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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 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 annually.

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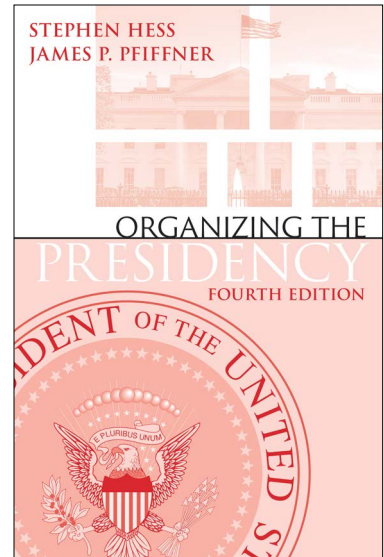
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October 2020, 6 x 9, 256 pp
 paperback, 9780815738411, \$32.99
 ebook, 9780815738428, \$25.99

Organizing the Presidency

Fourth Edition

Stephen Hess AND James P. Pfiffner



Donald Trump has reinvented the presidency, transforming it from a well-oiled if sometimes cumbersome institution into what has often seemed to be a one-man show. But even Trump's unorthodox presidency requires institutional support, from a constantly rotating White House staff and cabinet who have sought to carry out—and sometimes resist—the president's direct orders and comply with his many tweets.

Nonetheless, the Trump White House still exhibits many features of its predecessors over the past eight decades. When Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated, the White House staff numbered fewer than fifty people, and most federal department were lightly staffed as well. As the United States became a world power, the staff of the Executive Office increased twentyfold, and the staffing of federal agencies blossomed comparably.

In the fourth edition of *Organizing the Presidency*, a landmark volume examining the presidency as an institution, Stephen Hess and James P. Pfiffner argue that the successes and failures of presidents from Roosevelt through Trump have resulted in large part from how the president deployed and used White House staffers and other top officials responsible for carrying out Oval Office policy. Drawing on a wealth of analysis and insight, *Organizing the Presidency* addresses best practices for managing a presidency that is itself a bureaucracy.

STEPHEN HESS is the author of numerous award-winning books about politics and the media, including *The Presidential Campaign and America's Political Dynasties from Adams to Clinton*, the latter published by Brookings. **JAMES P. PFIFFNER** is University Professor in the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University and the author or editor of sixteen books on the presidency.

**Examining how the
 White House works—
 or doesn't—before
 and after Trump**

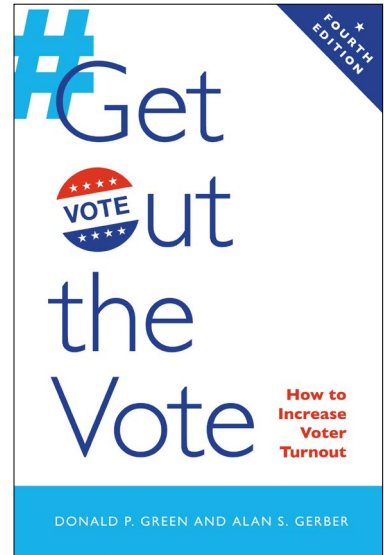
August 2019, 6 x 9, 253 pp
 paperback, 9780815736936, \$24.99
 ebook, 9780815736943, \$19.99

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 J. W. Burgess Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. **ALAN S. GERBER** is a professor of political science and director of the Center for the Study of American Politics at Yale University.

September 2020, 6 x 9, 224 pp
 hardcover, 9780815738633, \$27.99a
 ebook, 9780815738640, \$21.99



Trump's Democrats

Stephanie Muravchik AND Jon A. Shields

Seeking an answer to this question, the authors lived in three such “flipped” communities. They found that the voters still like the Democratic Party, but a party that remains rooted in an earlier era.

Some of best-liked and longest-serving Democratic leaders in these communities are themselves Trumpian—grandiose, combative, nepotistic. Indifferent to ideology, they stress loyalty and promise to take care of “their people” by cutting deals. In such communities, Trump cuts a familiar figure, resembling an old-style Democratic boss.

Though Trump's Democrats have often been pictured as racists, Muravchik and Shields find that their primary political allegiance is to their town or county, not to racial identity. Furthermore, their conception of their place in the nation is informed by their sense of belonging to a particular locale. Thus, “America first” reflects a way of imagining political community that aligns with the social and political life in the places they live. Understanding Trump's Democrats should be the Democratic Party's first step toward reclaiming its historical place as the home of working- and lower-middle-class Americans.

STEPHANIE MURAVCHIK is an associate fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture, the University of Virginia.

JON A. SHIELDS is associate professor of government at Claremont McKenna College.

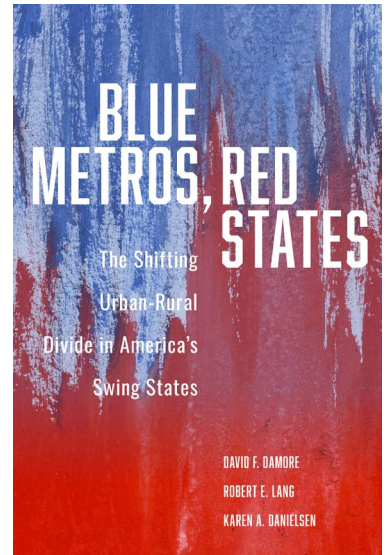
Why did so many traditionally blue communities break for Donald Trump in 2016?

October 2020, 6 x 9, 459 pp
 paperback, 9780815738473, \$29.99
 ebook, 9780815738480, \$23.99

Blue Metros, Red States

THE SHIFTING URBAN-RURAL DIVIDE
 IN AMERICA'S SWING STATES

*David F. Damore, Robert E. Lang,
 AND Karen A. Danielsen*



**Assessing where the
 red/blue political line
 lies in swing states
 and how it is shifting**

Democratic-leaning urban areas in states that otherwise lean Republican is an increasingly important phenomenon in American politics, one that will help shape elections and policy for decades to come. *Blue Metros, Red States* explores this phenomenon by analyzing demographic trends, voting patterns, economic data, and social characteristics of twenty-seven major metropolitan areas in thirteen swing states—states that will ultimately decide who is elected president and the party that controls each chamber of Congress.

The book's key finding is a sharp split between different types of suburbs in swing states. Close-in suburbs that support denser mixed-use projects and transit such as light rail mostly vote for Democrats. More distant suburbs that feature mainly large-lot, single-family detached houses and lack mass transit often vote for Republicans. The book locates the red/blue dividing line and assesses the electoral state of play in every swing state. This red/blue political line is rapidly shifting, however, as suburbs urbanize and grow more demographically diverse. *Blue Metros, Red States* is especially timely as the 2020 elections draw near.

DAVID F. DAMORE is professor and chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV), and a nonresident senior fellow with the Brookings Institution's Governance Studies program. **ROBERT E. LANG** holds the Lincy Endowed Chair in Urban Affairs in the Greenspun College of Urban Affairs, UNLV, and is executive director of Brookings Mountain West and the Lincy Institute. **KAREN A. DANIELSEN** is an associate professor in the School of Public Policy and Leadership in the Greenspun College of Urban Affairs, UNLV.

July 2020, 6 x 9, 297 pp
 hardcover, 9780815738596, \$24.99t
 ebook, 9780815738602, \$24.99

Turning Point

POLICYMAKING IN THE ERA OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

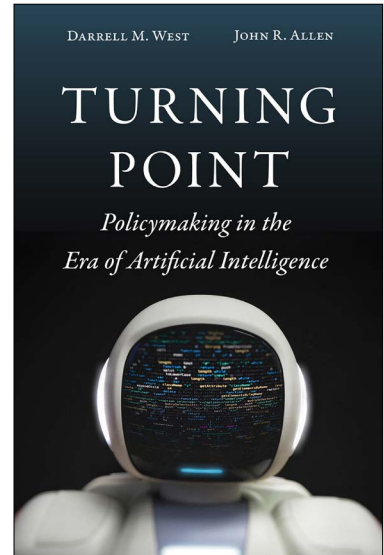
Darrell M. West AND John R. Allen

Artificial intelligence has become the transformative technology of our time, with application to everything from medicine and transport to individual consumer choices. Despite its ubiquity, AI is little understood by the larger public, which fears a dystopian world of declining privacy and increased inequality. Emerging technologies are even seen as broadly threatening humanity itself.

In this compelling and readable book, two Brookings experts discuss both the opportunities and risks posed by AI, and how near-term policy decisions could influence whether the technology leads to utopia or dystopia. The authors describe how the technology actually works, and outline a policy and governance blueprint for realizing the benefits of AI while minimizing its potential downsides.

Their recommendations for promoting the trustworthy and responsible uses of AI include creating a set of guiding ethical principles for the use of AI, strengthening government oversight of its application, defining corporate culpability, tightening personal privacy requirements, penalizing malicious uses of new technologies, and addressing pro-actively how AI affects society, governance, national security, and the workforce. All these steps will help ensure that the benefits of AI outweigh its harms.

DARRELL M. WEST is vice president of the Governance Studies program and director of the Center for Technology Innovation at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of *The Future of Work: Robots, AI, and Automation*. **JOHN R. ALLEN** is president of the Brookings Institution. He is a retired U.S. Marine Corps four-star general and former commander of the NATO International Security Assistance Force and U.S. Forces in Afghanistan. He is co-author of *Hyperwar: Conflict and Competition in the AI Century*.



Artificial intelligence is here. How can society make the best use of it?

June 2020, 6 x 9, 317 pp
 hardcover, 9780815737650, \$24.99t
 ebook, 9780815737667, \$24.99

Terms of Disservice

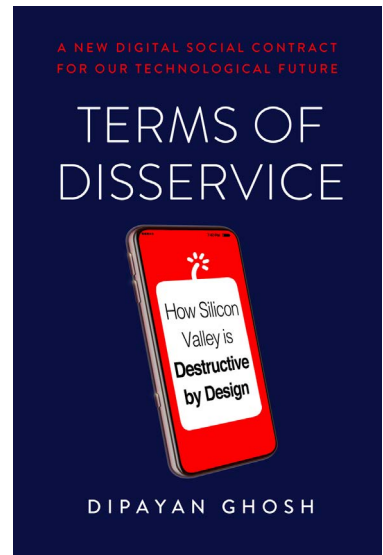
HOW SILICON VALLEY IS DESTRUCTIVE BY DESIGN

Dipayan Ghosh

In just a few decades, high technology has transformed the world, making vast quantities of information available to billions of people and reshaping businesses, institutions, and entire economies. But it is also exacerbating deep social and political divisions in society. Elections influenced by fake news and unscrupulous hidden actors, the vacuuming up of private information by Silicon Valley behemoths, ongoing threats to vital infrastructure from terrorist groups and even foreign governments—all these activities attack the social fabric and are certain to become increasingly serious in the future.

In this book, Dipayan Ghosh, a former Facebook public policy adviser who went on to assist President Obama on technology matters, offers practical ideas for using technology to create an open and accessible world that protects all consumers and civilians. Providing clear explanations of the complex issues lying at the nexus of technology and the individual or society, *Terms of Disservice* should prove a useful guide for industry leaders, policymakers, and members of the general public concerned to ensure that high tech works for everyone, not just Silicon Valley.

DIPAYAN GHOSH is a Pozen Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School and co-director of the Platform Accountability Project at the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics, and Public Policy.



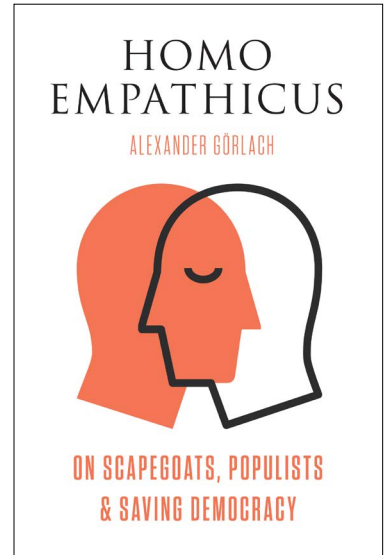
*Designing a new
 digital social
 contract for our
 technological future*

March 2021, 5 x 8, 200 pp
 hardcover, 9780815738398, \$25.99a
 ebook, 9780815738404, \$21.99

Homo Empathicus

ON SCAPEGOATS, POPULISTS, AND SAVING DEMOCRACY

Alexander Görlach



***How societies
can preserve
democracy with a
human-directed
social contract***

The recent rise of populist movements, especially in Western democracies, has prompted considerable thoughtful analysis. This remarkable book, digging deeper than most such efforts, cites the global financial crisis as the proximate cause but finds the ultimate source in the twin failures of modern capitalism and the democratic state to fulfill a meaningful social contract for the vast majority of people.

The book's focus on the financial crisis underscores how the promises of liberal democracy were repeatedly broken by financial and political elites, with a backlash emerging in the form of "us-against-them" populism. By undermining the hopes and livelihoods of millions of people, the crisis created its own narrative, with consequences capable of causing lasting damage to the liberal world order.

To restore the values of liberal democracy, the author proposes a "truly human social contract" supported by a narrative of empathy. The basis of such a contract is a new view of civil and social rights as an expression of human dignity, with economic factors understood as moral concerns, not just as a matter of who gets the most.

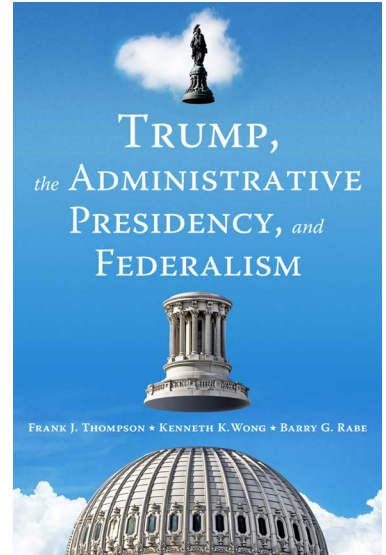
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ALEXANDER GÖRLACH is a senior fellow to the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. He is an op-ed contributor to the *New York Times* and was a visiting scholar and fellow at Harvard University.

September 2020, 6 x 9, 256 pp
 paperback, 9780815738190, \$32.99
 ebook, 9780815738206, \$25.99

Trump, the Administrative Presidency, and Federalism

*Frank J. Thompson, Kenneth K. Wong,
 AND Barry G. Rabe*



***How Trump has
 used the federal
 government
 to promote
 conservative policies***

The presidency of Donald Trump has been unique in many respects. But one area hasn't received as much attention as it deserves: Trump's use of the "administrative presidency," including executive orders and regulatory changes, to reverse the policies of his predecessor and advance positions that lack widespread support in Congress.

This book analyzes the dynamics and unique qualities of Trump's administrative presidency in the important policy areas of health care, education, and climate change. In each of these spheres, the arrival of the Trump administration represented a hostile takeover in which White House policy goals departed sharply from the more liberal ideologies and objectives of key agencies, embraced by the Obama administration.

The authors explore that Trump's expansion of executive branch power has its roots in the Reagan administration. This historical perspective provides the foundation for an in-depth examination of how the Trump administration's hostile takeover has drastically changed key federal policies, and reshaped who gets what from government.

In the larger view, the Trump administration's actions have long-term implications for American democracy.

FRANK J. THOMPSON is Board of Governors Distinguished Professor at the School of Public Affairs and Administration and the Center for State Health Policy, Rutgers University. He is also a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration.

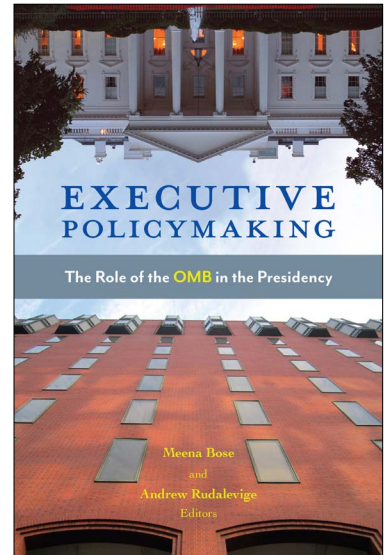
KENNETH K. WONG is the Annenberg Professor of Educational Policy, director of the Urban Education Policy Program, and professor of political science, public policy, and urban studies at Brown University. **BARRY G. RABE** is the J. Ira and Nicki Harris Family Professor of Public Policy at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan.

October 2020, 6 x 9, 323 pp
 paperback, 9780815737957, \$39.99
 ebook, 9780815737964, \$31.99

Executive Policymaking

THE ROLE OF THE OMB IN THE PRESIDENCY

EDITED BY *Meena Bose* AND
Andrew Rudalevige



***A deep look into
 the agency that
 implements the
 president's marching
 orders to the rest of
 the executive branch***

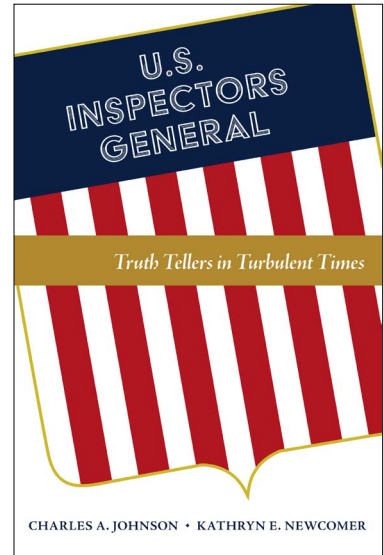
The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is one of the federal government's most important and powerful agencies, but also one of the least known among the general public. This book describes why the OMB, part of the executive branch, is so important and why both scholars and citizens should know more about what it does.

The most visible part of the OMB's tasks is to supervise preparation of the president's annual budget request to Congress. That job alone affords the office tremendous influence within the executive branch. But the OMB has other responsibilities that give it a central role in how the federal government functions on a daily basis. The OMB reviews all of the administration's legislative proposals and the president's executive orders. It oversees the development and implementation of nearly all government management initiatives. The office also analyzes the costs and benefits of major government regulations, thus having great sway over government actions that affect nearly every person and business in America.

One question facing voters in the 2020 elections will be how well the president has fulfilled his campaign promises, and a major aspect of that question invokes the wider work of the OMB. This book will help members of the public, as well as scholars and other experts, answer that question.

MEENA BOSE is executive dean for Public Policy and Public Service Programs in the Peter S. Kalikow School of Government, Public Policy and International Affairs and director of the Peter S. Kalikow Center for the Study of the American Presidency at Hofstra University. **ANDREW RUDALEVIGE** is Thomas Brackett Reed Professor of Government and chair of the Department of Government and Legal Studies at Bowdoin College.

December 2019, 6 × 9, 288 pp
 paperback, 9780815737773, \$34.99
 ebook, 9780815737780, \$27.99



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, though their work often draws attention only when they uncover serious misdeeds or mismanagement. This book, by two experts on public policy, provides a comprehensive, up-to-date examination of how inspectors general have operated in the four decades since Congress established the office 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 both the executive and the legislative branches of government. A key factor in their independence is that they are expected to be nonpartisan and to carry out their work without regard to their own or others' political suasion.

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 government. The book 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 professor and director of the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration, George Washington University.

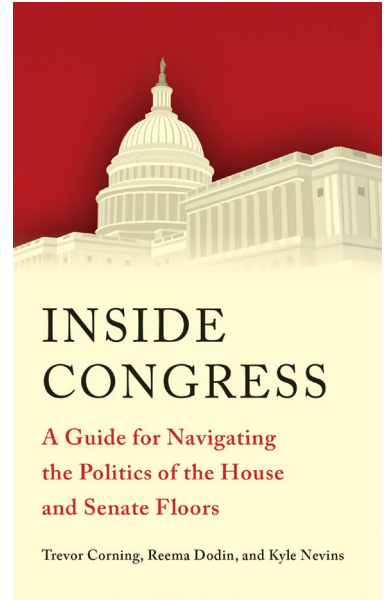
***Working to keep
 government
 honest, efficient,
 and effective***

July 2017, 5 x 7, 120 pp.
 paperback, 9780815727323, \$12.00
 ebook, 9780815727347, \$8.99

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 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.

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

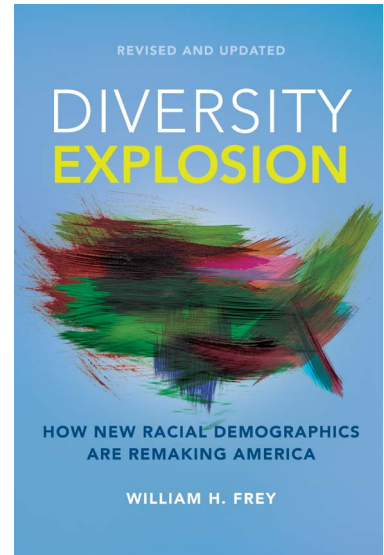
July 2018, 6.5 x 9, 332 pp
 paperback, 9780815732846, \$24.99
 ebook, 9780815732853, \$18.99

Diversity Explosion

HOW NEW RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS ARE REMAKING AMERICA

Revised Edition

William H. Frey



***Greater racial
 diversity is
 good news for
 America's future***

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.

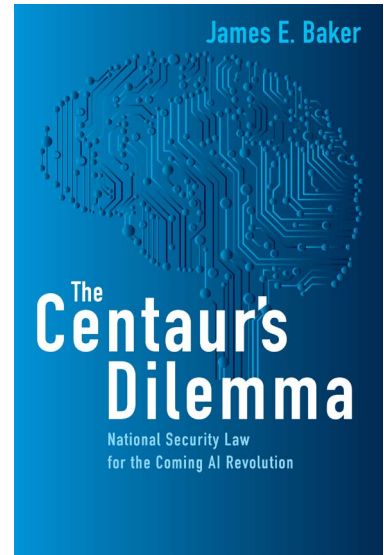
WILLIAM H. FREY is a senior fellow with the Metropolitan Policy Program at the Brookings Institution and research professor in population studies at the University of Michigan. Frey is an internationally recognized demographer with expertise in U.S. demographics, American political demographics and the U.S. Census. His commentary and observations appear frequently in major print, online, and broadcast media.

December 2020, 6 x 9, 335 pp
 paperback, 9780815737995, \$34.99
 ebook, 9780815738008, \$27.99

The Centaur's Dilemma

NATIONAL SECURITY LAW FOR THE COMING AI REVOLUTION

James E. Baker



The increasing use of artificial intelligence poses challenges and opportunities for nearly all aspects of society, including the national security establishment. James E. Baker, an expert in national security law and process, considers that national security law can and should be applied to AI, which would enable a wide range of decisions and actions not contemplated by current law.

The Centaur's Dilemma covers, among other topics, national security process, constitutional law, the law of armed conflict, arms control, and academic and corporate ethics. The author draws on his background as a judge to examine potential points of contention and litigation in an area where the law is still evolving. *The Centaur's Dilemma* also analyzes the potential risks associated with the use of AI in the realm of national security, including those arising from the machine-human interface and conducting national security decision-making at machine speed.

Written in plain English, *The Centaur's Dilemma* should be of use to policymakers, lawyers, and technology experts as they deal with the many legal questions surrounding the use of AI to plan and carry out the actions required for the nation's defense.

JAMES E. BAKER is a professor at the Syracuse University College of Law and the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, where he is also director of the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism. He previously served as the chief judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces (2000–2015) and as legal adviser and deputy legal adviser to the National Security Council (1994–2000).

**Assessing the
 legal and practical
 questions posed by
 the use of artificial
 intelligence in
 national security
 matters**

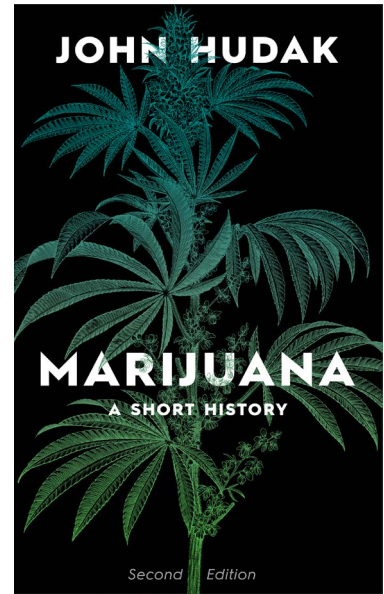
June 2020, 5 x 8, 268 pp
 paperback, 9780815738312, \$19.99t
 ebook, 9780815738329, \$19.99

Marijuana

A SHORT HISTORY

Second Edition

John Hudak



***From “reefer
 madness” to legal
 purchase at the
 corner store***

Though millions of Americans have used marijuana at some point in their lives, the dried by-product of *Cannabis sativa* remains a substance shrouded in myth and misinformation. And though legal and social barriers to its use are falling, nearly a century of prohibition has left the legacy of an enforcement system that is racist, with the effects of racially targeted overcriminalization continuing to limit economic and social opportunities in communities of color.

Marijuana: A Short History offers a cutting-edge look at how a plant with a tumultuous history has emerged from the shadows of counterculture and illegality and become a pivotal issue in public policy. The book reviews the troubled record of criminalization and explores how and why states are stepping up to enact change, in open defiance of the federal government. Today, marijuana has become a remarkable social, economic, and even political force, with a surprising range of advocates and opponents. Focusing on politics, the media, government, racism, criminal justice, and education, the book describes why public policy has changed, and what that change might mean for marijuana’s future place in society.

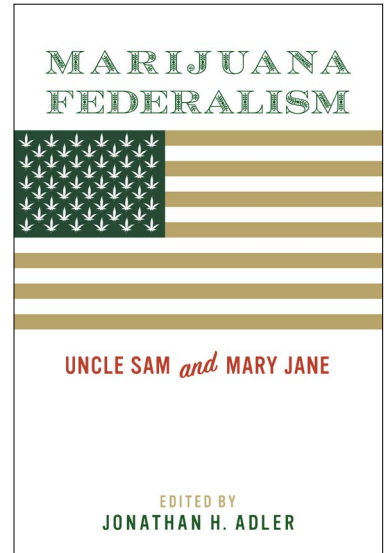
JOHN HUDAK is deputy director of the Center for Effective Public Management and a senior fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution with an extensive background in state and federal marijuana policy.

March 2020, 6 x 9, 203 pp
 paperback, 9780815737896, \$34.99
 ebook, 9780815737902, \$27.99

Marijuana Federalism

UNCLE SAM AND MARY JANE

EDITED BY *Jonathan H. Adler*



More than half the fifty states have legalized the use of marijuana at least for medicinal purposes, and about a dozen of those states have legalized 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? In this edited volume, legal scholars and policy analysts explore the constitutional issues that come into play when state and federal polices and laws collide. It also describes specific areas, such as banking regulations, in which federal law has particularly far-reaching effects.

Readers of *Marijuana Federalism* will gain a greater understanding of federalism in general, including how the division of authority between the federal and state governments operates. This book will also 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.

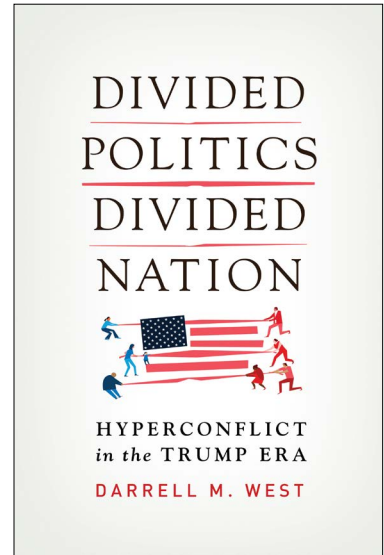
On marijuana, there is no mutual federal-state policy. Can this discrepancy be reconciled?

March 2019, 6 x 9, 234 pp
 paperback, 9780815737858, \$22.99
 ebook, 9780815736929, \$22.99

Divided Politics, Divided Nation

HYPERCONFLICT IN THE TRUMP ERA

Darrell M. West



The United States is caught in a partisan hyperconflict that divides politicians, communities, and even families. Politicians from the president to state and local officeholders 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 with a different 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.

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