground by introducing a new scientific approach to the challenge of voter mobilization that profoundly influenced how campaigns operate. *Get Out the Vote* has become the reference text for those who manage campaigns and study voter mobilization.

In this expanded and updated edition, Green and Gerber incorporate data from more than 100 new studies, which shed new light on the costeffectiveness and efficiency of various campaign tactics, including door-to-door canvassing, email, direct mail, and telephone calls. Two new chapters focus on the effectiveness of registration drives and messaging tactics.

This readable, practical guide on voter mobilization is sure to be an important resource for consultants, candidates, and grassroots organizations, as well as a valuable teaching tool in courses on campaigns and elections.

Donald P. Green is professor of political science at Columbia University. He is the coauthor, with Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler, of *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters* (Yale, 2002).

Alan S. Gerber is Charles C. and Dorathea S. Dilley Professor of Political Science and director of the Center for the Study of American Politics at Yale University. He is coeditor, with Eric Patashnik, of *Promoting the General Welfare: New Perspectives on Government Performance* (Brookings, 2006).



September 2015, 6 x 9, 260 pp.
paper, 9780815725688, \$22.00
ebook, 9780815725695, \$16.99

Dream Hoarders

How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It

RICHARD V. REEVES

"Reading Richard Reeves on social mobility is like going for a good walk: he is bracing, head clearing, and ultimately inspiring. With rigor and wit, his new book shows how millions of successful, hardworking Americans, often with the best of intentions, have helped build a society where birth matters more than brilliance. Impassioned, data-driven, and focused on practical solutions, *Dream Hoarders* is a fine cure for an age of stale, cynical politics."

—David Rennie, *The Economist*

Paperback edition available in June 2018

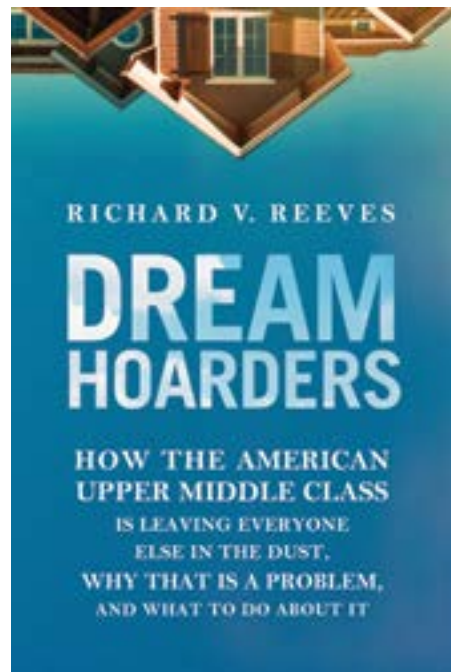
It is now conventional wisdom to focus on the wealth of the top 1 percent—especially the top 0.01 percent—and how the ultra-rich are concentrating income and prosperity while incomes for most other Americans are stagnant. But the most important, consequential, and widening gap in American society is between the upper middle class and everyone else.

As Reeves shows, the growing separation between the upper middle class and everyone else can be seen in family structure, neighborhoods, attitudes, and lifestyle. Those at the top of the income ladder are becoming more effective at passing on their status to their children, reducing overall social mobility. The result is not just an economic divide but a fracturing of American society along class lines. Upper-middle-class children become upper-middle-class adults.

These trends matter because the separation and perpetuation of the upper middle class corrode prospects for more progressive approaches to policy. Various forms of "opportunity hoarding" among the upper middle class make it harder for others to rise up to the top rung. Examples include zoning laws and schooling, occupational licensing, college application procedures, and the allocation of internships. Upper-middle-class opportunity hoarding, Reeves argues, results in a less competitive economy as well as a less open society.

Inequality is inevitable and can even be good, within limits. But Reeves argues that society can take effective action to reduce opportunity hoarding and thus promote broader opportunity. This fascinating book shows how American society has become the very class-defined society that earlier Americans rebelled against—and what can be done to restore a more equitable society.

Richard V. Reeves is a senior fellow in Economic Studies, co-director of the Center on Children and Families, and editor-in-chief of the Social Mobility Memos blog at the Brookings Institution.



June 2017, 6 x 9, 240 pp.
cloth, 9780815729129, \$24.00
ebook, 9780815729136, \$23.99

America is becoming a class-based society and the gap between the upper middle class and everyone else is widening

Diversity Explosion

How New Racial Demographics are Remaking America

WILLIAM H. FREY

Diversity Explosion, A CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title

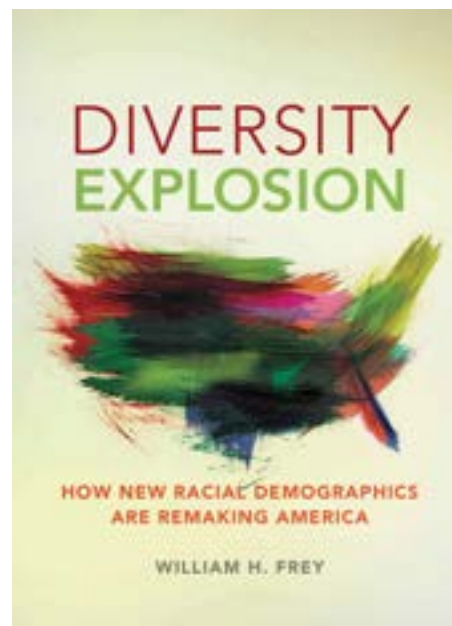
"The significant demographic changes taking place in the US during the past two decades have been in urgent need of analysis and interpretation, particularly in one volume, and including the geographic perspective. This important contribution fills that gap, providing the depth and analysis to greater understanding of demographics in the US. Essential."
—CHOICE

At its optimistic best, America has embraced its identity as the world's melting pot. Today it is on the cusp of becoming a country with no racial majority, and new minorities are poised to exert a profound impact on U.S. society, economy, and politics. The concept of a "minority white" may instill fear among some Americans, but William H. Frey, the man behind the demographic research, points out that demography is destiny, and the fear of a more racially diverse nation will almost certainly dissipate over time.

Through a compelling narrative and eye-catching charts and maps, eminent demographer Frey interprets and expounds on the dramatic growth of minority populations in the United States. He finds that without these expanding groups, America could face a bleak future: this new generation of young minorities, who are having children at a faster rate than whites, is infusing our aging labor force with vitality and innovation. In contrast with the labor force-age population of Japan, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom, the U.S. labor force-age population is set to grow 5 percent by 2030.

Diversity Explosion shares the good news about diversity in the coming decades, and the more globalized, multiracial country that the U.S. is becoming.

William H. Frey is a senior fellow in the Metropolitan Policy program at the Brookings Institution and Research Professor in Population Studies at the University of Michigan. An internationally regarded demographer, his research has been written about in *The Economist*, *New Yorker*, and *New York Times Magazine*. Known for his ability to communicate demographic trends, he is a frequent commentator on broadcast media.



November 2014, 6½ x 9½, 224 pp.
cloth, 9780815723981, \$30.99
paper, 9780815726494, \$24.99
ebook, 9780815723998 \$24.99

Why Presidents Fail and How They Can Succeed Again

ELAINE C. KAMARCK

"Elaine Kamarck's book is a must-read for all presidential candidates, correspondents, students of government, and citizens who hunger for Washington to function well again. There's a stick of dynamite in every chapter."

—Donna Brazile, commentator, CNN

From the botched attempt to rescue the U.S. diplomats held hostage by Iran in 1980 under President Jimmy Carter and the missed intelligence on Al Qaeda before 9-11 under George W. Bush to, most recently, the computer meltdown that marked the arrival of health care reform under Barack Obama, the American presidency has been a profile in failure. In *Why Presidents Fail and How They Can Succeed Again*, Elaine Kamarck surveys these and other recent presidential failures to understand why Americans have lost faith in their leaders—and how they can get it back.

Kamarck argues that presidents today spend too much time talking and not enough time governing, and that they have allowed themselves to become more and more distant from the federal bureaucracy that is supposed to implement policy. After decades of "imperial" and "rhetorical" presidencies, we are in need of a "managerial" president. This White House insider and former Harvard academic explains the difficulties of governing in our modern political landscape, and offers examples and recommendations of how our next president can not only recreate faith in leadership but also run a competent, successful administration.

Elaine C. Kamarck is a senior fellow in the Governance Studies program at Brookings and the founding director of the Center for Effective Public Management. She is also on the faculty of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government



July 2016, 5½ x 8¼, 208 pp.
cloth, 9780815727781, \$22.00t
ebook, 9780815727798, \$21.99

Calling the Shots

The President, Executive Orders, and Public Policy

DANIEL P. GITTERMAN

"The key contribution of the book is in its empirical heft. Professor Gitterman adds rich historical detail to a key assumption of presidential unilateralism: the simple equation that the growth of the administrative state empowers the president."

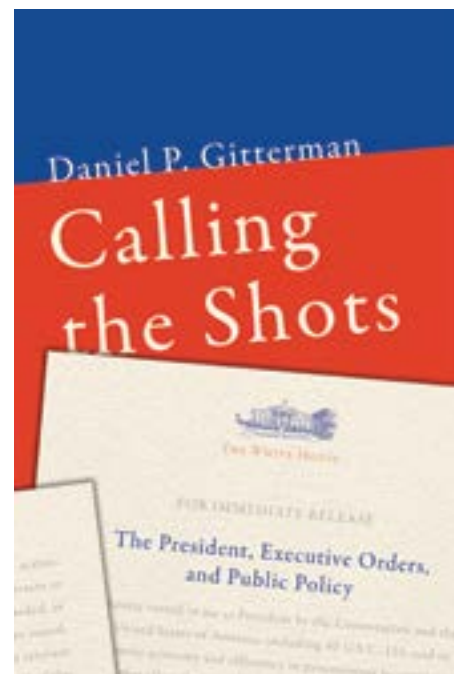
—*Congress & the Presidency*

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.



February 2017, 6 x 9, 304 pp.
paper, 9780815729020, \$30.00
ebook, 9780815729037, \$23.99

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

To Serve the President

Continuity and Innovation in the White House Staff

BRADLEY H. PATTERSON

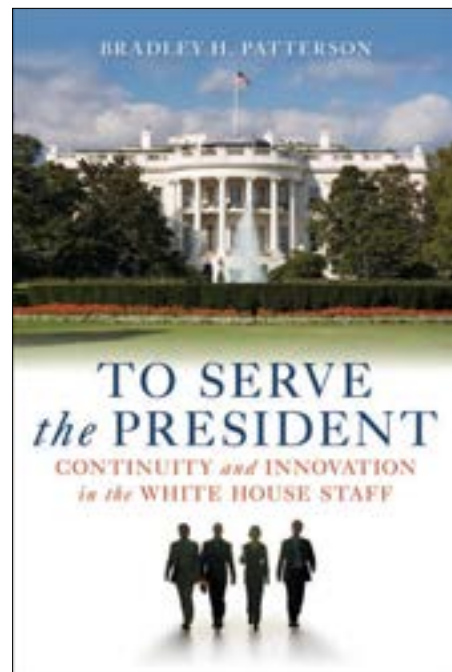
Nobody knows more about the duties, the difficulties, and the strategies of staffing and working in the White House than Brad Patterson. In *To Serve the President*, Patterson combines insider access, decades of Washington experience, and an inimitable style to open a window onto closely guarded Oval Office turf. The fascinating and entertaining result is the most complete look ever at the White House and the people that make it work.

Patterson describes what he considers to be the whole White House staff, a larger and more inclusive picture than the one painted by most analysts. In addition to nearly one hundred policy offices, he draws the curtain back from less visible components such as the Executive Residence staff, Air Force One and Marine One, the First Lady's staff, Camp David, and many others—135 separate offices in all, pulling together under often stressful and intense conditions.

This authoritative and readable account lays out the organizational structure of the full White House and fills it out the outline with details both large and small. Who are these people? What exactly do they do? And what role do they play in running the nation?

The U.S. government is not a monolith, or a machine, or a shadowy cabal; above all, it is people, human beings doing the best they can, under challenging conditions, to produce a better life for their fellow citizens. While there are bad apples in every bunch, the vast majority of these people ply their trades honestly and earnestly, often in complete anonymity and for modest compensation. This book illuminates their roles, celebrates their service, and paints an eye-opening picture of how things really work on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Bradley H. Patterson has lived and worked in Washington for over six decades, including fourteen years working with the White House staffs of Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford. A past president of the American Society for Public Administration and a senior fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration, he has also worked in the State and Treasury departments and the Peace Corps.



August 2008, 6 x 9, 450pp
paper, 9780815705116, \$27.99
ebook, 9780815701798, \$21.99

Making College Work

Pathways to Success for Disadvantaged Students

HARRY J. HOLZER and SANDY BAUM

"A useful and wide-ranging review and analysis of the causes of poor college outcomes for low-income and minority students and of the policies designed to improve those outcomes. Holzer and Baum emphasize that successful reform will require a balanced and diverse set of comprehensive elements. *Making College Work* makes an important and compelling contribution to the growing movement to improve college outcomes."

—Thomas Bailey, George and Abby O'Neill Professor of Economics and Education, and Director, Community College Research Center, Teachers College, Columbia University

Too many disadvantaged college students in America do not complete their coursework or receive any college credential, while others earn degrees or certificates with little labor market value. Large numbers of these students also struggle to pay for college, and some incur debts that they have difficulty repaying. The authors provide a new review of the causes of these problems and offer promising policy solutions.

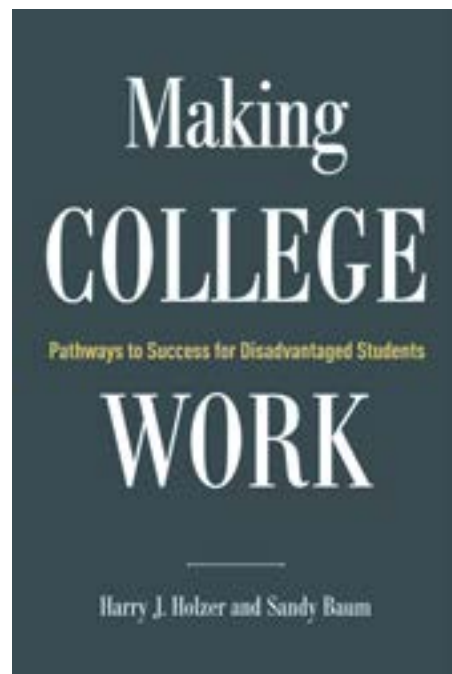
The circumstances affecting disadvantaged students stem both from issues on the individual side, such as weak academic preparation and financial pressures, and from institutional failures. Low-income students disproportionately attend schools that are underfunded and have weak performance incentives, contributing to unsatisfactory outcomes for many students.

Some solutions, including better financial aid or academic supports, target individual students. Other solutions, such as stronger linkages between coursework and the labor market and more structured paths through the curriculum, are aimed at institutional reforms. All students, and particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, also need better and varied pathways both to college and directly to the job market, beginning in high school. We can improve college outcomes, but must also acknowledge that we must make hard choices and face difficult tradeoffs in the process.

While no single policy is guaranteed to greatly improve college and career outcomes, implementing a number of evidence-based policies and programs together has the potential to improve these outcomes substantially.

Harry J. Holzer is a professor of public policy at Georgetown University, a fellow at the American Institutes for Research, and a nonresident senior fellow in Economic Studies at Brookings.

Sandy Baum is a higher education economist and a senior fellow at the Urban Institute.



August 2017, 6 x 9, 280 pp.
paper, 9780815730217, \$28.99
ebook, 9780815730224, \$22.99

**Practical solutions
for improving higher
education opportunities
for disadvantaged students**

CUSTOMER SERVICE Call 1-800-343-4499

RIGHTS AND PERMISSIONS Contact Kristen Harrison at 202-536-3604 or e-mail permissions@brookings.edu

BOOK PROPOSAL SUBMISSIONS Contact Bill Finan at 202-536-3637 or e-mail wfinan@brookings.edu

PUBLICITY AND MARKETING QUERIES To request review copies or press material, or for other marketing-related questions, call 202-536-3611 or e-mail books@brookings.edu.

EXAMINATION COPIES

The Brookings Institution Press publishes many books ideal for course adoption. All requests are fulfilled by Ingram Academic.

Ingram Academic offers examination copies to instructors in the US and Canada who are considering a title for course adoption. All exam copies are subject to a \$5.00 fee per paperback or \$10.00 fee per hardcover. Qualified professors in the US and Canada are entitled to desk copies of adopted titles based on the total enrollment for the class.

All exam copies are shipped via UPS. Please allow 2-3 weeks for delivery.

If you have any questions regarding your order, please e-mail academicorders@ingramcontent.com or call Customer Service at (800) 242-4499.

The Brookings Institution is a private nonprofit organization devoted to research, education, and publication on important issues of domestic and foreign policy. Its principal purpose is to bring the highest quality independent research and analysis to bear on current and emerging policy problems and to offer practical approaches to those problems in language aimed at the general public.

In its conferences, publications, and other activities, Brookings serves as a bridge between scholarship and policymaking, bringing new knowledge to the attention of decisionmakers 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.

B | Brookings Institution Press

**1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036**

books@brookings.edu

**Visit Brookings Institution Press online at
brookings.edu/press.**

Follow us on Twitter [@BrookingsPress](https://twitter.com/BrookingsPress)