Get Out the Vote
HOW TO INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT

Fourth 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 three 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 and profoundly transformed 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 a trove of recent studies that shed new light on the cost-effectiveness and efficiency of various campaign tactics, including door-to-door canvassing, e-mail, direct mail, and telephone calls. The new edition gives special attention to “relational organizing” through friend-to-friend communication and events. Available in time for the 2020 presidential campaign, this practical guide to voter mobilization will again be a must-read for consultants, candidates, and grassroots organizations.

DONALD P. GREEN is a J.W. Burgess Professor of Political Science at Columbia University, where he has taught since 2011. Prior to that, he taught at Yale University, where he directed Yale’s Institution for Social and Policy Studies. An expert on elections and campaign finance, he has written widely on public opinion, political behavior, and experimental research methods. ALAN S. GERBER is a professor of political science and director of the Center for the Study of American Politics at Yale University. He has published extensively on campaigns and elections and is coeditor [with Eric Patashnik] of Promoting the General Welfare: New Perspectives on Government Performance (Brookings, 2006).
Primary Politics
EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW
ABOUT HOW AMERICA NOMINATES
ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Third Edition

Elaine C. Kamarck

The 2020 presidential primaries are on the horizon and this third edition of Elaine Kamarck’s *Primary Politics* will be there to help make sense of them. Updated to include the 2016 election, it will once again be the guide to understanding the modern nominating system that gave the American electorate a choice between Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton.

In *Primary Politics*, political insider Elaine Kamarck explains how the presidential nomination process became the often baffling system we have today, including the “robot rule.” 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 and some of its arcana.

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.

“If you want to be ahead of the curve about the 2020 nominating system, this book is a guide to another electrifying primary season.”
—Donna Brazile, Former Interim Chairwoman, Democratic National Committee
Words that Matter

HOW THE NEWS AND SOCIAL MEDIA SHAPED THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Leticia Bode, Ceren Budak, Jonathan M. Ladd, Frank Newport, Josh Pasek, Lisa O. Singh, Stuart N. Soroka, and Michael W. Traugott

Words that Matter assesses how the news media covered the extraordinary 2016 election and, more important, what information—true, false, or somewhere in between—actually helped voters make up their minds. Using journalists’ real-time tweets and published news coverage of campaign events, along with Gallup polling data measuring how voters perceived that reporting, the book traces the flow of information from candidates and their campaigns to journalists and to the public.

The evidence uncovered shows how Donald Trump's victory, and Hillary Clinton's loss, resulted in large part from how the news media responded to these two unique candidates.

LETTICIA BODE is assistant professor of Communications, Culture, and Technology at Georgetown University. CEREN BUDAK is assistant professor in the School of Information at the University of Michigan. JONATHAN M. LADD is associate professor of Public Policy and Government at Georgetown University and a nonresident senior fellow in Governance Studies at Brookings. FRANK NEWPORT is editor in chief of Gallup, Inc. JOSH PASEK is assistant professor of communication studies at the University of Michigan. LISA O. SINGH is associate professor of computer science at Georgetown University. STUART N. SOROKA is Michael W. Traugott Collegiate Professor of communication studies and political science at the University of Michigan. MICHAEL W. TRAUGOTT is research professor at the Institute for Social Research and professor of communication studies and adjunct professor of political science at the University of Michigan, as well as a senior scientist at Gallup, Inc.
Beginning with the 1960 election, readers could turn to one book for an authoritative and comprehensive examination of campaign finance at the federal level. Now, the latest in this respected series, *Financing the 2016 Election*, explores the role of money in one of the most unconventional elections in modern American history. A team of leading scholars has dug into the roles played by political parties and special interest groups (including their “Super PACS”) in the presidential and congressional elections of 2016.

David Magleby and his team of experts examined Federal Elections Commission reports and interviewed dozens of key participants, including representatives of virtually all the major interest groups active in the 2016 election cycle. They place that election in the context of how U.S. elections have been financed during recent decades—a context that illustrates how dramatically different campaign finance is today from the past. Among the most important changes has been the growth of so-called Super PACS, which have become increasingly important both in the financing they provide candidates and in their ability to act independently, both for and against candidates. Overall, Super PACS doubled their spending in 2016 from four years earlier.

Taking a comprehensive approach, this book helps readers understand how the financing of elections—including the increasing reliance by candidates on outside special interest groups—ultimately affects politics and public policy.

**DAVID B. MAGLEBY** is a distinguished professor of political science at Brigham Young University and formerly the dean of the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences at that institution. He is the editor of *Financing the 2000 Election* (Brookings 2002), and coauthor of *Government by the People* (Pearson, 2017), which is now in its 26th edition.
Until recently, most Americans could assume that elections, at all levels of government, were reasonably clean and well managed. Yes, there were exceptions: some states and localities were notorious for occasional election-rigging, losers often complained that winners somehow had unfair advantages, and money increasingly distorted the electoral process. But even when voters did not like the results, the overall system of elections did not seem nearly as corrupt or warped as in many other countries.

This new book by Elaine Kamarck and Darrell West shows how American elections have been compromised by what used to be called “dirty tricks” and how those tricks are becoming even more complex and dangerous the deeper we get into the digital age. It shows how old-fashioned vote-rigging at polling stations has been overtaken by much more sophisticated system-wide campaigns, from Russia’s massive campaign to influence the 2016 presidential election through social media to influence campaigns yet to come.

 Dirty Tricks in the Digital Age looks not just at the past but also toward the future, examining how American elections can be protected from abuse, both domestic and foreign. State governments have primary responsibility for elections in the United States, but the federal government also must play a major role in shaping the system for how Americans cast their votes.

ELAINE C. KAMARCK is a Senior Fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. She directs the Center for Effective Public Management. DARRELL M. WEST is Vice President of Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution and Director of the Center for Technology Innovation.
U.S. Inspectors General

TRUTH TELLERS IN TURBULENT TIMES

Charles A. Johnson and Kathryn E. Newcomer

Inspectors general are important players in the federal government, and their work often draws considerable public attention when one of them uncovers serious misdeeds or mismanagement that make the headlines. This book by two experts in public policy provides a comprehensive, up-to-date examination of how inspectors general have operated in the four decades since Congress established the offices to investigate waste, fraud, and mismanagement at federal agencies and to promote efficiency and effectiveness in government programs.

Unique among federal officials, inspectors general are independent of the agencies they monitor, and they report to the executive and legislative branches of government. One key factor in their independence is that they are expected to be non-partisan and carry out their work without regard to partisan interests.

The authors of U.S. Inspectors General: Truth Tellers in Turbulent Times emphasize the “strategic environment” in which inspectors general work and interact with a variety of stakeholders, inside and outside the government. Their new book is based on in-depth case studies, a survey of inspectors general, and a review of public documents related to the work of inspectors general. It will be of interest to scholars and students of public policy and public management, journalists, and ordinary citizens interested in how the government works—or doesn’t work—on their behalf.

CHARLES A. JOHNSON is Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Dean Emeritus of Liberal Arts at Texas A&M University. KATHRYN E. NEWCOMER is a Professor and the Director of the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration at George Washington University.

How officials reporting to both executive officials and congressional representatives work to keep the government honest, efficient, and effective.
Inside Congress
A GUIDE FOR NAVIGATING THE POLITICS
OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE FLOORS

Trevor Corning, Reema Dodin, and Kyle Nevins

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 is a client services and communications professional who worked in various roles at several organizations, including Brookings. His experience is with clients of all sizes and industries to craft brands, create communications strategies, develop advertising campaigns, understand government process, engage with Capitol Hill, build websites, and manage integrated marketing efforts. REEMA DODIN serves as floor director to the Senate Democratic Whip, where she advises on floor strategy and serves as the lead staffer on whip operations for the Senate Democratic caucus. KYLE NEVINS is cofounder and partner of Harbinger Strategies, a government relations firm based in Washington, D.C., and has more than a decade of experience in the House Republican leadership.

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

Many believe that in today’s partisan environment, the filibuster affects Senate action on all but the least controversial matters. But this is not entirely 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 procedures might sound arcane and technical, but in practice they enable the Senate to act even when it otherwise seems paralyzed. Important examples include procedures used to pass the annual congressional budget resolution, enact budget reconciliation bills, review proposals to close military bases, ratify trade agreements, and reconsider regulations promulgated by the executive branch—all issues that have captured the nation’s attention with the advent of a new presidential administration.

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 take action that will improve its future electoral prospects.

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. Since the early 1980s, 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.
Race is once again a contentious topic in America, as shown by the divisive rise of Donald Trump and the activism of groups like Black Lives Matter. Yet *Diversity Explosion* argues that the current period of profound racial change will lead to a less-divided nation than today’s older whites or younger minorities fear. Prominent demographer William Frey sees America’s emerging diversity boom as good news for a country that would otherwise face declining growth and rapid aging for many years to come.

In the new edition of this popular Brookings Press offering, Frey draws from the lessons of the 2016 presidential election and new statistics to paint an illuminating picture of where America’s racial demography is headed— and what that means for the nation’s future. Using the U.S. Census, national surveys, and related sources, Frey tells how the rapidly growing “new minorities”—Hispanics, Asians, and multiracial Americans—along with blacks and other groups, are transforming and reinvigorating the nation’s demographic landscape. He discusses their impact on generational change, regional shifts of major racial groups, neighborhood segregation, interracial marriage, and presidential politics.

*Diversity Explosion* is an accessible, richly illustrated overview of how unprecedented racial change is remaking the United States once again. It is an essential guide for political strategists, marketers, investors, educators, policymakers, and anyone who wants to understand the magnitude, potential, and promise of the new national melting pot in the twenty-first century.

**WILLIAM H. FREY** is a senior fellow with the Metropolitan Policy Program at the Brookings Institution and research professor in population studies at the University of Michigan. Frey is an internationally recognized demographer with expertise in U.S. demographics, American political demographics and the U.S. Census. His commentary and observations appear frequently in major print, online, and broadcast media.
The United States is caught in a partisan hyperconflict that divides politicians, communities—and even families. Politicians from the president to state and local office-holders play to strongly-held beliefs and sometimes even pour fuel on the resulting inferno. This polarization has become so intense that many people no longer trust anyone from a differing perspective.

Drawing on his personal story of growing up as a fundamentalist Christian on a dairy farm in rural Ohio, then as an academic in the heart of the liberal East Coast establishment, Darrell West analyzes the economic, cultural, and political aspects of polarization. He takes advantage of his experiences inside both conservative and liberal camps to explain the views of each side and offer insights into why each is angry with the other.

West argues that societal tensions have metastasized into a dangerous tribalism that seriously threatens U.S. democracy. Unless people can bridge these divisions and forge a new path forward, it will be impossible to work together, maintain a functioning democracy, and solve the country’s pressing policy problems.

**Why are Americans so angry with each other?**

**DARRELL M. WEST** is vice president and director of Governance Studies and holds the Douglas Dillon Chair. He is founding director of the Center for Technology Innovation at Brookings and Editor-in-Chief of TechTank. His current research focuses on educational technology, health information technology, and mobile technology.
High technology presents a paradox. In just a few decades, it has transformed the world, making almost limitless quantities of information instantly available to billions of people and reshaping businesses, institutions, and even entire economies. But it also has come to rule our lives, addicting many of us to the march of megapixels across electronic screens both large and small.

Despite its undeniable value, technology is exacerbating deep social and political divisions in many societies. Elections influenced by fake news and unscrupulous hidden actors, the cyber-hacking of trusted national institutions, the vacuuming of private information by Silicon Valley behemoths, ongoing threats to vital infrastructure from terrorist groups and even foreign governments—all these concerns are now part of the daily news cycle and are certain to become increasingly serious into the future.

In this new world of endless technology, how can individuals, institutions, and governments harness its positive contributions while protecting each of us, no matter who or where we are?

In this book, a former Facebook public policy adviser who went on to assist President Obama in the White House offers practical ideas for using technology to create an open and accessible world that protects all consumers and civilians. As a computer scientist turned policymaker, Dipayan Ghosh answers the biggest questions about technology facing the world today. Proving clear and understandable explanations for complex issues, Terms of Disservice will guide industry leaders, policymakers, and the general public as we think about how we ensure that the Internet works for everyone, not just Silicon Valley.

DIPAYAN GHOSH is the Pozen Fellow and directs the Platform Accountability Project at the Harvard Kennedy School. A computer scientist by training, he has served as a technology and economic policy adviser in the Obama White House and as a Privacy and Public Policy Adviser at Facebook.
Marijuana Federalism

UNCLE SAM AND MARY JANE

EDITED BY Jonathan H. Adler

More than one-half the 50 states have legalized the use of marijuana at least for medical purposes, and about a dozen of those states have gone further, legalizing it for recreational use. Either step would have been almost inconceivable just a couple decades ago. But marijuana remains an illegal “controlled substance” under a 1970 federal law, so those who sell or grow it could still face federal prosecution.

How can state and federal laws be in such conflict? And could federal law put the new state laws in jeopardy at some point? This book, an edited volume with contributions by highly regarded legal scholars and policy analysts, is the first detailed examination of these and other questions surrounding a highly unusual conflict between state and federal policies and laws.

Marijuana Federalism surveys the constitutional issues that come into play with this conflict, as well as the policy questions related to law enforcement at the federal versus state levels. It also describes specific areas—such as banking regulations—in which federal law has particularly far-reaching effects.

Readers will gain a greater understanding of federalism in general, including how the division of authority between the federal and state governments operates in the context of policy and legal disputes between the two levels. This book also will help inform debates as other states consider whether to jump on the bandwagon of marijuana legalization.

Jonathan H. Adler is the inaugural Johan Verheij Memorial Professor of Law at the Case Western Reserve University School of Law. His previous books include Business and the Roberts Court.

On marijuana, there is no mutual federal-state policy; will this cause federalism to go up in smoke?
Marijuana
A SHORT HISTORY

John Hudak

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 deputy director of the Center for Effective Public Management and a senior fellow in Governance Studies. His research examines questions of presidential power in the contexts of administration, personnel, and public policy. Additionally, he focuses on campaigns and elections, legislative-executive interaction, and state and federal marijuana policy.
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

Dream Hoarders sparked a national conversation on the dangerous separation between the upper middle class and everyone else. Now in paperback and newly updated for the age of Trump, Brookings Institution senior fellow Richard Reeves is continuing to challenge the class system in America.

In America, everyone knows that the top 1 percent are the villains. The rest of us, the 99 percent—we are the good guys. Not so, argues Reeves. The real class divide is not between the upper class and the upper middle class: it is between the upper middle class and everyone else.

The separation of the upper middle class from everyone else is both economic and social, and the practice of “opportunity hoarding”—gaining exclusive access to scarce resources—is especially prevalent among parents who want to perpetuate privilege to the benefit of their children. While many families believe this is just good parenting, it is actually hurting others by reducing their chances of securing these opportunities. There is a glass floor created for each affluent child helped by his or her wealthy, stable family. That glass floor is a glass ceiling for another child.

Throughout Dream Hoarders, Reeves explores the creation and perpetuation of opportunity hoarding, and what should be done to stop it, including controversial solutions such as ending legacy admissions to schools. He offers specific steps toward reducing inequality and asks the upper middle class to pay for it.

RICHARD V. REEVES is a senior fellow in Economic Studies, codirector of the Center on Children and Families, and editor-in-chief of the Social Mobility Memos blog. His research focuses on social mobility, inequality, and family change. Prior to joining Brookings, he was director of strategy to the UK’s Deputy Prime Minister.

An Economist Best Book of the Year
The New Localism

HOW CITIES CAN THRIVE IN THE AGE OF POPULISM

Bruce Katz and Jeremy Nowak

Power is shifting in the world: downward from national governments and states to cities and metropolitan communities; horizontally from the public sector to networks of public, private and civic actors; and globally along circuits of capital, trade, and innovation.

In The New Localism, Katz and Nowak tell the stories of the cities that are on the vanguard of problem solving. Pittsburgh is catalyzing inclusive growth by inventing and deploying new industries and technologies. Indianapolis is governing its city and metropolis through a network of public, private and civic leaders. Copenhagen is using publicly owned assets like their waterfront to spur large scale redevelopment and finance infrastructure from land sales.

Out of these stories emerge new norms of growth, governance, and finance and a path toward a more prosperous, sustainable, and inclusive society. As Katz and Nowak show us in The New Localism, “Power now belongs to the problem solvers.”

BRUCE KATZ is the cofounder of New Localism Advisors and was the Centennial Scholar at the Brookings Institution, where he focused on the challenges and opportunities of global urbanization. He was vice president and codirector of the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program, which he founded in 1996. He coauthored The Metropolitan Revolution (Brookings, 2013). JEREMY NOWAK was the cofounder of New Localism Advisors and a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Drexel University’s Lindy Institute for Urban Innovation. He created The Reinvestment Fund, one of the largest community investment institutions in the United States, and chaired the Board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia.
At a time when trust is dropping precipitously and American government at the national level has fallen into a state of long-term, partisan-based gridlock, local government can still be effective—indeed more effective and even more responsive to the needs of its citizens. Based on decades of direct experience and years studying successful models around the world, the authors of this intriguing book propose a new operating system (O/S) for cities. Former mayor and Harvard professor Stephen Goldsmith and New York University professor Neil Kleiman suggest building on the giant leaps that have been made in technology, social engagement, and big data.

Calling their approach “distributed governance,” Goldsmith and Kleiman offer a model that allows public officials to mobilize new resources, surface ideas from unconventional sources, and arm employees with the information they need to become preemptive problem solvers. This book highlights lessons from the many innovations taking place in today’s cities to show how a new O/S can create systemic transformation.

A New City O/S presents a groundbreaking strategy for rethinking the governance of cities, marking an important evolution of the current bureaucratic authority-based model dating from the 1920s. More important, the book is designed for practitioners, starting with public sector executives, managers, and frontline workers.

**STEPHEN GOLDSMITH** is the Daniel Paul Professor of the Practice of Government and the Director of the Innovations in American Government Program at Harvard Kennedy School. He previously served as deputy mayor of New York and mayor of Indianapolis. **NEIL KLEIMAN** is a clinical professor at New York University’s Wagner School of Public Service and the Center for Urban Science and Progress. He is policy director of the National Resource Network and was founding director of the New York City–based Center for an Urban Future.
The Resilient Sector Revisited

THE NEW CHALLENGE TO NONPROFIT AMERICA

Second Edition

Lester M. Salamon

Author Lester Salamon, who pioneered the empirical study of the nonprofit sector in the United States, provides a wealth of new data to paint a compelling picture of a set of institutions being buffeted by a withering set of challenges, yet still finding ways to survive and prosper. These challenges, however, are posing enormous risks to the historic character and role of nonprofits.

Operating in an increasingly competitive environment in which traditional sources of government and philanthropic support are difficult to maintain, nonprofits have turned decisively to the market. In the process, however, they may be losing their raison d’être, sacrificing their most crucial missions, and risking loss of public understanding and support.

To remedy this situation, Salamon recommends a “renewal strategy” for the nation’s nonprofit sector that begins with a wider articulation and application of the sector’s “value proposition”—the attributes that continue to make it deserving of the special privileges and benefits it enjoys. Salamon’s pithy and accessible book is perfect for nonprofit boards, leaders of charitable foundations, government officials, and students of the nonprofit sector and of public policy, as well as anyone looking for guidance on how we go about dealing with public problems in America’s increasingly collaborative system of governance.

LESTER M. SALAMON is a professor at the Johns Hopkins University, where he is director of the Center for Civil Society Studies in the School of Public Health, was founding director of the Institute for Policy Studies, and serves as senior research professor at the SAIS–Bologna Center. In addition, he is scientific director of the International Laboratory on Nonprofit Sector Studies at Moscow’s Higher School of Economics.