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The Institute for Political History is a 501(c) non-profit educational foundation. No person associated with the Institute is provided an annual salary or remuneration for their work in the Institute or conference. The conference coordinator and conference staff receive small remunerations for their services. The Institute wants to thank the conference co-chairs and plenary and regular panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the Policy History Conference. This is the eighth Policy History Conference and the twenty-fourth year of the publication of the *Journal of Policy History*. The Institute for Political History and the *Journal of Policy History* want to thank those many people over the years who have contributed to the success of the *Journal* and the conference.

More than 300 scholars from the fields of History, Political Science, Economics, Law, Journalism, and Sociology will participate in the Policy History Conference. These scholars are from all regions of the United States, and from Canada, Europe, Mexico, Japan, and Australia.

**Richmond.** Richmond, home to the University of Richmond, is also the state capital of Virginia. The conference hotel is within walking distance of the state capitol, the Museum of the Confederacy, popular dining, and shopping.

**Hotel.** The Richmond Marriott (500 East Broad Street · Richmond, Virginia 23219; Phone 1.804.643.3400) is the site for the conference. Registration, program sessions, and book exhibits will take place at the Marriott. Program sessions will be held in designated meeting rooms in the hotel. The Marriott offers an in-house restaurant, a fitness center, and is close to downtown Richmond attractions.

**Transportation.** Directions to the hotel can be found on our website. Transportation to and from the airport is best done by taxi; the hotel does not operate a shuttle to the airport.

### Special Conference Events:

**Wednesday Walking Tour:** A walking tour of downtown Richmond will be held following “Urban Policy in Virginia: A Discussion and Walking Tour.” The panel will be held at 1:30pm. The tour will begin immediately afterward. It will include sites such as the Virginia Capitol and the General Assembly Building, City Hall, and the Slavery Reconciliation Statue. Commentary will include discussions of events such as Massive Resistance; the development of the street car network; Gabriel’s Rebellion; the theater fire of 1811; the slave district and the First African Baptist Church; St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and its prominence during the Civil War.

**Thursday Reception.** Sponsored by the *Journal of Policy History* and the Institute for Political History, the Thursday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from 6:30 to 8:30 pm, June 7, in Salon Four at the Marriott for conference participants and their guests.

**Friday Reception.** Sponsored by the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, the Friday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from 6:30 to 8:30 pm, June 8, in Salon 4 at the Marriott for conference participants and their guests. The Miller Center is also the co-sponsor for the 2014 Policy History Conference in Columbus, Ohio.

**Friday Reception.** Sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies. Stop by for networking, free drinks, engaging conversation, and information on how IHS can help you advance your career. The event will take place from 8:30-9:30pm on Friday, June 8, at T-Miller’s Sports Bar and Grill, located within the Marriott.

**Saturday Luncheon.** An Award Luncheon will be held on Saturday, June 9 at 12:00 pm in Salon 4 at the Marriott. Orders for the luncheon should be placed through the online registration form. Luncheon attendees should pick up their tickets when they check in with the conference registration table. For those who have not pre-registered and wish to attend the luncheon, please check with the conference registration table. The *Journal of Policy History* will award the Ellis Hawley Prize for the best article published in the journal by a junior scholar in the previous two years. The Graduate Program in Policy History at Bowling Green State University, in association with the Institute for Political History, will announce the Bowling Green Prize for the best book in International or Comparative Policy History in the previous two years. The recipients of the Hugh Davis Graham Award and Thomas H. Critchlow Award will also be announced at the luncheon.

**Refreshments.** Refreshments such as coffee, soft drinks, and light snacks will be available at various times during the conference. Please enjoy a snack and browse the adjacent book exhibits.

**Registration.** All participants should check in at the conference registration table, located in the Judicial Foyer on the first floor of the hotel near the meeting rooms. You will receive a conference program and name badge when you check in. Those who have not pre-registered must register at that time. Registration is open from 8:00 am – 5:00 pm Wednesday through Friday and 8:00am to 2:00pm on Saturday.

**Wednesday, June 6, 2012**

<b>8:00am - 5:00pm</b>	<b>REGISTRATION</b>
<b>9:30am - 4:30pm</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT</b>
<b>10:15am - 11:45am</b>	Reconciling APD Theory with Republican Ideology Social Citizenship in Housing and Welfare Covering, Crafting Republican Campaigns, from Joe McCarthy to Bob Dole
<b>12:00pm - 1:15pm</b>	<b>Lunch Break</b>
<b>1:30pm - 3:00pm</b>	Urban Policy in Virginia: A Discussion and Walking Tour * Academic Crucibles of Knowledge Production and Policymaking New Politics? The Shifting Political World of the Late 1960s and Early 1970s The Long View of U.S. Health Care Policy: Exceptional, Perverse, or Idiosyncratic?
<b>3:15pm - 4:45pm</b>	Rethinking Postwar Politics Environmental Policy: Europe and the United States Laboring to Persuade: Union and Business Organizations' Public Relations Campaigns in the Era of Landrum-Griffin Aid and Intervention in American Foreign Policy Moral Contradictions in the Early 20th Century
<b>5:00pm - 6:15pm</b>	<b>PLENARY SESSION - Beyond "The" State</b>

**Thursday, June 7, 2012**

<b>8:00am - 5:00pm</b>	<b>REGISTRATION</b>
<b>8:30am - 4:30pm</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT</b>
<b>8:30am - 10:00am</b>	Recessions, Deficits, and Debt Science and Secrecy: Power and Policy in Cold War America The Politics and Diplomacy of Free Trade in the High Tariff Era Contesting the Metropolitan Future: Political Discourses and Regional Development in the 1970s Minority Party: The Republicans, 1933-1966 The Multiple Faces of Civil Rights
<b>10:15am - 11:45am</b>	For the Common Good? Statebuilding through Social Welfare Policy Confronting Dien Bien Phu: Why the U.S. Decided Against War in 1954 Bowling Green State University Panel - Roundtable Discussion: Historical Analogy as a Guide to Policy: National Prohibition as Reference Point in Contemporary Drug Policy Debates Regulating Global Communications in the Age of Empire The Republican Party before the New Right: Women's Rights Policies in the Nixon Administration
<b>12:00pm - 1:15pm</b>	<b>Lunch Break</b>
<b>1:30pm - 3:00pm</b>	American State Building in Comparative and Historical Perspective The Conservative Response to the New Deal Administering Care Voluntary Organizations and the American State Foreign Policy in the Cold War Opportunity and Inequality in the Postwar American City, 1945-1965

\*A walking tour of the city will depart after this panel. See the description on page 3 for details

**Thursday, June 7, 2012**

<b>3:15pm - 4:45pm</b>	Presidents and Political Operatives Democratic Divides: Rethinking the 1944 Election in the Breakdown of the New Deal Democratic Coalition Constitutional and Political Development in the States Racial Segregation, Urban Policy, and Market Ideologies in the American Metropolis, 1960-1980 Tilted Talk: How Ideological Media Affects Politics and Policy Politics in the Nixon Era
<b>5:00pm - 6:15pm</b>	<b>PLENARY SESSION - How Social Scientists Use History</b>
<b>6:30pm - 8:30pm</b>	<b>RECEPTION - Sponsored by the Journal of Policy History</b>

**Friday, June 8, 2012**

<b>8:00am - 5:00pm</b>	<b>REGISTRATION</b>
<b>8:30am - 4:30pm</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT</b>
<b>8:30am - 10:00am</b>	Book Forum - The Role of Child Socialization in American National Formation: Block's <i>The Crucible Of Consent</i> The Politics of Abortion in the 1970s Animals and the State: Public Health, Agriculture, and National Security The Interstates, the Cities, and Public Policy Antecedents to Supply-Side Economics in Policy and Theory Challenging the State: Reconciliation and Nullification
<b>10:15am - 11:45am</b>	Engendering Transnational Policy History: The United Nations and Its Agencies Roundtable: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century Organizing for the Great War Wages and Taxes in Late 19th and 20th Century America Liberalism in Transition: The Challenges of a Post-Keynesian Political Economy Guns, Taxes, and the Right
<b>12:00pm - 1:15pm</b>	<b>Lunch Break</b>
<b>1:30pm - 3:00pm</b>	A Review of Louis Galambos' <i>The Creative Society - and the Price Americans Paid for It</i> Reconceptualizing Policy History Alcohol and Fair Trade Regulation in the US and France, 1920s-1940s Cultural Policymaking in the Great Society Follow the Money: How Taxes, Banks and Mortgages Reconfigured American Politics during the Long 1970s Confronting the Urban Crisis
<b>3:15pm - 4:45pm</b>	Tax Resistance in the United States Advocates for Racial Reform The Civil War and Developmental Politics: Defining Money, Land, and Commerce in Nineteenth Century America The US Military: Activism, Rights, and Policy [Invisible] Labor Law: Rethinking State Reform of "Women's Work" in 20th Century America
<b>5:00pm - 6:15pm</b>	<b>PLENARY SESSION - The State House, The Law Firm and The University: Three Perspectives on the Practice of Policy-Making</b>
<b>6:30pm - 8:30pm</b>	<b>RECEPTION - Sponsored by the Miller Center of Public Affairs</b>

## Saturday, June 9, 2012

<b>8:00am - 2:00pm</b>	<b>REGISTRATION</b>
<b>8:30am - 3:00pm</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT</b>
<b>8:30am - 10:00am</b>	Bailouts, Banks, and Housing War and Social Policy Federal Policy and Professional Accountability Conservatives and the New Deal State Fueling Panic: Energy and Economic Crisis in American History Urban Policy at the Grassroots: The Politics of Housing, Public Space, and Police Power in Postwar Philadelphia
<b>10:15am - 11:45am</b>	Paranoia, Populism and the Tea Party The Public Sector: Entrepreneurs and Anti-Labor Policy City Planning and Governance Race and the Republican Party in the Civil Rights Era The Reshaping of Liberalism and Conservatism in Modern America Making the Maternalist State
<b>12:00pm - 1:15pm</b>	<b>Lunch Break</b>
<b>1:30pm - 3:00pm</b>	Disaster Management and Policy New Uses for the University in the Modern United States The Republican Ethos and Slavery Identifying and Measuring Change in the Study of American Political Institutions Implementation and Aftermath: Women and Social Policy in the 1970s and 1980s Tobacco Policy Since the Surgeon General's Report
<b>3:15pm - 4:45pm</b>	Modern War at Home and Abroad The Evolving Pursuit of Equity in the American School District The Draft: United States and Canada Creating the Deregulatory State in the 1970s and 1980s Innovation and Domestic Policy Change from World War II to the Cold War Constitution Policy in Eastern Europe
<b>5:00pm - 6:15pm</b>	<b>PLENARY SESSION - The Crisis in Higher Education</b>

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6**  
**10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.**

**Salon 6**  
**Reconciling APD Theory with Republican Ideology**

Chair:  
 RICHARD R. JOHN, Columbia University

DAVID KYVIG, Northern Illinois University  
 "Reforming Congress: James Madison's Modest Proposal"

MATTHEW C. SHERMAN, Institute for Political History  
 "Protecting the First Citizen of the Republic:  
 Republicanism, Violence, the Presidency, and APD"

JONATHAN O'HARA, Southern Connecticut State  
 University  
 "Carving a Space for Hamiltonian Republicanism: APD in  
 the Late Nineteenth Century"

Commentator:  
 ERIC LOMAZOFF, University of Oklahoma

**Salon 8**  
**Social Citizenship in Housing and Welfare**

Chair/Commentator:  
 ANDREW MORRIS, Union College

CYBELLE FOX, University of California, Berkeley  
 "A New Deal for the Alien: The Inclusion of Non-Citizens  
 in the Early American Welfare State"

LOUIS WOODS, Middle Tennessee State University  
 "'Homeownership is limited to the Caucasian Race in  
 Perpetuity: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the  
 Federal Housing Administration and Redlining in  
 California, 1933-1960"

KELLY KELLEHER RICHTER, Stanford University  
 "Government Institutional Factors Informing State and  
 Local Social Policy Toward Undocumented Residents: A  
 Modern California History, 1971-1994"

**Dominion**  
**Covering, Crafting Republican Campaigns, from Joe  
 McCarthy to Bob Dole**

Chair/Commentator:  
 TIMOTHY N. THURBER, Virginia Commonwealth  
 University

RICHARD M. FRIED, University of Illinois-Chicago

"Young Joe McCarthy's Education in Campaigning"

JULIE B. LANE, Boise State University  
 "A Postwar Liberal's Reporting on the New Right: Richard  
 Rovere and the 1964 Election"

JAMES L. BAUGHMAN, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
 "Missing Ike: Press Coverage of Robert Dole's 1988  
 Presidential Campaign"

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6**  
**1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Urban Policy in Virginia: A Discussion and Walking  
 Tour**

JOHN MOESER, Virginia Commonwealth University  
 (Emeritus)  
 "Rounding Up the Poor: The Making of an Urban  
 Reservation"

RICHARD SCHRAGGER, University of Virginia Law School  
 "The Legal Status of Virginia's Cities and Implications for  
 Policy"

JULIAN HAYTER, Niagara University  
 "From Intent to Effect: Black Voter Mobilization & White  
 Resistance in Richmond, VA, 1954-1985"

AMY HOWARD and THAD WILLIAMSON, University of  
 Richmond  
 "The Politics of Neglect and the Evasion of Responsibility:  
 Understanding and Explaining Richmond's Failure to  
 Confront Poverty and Racial Inequality, 1990-2012"

*A walking tour and reception at the University of  
 Richmond's downtown center will follow the panel.*

**Salon 6**  
**Academic Crucibles of Knowledge Production and  
 Policymaking**

Chair/Commentator:  
 ANDREW JEWETT, Harvard University

ELIZABETH TANDY SHERMER, Loyola University, Chicago  
 "'A Valid Capital Investment': Business and the Birth of  
 the Postwar Public Research University"

DANIEL GEARY, Trinity College, Dublin  
 "The Moynihan Report Controversy and the Circulation of  
 Ideas in Universities, the Government, and the Public"

DOMINIQUE TOBBELL, University of Minnesota  
 "Planning for Health: Academic Health Centers and State Health Policymaking in the 1970s"

**Salon 7**

**New Politics? The Shifting Political World of the Late 1960s and Early 1970s**

Chair/Commentator:

VINCENT CANNATO, University of Massachusetts, Boston

SETH OFFENBACH, Bronx Community College  
 "Fighting with Jesus: War as a Unifying Factor on the Right in the 1960s"

LAURA JANE GIFFORD, George Fox University  
 "'Don't come here to live': Tom McCall, Land Use Policy and an Alternative Economic Vision for the 1970s"

ALEXANDER GOURSE, Northwestern University  
 "Building a 'Public Interest State' in Ronald Reagan's California"

MICHAEL BOWEN, Westminster College  
 "'A Bloody Tsunami': The Watergate Babies and Gerald Ford's Veto Strategy"

**Salon 8**

**The Long View of U.S. Health Care Policy: Exceptional, Perverse, or Idiosyncratic?**

Chair/Commentator:

DAVE ROBERTSON, University of Missouri, St. Louis

JEREMY JOHNSON, Carroll College and DAN EHLKE, SUNY Downstate  
 "Market Mechanisms within Medicare: The Renewal and Recycling of an Idea in American Politics"

CHRISTY FORD CHAPIN, University of Virginia "From Medicare to Obamacare: Why Insurance Companies Will Continue to Govern U.S. Health Care"

JESSICA WALRADT, Jennifer Bell & Partners and RICK MAYES, University of Richmond  
 "Facing Death: A History of End-of-Life Care Policy in the United States"

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6**

**3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.**

**Salon 5**

**Rethinking Postwar Politics**

Chair:

SHELDON D. POLLACK, University of Delaware

ELIZABETH SANDERS, Cornell University  
 "Dynamics of National Reform Leadership 1946-2008"

BYRON E. SHAFER, University of Wisconsin  
 "The Three Worlds of Postwar American Politics"

DAVID DAGAN, Johns Hopkins University  
 "The Social Construction of Negative Feedback: Incarceration, Conservatism and Policy Change"

Commentator:

NANCY BECK YOUNG, University of Houston

**Salon 6**

**Laboring to Persuade: Union and Business Organizations' Public Relations Campaigns in the Era of Landrum-Griffin**

Chair/Commentator:

TRACY ROOF, University of Richmond

AMY WALLHERMFECHTEL, Saint Louis University  
 "'Ruled by the Whims of a Dictator': The Cecil B. DeMille Foundation for Political Freedom's Right-to-Work Campaigns' Effects on Landrum-Griffin"

DAVID WITWER, Penn State Harrisburg  
 "The National Association of Manufacturers' Public Relations Campaign in the Era of Landrum-Griffin (1959)"

RACHEL BURSTEIN, Graduate Center, City University of New York  
 "'Labor Still Has Clean Hands': The AFL-CIO's Public Relations War in the Era of Landrum-Griffin"

**Salon 7**

**Environmental Policy: Europe and the United States**

Chair:

CHRISTOPHER KLEMEK, George Washington University

CHLOÉ VLASSOPOULOS, University of Picardie Jules Verne CURAPP/CNRS  
 “Environmental Justice Found and Lost: The XIXe Century Hygiene Movement and Clean Air Policy in France and Greece”

MARY HALLOCK MORRIS, PH.D., University of Southern Indiana  
 “From Flooding to Focusing Events: A Political History of Levee Construction in the Lower Mississippi River Valley”

Commentator:  
 MELISSA KEELEY, George Washington University

**Salon 8**  
**Aid and Intervention in American Foreign Policy**

Chair/Commentator:  
 STEPHEN PORTER, University of Cincinnati

CARLOS FIGUEROA, University of Texas at Brownsville  
 “Pragmatic Quakerism and Communal Democracy: Reconsidering the ‘Philippine Problem’ in early 20th century U.S. Philippine Policy Development”

KIMBERLY CASEY, Northwest Missouri State University  
 “The Harding Administration and the Evolution of Humanitarianism as Foreign Policy: 1921-1923”

INGO HEIDBRINK, Old Dominion University  
 “US Greenland policy 1850-2000”

HELEN BURY, University of St. Andrews  
 “In Search of a Consensus - The State-Private Network during the Early Cold War”

**Dominion**  
**Moral Contradictions in the Early 20th Century**

Chair/Commentator:  
 KIP KOSEK, George Washington University

ROBERT N. GROSS, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
 “Fiscal Policy and State Regulation of Catholic Schools in the Gilded Age”

LISA ANDERSEN, The Juilliard School  
 “Prohibitionists and the Body Politic”

RONIT STAHL, University of Michigan  
 “Basic Training: The Unintentional Consequences of the Education Requirements for Military Chaplains”

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6**  
**5:00 p.m. to 6:15p.m.**

**Plenary Session – Beyond “The” State**

BRIAN BALOGH, University of Virginia

ELISABETH CLEMENS, University of Chicago

ROBERT C. LIEBERMAN, Columbia University

TONY CHEN, Northwestern University

**THURSDAY, JUNE 7**  
**8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Recessions, Deficits, and Debt**

Chair/Commentator:  
 BRIAN DOMITROVIC, Sam Houston State University

MARC GOLDWEIN, Johns Hopkins University  
 “The Moment of Truth: The Inside Story of How We [Almost] Solved the National Debt Crisis”

JUDITH STEIN, City College and Graduate Center, City University of New York  
 “Politics and Policies in the 1970s and early 21st Century: The Linked Recessions”

JAMES WALLNER, Catholic University  
 “Budgeting for Disaster: The Implications of the Congressional Budget Process in the ‘Age of Deficits””

**Salon2**  
**Science and Secrecy: Power and Policy in Cold War America**

Chair/Commentator:  
 BRUCE HEVLY, University of Washington

ALEX WELLERSTEIN, American Institute of Physics  
 “Caught in a Circle of Secrecy: Failed Attempts at Classification Reform in the Atomic Energy Commission, 1947-1950”

SHELLEY L. HURT, California Polytechnic State University  
 “Secrecy and Science in the Cold War: Controlling Information in Molecular Biology in the 1960s and Beyond”



MARY D. WAMMACK, University of Nevada Las Vegas  
 “As Much as it Takes to Win’: The 1970 Venting of  
 Baneberry, the Justice Department, and the Expansion of  
 Atomic Governance”

### **Salon 3**

#### **The Politics and Diplomacy of Free Trade in the High Tariff Era**

Chair/Commentator:

SCOTT REYNOLDS NELSON, College of William and Mary

STEPHEN MEARDON, Bowdoin College

“Trade Doctrines and the U.S.-Mexico Reciprocity Treaty  
 of 1883”

MARC-WILLIAM PALEN, U.S. Studies Centre, University of  
 Sydney

“The Gilded Age Tariff in Global Perspective”

PHILLIP W. MAGNESS, Institute for Humane Studies,  
 George Mason University

“Protection and the Income Tax Amendment: Wall Street's  
 Reaction to the Tariff Debate of 1909”

### **Salon 6**

#### **Contesting the Metropolitan Future: Political Discourses and Regional Development in the 1970s**

Chair/Commentator:

DAVID FREUND, University of Maryland

RACHEL GUBERMAN, University of Pennsylvania  
 “Race, Metropolitan Expansion, and ‘Quality of Life’  
 Politics in Greater Denver”

LOUISE NELSON DYBLE, Michigan Technological  
 University

“The Triumph of Home Rule Regionalism: The  
 Conservatism of Environmental Politics in the San  
 Francisco Bay Area”

DAVID SCHLITT, University of Michigan

“Brother Can You Spare A Dome: The Pontiac Silverdome  
 from Suburban Playground to Urban Charity Case”

### **Salon 7**

#### **Minority Party: The Republicans, 1933-1966**

Chair/Commentator:

IWAN MORGAN, University of London

DAVID STEBENNE, Ohio State University

“A Party Divided against Itself: The Split between the  
 Gubernatorial and the Congressional Republicans and Its

Consequences for Their Efforts to Escape Minority Status  
 Nationally, 1933-1966”

ELIZABETH TANDY SHERMER, Loyola University Chicago  
 “Free-Enterprise Politics: Modern Republicanism and  
 Conservatism in State Republican Parties”

MICHAEL BOWEN, Westminster College

“Eisenhower’s Pay-Off Man: Harold Stassen and the  
 Tangled Web of Republican Politics, 1952”

### **Salon 8**

#### **The Multiple Faces of Civil Rights**

Chair/Commentator:

SHAMIRA GELBMAN, Illinois State University

MASARU NISHIKAWA, Tsuda College, Tokyo, Japan

“Explaining ‘Two Nixons’ on Civil Rights Issues: 1960  
 Campaign as a Diagnostic Piece of Events”

ELIZABETH A. SHARROW, University of Minnesota--Twin  
 Cities

“Forging ‘Female Athlete’ as Political Figure: Historicizing  
 Sex, Gender, and Identity through Conflict over Title IX,  
 1972-1979”

## **THURSDAY, JUNE 7**

**10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.**

### **Salon 5**

#### **For the Common Good? Statebuilding through Social Welfare Policy**

Chair/Commentator:

ROB MICKEY, University of Michigan

COLIN MOORE, University of Hawaii

“Innovation without Reputation: The Politics of Policy  
 Expansion in the Veterans’ Health Care System”

SUSAN L. MOFFITT and DAVID K. COHEN, Brown  
 University and University of Michigan

“The Effects of Practice on Political Development”

PATRICIA STRACH and KATHLEEN SULLIVAN, University  
 of Albany and Ohio University

“The Politics of Mundane Issues: Gender and  
 Statebuilding in Nineteenth Century America”

ROBERT P. SALDIN, Harvard University

“Long-Term Care’s Place in the American Social Welfare  
 Regime”

**Salon 2****Confronting Dien Bien Phu: Why the U.S. Decided Against War in 1954**

Chair/Commentator:

ANDREW JOHNS, Brigham Young University

ZACHARY M. MATUSHESKI, Brandeis University

"We Want No More Koreas': Congressional Elites and the Dien Bien Phu Crisis of 1954"

ROBERT T. DAVIS II, School of Advanced Military Studies

"Eisenhower, the EDC, and the Indo-China Crisis: Conflicting Visions of Security"

LORI HELENE GRONICH, George Washington University

"Testing the Cognitive Calculus Theory of Decision-Making: US Foreign Policy and Indochina, 1953-1954"

**Salon 3****Bowling Green State University Panel - Roundtable Discussion****Historical Analogy as a Guide to Policy: National Prohibition as Reference Point in Contemporary Drug Policy Debates**

Chair:

SCOTT C. MARTIN, Bowling Green State University

DAVID T. COURTWRIGHT, University of North Florida

DAVID KYVIG, Northern Illinois University

WILLIAM RORABAUGH, University of Washington

Commentator:

AUDIENCE

**Salon 6****Regulating Global Communications in the Age of Empire**

Chair/Commentator:

LOUIS GALAMBOS, Johns Hopkins University

RICHARD R. JOHN, Columbia University

"Projecting Power Overseas: The 1863 Paris Postal Conference, the American Civil War, and the Creation of International Communications Networks"

PETER SHULMAN, Case Western Reserve University

"Policies of Space, Race, and Commercial Suicide: Constructing Transpacific Communications Networks After the Civil War"

HEIDI TWOREK, Harvard University

"Competing Media Empires: The Political Agendas of American, French, and German News Agencies in South America, 1914-1945"

**Salon 7****The Republican Party before the New Right: Women's Rights Policies in the Nixon Administration**

Chair/Commentator:

CATHERINE E. RYMPH, University of Missouri-Columbia

SUSAN M. HARTMANN, Ohio State University

"When Republicans Were Feminists: Bipartisanship, Class, and Policy in the Nixon Administration"

CAROL F. CINI, De Anza College

"California's Commission on the Status of Women during the Governor Reagan Years and Nixon's Presidency: Bipartisan Activism in the Struggle for Women's Rights, 1967-1974"

**THURSDAY, JUNE 7****1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.****Salon 5****American State Building in Comparative and Historical Perspective**

Chair/Commentator:

ADAM SHEINGATE, Johns Hopkins University

GAUTHAM RAO, Rutgers-Newark

"Secret Agents of Change: The State, Surveillance, and the Antinomies of the Market Revolution in Jacksonian America"

WILLIAM D. ADLER, Johns Hopkins University

"Confrontation and Empire: Territorial Expansion in 19th Century Russia and America"

SHAMIRA M. GELBMAN, Illinois State University

"Apartheid Didn't Happen Here: Race-Making in South Africa and the United States"

ZACHARY CALLEN, Allegheny College

"More Than One Game in Town: State Building Without the State in the 19th Century United States Internal Improvements"

**Salon 2****The Conservative Response to the New Deal**

Chair/Commentator:

GREG EOW, Yale University

PAUL MILAZZO, Ohio University

"Editorializing the New Deal: the New York Times Era of Henry Hazlitt"

JAMES MCKAY, University of Wisconsin, Madison

"The Spiritual as Economic: James Fifeild, Spiritual Mobilization and the New Deal"

ANGUS BURGIN, Johns Hopkins University

"The Political Economy of Crisis: Hayek, Robbins, and Market Advocacy at the LSE"

**Salon 3****Administering Care**

Chair:

DANIEL M. FOX, President Emeritus, Milbank Memorial Fund

KAREN KRUSE THOMAS, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine

"Sex, Drugs, and Public Health: The Roots of Behavioral Interventions in Public Health Policy"

SEJAL PATEL, National Institutes of Health Office of History

"The 1960s War on Waste and the NIH Extramural Grants Program"

Commentator:

EDWARD BERKOWITZ, George Washington University

**Salon 6****Opportunity and Inequality in the Postwar American City, 1945-1965**

Chair/Commentator:

PETER COCLANIS, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

RYAN REFT, University of California at San Diego

"The Politics of Linda Vista: Race, Gender, and Community in the Privatization of Military Family Housing, 1944-1956"

KEITH OREJEL, Columbia University

"Factories in the Fallows: Deindustrialization and the Making of Modern Rural Politics, 1945-1965"

ALEX SAYF CUMMINGS, Georgia State University  
"Not a Second Ruhr": Building a Post-Industrial Economy in North Carolina's Research Triangle, 1953-1965"**Salon 7****Foreign Policy in the Cold War**

Chair/Commentator: SETH OFFENBACH, Bronx Community College

HENRY OINAS-KUKKONEN, University of Oulu

"No US Aid for Finland to End Collaboration with Germany in 1943"

ERIK LAKOMAA, Stockholm School of Economics

"Corporatist Advertising in Cold War Sweden: War and Peace Time Cooperation between Swedish Advertising Companies and the Psychological Defense Agency 1955-1975"

MATTEO ROSSINI, International Relations Office, University of Urbino, "Carlo Bo"

"Promises Bigger than Performance': U.S. Modernization and post-Nehru India, 1964-1969"

**Salon 8****Voluntary Organizations and the American State**

Chair/Commentator:

JENNIFER KLEIN, Yale University

SARA FIELDSTON, Yale University

"Natives of the Future: Children, American Voluntary Agencies and Modernization in the Developing World, 1950s-1960s"

PAIGE MELTZER, Harvard University

"Local Frontiers: Volunteerism, the Entrepreneurial Spirit, and the Building of Post-World War II America"

GABRIEL ROSENBERG, Duke University

"Youth as Infrastructure: 4-H and American Political Development"

JOSHUA MATHER, Saint Louis University

"Overseas Aid and the Color Line: Relief, Development, and State-Private Cooperation, 1941-1960"

**THURSDAY, JUNE 7**  
**3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Presidents and Political Operatives**

Chair/Commentator:  
 SIDNEY MILKIS, University of Virginia

JOHN T. EVERS, State University of New York at Albany  
 "This First Inquisition: Governor Alfred E. Smith's Use of the Moreland Act During His First Administration, 1919-1920"

DAVID FARBER, Temple University  
 "Politics and Policy from the Capitalist's Point of View: The Case of John Raskob"

CHRIS W. COURTWRIGHT, Kansas Legislature and DAVID T. COURTWRIGHT, University of North Florida  
 "Nixon's Real Shadow: Robert Anderson, Eisenhower, and the 1956 and 1960 Presidential Elections"

**Salon 2**  
**Democratic Divides: Rethinking the 1944 election in the Breakdown of the New Deal Democratic Coalition**

Chair/Commentator:  
 JOSEPH CRESPIANO, Emory University

KATHRYN CRAMER BROWNELL, Boston University  
 "Reshaping the Democratic Party: Hollywood Liberals and the 1944 Election"

KATHERINE RYE JEWELL, Fitchburg State University  
 "Drafting Byrd: Southern Conservatives' Search for 'Regular' Democrats in the 1944 Election"

DAVID LEVITUS, University of Southern California  
 "White-Collar Social Democracy: The National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Progressive Pivot of the New Deal Coalition"

**Salon 3**  
**Constitutional and Political Development in the States**

Chair/Commentator:  
 JOHN J. DINAN, Wake Forest University

AMY B. BRIDGES, University of California San Diego  
 "Three Generations of State Constitutions"

PAUL EMERSON HERRON, Brandeis University  
 "State Constitutional Development and Southern Exceptionalism: Founding to Secession"

KENNETH P. MILLER, Claremont McKenna College  
 "State Constitutions and the Politics of Rights"

G. ALAN TARR, Rutgers University  
 "Creating and Debating Judicial Independence and Judicial Accountability in the States"

**Salon 6**  
**Racial Segregation, Urban Policy, and Market Ideologies in the American Metropolis, 1960-1980**

Chair/Commentator:  
 MARGARET O'MARA, University of Washington

GUIAN MCKEE, Miller Center, University of Virginia  
 "Hospitals and Race in the Post-Industrial City: The Johns Hopkins University Hospitals and Inner-City Baltimore"

LILY GEISMER, Department of History, Claremont-McKenna College  
 "Beyond the Busing Crisis: Voluntary Integration, Market-Based Individualism and Suburban Liberalism in Metropolitan Boston"

ANDREA GILL, Centre for American Studies, University of Western Ontario  
 "From the Chicago Housing Authority to the 'Real World': The Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program and the Limits of Voucher-Based Integration"

**Salon 7**  
**Tilted Talk: "How Ideological Media Affects Politics and Policy"**

Chair/Commentator:  
 ALLISON PERLMAN, University of California, Irvine

NICOLE HEMMER, United States Studies Centre at the University of Sydney  
 "The Fairness Doctrine and Conservative Broadcasting"

BRIAN ROSENWALD, University of Virginia  
 "Unintended Colossus: The Rise of Conservative Talk Radio"

DAVID KARP, Rutgers University  
 "The Agenda-Setting Function of Partisan Media"

**Salon 8**  
**Politics in the Nixon Era**

Chair/Commentator:  
 IRWIN GELLMAN, Franklin and Marshall College

SAM ROSENFELD, Harvard University  
 "The Age of Party Reform: Issues, Activists, and the Search for Responsible Partisanship in the 1970s"

SETH BLUMENTHAL, Boston University  
 "The Rise of Independents: Richard Nixon's Youth Campaign, 1972"

JUSTIN S. VAUGHN, Cleveland State University  
 "Drug Czar Rising: Institutional Evolution and the President's War on Drugs."

**THURSDAY, JUNE 7**  
**5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.**

**Plenary Session – How Social Scientists Use History**

IRA KATZNELSON, Columbia University

NOLAN McCARTY, Princeton University

ALICE O'CONNOR, University of California, Santa Barbara

**FRIDAY, JUNE 8**  
**8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Book Forum – The Role of Child Socialization in American National Formation: Block's The Crucible of Consent**

JAMES E. BLOCK, DePaul University

TRACY STEFFES, Brown University

MICHAEL CALLAGHAN PISAPIA, Wake Forest University

DAVID ERICSON, George Mason University

**Salon 2**  
**The Politics of Abortion in the 1970s**

Chair/Commentator:  
 SIMONE M. CARON, Wake Forest University

MARY ZIEGLER, St. Louis University School of Law  
 "Reacting to Roe: Reshaping Rhetoric and Identity Within the Abortion-Rights Movement, 1973-1981"

DANIEL K. WILLIAMS, University of West Georgia  
 "The Pro-Life Movement's State Legislative Strategy during the 1970s"

STACIE TARANTO, Ramapo College of New Jersey  
 "Long Island Housewives, Third-Party Politics, and The New York State Right to Life Party, 1970-1980"

**Salon 6**  
**Animals and the State: Public Health, Agriculture, and National Security**

Chair/Commentator:  
 JASON SCOTT SMITH, University of New Mexico

JESSICA WANG, University of British Columbia  
 "The Private Side of Public Health: Rabies Management, Civic Institutions, and State Power in New York City, 1890-1920"

REBECCA KAPLAN, University of California, San Francisco  
 "Impact of the Cattle Industry on Brucellosis Eradication Policy in the United States, 1930 – 1960"

RYAN NOAH SHAPIRO, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
 "'A Vote against Beagles is a Vote against Apple Pie': The Battle over Beagles in Pentagon Gas Experiments: 1973-1975"

**Salon 7**  
**The Interstates, the Cities, and Public Policy**

Chair:  
 MARK H. ROSE, Florida Atlantic University

ROGER BILES, Illinois State University  
 "Expressways before the Interstates: The Case of Detroit, 1945-1956"

EDWARD K. MULLER, University of Pittsburgh  
 "The Urban Advisors and Environmental Design Policy for Urban Freeways, 1965-1972"

RAYMOND A. MOHL, University of Alabama at Birmingham  
 "Freeway Revolts in Memphis and Nashville: Citizen Activism with Differential Outcomes"

MICHAEL R. FEIN, Johnson & Wales University  
 "Realignment: Highways and Livability Policy in the Post-Interstate Era, 1977-2012"

**Salon 8****Antecedents to Supply-Side Economics in Policy and Theory**

Chair/Commentator:

BRUCE BARTLETT, Tax Notes, The Fiscal Times

GRANT MADSEN, Brigham Young University  
"Growth without Inflation: Eisenhower's Attempt to Overwhelm Keynesianism by Learning from Abroad"BRIAN DOMITROVIC, Sam Houston State University  
"The Nobel Prize and the Phillips Curve: An Inverse Relationship"JOHN FARRIS, Georgia Perimeter College  
"Breaking Free from the Grip of Stagflation': The 'Post-Keynesian' Policy Initiatives of the Carter Administration, 1979-1980"**Dominion****Challenging the State: Reconciliation, and Nullification**

Chair/Commentator:

BARTHOLOMEW SPARROW, University of Texas at Austin

HIROSHI OKAYAMA, Keio University  
"Public Administration versus Law: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Reorganization and the Fate of the 'Headless Fourth Branch of Government'"TRACY ROOF, University of Richmond  
"The Evolving Uses of the Reconciliation Procedure and its Policy Consequences"JOHN DINAN, Wake Forest University  
"Talk Back: State Challenges to Federal Directives"**FRIDAY, JUNE 8****10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.****Salon 5****Engendering Transnational Policy History: The United Nations and Its Agencies**

Chair/Commentator:

SONYA MICHEL, University of Maryland, College Park

JILL JENSEN, Pennsylvania State University  
"The Fight over Representation and Rights: Defending Gender Rights through the UN Economic and Social Council, 1948-1950"EILEEN BORIS, University of California Santa Barbara  
"Equality, Difference, and Women's Economic Justice Revisited: The ILO and the UN Committee on the Status of Women"JEAN QUATAERT, Binghamton University, State University of New York  
"Transnational Feminist Contributions to Global Development Discourses and Policies in the 1960s and 1970s"LISA LEVENSTEIN, University of North Carolina, Greensboro  
"Feminist Policy Making at the Beijing Women's Conference of 1995"**Salon 2****Roundtable: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century**

Chair:

LIZ CLEMENS, University of Chicago

BRUCE SCHULMAN, Boston University

IRA KATZNELSON, Columbia University

CHRISTOPHER LOSS, Vanderbilt University

**Salon 6****Organizing for the Great War**

Chair/Comment:

BETH BAILEY, Temple University

DOUGLAS CRAIG, Australian National University  
"The European War, the Great War, or America's War? Organizing the War Effort from Washington, D.C., 1917-1918"ANDREW J. HUEBNER, University of Alabama  
"Mobilizing Emotion in the Great War: Romance and Family in American Propaganda Culture"GINA L. KEEL, State University of New York College at Oneonta  
"War Finance Leadership and Authority Under Wilson"**Salon 7****Wages and Taxes in Late 19th and 20th Century America**

Chair/Commentator:

ROMAIN HURET, University of Lyon

SHELDON D. POLLACK, University of Delaware  
"Origins of the Modern Income Tax, 1861-1913"

BRADLEY A. HANSEN and MARY ESCHELBACH HANSEN,  
University of Mary Washington  
"The Evolution of Garnishment and Wage Assignment in  
Illinois, 1880-1930"

CARL-HENRY GESCHWIND, Independent Scholar  
"Farmers, Motorists, and Highway Finance: The Complex  
Origins of the American Gasoline Tax, 1914-1929"

### **Salon 8**

**Liberalism in Transition: The Challenges of a Post-  
Keynesian Political Economy**

Chair/Commentator:  
ROBERT COLLINS, University of Missouri

IWAN MORGAN, Institute for the Study of the Americas,  
University of London  
"Liberalism and Inflation in the 1970s"

DANIEL M. SCROOP, University of Sheffield  
"Ralph Nader and the Regulatory State"

JONATHAN BELL, University of Reading, United Kingdom  
"Queer Liberalism: Healthcare and the State in Reagan's  
America"

### **Dominion**

**Guns, Taxes, and the Right**

Chair/Commentator:  
MOLLY MICHELMORE, Washington and Lee University

JEFFREY A. MARLIN, Georgia State University, Atlanta,  
Georgia  
"Reassessing the Strength of the National Rifle  
Association"

ZACK SMITH, Quincy College  
"Founding the Conservative Opportunity Society"

RICHARD MEAGHER, Randolph-Macon College  
"Death and Taxes: Tax Policy and the Conservative  
Coalition"

## **FRIDAY, JUNE 8**

**1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.**

### **Salon 5**

**A Review of Louis Galambos' The Creative Society –  
and the Price Americans Paid for It**

ED BERKOWITZ, George Washington University

DOMINIQUE TOBBELL, University of Minnesota

LOUIS GALAMBOS, Johns Hopkins University

DANIEL R. ERNST, Georgetown University

### **Salon 2**

**Alcohol and Fair Trade Regulation in the U.S. and  
France, 1920s-1940s**

Chair/Commentator:  
ELIZABETH SANDERS, Cornell University

LAURA D. PHILLIPS, Brown University  
"Federal Regulation of New Competition in Construction:  
The Law and Politics of Antitrust Reform in the 1920s"

WILLIAM RORABAUGH, University of Washington  
"US Alcohol Regulation after Repeal, 1933-1934"

W. SCOTT HAINE, University of Maryland - University  
College  
"Vichy's Greatest Victory: Comprehensive Regulation of  
Cafes Results in Steady Decline of Liquor Licenses, 1946+"

### **Salon 6**

**Reconceptualizing Policy History**

Chair/Commentator:  
DAVID ROBERTSON, University of Missouri, Saint Louis

BARTHOLOMEW SPARROW, University of Texas at Austin  
"Spatial Discrimination and the Multiple Traditions in  
America: Lessons from the 'Insular Cases'"

GREGORY P. MARCHILDON, Johnson-Shoyama Graduate  
School of Public Policy, University of Regina  
"Universality and its near-defeat in Canadian Medicare,  
1947-1967"

MICHAEL T. HALPERN, RTI International  
"Do Changes in how Health Care was Valued Reflect  
Changes in U.S. Societal Values over the 20th Century?"

**Salon 7****Cultural Policymaking in the Great Society**

Chair:

BRUCE SCHULMAN, Boston University

KAREN PATRICIA HEATH, University of Oxford

"Building a Great Society: The Politics of Art in the 1960s"

CHRISTOPHER M. LOOMIS, University of Virginia

"An Appetite for Excellence: The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967"

LAUREN TILTON, Yale University

"Seeing Local: Community Documentary Film and the War on Poverty"

Commentator:

STEVEN CONN, Ohio State University

**Salon 8****Follow the Money: How Taxes, Banks and Mortgages Reconfigured American Politics during the Long 1970s**

Chair/Commentator:

EDUARDO CANEDO, University of Connecticut

JOSHUA MOUND, University of Michigan

"The Other Tax Revolt: Pocketbook Discontent, the Grassroots Left, and the Local Origins of National Tax Politics"

REBECCA MARCHIEL, Northwestern University

"It's Our Money': How 1970s Urban Activists Became Grassroots Financial Regulators"

ANTHONY ROSS, University of Michigan

"Financing the American Dream: Growth Liberalism, Pension Funds, and the Origins of Mortgage Securitization"

**Dominion****Confronting the Urban Crisis**

Chair/Commentator:

BELL CLEMENT, George Washington University

CLAYTON TRUTOR, Boston College

"Comeback City': The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Cleveland in the Age of Professional Sports Franchise Free Agency, 1945-1996"

MARIEL ISAACSON, The Graduate Center, City University of New York

"Thinking Small: Planning and Reform in the Pittsburgh Renaissance"

MAURICIO CASTRO, Purdue University Department of History

"A City That Is Constrained To Lead Two Lives': Cuban Refugee Policy, Urban Development, and Political Evolution in Miami, 1959-1972"

TRACY NEUMANN, Wayne State University

"Jimmy Carter's Urban Policies"

**FRIDAY, JUNE 8****3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.****Salon 5****Tax Resistance in the United States**

Chair/Commentator:

ROBIN EINHORN, University of California, Berkeley

ROMAIN HURET, University of Lyon

"Tax reduction or tax repeal? -- Businessmen, Andrew W. Mellon and tax policy (1920-1932)"

OLIVIER BURTIN, Princeton University

"The Crusade to Abolish the Singles Penalty: Vivien Kellems, Congress, and the Gender Politics of Income Taxation, 1969-1975"

CAMILLE WALSH, University of Washington, Bothell

"The People Who Pay the Taxes': Race and the Right to Education, 1959-1969"

**Salon 2****Advocates for Racial Reform**

Chair/Commentator:

MICHAEL R. WEST, College of Holy Cross

ERIC S. YELLIN, University of Richmond

"Oswald Garrison Villard and White Racial Liberalism"

CATHLEEN D. CAHILL, University of New Mexico

"Marie Bottineau Baldwin and Florence Etheridge: Gender, Race and Reform among Federal Indian Service Employees, 1900-1930"

TOURÉ F. REED, Illinois State University

"Lester Granger, the New Deal, and African American Politics"



**Salon 6****The Civil War and Developmental Politics: Defining Money, Land, and Commerce in Nineteenth Century America**

Chair:

RICHARD MCCULLEY, National Archives and Records Administration

MICHAEL T. CAIRES, University of Virginia  
"One Union, One Currency, Many Banks: The Jacksonian Origins of National Banking"MAROON A. DAVID, Carnegie Mellon University  
"Cancelled Claims: How the West was Lost Under the Homestead Act of 1862"CORY DAVIS, University of Illinois at Chicago  
"The World Grows and We Must Grow With It: The National Board of Trade and the Developmental Politics of Commercial Capitalism in the Reconstruction Era"

Commentator:

RICHARD R. JOHN, Columbia University

**Salon 7****The US Military: Activism, Rights, and Policy**

Chair:

PAULA BAKER, The Ohio State University

KIMBERLEY L. PHILLIPS, Brooklyn College - City University of New York  
"Black Political Activism and U.S. Militarism from World I to Iraq"BETH BAILEY, Temple University  
"Military Exceptionalism, Civil Rights, and the Struggles over Gays-in-the-Military"JOHN WORSENCROFT, Temple University  
"Family Matters: The United States Army, Family, and the Search for Stability, 1980-1984"**Salon 8****[Invisible] Labor Law: Rethinking State Reform of "Women's Work" in 20th Century America**

Chair/Commentator:

ROBYN MUNCY, University of Maryland at College Park

RACHEL LOUISE MORAN, The Pennsylvania State University

"To Investigate and Report': How the Children's Bureau Became a Back-Door Policy Maker"

VANESSA MAY, Seton Hall University

"Why Humiliate One Class?": Privacy, Public Health Laws, and Domestic Workers"

ALLISON ELIAS, University of Virginia

"Respect without Raises: Clerical Workers, Pay Equity, and the Failures of Equal Employment Opportunity Law"

**FRIDAY, JUNE 8****5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.****Plenary Session - The State House, The Law Firm and the University: Three Perspectives on the Practice of Policy-Making**

GOVERNOR GERALD L. BALILES, sponsored by the Miller Center of Public Affairs

**SATURDAY, JUNE 9****8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.****Salon 5****Bailouts, Banks, and Housing**

Chair/Commentator:

VINCENT CANNATO, University of Massachusetts, Boston

KATHRYN C. LAVELLE, Case Western Reserve University  
"Financial Market History and Regulation in the US"DAN BERKHOUT, George Washington University  
"This So-Called Bailout': Banking Deregulation and the 1984 Continental Illinois Crisis"SUSAN HOFFMANN AND KEVIN CORDER, Western Michigan University  
"Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac: Where Are They? How Did They Get There?"**Salon 2****War and Social Policy**

Chair:

PAULA BAKER, The Ohio State University

LAWRENCE RICHARDS, Miami University  
"Welfare, Warfare and America's Delayed Creation of a Social Safety Net"

MELINDA R. TARSI, University of Massachusetts Amherst  
 “Point of Intersection: The G.I. Bill and the Development  
 of Universal Social Policies”

CHLOE THURSTON, UC Berkeley  
 “Policy Change in the Public-Private Welfare State”

**Salon 6**  
**Federal Policy and Professional Accountability**

Chair:  
 CARL F. AMERINGER, Virginia Commonwealth University

CLINTON M. SANDVICK, University of Oregon  
 “Defining the Practice of Medicine: Law, Society and  
 Medical Licensure 1865-1915”

SCOTT C. BOOTH, Virginia Commonwealth University  
 “The Police as Front-Line Service Providers: The  
 Integration of Street-Level Bureaucracy with Community-  
 Based Practices”

ANDREW R. ARMSTRONG, Virginia Commonwealth  
 University  
 “Education Policy and Professional Practice: The Whole  
 Language vs. Phonics Controversy in Public Education”

STEPHANIE LAU, Virginia Commonwealth University  
 “Power Struggle: A Conflict Analysis of the Education  
 Profession”

Commentator:  
 JAMES MOHR, University of Oregon

**Salon 7**  
**Conservatives and the New Deal State**

Chair/Commentator:  
 DAVID FARBER, Temple University

ANDREW MEADE MCGEE, University of Virginia  
 “Congress Meets the Computer: Conservative Governance  
 and Information Technology in an Era of Postwar State  
 Expansion”

MICHAEL BRENES, City University of New York  
 “Bailed Out by the Cold War: The Lockheed Loan Crisis  
 and the Making of Big-Government Conservatism”

JEREMY JOHNSON, Carroll College  
 “Housing Vouchers: The Rise, Reign, and Retreat of a  
 Republican Welfare Policy”

**Salon 8**  
**Fueling Panic: Energy and Economic Crisis in  
 American History**

Chair/Commentator:  
 SHARON ANN MURPHY, Providence College

THOMAS FINGER, University of Virginia  
 “Calories, Commerce and Customs: Agrarian Revolt and  
 the International Grain Trade, 1837-1914”

SEAN PATRICK ADAMS, University of Florida  
 “The Rise of the Energy Consumer: Coal Markets and  
 Crisis in 19th Century America”

LEE VINSEL, Harvard University  
 “Making Trust During Crisis: Policy, Coordination, and  
 Energy Statistics, 1973-1986”

**Dominion**  
**Urban Policy at the Grassroots: The Politics of  
 Housing, Public Space, and Police Power in Postwar  
 Philadelphia**

Chair/Commentator:  
 GUIAN MCKEE, Miller Center, University of Virginia

TIMOTHY J LOMBARDO, Purdue University  
 “‘Law and Order’ from Below: Race, Urban Space, and Law  
 Enforcement in Postwar Philadelphia”

JOSH SEGAL, Harvard University and Harvard Law School  
 “‘The Law is in the Public Streets’: Street Vending, Political  
 Economy, and Property in Postindustrial Philadelphia”

ANTHONY PRACTOR, University of Pennsylvania  
 “Neighborhood Preservation in Philadelphia: An  
 Unsustainable Practice, 1973-1983”

**SATURDAY, JUNE 9**  
**10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Paranoia, Populism and the Tea Party**

Chair/Commentator:  
 STEPHEN R. THOMAS, Ohio Dominican University

ROBERT B. HORWITZ, University of California, San Diego  
 “Richard Hofstadter’s ‘Paranoid Style’ and the Tea Party  
 movement”

JULIA AZARI, Marquette University  
 “Non-parties in American Politics”

RON FORMISANO, University of Kentucky  
"The Tea Party in Historical Perspective"

**Salon 2**  
**City Planning and Governance**

Chair:  
PATRICIA STRACH, State University of New York,  
University at Albany

JESSICA RONEY, Ohio University  
"Split Sovereignty: Philadelphia Governance, 1682-1776"

KATHLEEN SULLIVAN, Ohio University  
"Boarding Sailors: Licensing in 19th-Century Boston"

CAROL NACKENOFF, Swarthmore College  
"Borrowing—and Creating—State Power in Dealing with  
San Francisco's Problem Chinese Females"

JIM GREER, U.S. Department of the Treasury  
"Better Homes in America"

Commentator:  
JESSICA WANG, University of British Columbia

**Salon 6**  
**The Public Sector: Entrepreneurs and Anti-Labor  
Policy**

Chair:  
PAULA BAKER, The Ohio State University

JOSEPH E. HOWER, Georgetown University  
"The Sparrows and the Horses': Daniel Patrick Moynihan,  
the Family Assistance Plan, and the Liberal Critique  
of Government Workers, 1955-1973"

ALEXIS WALKER, Cornell University  
"The Role of Public Policies in the Rise of Public Sector  
Unions in the United States"

STEPHEN B. ADAMS, Salisbury University  
"The 'Hidden Hand' of Government in the Development of  
Silicon Valley"

**Salon 7**  
**Race and the Republican Party in the Civil Rights Era**

Chair/Commentator:  
DARYL MICHAEL SCOTT, Howard University

GEOFFREY KABASERVICE, Independent Scholar  
"Against the Consensus: Recovering the Role of Moderates  
in the Republican Party during the 1960s"

VINCENT J. CANNATO, University of Massachusetts,  
Boston  
"John Lindsay and the Evolution of Racial Liberalism"

TIMOTHY THURBER, Virginia Commonwealth University  
"The Republican Party and Racial Violence During the  
Civil Rights Era: A Reconsideration"

**Salon 8**  
**The Reshaping of Liberalism and Conservatism in  
Modern America**

Chair/Commentator:  
GREGORY L. SCHNEIDER, Emporia State University

NOAM SCHIMMEL, London School of Economics  
"The Evolution of Healthcare Reform Policy from Truman  
to Obama: The Triumph of Conservatism"

LAWRENCE McANDREWS, St. Norbert College  
"Identity Crisis: Clinton, Catholics, and Health Care"

DARYL A. CARTER, East Tennessee State University  
"Liberalism in Winter"

**Dominion**  
**Making the Maternalist State**

Chair/Commentator:  
EILEEN BORIS, University of California, Santa Barbara

ERIC LIN, United States University  
"Divorce Policy"

KATHI NEHLS, University of Georgia  
"Covington's West: Rockefeller Philanthropy and the  
Appropriation of the Maternalist State, 1921-1935"

JENNIFER J. ARMIGER, University at Albany, State  
University of New York  
"Sex, Business and the Political Economy of Equal  
Opportunity Policy: Shaping Limits in 1970's America"

**SATURDAY, JUNE 9**  
**1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Disaster Management and Policy**

Chair/Commentator:  
GARETH DAVIES, Oxford University

SCOTT KNOWLES, Drexel University  
 "A Democracy of Risk: Consensus Codes and the American System of Disaster Mitigation"

TIMOTHY KNEELAND, Nazareth College  
 "'Shovel Off to Buffalo': The Blizzard of '77 and the Significance of Snow Removal as Public Policy"

NATALIE SCHUSTER, University of Houston, Houston, Texas  
 "Political Hurricanes: The Federal Response to Natural Disasters in 1965 and 1992"

ANDREW MORRIS, Union College  
 "The Origins of the FEMA Trailer: Emergency Housing and Federal Disaster Relief"

### **Salon 2** **The Republican Ethos and Slavery**

Chair/Commentator:  
 CALVIN SCHERMERHORN, Arizona State University

COREY M. BROOKS, York College of Pennsylvania  
 "Antislavery in the Balance: Majority-Rule Elections and Liberty and Free Soil Party Tactics"

PETER WALLENSTEIN, Virginia Tech  
 "From the Hartford Convention to the Fourteenth Amendment: The Three-Fifths Clause, the Death of Slavery, and the Politics of Reconstruction"

SIMON GILHOOLEY, Cornell University  
 "A Temple in Which the Hearts of Americans Worship: The Constitution in Fourth of July Toasts"

### **Salon 6** **New Uses for the University in the Modern United States**

Chair/Commentator:  
 NICOLE SACKLEY, University of Richmond

ETHAN SCHRUM, University of Virginia  
 "The Problem of Policy Research in the American University in the 1960s"

MARGARET O'MARA, University of Washington  
 "The Economic Uses of the University since 1970"

GEORGE R. LA NOUE and ALEXIA VAN ORDEN, UMBC  
 "Dueling Sovereignities: The Forty-five Year Conflict between the U.S. Office of Civil Rights and the State of Maryland over the Desegregation of Higher Education"

### **Salon 7** **Identifying and Measuring Change in the Study of American Political Institutions**

Chair/Commentator:  
 ADAM SHEINGATE, Johns Hopkins University

CHLOE THURSTON and PHILIP ROCCO, University of California, Berkeley  
 "From Metaphors to Measures: Re-thinking Empirical Indicators of Gradual Institutional Change"

TRAVIS JOHNSTON, University of California, Berkeley  
 "Who Commands Influence within a Party? The Coalitional Logic to Legislative Agenda-Setting"

MICHAEL A. DICHIO, Cornell University  
 "The Supreme Court and American State Development, 1789-2011"

### **Salon 8** **Implementation and Aftermath: Women and Social Policy in the 1970s and 1980s**

Chair:  
 SUSAN HARTMANN, The Ohio State University

MELANIE ARIAS, University of California, Los Angeles  
 "Purchasing Power and Personal Dignity: The Experimental Housing Allowance Program and Policy Responses to Race and Gender in the 1970s"

ANNE BLASCHKE, Boston University  
 "'We Started at Title I': Title IX and the Racial Limits of Gendered Reform"

JOSIE RODBERG, Harvard University  
 "The Development of Pro-Life Opposition to Publicly-Funded Family Planning"

Commentator:  
 LILY GEISMER, Claremont McKenna College

### **Dominion** **Tobacco Policy Since the Surgeon General's Report**

Chair/Commentator:  
 PAM PENNOCK, University of Michigan at Dearborn

LOUIS KYRIAKOUCES, University of Southern Mississippi  
 "What Does the History of the Cigarette Epidemic in the American South Tell Us About Global Tobacco Control in the 21st Century?"

ROBERT FLEEGLER, University of Mississippi  
 “The Immediate Impact of the 1964 Surgeon General’s Report”

SHARON COOK, University of Ottawa  
 “‘What is the Problem with Smoking?’: Canadian Women, The American Surgeon-General’s Report of 1964 and Smoking Culture in Canada, 1960 - 1975”

**SATURDAY, JUNE 9**  
**3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.**

**Salon 5**  
**Modern War at Home and Abroad**

Chair/Commentator:  
 SETH CENTER, Historian, U.S. Department of State

AMANDA KEMPA, U.S. Department of Defense  
 “The Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and National Security Policymaking”

JAMES M. QUIRK, American University  
 “Why We War : Explaining American Military Deployments Since Vietnam”

NADIA HILLIARD, University of Oxford  
 “The Institutional Development of the Homeland Security State”

**Salon 2**  
**The Evolving Pursuit of Equity in the American School District**

Chair/Commentator:  
 KIMBERLY J. ROBINSON, University of Richmond

DAVID GAMSON, Pennsylvania State University  
 “Reforming and Reinventing the American School District, 1931-2011”

EMILY HODGE, Pennsylvania State University  
 “Tracking Districts: The State of Ability Grouping Mid-century”

GENEVIEVE SIEGEL-HAWLEY, Virginia Commonwealth University  
 “Erasing Boundaries? Exploring City-Suburban District Consolidation Efforts in Four Southern Metro Areas”

ERICA FRANKENBERG and SARAH DIEM, Pennsylvania State University

“Integration Policy in an Era of Political and Legal Uncertainty”

**Salon 6**  
**The Draft: United States and Canada**

Chair/Commentator:  
 TIMOTHY LA GOY, Jefferson Community College

DONALD EBERLE, Bowling Green State University  
 “‘With Utmost Respect and Deference to the Court’: Conscription and the Habeas Corpus crisis in Canada during World War One.”

RICHARD F. HAMM, State University of New York, University at Albany  
 “A Legal Challenge to the Segregated Draft?”

STEVEN WHITE, Columbia University  
 “Civil Rights, World War II, and U.S. Public Opinion”

**Salon 7**  
**Creating the Deregulatory State in the 1970s and 1980s**

Chair:  
 BRUCE SCHULMAN, Boston University

SEAN VANATTA, Princeton University  
 “Mapping State Deregulation onto the Federal Landscape: Citibank, South Dakota, and the Local Politics of National Consumer Credit Regulation”

BRENT CEBUL, University of Virginia  
 “Conservative State Building From Nixon to Reagan: The Case of General Revenue Sharing”

ROBERT HENDERSON, University of Maryland  
 “The New Redlining? : Adjustable Rate Mortgages and the Deregulation of Housing Finance”

Commentator:  
 LOUIS HYMAN, Cornell University

**Salon 8**  
**Innovation and Domestic Policy Change from World War II to the Cold War**

Chair/Commentator:  
 NICOLE SACKLEY, University of Richmond

DEAN J. KOTLOWSKI, Salisbury University  
 “The Federal Security Agency Is Born—and Goes to War, 1939-1945”

ABBY GOLDMAN, Duke University  
 "World War II, The Emergency Maternity and Infant Care Program, and the Brief Right to Maternal and Child Healthcare, 1943-1952"

***Dominion***

**Constitution Policy in Eastern Europe**

Chair/Commentator:

JOHN D. TREADWAY, University of Richmond

MIROSLAV SVIRCEVIC, Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
 "The Idea of a Modern State in the Constitutional Systems of Bulgaria (1879), Serbia (1903) and Greece (1911)"

ALEKSANDRA KOLAKOVIC, Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
 "French Policy Towards the Balkans 1871-1914"

MARTIN JAVOR, PHD., University of Presov in Presov, Slovakia

"An Example of Checking the Passenger Travelling to the U.S. by the Secret Police (STB) in Czechoslovakia (1950-1989)"

TEODORA GAIDYTE, Institute of International Relations and Political Science (IIRPS), Vilnius University  
 "Trust in Established and Post-Communist Democracies: Conceptualization of the Category and Theoretical Analysis in regard to Transformation"

**SATURDAY, JUNE 9**

**5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.**

**Plenary Session - The Crisis In Higher Education**

EDWARD AYERS, President, University of Richmond

RICHARD VEDDER, Director, Center for College Affordability and Productivity  
 Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Ohio University

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-and-

Peter A. Shulman, History, Case Western Reserve University

"The Making of a Tax Break: The Oil Depletion Allowance, Scientific Taxation, and Natural Resource Policy in the Early Twentieth Century"

**Hugh Davis Graham Award**

Tamara Mann, Columbia University

"Honor Thy Father and Mother: Old Age in a New America, 1945-1965"

**Thomas H. Critchlow Award**

Simon Gilhooley, Cornell University

"The Textuality of the Constitution and the Orgins of Original Intent"

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Evan Rothera, Penn State University

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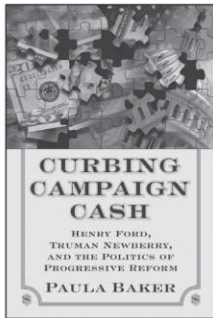
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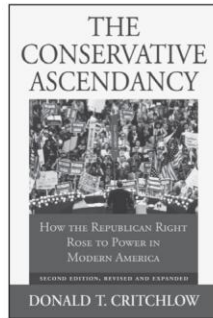
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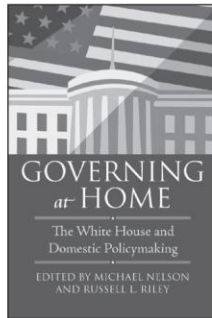


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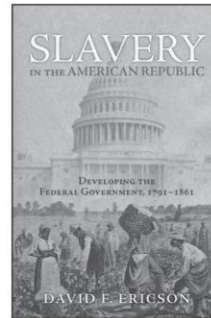
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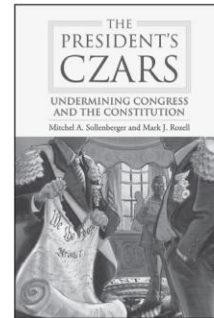
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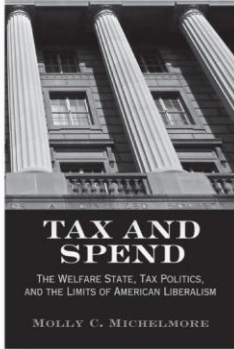


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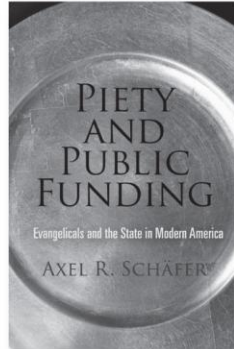
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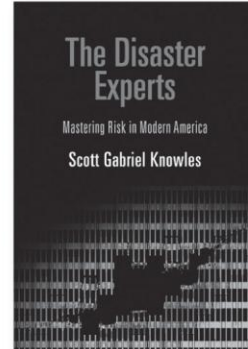
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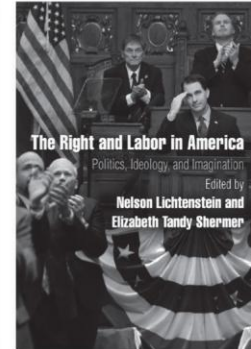
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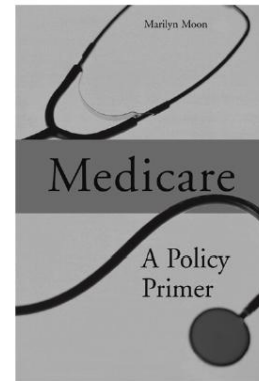
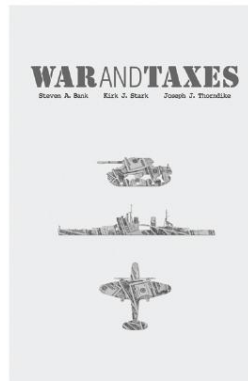
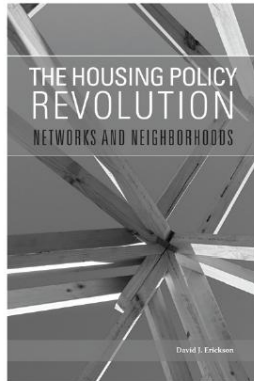
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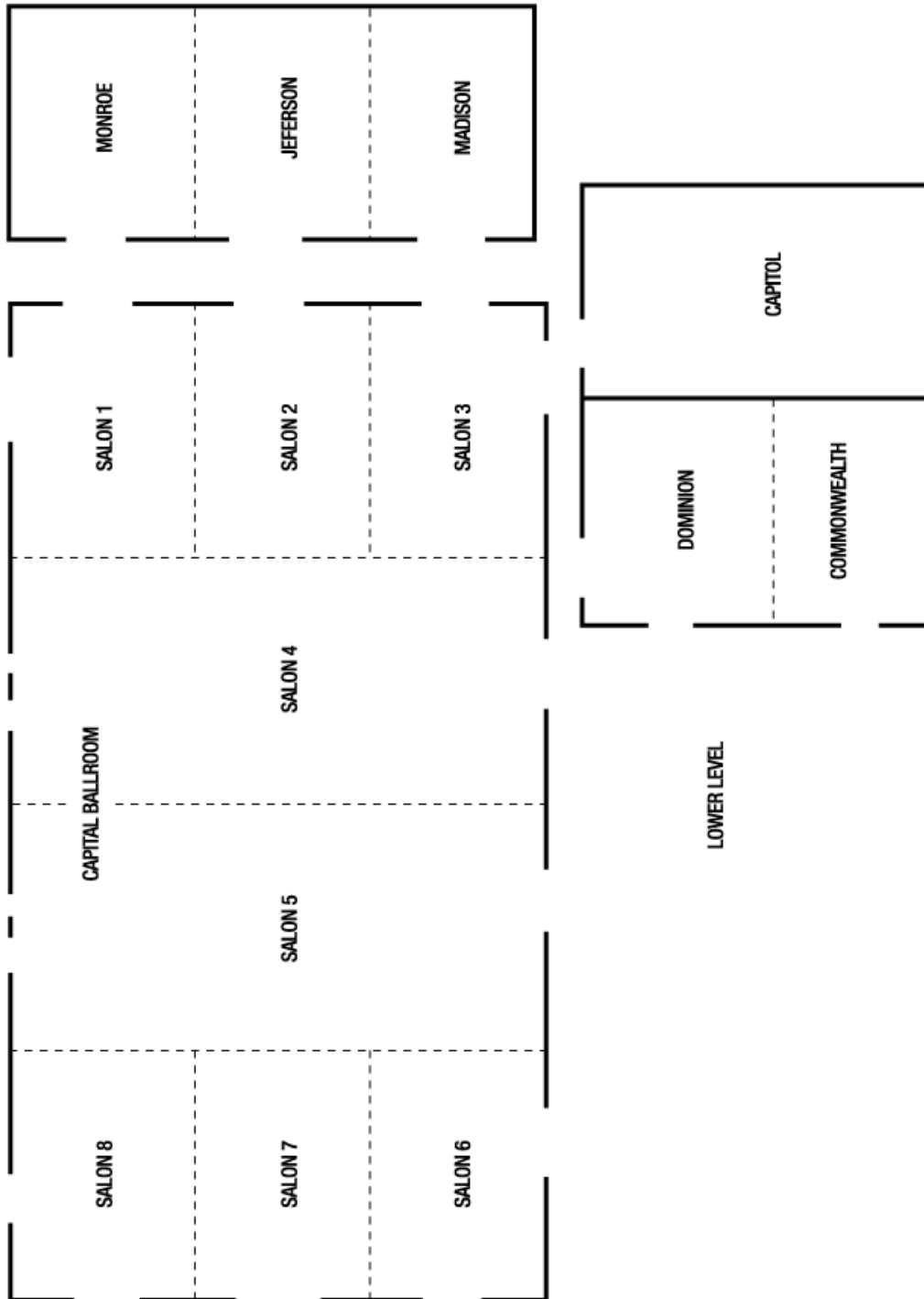
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