

2016 Policy History Conference

June 1 - 4 Nashville, TN



Welcome to the ninth biennial Policy History Conference co-sponsored by the Institute for Political History, *Journal of Policy History*, Center for Political Thought and Leadership, Arizona State University, Department of Government, University of Texas-Austin and Peabody College, Vanderbilt University.

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Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
Matthew C. Sherman, Institute for Political History

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The Institute for Political History is a 501(c)(3) non-profit educational foundation. No person associated with the Institute is provided an annual salary or remuneration for their work in the Institute. The conference coordinators and conference staff receive small remuneration for their services. The Institute wants to thank the program committee co-chairs, plenary participants, award luncheon keynote speaker and panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the Policy History Conference. This is the ninth Policy History Conference and the twenty-eighth 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.

Table of Contents

Conference Information 2

Sponsors 2
Location and Lodging 2
Registration 2
Transportation 2
Local Weather 3
Cancellations 3
Questions? Contact: 3

Special Conference Events 3

Thursday Plenary - *Liberalism in America* 3
Thursday Reception 3
Friday Awards Luncheon 3
Friday Plenary - *Technology and the State* 3
Friday Reception 3

Conference at a Glance 4

Concurrent Sessions 6

Policy History Conference Awards Luncheon 19

Ellis Hawley Prize 19
Hugh Davis Graham Award 19

Index 28

Advertisements 31

Hotel Map 33



Conference Information

Sponsors

We thank the following sponsors for their generous contributions to this conference:

Institute for Political History

Journal of Policy History

Center for Political Thought and Leadership, Arizona State University

Department of Government, University of Texas-Austin

Peabody College, Vanderbilt University

Location and Lodging

The ninth biennial Policy History Conference will be located at the Loews Vanderbilt Hotel, 2100 West End Avenue, Nashville, TN 37203. Phone: 615-320-1700.

Self parking at the hotel is \$30 per night. Valet parking is \$35 per night.

Guest rooms at the conference hotel are fully booked. We recommend **Hotel Indigo Nashville**, 301 Union Street, Nashville, TN 37201, 615-891-6000 or **Double Tree by Hilton Hotel**, 315 4th Ave N, Nashville, TN 37219, 615-244-8200 as alternatives.



Registration

To register for the 2016 Policy History Conference, visit <https://jph.asu.edu/2016-registration>. All participants should check in at the registration desk to receive a conference program, name badge and Friday awards luncheon ticket if purchased. Those who have not pre-registered must register at the registration desk during the hours below.

Registration Desk Hours:

Located in Neely Foyer, Mezzanine Level

Wednesday, June 1 - 7:30 am – 5:00 pm

Thursday, June 2 - 8:00 am – 5:00 pm

Friday, June 3 - 8:00 am – 12:00 pm

Saturday, June 4 - 8:00 am – 10:00 am

Book Exhibit Hours:

Located in Sarrat/Kissam

Wednesday, June 1 - 1:00 pm – 4:00 pm

Thursday, June 2 - 8:30 am – 4:00 pm

Friday, June 3 - 8:30 am – 4:00 pm

Saturday, June 4 - 8:30 am – 11:30 am

Refreshments

Located near the book exhibit, refreshments such as coffee and tea will be available at various times during the conference.

Transportation

Nashville International Airport

Nashville's airport is designed to keep you moving, with an easy flow to and from the terminal's 45 gates. The award-winning airport features a range of dining and retail options, two massage bars, a nail salon, terminal-wide Wi-Fi access, an extensive Arts at the Airport program featuring visual art and live entertainment, a full-service business center with foreign currency exchange - and even meeting space for one last conference before you head home.

Taxis

Cabs are available from the taxi stand on the ground level of the airport. Nashville features a flat-fee service triangle between the airport, downtown and Gaylord Opryland Resort & Convention Center. From point to point, taxi fares are currently set at \$25 per cab for up to four passengers; within the triangle, charges should not exceed the flat-rate fare, which should be posted in the rear window of the taxi. For trips outside the triangle, consult the meter rates posted in the cab.

Buses

The Metro Transit Authority provides hourly service between downtown and the airport seven days a week. Express trips take only 20 minutes, and local service takes 35 to 45 minutes. One-way fares between the airport and downtown are available for under \$2. In town, MTA provides bus service in and out of downtown and

throughout the city. All-day, unlimited-ride passes are available for \$5.25. Downtown circulator buses, called the Music City Circuit, provide free transportation Monday through Saturday.

Commuter Rail

The Music City Star Commuter Rail has six stations along the route between Lebanon (east of town) and the destination station at Riverfront Park in downtown Nashville. Upon arrival at the Riverfront Park station, passengers can board one of two Metropolitan Transit Authority buses at no additional cost: one circulates downtown and one goes to West End/Belmont. Trains operate Monday-Friday during peak commuter hours, plus a late train on Friday with a 10:30pm departure from the Riverfront Park station. For more information, call customer service at 615-862-8833 or go to musiccitystar.org.

Ride Share

Lyft and Uber are both active in Nashville. Download the app and request a ride. A nearby driver will be dispatched to your location within minutes. The Nashville International Airport was the first airport in the country to allow ride-sharing services to operate on the property.

Shuttles

Jarmon Transportation, 615-275-0146, is located on the ground level of the airport and offers transportation to all Downtown & Metropolitan Nashville Area Hotels. Shuttles depart every 15 minutes from the airport. Reservations are not required for service from the airport. Transportation is available from hotels, but reservations are suggested to ensure a timely departure. One-way tickets are \$14 per person; round-trip \$25 per person.

Local Weather

Highs are expected to be in the low to mid eighties with lows in the mid to low sixties.

Cancellations

Conference participants can cancel registration by visiting <https://jph.asu.edu/2016-registration> and clicking on the registration link. Credit card processing and registration processing charges will not be refunded. **The last day to cancel is Wednesday, May 25, 2016.**

Questions? Contact:

Program: Amy Wallhermfechtel
policyhistoryconference@gmail.com

Book Exhibit: Matthew C. Sherman
sherman_matthew@hotmail.com

Registration: Roxane Barwick
policyhistory@gmail.com

Hotel/Lodging: Matthew C. Sherman
sherman_matthew@hotmail.com

Special Conference Events

Thursday Plenary - *Liberalism in America*

Organized by Dr. Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas-Austin, the Thursday Plenary Session on Liberalism in America will be from **5:00 pm – 6:15 pm** in **Symphony I**.

Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas-Austin
Andrew Rehfeld, Washington University in St. Louis
William Rorabaugh, University of Washington
Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania
Jeffrey Tulis, University of Texas-Austin

Thursday Reception

Sponsored by the Department of Government at the University of Texas-Austin and the *Journal of Policy History*, the Thursday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from **6:15 – 7:30 pm**, June 2, in the **Skylight Foyer** for conference participants and their guests.

Friday Awards Luncheon

An Awards Luncheon will be held on Friday, June 3 at **12:00 pm** in the **Skylight Foyer**. Orders for the luncheon should be placed when you register online. Luncheon attendees will pick up their tickets when they check in at the conference registration desk. For those who have not pre-registered and wish to attend the luncheon, please check with the conference registration desk. Dr. David Farber, University of Kansas will deliver the keynote address titled "Black Power: Working the Interstices of Radical Activism and Insider Politics." 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 recipients of the Hugh Davis Graham Award will also be announced at the luncheon.

Friday Plenary - *Technology and the State*

Organized by Dr. Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University, the Friday Plenary Session on Technology and the State will be from **5:00 pm – 6:15 pm** in **Symphony I**.

Chair: Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University
Sarah Igo, Vanderbilt University
Margaret O'Mara, University of Washington
John Skrentny, University of California – San Diego

Friday Reception

Sponsored by the Peabody College at Vanderbilt University and the Institute for Political History, the Friday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from **6:15 – 7:30 pm**, June 3, in the **Skylight Foyer** for conference participants and their guests.

Conference at a Glance

This section is designed to provide a quick review of conference events; more detailed descriptions of these events appear in the next and in previous sections.

Wednesday, June 1

Registration: 7:30 am – 5:00 pm
Located in Neely Foyer, Mezzanine Level

- Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am
- “Uneven” State in the 1970s: Military, Immigration, and Economic Regulation
 - That ‘70s Panel
 - First Nation Politics
 - Policymaking in the Human Rights Context
 - Making Markets: Rethinking the Late-Twentieth-Century Regulatory State

- Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am
- Perspectives on the Political Economy of the 1970s
 - Foreign Policy
 - Who is the Citizen’s “Other”? Defining Citizenship through Alienage Discriminations, 1901-1997
 - Conservative Activism
 - Recapturing the Oval Office
 - Institutional Finance, Institutional Politics: Central Banks, Mortgage Finance, and Consumer Lending in the Mid-20th Century
 - Trade Associations: Contracting Out the State

Lunch Break: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

Book Exhibit: 1:00 pm – 4:30 pm
Located in Sarrat/Kissam

- Concurrent Sessions 3:** 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
- Rethinking the Tax Revolt: The Liberal-Left’s Response to Fiscal Crisis in the 1960s and 1970s
 - Rethinking Party History
 - State of Human Rights and Humanitarianism in the 20th Century
 - Late 20th and Early 21st Century Revolution in Land-Grant Higher Education: Policy From On High or From Below?
 - Re-Conceptualizing the Connections between New Deal Mortgages, Race, and Economics

- Concurrent Sessions 4:** 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
- Education and State Building in the 19th Century: How Americans Built and Staffed the New Public Schools
 - Before the “Big Sort”: 1970s Democrats Advance Republican Policies
 - Racial Integration and the Politics of Community Control in Metropolitan America
 - Private Foundations and Public Policy: How Modern Philanthropy Has Shaped Credit, Labor, and Population Policies

- *Race and Policy: Mexican Origin Persons in the United States, 1930-2020*
- *Voting Rights in Historical Perspective: Complicating the Narratives*

Thursday, June 2

Registration: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:30 am – 4:00 pm

- Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am
- *Food Politics: The Rise of the Bureaucratic State and Welfare Relief*
 - *Regulatory Policy*
 - *Crisis Management: U.S. Industrial and Urban Policy in the 1970s and 1980s*
 - *Race, Courts and Politics in the Nineteenth Century*
 - *Religion and Anti-Labor Politics, 1930s-1950s*

- Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am
- *Black School Superintendents and the Politics of Community Control in the Post-Civil Rights Revolution Era*
 - *Immigration Policy*
 - *Crime Policy as Urban Policy*
 - *The Future of Voting Rights and Representation*
 - *Design and Management of Energy and Environmental Policy Over Time*
 - *Book Panel: Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy*

Lunch Break: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

Editorial Board Meeting: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm
Located in Green Room, Lobby Level

- Concurrent Sessions 3:** 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
- *Sexual Politics*
 - *Politics of the 1980s*
 - *Citizens, Activism and Politics*
 - *Public Relations, Law, and Interest Groups in the Late-nineteenth and Early-twentieth Century United States*
 - *Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion in the American Context*
 - *Leah Wright Rigueur’s The Loneliness of the Black Republican: Pragmatic Politics & The Pursuit of Power*

- Concurrent Sessions 4:** 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
- *Church and State: Religion in the Development and Implementation of State Policy*
 - *Figment of Our Sectional Imagination - The Antebellum Tariff Revisited*
 - *Neoliberalism and U.S. Social Policy*
 - *Covering, Commenting on the Cold War*
 - *People’s Welfare at 20: A Roundtable on William J. Novak’s Pioneering History of the Early American State*
 - *New Views of the New Deal and Its Legacy*

Plenary Session: 5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Symphony I

Liberalism in America
Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas-Austin
Andrew Rehfeld, Washington University in St. Louis
William Rorabaugh, University of Washington
Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania
Jeffrey Tulis, University of Texas-Austin

Thursday Reception: 6:15 pm – 7:30 pm
Located in Skylight Foyer

Friday, June 3

Registration: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:30 am – 4:00 pm

- Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am
- *Creating Post-War Liberalism*
 - *Conscious Agent[s] of the Communist Conspiracy: The John Birch Society and Anti-Government Conservatism During the Cold War*
 - *Race and Urban Policing Since the 1960s*
 - *Organizing Principles: Political Innovation During The First Century of American State-Building*
 - *American Quest for Security in the Twentieth Century: Ideas and Practices*
 - *Panic at The Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s*

- Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am
- *Education Policy*
 - *Rethinking Late Twentieth Century Political History*
 - *Policy Making Precarity: The Politics of Intimacy*
 - *Antimonopoly Reconsidered*
 - *Brian Balogh’s The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century*

Awards Luncheon: 12:00 pm – 1:15 pm (**Prior Registration Required**) **Located in Skylight Foyer**
Keynote Address by David Farber, University of Kansas

- *Black Power: Working the Interstices of Radical Activism and Insider Politics*

- Concurrent Sessions 3:** 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
- *Business and Tax Policies*
 - *Recovering Lineages of the Modern American Administrative State*
 - *Empire in the Nineteenth Century*
 - *Land, Expansion and Empire*
 - *Assessing the Role of Religion in the Rise of Neoconservatism*
 - *Long Shadow of the Great Society Congress: A Roundtable*

- Concurrent Sessions 4:** 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
- *“America’s Unfinished Business”: Building the Rural Great Society through Housing, Labor, and Food Policy*
 - *Structure and Politics in the Nineteenth Century*
 - *Racialized Policies: Segregation, Education, Democracy and Incarceration*
 - *Presidents and Congress*
 - *Constitutional Theory, Institutional Development, and Regionalism in American History*
 - *New Institutional Synthesis: Organizations, Rules, Inflections, and Disciplines in Historiography*

Plenary Session: 5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Symphony I

Technology and the State
Chair: Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University
Sarah Igo, Vanderbilt University
Margaret O’Mara, University of Washington
John Skrentny, University of California – San Diego

Friday Reception: 6:15 pm – 7:30 pm
Located in Skylight Foyer

Saturday, June 4

Registration: 8:00 am – 10:00 am
Book Exhibit: 8:30 am – 11:30 am

- Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am
- *Congress, Policy, and History*
 - *Health Planning, Health Policy: Why Examining the Past Matters for Understanding The Present and Future of Health Care in the United States*
 - *Disputed Elections in American History*
 - *Metrics of Governance: Evaluating State Actors at Midcentury*
 - *Liberalism and the Carceral State*

- Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am
- *The Longest War: Construction and Enforcement of Drug-Control Policy in the 20th Century*
 - *Patterns in Twentieth-Century Legal Thought*
 - *The Last Days of the Great Society: Policymaking in the 1970s*
 - *What Counts as Neoliberal? Governance, Markets, and Managing Crisis, 1945 – 1995*
 - *Moderate Republicans and the Political Conflicts of the 1970s*

Wednesday, June 1

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Note: This is a list of conference sessions only; see preceding pages for a list of all special events.

“Uneven” State in the 1970s: Military, Immigration, and Economic Regulation

Panel 1-A: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University, New Brunswick
Participants: Jess Bird, Temple University
Dirty, Disorderly, and Dangerous: Regulating New York City's Underground Economy in the 1970s
Smita Ghosh, University of Pennsylvania
Managing Borders in the Post-Civil Rights Era
John Worsencroft, Temple University
Making Ends Meet in the All-Volunteer Era

That '70s Panel

Panel 1-B: Gold

Chair: Joshua McCabe, Wellesley College
Participants: W. Elliot Brownlee, University of California, Santa Barbara
Taxation in the United States since 1945: Was there a “Neo-liberal” Revolution in the 1970s and 1980s?
Andrew W. Kahrl, University of Virginia
Why Property Taxes Matter: Rethinking the Role of Local Government in the Transformation of Tax Policy in the 1970s
Joshua McCabe, Wellesley College
Drifting Toward Tax Revolts: Inflation, Indexation, and the Rise of Anti-Tax Politics in the 1970s
Comment: Laura Blessing, Georgetown University

First Nation Politics

Panel 1-C: McTyeire

Chair: Jean Schroedel, Claremont Graduate University
Participants: Kelly O'Reilly, Vanderbilt University
The Third World “in Miniature”: Health Care Policy and the Rhetoric of Development
Jean Schroedel, Claremont Graduate University
Political Conflicts over Section 5 Pre-Clearance in Indian Country
Comment: Audience

Policymaking in the Human Rights Context

Panel 1-D: Kirkland

Chair and Commentator: Clara Altman, Federal History Office
Participants: Tim Lovelace, Indiana University Maurer School of Law
Made in America
Joanna Grisinger, Northwestern University
“Project Inequality” and Litigation Strategy: Challenging South African Apartheid in New York Courts
Ronald Williams II, UNC Chapel Hill
Challenging Constructive Engagement: TransAfrica and Reagan's South African Policy, 1981-1984

Making Markets: Rethinking the Late-Twentieth-Century Regulatory State

Panel 1-E: Neely

Chair: Quinn Mulroy, Northwestern University
Participants: Charles Halvorson, Columbia University
Regulators (un)Make the Market: The Rise and Fall of EPA's Emissions Trading Program
David Reinecke, Princeton University
Network Struggles in U.S. Deregulated Industries, 1970-2010
Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University
Inventing the 401(k)
Rebecca Shimoni Stoil, Johns Hopkins University
Parity in the Free Market: A Policy Puzzle from the Farm Crisis of 1977-78
Comment: Edward Balleisen, Duke University

Perspectives on the Political Economy of the 1970s

Panel 2-A: Calhoun

Participants: John Farris, Georgia Perimeter College
‘Looking Backwards’: The Carter Administration’s “National Accord” and the Durability of the New Deal Order.
Brian Domitrovic, University of Colorado
The Origins of the Laffer Curve at Chicago, 1968-74
Grant Madsen, Brigham Young University
The Revenge of Disembedded Liberalism
Comment: Audience

Foreign Policy

Panel 2-B: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Shamira Gelbman, Wabash College
Participants: Zachary Kaufman, Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government
The American Political History of Responding to Suspected Perpetrators of Genocide and other Mass Atrocities
Zachary Matusheski, US Army Heritage and Education Center
The Ferment of 1956: Adlai Stevenson and Cold War Foreign Policy Reform
Patrick Roberts, Rutgers University-Newark
The South African Nuclear Program Under the Gaze of the International Atomic Energy Agency

Who is the Citizen's “Other”? Defining Citizenship through Alienage Discriminations, 1901-1997

Panel 2-C: Gold

Chair and Commentator: Carl Bon Tempo, SUNY at Albany
Participants: Sarah Coleman, Princeton University
“To reward the wrong way is not the American way.” Welfare, Immigrants' Rights and the Politics of Immigration 1990-1997
Brendan Shanahan, University of California, Berkeley
Who Has the Right to Work? Debating Alien Laborers' Rights to Employment, 1901-1941

Wednesday, June 1

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Conservative Activism

Panel 2-D: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Derek S. Hoff, University of Utah
Participants: George R La Noue, UMBC
The Disappearance of On-Campus Debates and the Decline of Intellectual Diversity in Higher Education
Richard Meagher, Randolph-Macon College
“Treason or Madness”: The Dan Smoot Report and the Anti-Communist Roots of American Conservatism
Guigui Yao, Jiangnan University; Yale University and
Robert Wyman, Yale University
The American Christian Right and China's One-Child Policy: A Focus on the Population Research Institute

Recapturing the Oval Office

Panel 2-E: Carmichael

Chair: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Participants: Robert Self, Brown University
Kathryn Brownell, Purdue University
Comment: Jeremi Suri, University of Texas at Austin

Institutional Finance, Institutional Politics: Central Banks, Mortgage Finance, and Consumer Lending in the Mid-20th Century

Panel 2-F: Melody

Chair and Commentator: Kathryn Lavelle, Case Western Reserve University
Participants: Peter Conti-Brown, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania
Central Bank Independence, Revisited: The Many Meanings of the Fed-Treasury Accord of 1951
Chloe Thurston, Northwestern University
Organized Interests and Advocacy in the 1950s Mortgage Industry
Sean Vanatta, Princeton University
Charge Account Banking and the Political Origins of America's Credit Card Economy, 1950-1958

Wednesday, June 1

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Trade Associations: Contracting Out the State

Panel 2-G: Kirkland

Chair and Commentator: Christy Ford Chapin, University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC)
Laura Phillips Sawyer, Harvard Business School
The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and State-Building: Trade Associations, Antitrust Reform, and the Administrative State, 1912-1925
Benjamin C. Waterhouse, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Small Business Mythology and American Conservatism: The National Federation of Independent Business in the 1980s
Jennifer Delton, Skidmore College
The NAM in the 1990s

Wednesday, June 1

Concurrent Session 3
1:30 - 3:00 pm

Rethinking the Tax Revolt: The Liberal-Left's Response to Fiscal Crisis in the 1960s and 1970s

Panel 3-A: Calhoun

Chair: Andrew W. Kahrl, University of Virginia
Participants: Kelly Goodman, Yale University
Leveling Up: Tax Politics in the Sixties Schools of the Urban Crisis
Joshua Mound, University of Michigan
"New Populism" Ascendant: Local Fiscal Crises, Tax Inequities, and the Left Capture of the Tax Revolt
Joseph Hower, Southwestern University
"Dog Days for American Liberalism": AFSCME, Tax Reform, and the Roots of the Labor-Liberal Crisis
Comment: Audience

Rethinking Party History

Panel 3-B: McTyeire

Participants: Bell Julian Clement, George Washington University
The Urban Policy Battle in Great Society Congresses, 1964-1969
Boris Heersink, University of Virginia
Beyond Service: National Party Organizations and Party Brands in American Politics
Byron E. Shafer, University of Wisconsin and Regina Wagner, University of Wisconsin
Political Parties and Representative Democracy: The Long War Over Party Structure in American Politics
Comment: Audience

State of Human Rights and Humanitarianism in the 20th Century

Panel 3-C: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Paul Kramer, Vanderbilt University
Participants: Stephen Porter, University of Cincinnati
Protecting People, States, and Philanthropies: World War II Humanitarianism and the Creation of a New International Order
Carl Bon Tempo, SUNY at Albany
Helsinki at Home

Vanessa Walker, Amherst College
A Tale of Two Policies: Carter, Reagan, and Human Rights in the Western Hemisphere
Clara Altman, Federal Judicial History Office at the Federal Judicial Center, Washington DC
'The Jurisprudence of the Civilized World': U.S. Rule in the Philippines and the Rise of the Legal Interventionist State

Late 20th and Early 21st Century Revolution in Land-Grant Higher Education: Policy From On High or From Below?

Panel 3-D: Melody

Chair and Commentator: Doug Hurt, Purdue University
Participants: Alan Marcus, Mississippi State University
Managing the Manufacture of Managers: Land-Grant Universities in a Steady-State World
Howard Segal, University of Maine
The Land-Grant Ethos in the Twenty-First Century: The University of Maine as a Case Study
Nate Sorber, West Virginia University
Land-Grant College Sagas and Practices in an Era of Neoliberal Policy and Discourse

Re-Conceptualizing the Connections between New Deal Mortgages, Race, and Economics

Panel 3-E: Neely

Chair: Kenneth Snowden, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Participants: Todd Michney, Georgia Institute of Technology
Explicating the Home Owners Loan Corporation's Lending Policies with Regard to African American Borrowers
James Greer, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Moral Hazard, New Deal Policies, and the Creation of the American Racialized Housing Market
Judge Glock, Rutgers University
Federal Mortgage Programs in the "Roosevelt Recession" of 1937
Comment: LaDale Winling, Virginia Tech

Wednesday, June 1

Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Education and State Building in the 19th Century: How Americans Built and Staffed the New Public Schools

Panel 4-A: Carmichael

Chair: Richard R. John, Columbia University
Participants: Johann Neem, Western Washington University
A State from the Grass Roots? Education and the Public Sector in America 1776-1861
Mark Boonshoft, Post-doctoral research fellow New York Public Library
"State, Society, and the Rise of Academies in the Early Republic"
Gail Radford, SUNY--Buffalo
Solutions to the Teacher Problem in Antebellum New York State: Evolving Conceptions of Administration for Public Services
Comment: Tracy L. Steffes, Brown University

Before the "Big Sort": 1970s Democrats Advance Republican Policies

Panel 4-B: Gold

Chair: Laura Blessing, Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
Participants: Laura Blessing, Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
Before the Revolt: Carter's Forays into Tax-Cutting before Prop 13
Todd Rosa, Frostburg State University
Before the Nation was "At Risk": Jimmy Carter and the Origins of the Standards Movement in American Public Education
Eugene Hillsman, Princeton University
Drug Policy in the Carter Years: Continuities in the Long "War on Drugs"
Kelly Richter, Georgetown University Law Center
Before the Anti-Latino Backlash: the 1970s Liberal Economic Roots of Modern Conservative Immigration Politics
Comment: Joshua McCabe, Wellesley College

Racial Integration and the Politics of Community Control in Metropolitan America

Panel 4-C: Kirkland

Chair: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Participants: Nichole Nelson, Yale University
Metropolitan Mosaic: A Suburban Community's Attempt to Maintain Integration and Combat Colorblindness
Anthony Pratcher II, University of Pennsylvania
Erika Kitzmiller, Barnard-Columbia
"A White Noose around the City": Metropolitan Approaches to School Desegregation in Philadelphia and Wilmington
Comment: Jeffery Gonda, Syracuse University

Private Foundations and Public Policy: How Modern Philanthropy Has Shaped Credit, Labor, and Population Policies

Panel 4-D: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Participants: Anne Fleming, Georgetown University Law Center
Expertise without Activism: The Russell Sage Foundation and Consumer Lending
Elizabeth Harmon, University of Michigan
A National Menace: The Rockefeller Foundation and Corporate Welfare Policy
Emily Klancher Merchant, Dartmouth College
The Technopolitics of Population Control: The Population Council and Population Policy

Wednesday, June 1

Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Race and Policy: Mexican Origin Persons in the United States, 1930-2020

Panel 4-E: Melody

Chair and Commentator: Paul Kramer, Vanderbilt University
Participants: Brian Gratton, Arizona State University (ret.) and Emily Klancher Merchant, Dartmouth College
The Strange Career of the Mexican Race: the United States Census, 1930 to 2020
Patrick Lukens, Eastern Arizona College
Policy Implications of the Timoteo Andrade Naturalization Case
Matthew Gritter, Angelo State University
People of Mexican Origin, Fair Employment and the Southwest 1944-1964

Voting Rights in Historical Perspective: Complicating the Narratives

Panel 4-F: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Pippa Holloway, Middle Tennessee State University
Participants: R. Volney Riser, U. West Alabama
Jim Crow's Unexpected Influence upon Hawaii: Southern Disfranchisement, Northern Imperialists, and the 1900 Hawaii Organic Act
Liette Gidlow, Wayne State University
"To Tell You the Truth, We Are Not Going to be Bothered with Colored Women": Disfranchisement After the Nineteenth Amendment
Julian Hayter, University of Richmond
The Miracle of 1960: How the NAACP and Local Activists Shaped the VRA and the Struggle for Voting Rights Post-1965

Thursday, June 2

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Food Politics: The Rise of the Bureaucratic State and Welfare Relief

Panel 1-A: Calhoun

Chair: Nancy Beck Young, University of Houston
Participants: Natalie Schuster, Frostburg State University
Agricultural Disasters: The Mississippi Flood of 1927, the Dust Bowl, and US Agricultural Policy
Lindsay Drane, University of Houston
Bureaucratizing Food: The Origins of Food Stamps in the Interwar Period
Pierre Desrochers, University of Toronto
Towards a Typology of Local Food Movements: Insights from the American Experience.
Comment: Susan Levine, University of Illinois at Chicago

Regulatory Policy

Panel 1-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Participants: Jesse Halvorsen, University of California, Santa Barbara
The Vexed History of Deregulation: Daniel O'Neal, the ICC, and the Roots of Regulatory Reform, 1974-1977
Katherine Jewell, Fitchburg State University
"The Old Maids at the FCC": College Radio and Indecency in the Era of the Culture Wars
Samuel Milner, Yale University
Assuming Direct Control: Regulatory Constraints on Business Wage-Price Strategy, 1962-1969
David Noell, Columbia University
Municipal Utility Politics and the "Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity" Standard in the Radio Act of 1927

Crisis Management: U.S. Industrial and Urban Policy in the 1970s and 1980s

Panel 1-C: Kirkland

Chair: Tom Packer, Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford
Participants: Patrick Andelic, Queen Mary University of London
'The Old Economic Rules No Longer Apply': The National Planning Idea and the Humphrey-Hawkins Full

Employment Act, 1974-78
Daniel Rowe, University of Oxford
Free Market Disenchantment: The Industrial Policy Debate and the Reindustrialization Movement, 1980-1984,
Comment: Louisa Hotson, University of Oxford

Race, Courts and Politics in the Nineteenth Century

Panel 1-D: McTyeire

Participants: Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University
Family, Race, and Judicial Policy in Antebellum Louisiana Courts
Boris Heersink, University of Virginia
Republican Party Politics and the American South: From Reconstruction to Redemption, 1865-1880
Michael Brown, University of California, Santa Cruz
Contesting Equality of Opportunity: Race and Liberalism in the Freedmen's Bureau
Comment: Audience

Religion and Anti-Labor Politics, 1930s-1950s

Panel 1-E: Symphony I

Chair: Kevin Kruse, Princeton University
Participants: Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University and Ken Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University
Evangelical Protestantism, Business, and the Attack on Organized Labor and Liberalism in the Post-World War II South
Christopher Cantwell, University of Missouri-Kansas City
In the Lord's Employ: Christian Work and Christian Workers at the David C. Cook Publishing Company
Kathryn Olmsted, University of California, Davis
Red Scare in the Churches: The Backlash Against Liberal Ministers' Labor Activism in Depression-Era Los Angeles
Comment: Darren Grem, University of Mississippi

Black School Superintendents and the Politics of Community Control in the Post-Civil Rights Revolution Era

Panel 2-A: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Ansley Erickson, Columbia University - Teachers College
Participants: Benjamin Cohen, University of Virginia
Running from Radicalism: Washington D.C.'s Public Schools, 1973-1975
Alexander Hyres, University of Virginia
Too Busy to Integrate: Alonzo Crim and the Politics of Community-Controlled Schools, 1973-1980

Immigration Policy

Panel 2-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Carl Bon Tempo, SUNY at Albany
Participants: Craig Kaplowitz, Judson University
From Task Force to Signing Statement: The Reagan Administration and Immigration Reform
Magdalena Krajewska, Wingate University
Identifying America. The Political History of Proposals for National ID Cards in the United States
Eulogio Romero, Vanderbilt University
Rethinking Refugee History: American Diplomacy, Population Movement in the 1920s, and the Long History of American Refugee Policy

Crime Policy as Urban Policy

Panel 2-C: Gold

Chair and Commentator: Christopher Agee, University of Colorado, Denver
Participants: Nora Krinitsky, University of Michigan
Crime Prevention in the Midwest Metropolis
Ashley Johnson, Binghamton University
Deportation Policy and the Politics of Law and Order from Detroit to Windsor in the Depression
Timothy Lombardo, University of South Alabama
Safeguarding the Police: Law Enforcement Policy, Criminal Justice, and the Politics of the Urban Crisis

Thursday, June 2

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

The Future of Voting Rights and Representation

Roundtable 2-A: Kirkland

Participants: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan
Ari Berman, The Nation Institute
J. Douglas Smith, Independent Scholar

Design and Management of Energy and Environmental Policy Over Time

Panel 2-D: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Brian Cook, Virginia Tech
Participants: Adam Eckerd, University of Tennessee and Roy Heidelberg, Louisiana State University
Administrative Control through Citizen Participation under the National Environmental Policy Act
Barry Rabe, University of Michigan
Taxing Fracking: The Politics of State Severance Taxes in the Shale Era
Tony Reames, University of Michigan
From Oil Crisis to Economic Crisis: 40 Years of American Energy Conservation and Assistance

Book Panel: Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy

Panel 2-E: Symphony I

Chair: Matthew C. Sherman, Institute for Political History
Participants: Seth Cotlar, Willamette University
Johann Neem, Western Washington University
Gautham Rao, American University
Comment: Kyle G. Volk, University of Montana-Missoula

Thursday, June 2

Concurrent Session 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

Sexual Politics

Panel 3-A: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University

Participant: Anna Krome-Lukens, UNC-Chapel Hill
Brewer v. Valk: Sterilization, Social Policy, and the Court System in the 1930s

Karen Kruse Thomas, Johns Hopkins University
Population Bombs, IUDs, and Other Incendiary Devices: Johns Hopkins, South Asia, and the Integration of Family Planning and Global Health

Politics of the 1980s

Panel 3-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Nicole Hemmer, Miller Center, University of Virginia

Participants: Robert Fleegler, University of Mississippi
Michael Dukakis, New Democrat

Kathryn Brownell, Purdue University
The 1984 Cable Television Act and the Politics of "Cablemania"

Citizens, Activism and Politics

Panel 3-C: Kirkland

Participants: Mauricio Castro, Purdue University
'A Greater Awareness That Their Presence Is No Longer Temporary': Cuban American Activism, Bilingualism, and Local Politics in Miami, 1969-1975

Ayako Hiramatsu, Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University

National Formation of Local Opposition Party: Nixon's Southern Strategy in the Construction of Redemptive Leviathans in the Deep South, 1969-1972

Robert Horwitz, University of California, San Diego
Politics as Victimhood; Victimhood as Politics

Comment: Audience

Public Relations, Law, and Interest Groups in the Late-nineteenth and Early-twentieth Century United States

Panel 3-D: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Richard R. John, Columbia University

Participants: Cayce Myers, Virginia Tech
The Law of Public Relations: How Legal Policies Created Professional PR

Christopher W. Shaw, University of California, Berkeley
"A Radical Departure": The Origins of the Federal Farm Loan Act

Daniel Robert, University of California, Berkeley
Educating Corporate Citizens: Public Schools, Public Utilities, and Corporate Propaganda in the 1920s

Comment: Richard R. John, Columbia

Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion in the American Context

Panel 3-F: Neely

Chair: Brett Flehinger, Harvard University

Participants: Amy Wallhermfecht, Saint Louis University

Selling Right-to-Work: The Role of Policy Entrepreneurs and Advocacy Organizations in State Right-to-Work Campaigns

Victoria Saker Woeste, American Bar Foundation
Patterns in Agricultural Regulatory Diffusion, 1933-2000

Sean Seyer, University of Kansas
Rules of the Air: The U.S. Adoption of International Operational and Registrational Aeronautical Standards, 1919-1928

Comment: Brett Flehinger, Harvard University

Leah Wright Rigueur's *The Loneliness of the Black Republican: Pragmatic Politics & The Pursuit of Power*

Roundtable 3-A: Symphony I

Leah Wright Rigueur, Harvard Kennedy School

Donald T. Critchlow, Arizona State University

Paula Baker, Ohio State University

Dennis Dickerson, Vanderbilt University

Church and State: Religion in the Development and Implementation of State Policy

Panel 4-A: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Robert Self, Brown University

Participants: Ronit Stahl, John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics at Washington University in St. Louis
'A lonely soldier stationed at some faraway outpost': The Military Chaplaincy as a Public Utility

Lauren F. Turek, Trinity University
Evangelical Foreign Policy Lobbying and the Rhetoric of Religious Freedom during the Reagan Administration

Cyrus O'Brien, University of Michigan
The Religious Roots of Private Prisons: Religious Organizations and the Privatization of Prisons and Probation in Florida

Figment of Our Sectional Imagination - The Antebellum Tariff Revisited

Panel 4-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Jari Eloronta, Appalachian State University

Participants: John Moore, Northwood University
American Industrialization: Shifting Interest Groups and the "Black Tariff" of 1842

Philip Magness, Institute for Humane Studies
Protectionism Resurgent? Electoral Dimensions of the Tariff in the Wake of the Panic of 1857

Daniel Peart, Queen Mary University of London
"Send men who will go from room to room ... and secure votes": Lobbying on US Tariff Policy, 1816-1861

Neoliberalism and U.S. Social Policy

Panel 4-C: Kirkland

Chair: Pippa Holloway, Middle Tennessee State University

Participants: Amy Widestrom, Arcadia University
The Neoliberal Carceral State in America

Jesse Rhodes, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
The Evolution of Conservative Intellectual Critique of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-2015

Jennifer Erkulwater, University of Richmond
'The Start of Something Big': The Disability Rights Critique of Welfare Dependency, 1970-1990

Comment: Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University

Thursday, June 2

Concurrent Session 4

3:15 - 4:45 pm

Covering, Commenting on the Cold War

Panel 4-D: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Robert Collins, University of Missouri

Participants: Richard Fried, University of Illinois-Chicago
Joe McCarthy and the Weapon of Gossip

Kathryn McGarr, Princeton University
"Off-the-record": The roots of a national security consensus in post-war Washington reporting

Julie Lane, Boise State University
Covering Frank Church's Opposition to the War in Vietnam

Robert Rabe, Marshall University
Robert Lasch, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Early Criticism of the Vietnam War

People's Welfare at 20: William J. Novak's Pioneering History of the Early American State

Roundtable 4-A: Neely

Chair: Gautham Rao, American University

Participants: Kate Masur, Northwestern University

Gautham Rao, American University
Karen Tani, University of California, Berkeley, School of Law

Kyle G. Volk, University of Montana

Comment: William Novak, University of Michigan Law School

New Views of the New Deal and Its Legacy

Panel 4-E: Symphony I

Chair and Commentator: Derek S. Hoff, University of Utah

Participants: Andrew Cohen, Syracuse University
Dr. Tradelove: How FDR Taught Americans to Stop Worrying and Love the World

Sarah Phillips, Boston University
Why Keynes Didn't Solve the American Farm Problem

Eric Rauchway, University of California, Davis
How the Hoover-Roosevelt Interregnum shaped the Roosevelt Presidency

Jason Scott Smith, University of New Mexico
The New Deal as Development: Exporting Capitalism to the Postwar World

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Creating Post-War Liberalism

Panel 1-A: Kirkland

Participants: **Luke Messac**, University of Pennsylvania
From modernization theory to human capital: health in international development discourse and practice, 1960-1980

Ben Zdencanovic, Yale University

The Man with the Plan: William Beveridge, Transatlantic Postwar Planning, and the Idea of an American Welfare State During World II

Comment: Audience

Conscious Agent[s] of the Communist Conspiracy: The John Birch Society and Anti-Government Conservatism During the Cold War

Panel 1-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: **Elizabeth Tandy Shermer**, Loyola University Chicago

Participants: **Darren Mulloy**, Wilfrid Laurier University
Who's Afraid of John Birch?: Democracy, Fascism and the Rise and Fall of the Radical Right in the Early 1960s

Colin Reynolds, Emory University

The Spirit of Indianapolis: The John Birch Society Shapes its Message, 1960-1963

David Walsh, Princeton University

John Birch's Scholarly Bulldog: Revilo P. Oliver, Robert Welch, and the John Birch Society, 1959-1966

Race and Urban Policing Since the 1960s

Panel 1-C: Calhoun

Chair: **Christopher Agee**, University of Colorado, Denver
Participants: **Michael Stauch**, University of Michigan
From Mini-Riots to Mini-Stations: Policing Urban Unrest in 1970s Detroit

Peter Pihos, Duke University

De Mau Mau and the Flak Catcher: Prosecutors, the Press, and "Black Crime"

Christine Lamberson, Angelo State University

A Policy of Fear: Operation Zebra, Public Opinion, and Post-Civil Rights Racial Profiling

Toussaint Losier, University of Massachusetts at Amherst
"But Now We Can't Escape It": Policing the Crisis during The Harold Washington Administration, 1981-1987

Comment: **Donna Murch**, Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

Organizing Principles: Political Innovation During The First Century of American State-Building

Panel 1-D: McTyeire

Chair: **Stephen J. Rockwell**, St. Joseph's College, New York

Participants: **William Adler**, Northeastern Illinois University

From Army of Israel to Conqueror of Canaan: Religion, The Army, and American National Identity in the Early Republic

Jonathan Keller, Manhattan College

From Army of Israel to Conqueror of Canaan: Religion, The Army, and American National Identity In The Early Republic

Tim Lindberg, University of Minnesota-Morris

Controlling The American Empire: Territorial Policy and U.S. State-Building In The Late 19th-Century

Jeffrey Broxmeyer, University of Toledo

Beyond Jacksonian Spoils: The Transformation of Political Patronage

Comment: **Laura Jensen**, Virginia Tech

American Quest for Security in the Twentieth Century: Ideas and Practices

Panel 1-E: Neely

Chair: **Jason Scott Smith**, University of New Mexico

Participants: **Dexter Fergie**, University of British Columbia
Re-Imagining America: The Princeton Military Studies Group and the Cultivation of the National Security Imagination, 1935-1945

Thomas Lassman, National Air and Space Museum and Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense
Rethinking the History of the Reagan-Era Defense Buildup: The Challenge of Managing Weapons Acquisition in the Department of Defense, 1981-1985

Jessica Wang, University of British Columbia

A Rumor of Loyalty: Scientists, 'Low' Knowledge, and the Specter of Espionage in the 1940s and 1990s

Comment: **Angus Burgin**, Johns Hopkins University

Panic at The Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s

Roundtable 1-A: Symphony I

Chair: **Brian Balogh**, University of Virginia

Paul Sabin, Yale University

Jeremi Suri, University of Texas

Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University

Matthew Lassiter, Michigan University

Meg Jacobs, Princeton University

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 2

10:15 - 11:45 am

Education Policy

Panel 2-A: Calhoun

Chair: Brett Flehinger, Harvard University

Participants: Ethan Hutt, University of Maryland - College Park

Surveying the Nation: Longitudinal Surveys and the Construction of National Solutions to Educational Inequity

Laura Jensen and **Donna Sedgwick**, Virginia Tech
Separate and Dissimilar: Federalism and the Making of Parallel Preschool Programs (with Donna Sedgwick)

Campbell Scribner, Ohio Wesleyan University
First Principles: Philosophy in Educational Law

Comment: Audience

Rethinking Late Twentieth Century Political History

Panel 2-B: Kirkland

Chair and Commentator: Kathryn Brownell, Purdue University

Participants: Tom Packer, Oxford University

Rethinking the Southern Conservative Movement: The New Right in the New South

Jonathan Bell, University College London
Rethinking the "Straight State": Welfare Politics, Health Care, and Public Policy in the Shadow of AIDS

Louisa Hotson, Corpus Christi College Oxford University
Crisis and Recovery; the growth and fragmentation of American Political Science in the 1960s

Policy Making Precarity: The Politics of Intimacy

Panel 2-C: McTyeire

Chair: Mary Frances Berry, University of Pennsylvania

Participants: Rachel Moran, University of North Texas

The Physiological Impossibility of Aid: The Politics of Pregnancy and Poverty in the Late 20th Century

Melinda Chateauverte, Independent Scholar
Against the "New Jane Crow": Racialized Gender Profiling, Anti-(sex-)-Trafficking Laws, and Trans-Sex Panics*

Heather Berg, University of California Santa Barbara
"Maybe the State Should Pay": Porn Work and the Welfare State

Comment: Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara

Antimonopoly Reconsidered

Panel 2-D: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

Participants: Christopher England, Georgetown University

"Land Monopoly" and 20th Century Utility Policy
Charles Postel, San Francisco State University
Anti-Monopoly Demands for Equality in the Post-Civil War Political Economy

Richard R. John, Columbia University
Ida Tarbell, Standard Oil, and Antimonopoly

Brian Balogh's *The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century*

Panel 2-E: Symphony I

Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin

Participants: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia

Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University

Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

Stephen Porter, University of Cincinnati

Mark Wilson, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Friday, June 3

Awards Luncheon

12:00 - 1:15 pm

Policy History Conference Awards Luncheon

Skylight Foyer

Welcome and Opening Introductions - Donald T. Critchlow

Keynote Address - "Black Power: Working the Interstices of Radical Activism and Insider Politics"

David Farber, Roy A. Roberts Distinguished Professor of History, University of Kansas

Audience Q&A - Donald T. Critchlow

Awards and Recognitions - Matthew C. Sherman

Ellis Hawley Prize

for best article published in the *Journal of Policy History* by a junior scholar in the past two years.

Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University

"From Need to Hope: The American Family and Poverty in Partisan Discourse"

Volume 27 / Issue 04 / October 2015, pp 592-635.

Neil Young, Princeton University

"'Worse Than Cancer and Worse Than Snakes': Jimmy Carter's Southern Baptist Problem and the 1980 Election"

Volume 26 / Issue 04 / October 2014, pp 479 - 508.

Hugh Davis Graham Award

in support of graduate students and established scholars doing archival research in the fields of American Political/Policy History and American Political Development.

Erik Erlandson

"Regulator-In-Chief: How the White House Reshaped the American State, 1971-1984"

Peter Conti-Brown

"The Supreme Court of Finance: The Rise and Rise of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, 1880 - 2015"

Nichole Nelson

"Critical Crossroads: Three Suburbs' Journeys to Intentionally Racially Integrate"

Lauren F. Turek

"To Bring the Good News to All Nations: Evangelicals, Human Rights, and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1969-1994"

Professor David Farber's work explores four broad historical questions: how have Americans understood notions of equality; how have Americans practiced democracy; how have Americans wrestled with the opportunities and challenges of a free market system; and how have Americans exercised power and authority internationally? His work has been supported by grants or fellowships from the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the American Council of Learned Societies, The Aspen Foundation, the Longwood Foundation, the Raskob Foundation for Catholic Activities, the Hagley Library, the Kennedy Library, the Hoover Library, the Fulbright Program, and others. He was a visiting scholar or an invited lecturer in Japan, Indonesia, Lebanon, France, Russia, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Australia, and Canada.

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 3
1:30 - 3:00 pm

Business and Tax Policies

Panel 3-A: Neely

Chair and Commentator: **W. Elliot Brownlee**, University of California, Santa Barbara

Participants: **Carl-Henry Geschwind**, Independent Scholar

A Postwar Path to the VAT: Selective Excise Taxes in Great Britain and the United States, 1940-1973

Shintaro Kurachi, Faculty of Economics, Keio University
A Comparative Historical Analysis of Tax Revolt and Social Service in Denmark and the U.S. State California

Seiichiro Mozumi, Keio University

Tax Cuts, Tax Expenditures, and Comprehensive Tax Reform: Federal Income Tax Reform in the United States, 1961-1986

Jesse Tarbert, Case Western Reserve University
American Business and Government in the 1920s: Reassessing the New Era "Associative State"

Recovering Lineages of the Modern American Administrative State

Panel 3-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: **Paul Kramer**, Vanderbilt University

Participants: **Julie Novkov**, University at Albany, SUNY and Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

"Building the Administrative State: Courts and the Admission of Chinese Women and Children to the United States, 1870s-1920s"

David F. Ericson, Cleveland State University
United States Immigration Policy and State Building

Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University and **Carol**

Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

Family Matters, Public Work: Juvenile Courts and the Shaping of Early Twentieth Century Social Welfare Provision

Empire in the Nineteenth Century

Panel 3-C: Kirkland

Chair: **William Adler**, Northeastern Illinois University

Participants: **Chad Frazier**, Georgetown University
Elihu Root's "Picked Men": American Political Development and the Enduring Legacy of U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico

Jonathan O'Hara, Southern Connecticut State University
American Republicanism and the fin-de-siecle Imperialism Debate

Glen Olson, The Graduate Center, City University of New York

Empire's Dubious Reach: Slaveholder Demands and Abolitionist Critiques of the Regular Army in Florida, 1835-1842

Comment: **Armin Mattes**, University of Missouri

Land, Expansion and Empire

Panel 3-D: McTyeire

Chair: **David Robertson**, University of Missouri -St Louis

Participants: **David Robertson**, University of Missouri-St. Louis

State and Landscape: The Constitution of American Environmental Policy, 1607-1789

Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas - Austin
Go West Young Man: Poverty, Squatting, and trans-Appalachian America

Colin Moore, University of Hawaii - Manoa
American Colonialism and the Creation of Authoritarian Enclaves in Hawaii and Puerto Rico

Comment: **Audience**

Assessing the Role of Religion in the Rise of Neoconservatism

Panel 3-E: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: **Richard Meagher**, Randolph-Macon College

Participants: **Samuel Goldman**, George Washington University

When Christian Zionism Was Liberal: Religious Intellectuals and Israel, 1967-1973

Jonathan Bronitsky, Independent Scholar
Neoconservatism: A Jewish Movement?

Vincent Cannato, University of Massachusetts Boston
First 'Second Thoughts': Catholicism and the anti-Socialist Crusades of David Goldstein and Martha Moore Avery

Long Shadow of the Great Society Congress

Roundtable 3-A: Symphony I

Co-Chairs: **Betty Koed**, Senate Historian and **Matthew Wasniewski**, House Historian

Participants: **Theodore Marmor**, Yale University
Medicare Act of 1965

Paul Milazzo, Ohio University
Water Quality Act of 1965

Philip Wolgin, Center for American Progress
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965

Nancy Beck Young, University of Houston
Political Context of the 89th Congress

Comment: **Audience**

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 3
1:30 - 3:00 pm

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

“America’s Unfinished Business”: Building the Rural Great Society through Housing, Labor, and Food Policy

Panel 4-A: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Sarah Phillips, Boston University

Participants: Chris Deutsch, University of Missouri
Eating Opportunity: Improving Rural Diets in the Age of Plenty

Doug Genens, University of California, Santa Barbara
Developing Rural California: The Private Sector, Housing, and the War on Poverty

Angela Sirna, Middle Tennessee State University
The Job Corps: Waging a War on Poverty in the National Parks

Adam Hilton, York University
The Right to a Job: The Crisis of Postwar Liberalism and the Struggle for Full Employment in the 1970s

Structure and Politics in the Nineteenth Century

Panel 4-B: Neely

Participants: Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Montana
Banks and states before the civil war: the United States, 1836-1860

Jack Edelson, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Electoral Bias, Election Dates, and Unified Government in 19th Century America

Comment: Audience

Racialized Policies: Segregation, Education, Democracy and Incarceration

Panel 4-C: Kirkland

Chair: Drew Halfmann, UC Davis

Participants: Christopher Bonastia, CUNY-Lehman College and CUNY Graduate Center
Educational Parks: The Solution to School Segregation?

Michael Fortner, CUNY
Race, Time, and Institutions: Mass Incarceration and the Importance of Policy History

Drew Halfmann, UC Davis
Federal Enforcement and the Birth of the One-Party South

Emily Lieb, Seattle University
Jim Crow Schools and Public Policy in Baltimore, 1900–1917

Comment: Audience

Presidents and Congress

Panel 4-D: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago

Participants: Douglas Craig, Australian National University

“What Happened to the Generals? The Presidential Election of 1920 and the Great War in the United States”

Jasmine Farrier, University of Louisville
Constitutional Dysfunction, Member Lawsuits, and Flipped War Powers

Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University
Institutions and Ideology: Understanding the 2016 Presidential Nomination Process and its Policy Consequences

David Stebenne, Ohio State University
The Problem of Presidential Third Terms

Friday, June 3

Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Constitutional Theory, Institutional Development, and Regionalism in American History

Panel 4-E: Carmichael

Chair: Paul Herron, Brandeis University

Participants: Ken Kersch, Boston College
Rethinking the Place of History in Constitutional Theory

Sean Beienburg, Lehigh University
Neither Nationalism nor Nullification: The Endurance of Jacksonian States’ Rights in Popular Constitutionalism, from Reconstruction to Prohibition

Herschel Nachlis, Franklin & Marshall College
Institutions as Neither Strong nor Weak: Sub-institutional Variation Across the National Institutes of Health

Amy Bridges, University of California San Diego
Progressive Politics in the Western States

Comment: Richard BenseI, Cornell University

New Institutional Synthesis: Organizations, Rules, Inflections, and Disciplines in Historiography

Roundtable 4-A: Symphony I

Peter Conti-Brown, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

Richard R. John, Columbia University

Edward Balleisen, Duke University

Meg Jacobs, Princeton University

Saturday, June 4

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Congress, Policy, and History

Panel 1-A: Carmichael

Chair: Richard Bensel, Cornell University

Participants: Travis Johnston, APSA

Access at a Cost: Medicare's Missed Opportunity and the Hurdles to Prescription Drug Reform

David Bateman, Cornell University

From Gilded-Age Doughfaces to Tentative Reformers:

African American Civil Rights and the Northern Democratic Party, 1868-1921

Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago

Coordinating Liberal Hardliners: A History of the Democratic Study Group

Alexander Hertel-Fernandez and **Theda Skocpol**, Harvard University

Conservative Mobilization in Congress: Contrasting the Koch Network, Americans for Tax Reform, and the Club for Growth

Comment: Frances Lee, University of Maryland

Health Planning, Health Policy: Why Examining the Past Matters for Understanding The Present and Future of Health Care in the United States

Panel 1-B: McTyeire

Participants: Dominique Tobbell, University of Minnesota
Planning for Dr. Nurses: Regional Planning and the Rise of Nursing PhD Programs.

Gabriel Winant, Yale University

"That Hospital Was a Part of Them": Social Democracy and Postwar Hospital Growth.

Andrew Simpson, Duquesne University

Medical Schools as Policy Entrepreneurs: Baylor College of Medicine, Community Outreach Programs and the "Health" of Houston, Texas.

Guian McKee, University of Virginia

Hospital Cost Control versus Hospital Jobs: The Emergence of Health Care as Economic "Anchor" During the 1970s

Comment: Audience

Disputed Elections in American History

Panel 1-C: Gold

Chair: David Stebenne, Ohio State University

Brian Balogh, University of Virginia

Alex Keyssar, Harvard University

Lisa Marshall Manheim, University of Washington

Comment: Edward Foley, Ohio State University

Metrics of Governance: Evaluating State Actors at Midcentury

Panel 1-D: Neely

Chair: Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University

Participants: Emily Charnock, Selwyn College, University of Cambridge

More than a Score: Ideological Ratings and Polarized Politics

Andrew McGee, Darden School of Business, University of Virginia

How to 'Govern Like a Business': Midcentury Debates on Evaluating Federal Agencies like Private Sector Firms

Jonathan Lewallen, University of Texas at Austin
Congressional Subcommittees and Policy Subsystem Dynamics, 1947-2012

Comment: Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University

Liberalism and the Carceral State

Panel 1-E: Symphony I

Chair: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan

Participants: Kathleen Frydl, University of California, Berkeley

Elizabeth Hinton, Harvard University

Christopher Agee, University of Colorado, Denver

Comment: Audience

The Longest War: Construction and Enforcement of Drug-Control Policy in the 20th Century

Panel 2-A: Calhoun

Chair: Sarah Igo, Vanderbilt University

Participants: J.W. Hubbard, Vanderbilt University

The (Drug) Dogs of War: Narcotics Detection Dogs and the Work of Drug Enforcement

Phil Nicholas, Bloomsburg University

Forging Marijuana Policy and Enforcement in the United States: Harry Anslinger and the Implementation of Punitive Policymaking, 1937-1956

Sarah Brady Siff, Ohio State University

The Chicken or the Egg? State and Federal Influence on Postwar Drug Control

Comment: Kathleen Frydl, University of California, Berkeley

Patterns in Twentieth-Century Legal Thought

Panel 2-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University

Participants: Sarah Seo, Princeton University

Discretionary Policing in a Free Society

Erik Erlandson, University of Virginia

Administrative Management, Legal Ideas, and the Origins of America's Regulator-In-Chief, 1971-1981

Comment: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University

The Last Days of the Great Society: Policymaking in the 1970s

Panel 2-C: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan

Participants: Derek S. Hoff, University of Utah

"No TAPS for KAPS": Baltimore's Keeping all Pupils in School Program, 1969-1974, and the Resilience of Great Society Educational Reform

Andrew Morris, Union College

Nixon, New Federalism, and Disaster Policy in the Early 1970s

Saturday, June 4

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Moderate Republicans and the Political Conflicts of the 1970s

Panel 2-D: Kirkland

Chair and Commentator: Geoffrey Kabaservice, Republican Main Street Partnership

Participants: Michael Koncewicz, New York University
They Said No to Nixon: How the IRS Stopped the President's Enemies List

Kristoffer Smemo, University of California Santa Barbara
Buffalo, New York, 1971: Black Power, the Building Trades, and the End of "Rockefeller Republicanism"

Ann Marie Wambeke, Wayne State University

Republican Feminists: Reconciling Partisanship and Feminism in the Michigan Women's Political Caucus

What Counts as Neoliberal? Governance, Markets, and Managing Crisis, 1945 – 1995

Panel 2-E: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Margaret O'Mara, University of Washington

Participants: Brent Cebul, University of Richmond
Rediscovering Supply Side Liberalism: Public Venture Capital and the Nationalization of Congressional Politics in the 1980s and 1990s

Benjamin Holtzman, Brown University

Homesteading and the Movement for Low-Income Housing during New York's 1970s Fiscal Crisis

Keith Orejel, University of Missouri

Countryside Capitalism: Small-Town Business Leaders and State Power in Rural America, 1945-1975

Notes

Notes

Index

A

Adler, William 16, 20
Agee, Christopher 13, 16, 24
Alphonso, Gwendoline 12, 14, 19
Altman, Clara 6, 9
Andelic, Patrick 12

B

Baker, Paula ii, 14
Balleisen, Edward 6, 23
Balogh, Brian ii, 5, 7, 10, 17, 18, 24
Barwick, Roxane ii, 3
Bateman, David 24
Beienburg, Sean 23
Bell, Jonathan 18
Bensel, Richard ii, 23, 24
Berg, Heather 18
Berman, Ari 13
Bernard, Alexander ii
Berry, Mary Frances 18
Bird, Jess 6
Blessing, Laura 6, 10
Bonastia, Christopher 22
Bon Tempo, Carl 7, 9, 13
Boonshoft, Mark 10
Boris, Eileen ii, 18
Bridges, Amy 23
Bronitsky, Jonathan 21
Brownell, Kathryn 7, 14, 18
Brownlee, W. Elliot 6, 20
Brown, Michael 12
Broxmeyer, Jeffrey 16
Burgin, Angus 3, 5, 17, 24

C

Canaday, Margot ii
Cannato, Vincent ii, 21
Cantwell, Christopher 12
Castro, Mauricio 14
Cebul, Brent 25
Chapin, Christy Ford 8
Charnock, Emily 24
Chateauverte, Melinda 18
Chatterjee, Abhishek 22
Clement, Bell Julian 9
Cohen, Andrew 15
Cohen, Benjamin 13
Coleman, Sarah 7
Collins, Robert 15
Conti-Brown, Peter 7, 19, 23
Cook, Brian 13

Cotlar, Seth 13
Craig, Douglas 22
Critchlow, Donald T. ii, 14, 19

D

Decker, Jefferson 6, 25
Delton, Jennifer 8
Desrochers, Pierre 12
Deutsch, Chris 22
Dickerson, Dennis 14
Domitrovic, Brian 7
Drane, Lindsay 12

E

Eckerd, Adam 13
Edelson, Jack 22
Einhorn, Robin ii
Eloronta, Jari 15
England, Christopher 18
Erickson, Ansley 13
Ericson, David F. 20
Erkulwater, Jennifer 15
Erlandson, Erik 19, 25
Estrada, Natalie ii

F

Farber, David ii, 5, 19
Farrier, Jasmine 22
Farris, John 7
Fergie, Dexter 17
Fleegler, Robert 14
Flehinger, Brett 14, 18
Fleming, Anne 10
Foley, Edward 24
Fones-Wolf, Elizabeth 12
Fones-Wolf, Ken 12
Fortner, Michael 22
Frazier, Chad 20
Fried, Richard 15
Frydl, Kathleen 24, 25

G

Gage, Beverly ii
Gelbman, Shamira 7
Genens, Doug 22
Geschwind, Carl-Henry 20
Ghosh, Smita 6
Gidlow, Liette 11
Glock, Judge 9
Goldman, Samuel 21
Gonda, Jeffery 10
Goodman, Kelly 9
Gratton, Brian 11
Greer, James 9
Grem, Darren 12
Grisinger, Joanna 6

Gritter, Matthew 11

H

Halfmann, Drew 22
Halvorsen, Jesse 12
Halvorson, Charles 6
Harmon, Elizabeth 10
Hayter, Julian 11
Heersink, Boris 9, 12
Heidelberg, Roy 13
Hemmer, Nicole 14
Herron, Paul 23
Hertel-Fernandez, Alexander 24
Hillsman, Eugene 10
Hilton, Adam 22
Hinton, Elizabeth 24
Hiramatsu, Ayako 14
Hoff, Derek S. 7, 15, 25
Holloway, Pippa 15
Holtzman, Benjamin 25
Horwitz, Robert 14
Hotson, Louisa 12, 18
Hower, Joseph 9
Hubbard, J.W. 25
Huret, Romain ii
Hurt, Doug 9
Hutt, Ethan 18
Hyres, Alexander 13

I

Igo, Sarah 3, 5, 25

J

Jacobs, Meg 17, 23
Jensen, Laura 16, 18
Jewell, Katherine 12
John, Richard R. ii, 10, 14, 18, 23
Johnson, Ashley 13
Johnston, Travis 24

K

Kabaservice, Geoffrey 25
Kahrl, Andrew W. 6, 9
Kaplowitz, Craig 13
Katznelson, Ira ii
Kaufman, Zachary 7
Keller, Jonathan 16
Kersch, Ken 23
Keyssar, Alex 24
Kitzmilller, Erika 10
Koed, Betty 21
Koncewicz, Michael 25
Krajewska, Magdalena 13
Kramer, Paul 9, 11, 20
Krinitzky, Nora 13

Krome-Lukens, Anna 14
Kruse, Kevin 12
Kurachi, Shintaro 20

L

Lamberson, Christine 16
Lane, Julie 15
La Noue, George R 7
Lassiter, Matthew ii, 13, 17, 24, 25
Lassman, Thomas 17
Lavelle, Kathryn 7
Lee, Frances 24
Levine, Susan 12
Lewallen, Jonathan 24
Lieb, Emily 22
Lindberg, Tim 16
Lombardo, Timothy 13
Losier, Toussaint 16
Loss, Christopher ii, 3, 5, 15, 18
Lovelace, Tim 6
Lowry, William ii
Lukens, Patrick 11

M

Madsen, Grant 7
Magness, Philip 15
Manheim, Lisa Marshall 24
Marcus, Alan 9
Marmor, Theodore 21
Masur, Kate 15
Mattes, Armin 20
Matusheski, Zachary 7
McCabe, Joshua 6, 10
McGarr, Kathryn 15
McGee, Andrew 24
McKee, Guian 24
Meagher, Richard 7, 21
Merchant, Emily Klancher 10, 11
Messac, Luke 16
Michney, Todd 9
Milazzo, Paul 21
Milner, Samuel 12
Mittelstadt, Jennifer 6, 17, 18
Mohr, James ii
Moore, Colin 20
Moore, John 15
Moran, Rachel 18
Morris, Andrew 25
Mound, Joshua 9
Mozumi, Seiichiro 20
Mulloy, Darren 16
Mulroy, Quinn 6
Murch, Donna 16
Myers, Cayce 14

N

Nachlis, Herschel 23
Nackenoff, Carol 20
Neem, Johann 10, 13
Nelson, Nichole 10, 19
Nicholas, Phil 25
Noell, David 12
Novak, William 15
Novkov, Julie 20

O

O'Brien, Cyrus 15
O'Hara, Jonathan 20
Olmsted, Kathryn 12
Olson, Glen 20
O'Mara, Margaret 3, 5, 25
O'Reilly, Kelly 6
Orejel, Keith 25

P

Packer, Tom 12, 18
Peart, Daniel 15
Phillips, Sarah 15, 22
Pihos, Peter 16
Porter, Stephen 9, 18
Postel, Charles 18
Powers, Patricia E. ii
Pratcher II, Anthony 10

R

Rabe, Barry 13
Rabe, Robert 15
Radford, Gail 10
Rao, Gautham 13, 15
Rauchway, Eric 15
Reames, Tony 13
Rehfeld, Andrew 3, 5
Reinecke, David 6
Reynolds, Colin 16
Rhodes, Jesse 15
Richter, Kelly 10
Rigueur, Leah Wright 4, 14
Riser, R. Volney 11
Robert, Daniel 14
Robertson, David ii, 20
Roberts, Patrick 7
Rockwell, Stephen J. 16
Romero, Eulogio 13
Rorabaugh, William 3, 5
Rosa, Todd 10
Rowe, Daniel 12
Rubin, Ruth Bloch 24

S

Sabin, Paul 17
Sanders, Elizabeth 18, 22
Sawyer, Laura Phillips 8

Schroedel, Jean 6
Schuster, Natalie 12
Scribner, Campbell 18
Sedgwick, Donna 18
Segal, Howard 9
Self, Robert 7, 15
Seo, Sarah 25
Seyer, Sean 14
Shafer, Byron E. ii, 9
Shanahan, Brendan 7
Shaw, Christopher W. 14
Sheingate, Adam 24
Sherman, Matthew C. ii, 3, 13, 19
Shermer, Elizabeth Tandy 10, 12, 16, 22
Siff, Sarah Brady 25
Simpson, Andrew 24
Sirna, Angela 22
Skocpol, Theda ii, 24
Skrentny, John 3, 5
Smemo, Kristoffer 25
Smith, Jason Scott 15, 17
Smith, J. Douglas 13
Smith, Rogers 3, 5
Snowden, Kenneth 9
Sorber, Nate 9
Sparrow, Bartholomew ii, 3, 5, 18, 20
Stahl, Ronit 15
Staub, Michael 16
Stebenne, David 22, 24
Steffes, Tracy L. 10
Stoil, Rebecca Shimoni 6
Strand, Daniel ii
Suchowlansky, Mauricio ii
Sullivan, Kathleen S. 20
Suri, Jeremi 7, 17

T

Tani, Karen 15
Tarbert, Jesse 20
Thomas, Karen Kruse 14
Thurston, Chloe 7
Tobbell, Dominique 24
Tulis, Jeffrey 3, 5
Turek, Lauren F. 15, 19

V

Vanatta, Sean 7
Volk, Kyle G. 13, 15

W

Walker, Vanessa 9
Wallhermfachtel, Amy ii, 3, 14
Walsh, David 16
Wambeke, Ann Marie 25

Wang, Jessica 17
Ware, Alan ii
Wasniewski, Matthew 21
Waterhouse, Benjamin C. 8
Widestrom, Amy 15
Williams II, Ronald 6
Wilson, Mark 18
Winant, Gabriel 24
Winling, LaDale 9
Woeste, Victoria Saker 14
Wolgin, Philip 21
Worsencroft, John 6
Wyman, Robert 7

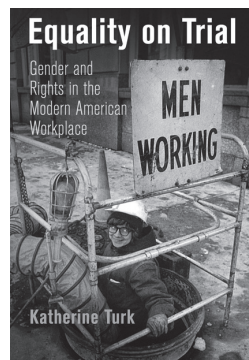
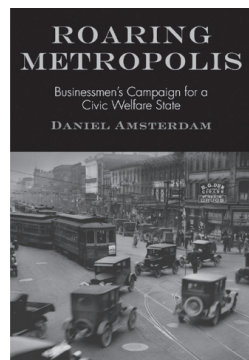
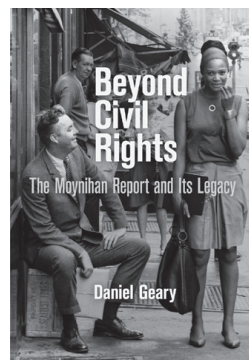
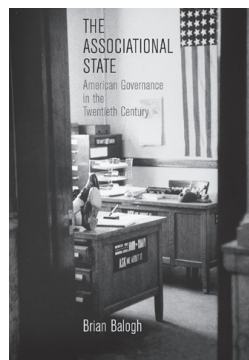
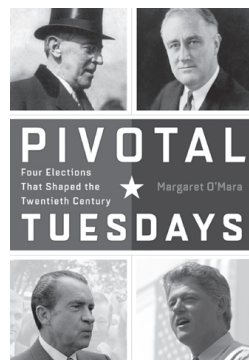
Y

Yao, Guigui 7
Young, Nancy Beck 12, 21
Young, Neil 19

Z

Zdencanovic, Ben 16

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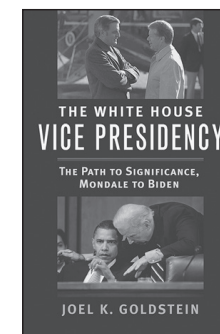
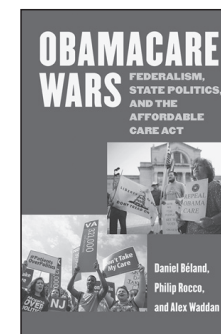
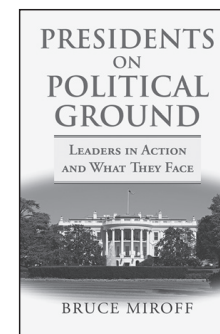
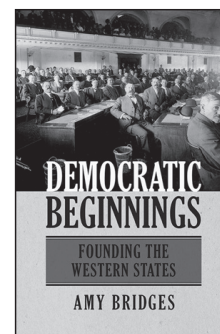
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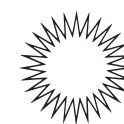
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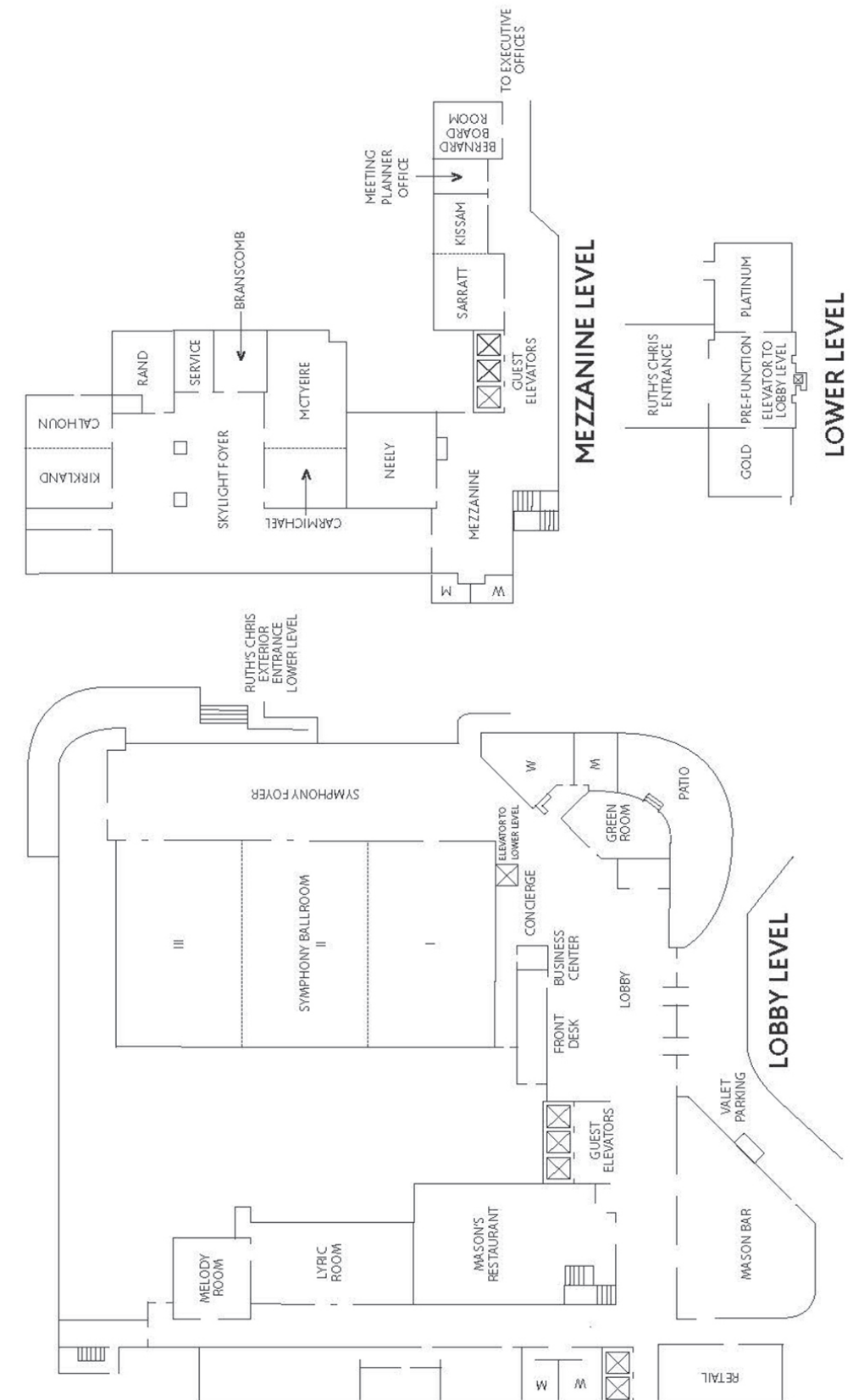
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