Table of Contents

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

Conference at a Glance  4-5

Special Conference Events  4
Wednesday Plenary - Environmental Policy  4
Wednesday Buffet Dinner  4
Thursday JPH Editorial Board Meeting  4
Thursday Plenary - Political Polarization  4
Thursday Reception  4

Concurrent Sessions  6

Index  14
Welcome to the 2023 Policy History Conference co-sponsored by the Institute for Political History, the *Journal of Policy History*, and the Center for American Institutions at Arizona State University.

Since the first Policy History Conference in Saint Louis, Missouri, the primary goal behind the conference has been to provide an interdisciplinary forum for presentations and roundtable discussions on policy history topics and recent policy history research. The biennial conferences bring together academy scholars, independent scholars and graduate students to share their research. Many of the papers presented eventually appear in academic journals and other publications.

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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 American Institutions at Arizona State University

Location and Lodging

The 2023 Policy History Conference will be located at the Sheraton Columbus Hotel at Capitol Square 75 East State Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215. Phone: 614-365-4500

Parking at the hotel is $17 per day or $30 overnight for valet. There is also a self-park garage for $15 per day.

Registration

To register for the 2023 Policy History Conference, visit https://jph.asu.edu/2023-registration. All participants should check in at the registration desk in the Legislative Foyer to receive a conference program, name badge, and buffet ticket if purchased. Those who have not pre-registered must register at the registration desk during the hours below.

Registration Desk Hours:
Located in Legislative Foyer
Wednesday, June 7 - 10:30 am – 5:00 pm
Thursday, June 8 - 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Friday, June 9 - 8:00 am – 10:00 am

Book Exhibit Hours:
Located in Legislative Foyer
Wednesday, June 7 - 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Thursday, June 8 - 8:00 am – 4:00 pm

Refreshments

Breakfast will be available in the Legislative Foyer on Thursday and Friday from 7:00 am - 8:00 am. Coffee and bottled water will be available throughout the day also in the Legislative Foyer.

Cancellations

Conference participants can cancel registration by visiting https://jph.asu.edu/2023-registration and clicking on the registration link. Credit card processing and registration processing charges will not be refunded. The last day to cancel is Monday, May 15.

Transportation

John Glenn Columbus Airport
John Glenn Columbus Airport is located 6.5 miles from Sheraton Columbus Hotel at Capitol Square. There is no airport shuttle to the hotel from the airport.

Taxis and Ride Share
Taxi and ride share service is available at John Glenn Columbus Airport on the ground transportation level 24 hours a day. The approximate fare to the hotel is $25.

Local Weather

Highs are expected to be in the low 80s. Lows are expected to be in the low 60s.

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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 7

Registration: 10:30 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Located in Legislative Foyer

Concurrent Sessions 1: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
- The Veteran Problem
- State and Religion
- Social Justice in the Cities
- Rethinking U.S. Foreign Policy Interests

Concurrent Sessions 2: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
- Policy Loops and Loopholes: Feedback Processes in North America and Europe
- Political and Economic Perspectives on the Postwar U.S. Presidency
- Libertarian Politics

Wednesday Plenary Session
5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Governor Ballroom

“Environmental Policy”
Chair: Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
Adam Rome, Professor of Environment and Sustainability, University at Buffalo
Bart Elmore, Associate Professor of History, The Ohio State University

Wednesday Buffet Dinner
6:30 pm - 7:30 pm (prior registration required)
Located in Legislative Room

“Victory over Fellow-Citizens Should be Known Only in the Rights It Assures”: Battle-Flags, Amnesty, and the Self-Martyrdom of Charles Sumner, 1872-74
Mark W. Summers, Professor, University of Kentucky

Thursday, June 8

Breakfast: 7:00 am - 8:00 am
Registration: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Located in Legislative Foyer

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am
- Energy Politics
- Politics, Policies and Problems in American Political Development
- Slavery, Democracy and Economy

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am
- Political Science and Political History
- Financial Loyalty in Mid-Century America
- Labor/Capital, Capital/Labor: Understanding the Systemic Power of People
- Funding Education

JPH Editorial Board Meeting: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm
Located in Capitol Boardroom

Concurrent Sessions 3: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
- Conservatives
- Administrative Reorganization: Department of Commerce and Labor, New Deal Agencies and the Great Society
- Comparative State Politics

Concurrent Sessions 4: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
- Rural America Rising
- Ideas and Institutional Evolution in U.S. National Security
- Economic Development Policy
- Protecting the State
- Healthcare Policy Reform and Reaction

Thursday Plenary Session
5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Governor Ballroom

“Political Polarization”
Thomas B. Edsall, New York Times Columnist

Thursday Reception: 6:30 pm – 7:30 pm
Located in Legislative Room
Appetizers and hosted bar
Friday, June 9

**Breakfast:** 7:00 am - 8:00 am  
**Registration:** 8:00 am – 10:00 am  
*Located in Legislative Foyer*

**Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am  
- *Rethinking Covid Policy*  
- *The State and Religion in Modern North American Education: A History of Law, Policymaking and Politics*  
- *Slavery and Capitalism*  
- *Urban Inequities*  
- *Remaking the GOP*

**Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am  
- *Policy-Makers and Institutions Confronting Crisis*  
- *Capitalism and Political Polarization*  
- *Housing Social Justice*
Wednesday, June 7
Concurrent Session 1
1:30 - 3:00 pm

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

The Veteran Problem

Panel 1-A - Executive A

Chair / commentator: Robert Norell, University of Tennessee
Shoji Nakamura, University of Tokyo
Rethinking ‘Veteran Politics’: How Labor Unions and Racial Groups Shaped the G.I. Bill of Rights in the Postwar America
Todd McDonald, Virginia Tech
Reframing ‘The Veteran Problem’: The American WWII Veteran

State and Religion

Panel 1-B - Executive B

Chair / commentator: TBD
Christopher Shannon, Christendom College
Separation Anxiety: Church and State in a Postmodern Age
Matthijs Tieleman, Arizona State University
Religious Liberty in the Netherlands in Context

Social Justice in the Cities

Panel 1-C - Executive C

Chair / commentator: Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
David Farber, University of Kansas
Anti-Semitism in Progressive Era Chicago: Between State and Society
Stephen Adams, Salisbury University
State-owned enterprise vs. the state: San Francisco’s battle for airport funding during total war

Rethinking U.S. Foreign Policy Interests

Panel 1-D - House A

Chair / commentator: Christopher Nichols, The Ohio State University
Andrew Cerise, University of South Carolina
Marshalling the Court of Public Opinion: How the House Armed Services Committee Sabotaged the My Lai Massacre Trials and Emerged Unscathed
Brad Johnston, Mississippi State University
Fractured Comrades: Divergent Paths in American Zionism
Andrew Kishuni, University of Central Florida
The Sheep War: How Six Thousand Sheep and a Congressman Almost Ended America’s Chemical Weapons Program
Policy Loops and Loopholes: Feedback Processes in North America and Europe

Panel 2-A - House A

Chair / commentator: Raymond Haberski, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis
Alex Waddan, University of Leicester
Unemployment Insurance in the US and UK: Understanding Divergence in the Use of Unemployment Benefit as a Policy Tool in Two Liberal Welfare Regimes
Stephen Amberg, University of Texas at San Antonio
States, Social Power, and Policy Innovation
Abbey Chambers and Raymond Haberski, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis
Community Engagement and Higher Education: Policy and Promises
Edward Ashbee, Copenhagen Business School
Feedback Effects and Foreign Policy Change

Libertarian Politics

Panel 2-D - Executive C

Chair / commentator: Paul Charles Milazzo, Ohio University
Anthony Gregory, Rhode Island School of Design
Libertarian Declension Narratives and Qualitative Policy History
Kollin Fields, Greenville University
Rand, Rothbard, and Libertarian Attitudes Toward Democracy
Stephan Stohler, University at Albany, SUNY
Creating a Clear and Present Danger

Political and Economic Perspectives on the Postwar U.S. Presidency

Panel 2-B - House B

Chair / commentator: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University
Grant Madsen, Brigham Young University
John Farris, Perimeter College of Georgia State University
Constraints on Domestic and Foreign Economic Policy Coordination: The Carter Administration’s Dollar Problem as a Case Study
Robert Norell, University of Tennessee
Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace: How History Was Used in the Wars of the 20th Century
Thursday, June 8
Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Energy Politics
Panel 1-A - House A
Chair/ commentator: Christy Ford Chapin, University of Maryland, Baltimore
Daniel Skinner, Ohio University-College of Medicine
Health Professionals and Policy: Lessons from the Anti-Nuclear Proliferation Movement
Bo Blew, Purdue University
A Time to Choose: The Ford Foundation and America’s Energy Future

Politics, Policies and Problems in American Political Development
Panel 1-B - House B
Chair: Emily Zackin, Johns Hopkins University
Commentators: Anton Jager, Catholic University of Leuven and Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
Richard Bensel, Cornell University
Klans, Clans, and Culture in 1870 North Carolina
Devin Caughey, MIT and Sara Chatfield, University of Denver
Creating a Constituency for Liberalism: The Political Effects of the Tennessee Valley Authority

Slavery, Democracy and Economy
Panel 1-C - Executive A
Chair / commentator: TBD
C. Hoyt Bleakley, University of Michigan and Paul W. Rhode, University of Michigan
The Economic Effects of American Slavery: Tests at the Border
Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University
The Problem with American Democracy? The American Revolution
Zachary Clary, University of South Carolina
Thursday, June 8
Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Political Science and Political History

Panel 2-A - House A

Chair / commentator: Paula Baker, Arizona State University
Nicol C. Rae, University of Arizona
The Rise and Fall of Glen Canyon Dam: Resources, Infrastructure, and Environmental Policy in the post-New Deal Era
Regina L. Wagner, University of Alabama
Electoral Dynamics: The House of Representatives in the Long Run
Anne Whitesell, Miami University of Ohio
Welfare Queen: How Gendered and Racialized Stereotypes Have Shaped Welfare Policy Over Time
Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin
American Politics as Analytic History: Three Turning Points in Search of a Framework

Panel 2-B - House B

Chair / commentator: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University
Christy Ford Chapin, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
American Financial Policy and Anti-Bank Sentiment After World War II
David Stebenne, The Ohio State University
The Problem of Economic Nationalism in the Mid-20th Century United States, 1929-1968
Nathanael Louis Mickelson, University of Georgia
New Deal Alchemy: Southern Senators and the Abandonment of the Gold Standard

Labor / Capital, Capital / Labor:
Understanding the Systemic Power of People

Panel 2-C - Executive B

Chair / commentator: Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara
Jill Jensen, University of Redlands
Labor Power for Economic Growth in the Global South, 1960s-1980s
Neil Johnson, University of California, Santa Barbara

Financial Loyalty in Mid-Century America

Panel 2-D - Executive C

Chair / commentator: Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University
Ajay Mehrotra, Northwestern University
Nixon’s VAT: The Rise and Fall of the 1970s National Value-added Tax to Fund Education
Gisele Muller-Parker and Jason Bourke, Delaware State University
Inclusive Excellence: The National Science Foundation’s Minority Graduate Fellowship Program’s Legacy on the Policies of the Graduate Research Fellowship Program and Resulting Impact on the Participation of Women and Members of Groups Underrepresented in STEM
Thursday, June 8
Concurrent Session 3
1:30 - 3:00 pm

Conservatives

Panel 3-A - Executive A

Chair / commentator: Gregory Schneider
Mary Grabar, The Alexander Hamilton Institute for the Study of Western Civilization
George S. Schuyler, Star Columnist of Harlem
Paul Charles Milazzo, Ohio University
The Education of Henry Hazlitt: Business Journalism and Austrian Economics After World War I
Maxine Wagenhoffer, The Ohio State University
Alice’s Malice in the Ladies’ Home Journal: Alice Roosevelt Longworth and the Intersection of Conservatism and Femininity

Comparative State Politics

Panel 3-C - House A

Chair / commentator: Paula Baker, Arizona State University
Ann-Marie Szymanski, University of Oklahoma
Air Pollution Control in New Jersey and Ohio: Political Entrepreneurs, Geographical Mismatches, and Political Campaigns
James Strickland, Arizona State University
Constitutional Change and Lobbying: Insight from the Progressive Era
Adam Myers, Providence College

Administrative Reorganization: Department of Commerce and Labor, New Deal Agencies, and the Great Society

Panel 3-B - Executive B

Chair / commentator: B. Guy Peters, University of Pittsburgh
Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University
Business Men and Seamen: Reorganization of the Department of Commerce and Labor, 1903-1920
Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College
James Greer, retired, US Dept of Treasury
Bureaucratic Autonomy and Public Government
Corporations in the New Deal
Scott Spitzer, CalState Fullerton
Using the ‘Administrative Presidency’ to End the War on Poverty
Thursday, June 8
Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Rural America Rising

Panel 4-A - House A

Chair / commentator: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Emily Prifogle, University of Michigan
The Shared Political Rhetoric of Rural School Consolidation & Urban Busing
Bobby Cervantes, Harvard University
‘The Best Kind of Government Assistance’: Rural Poverty and National Affordable Housing Reform in the 1990s
Brent Cebul, University of Pennsylvania
The Federal Carrot and the Modernization of Rural, Southern Governance, ca. 1949-1974
Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
The Strange Career of White Southern Rural Rhetoric

Ideas and Institutional Evolution in U.S. National Security

Panel 4-B - House B

Chair / commentator: Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago and Richard Bensel, Cornell University
William Adler, Northeastern Illinois University
The New History of Capitalism and the Military in the Early U.S.
Matthew Conklin, University of Chicago
The Smith-Mundt Act, the Domestic Dissemination Ban, and the Evolution of America’s Propaganda Anxieties
Sean Case, Boston University
‘As the World Continues to Shrink’: George Lincoln, Albert Wedemeyer, and the Debate over the Mutual Security Act of 1959

Economic Development Policy

Panel 4-C - Executive A

Chair / commentator: TBD
Kwesi Quansah, University of North Carolina at Charlotte
The Impact of the Living Income Differential LiD Policy on Poverty Risk Among Cocoa Farmers in Ghana
William Goldsmith, UNC Chapel Hill
In Search of the Origins of Innovation Policy

Protecting the State

Panel 4-D - Executive B

Chair / commentator: David Farber, University of Kansas
Kate Birkbeck, Yale University
Policing the Empire: White Militia in Hawaii from the Honolulu Rifles to the Hawaii National Guard, 1883-1903
Samuel Rogers, University of Kansas
‘It sounds like we have just had our head in the sand on this’: Congress, the Department of State, Civil Society, and the Politics of Data in American Human Trafficking Policy at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century

Healthcare Policy Reform and Reaction

Panel 4-E - Executive C

Chair / commentator: TBD
Laura Blessing, Georgetown University
The Politics of Repealing Protections: A Policy History of the ACA Repeal Attempt
Andrew Simpson, Duquesne University
‘She told me I was senile and paranoid’ … Understanding the Emergence of Elder Abuse as a Public Policy Concern
Friday, June 9
Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Rethinking Covid Policy

Panel 1-A - Executive A

Chair / commentator: TBD
Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University
_Pandemics and Political Misunderstanding_
Timothy Kneeland, Nazareth College
_Covid Politics on the Great Lakes: Midsized Cities’ Response to the COVID pandemic, 2020-2022_

The State and Religion in Modern North American Education: A History of Law, Policymaking, and Politics

Panel 1-B - House A

Chair / commentator: Andrew Lewis, University of Cincinnati
Brendan Shanahan, Yale University
_A Most North American Crisis: U.S. Responses and Connections to the Manitoba Schools Question, 1890-1897_
Austin Lee Steelman, Stanford University
_’If you give the bureaucrats the children, you might as well give them everything else’: J. Gresham Machen and the Long History of Evangelical Opposition to Public Schools_
Vania Blaiklock, William & Mary College
_The Final Frontier: Religious Charter Schools, Race, and the End of the Establishment Clause after Carson_

Urban Inequities

Panel 1-D - Executive C

Chair / commentator: Kenneth Wohl, Stony Brook University and Titus Firmin, University of Kansas
Keith Revell, Florida International University
_Clay Ammentorp_, University of California, Irvine
_The Suburban Prison: Carceral Land Use Conflicts in Mid-Century Chino, CA_

Remaking the GOP

Panel 1-E - House B

Chair / commentator: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University
Tom Packer, Oxford University
_Jesse Helms, the Helms Circle, and the 1976 Republican Presidential Primary_
John David Briley, East Tennessee State University
_Reinventing Richard Nixon_
Thomas Carty, Springfield College
_Donald Trump and Religion: The First 50 Years, 1946-1996_

Slavery and Capitalism

Panel 1-C - Executive B

Chair / commentator: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Charlton Copeland, University of Miami
_Cabining Race/Preserving Federalism: Progressive Federalism and the Ages of American Equality_
Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University
_Commodifying Reproduction, Making Race: Black Kinship and the Emergence of Modern Racial Capitalism in the Antebellum South_
Policy-Makers and the Institutions
Confronting Crises

Panel 2-A - House A

Chair: Kathryn Lavelle, Case Western Reserve University
Commentator: John Brooke, The Ohio State University
Timothy Leech, Independent Scholar
The Massachusetts Provisional Government and the 1775 Crisis of War
Steven Conn, Miami University
US Business Schools Grappling with Economic Crises since the post-World War II Era
Beth-Anne Schuelke Leech, University of Windsor
Covid 19: Lessons for Policymakers in Preparing for other Twenty-First Century Crises

Housing Social Justice

Panel 2-C - Executive B

Chair / commentator: Keith Revell, Florida International University
Kenneth Wohl, Stony Brook University
Bringing New Deal Liberalism To the Nation’s Capital
Titus Firmin, University of Kansas
Off-Limits; The U.S. Army’s Fight Against Housing Discrimination in the D.C. Metro
Keith Harris, Kenyon College
Home and the Home Market: Household Imagery and the Tariff Policy During the Panic of 1837

Capitalism and Political Polarization

Roundtable 2-B - House B

Chair / commentator: Emily Zackin, Johns Hopkins University and Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
Jonathan Chausovsky, SUNY Fredonia
A Theory of the Business Corporation as Political Institution
Jesse Crosson, Purdue University, Geoff Lorenz, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and Alexander Furnas, Northwestern University
Pierre Desrochers, University of Toronto
On the Spontaneous Circularity of Market Economies: A Historical Reassessment
Jeffrey D. Broxmeyer, University of Toledo
Clientelism In American Political Development
Index

A
Adams, Stephen 6
Adler, William 11
Alphonso, Gwendoline 9, 12
Amberg, Stephen 7
Ammentorp, Clay 12
Ashbee, Edward 7

B
Baker, Paula 2, 9, 10
Balogh, Brian 2, 11, 12
Barwick, Roxane 2
Bauer, Carrie 2
Bensel, Richard 2, 8, 11
Birkbeck, Kate 11
Blaklock, Vania 12
Bleakley, C. Hoyt 8
Blessing, Laura 11
Blew, Bo 8
Boris, Eileen 2, 9
Bourke, Jason 9
Briley, John David 12
Brooke, John 13
Brownlee, W. Elliot 2
Broxmeyer, Jeffrey D. 13

C
Cannato, Vincent 2
Carty, Thomas 12
Case, Sean 11
Caughey, Devin 8
Cebul, Brent 2, 9
Chambers, Abbey 7
Chapin, Christy Ford 2, 8, 9
Chatfield, Sara 8
Chausovsky, Jonathan 13
Clary, Zachary 8
Conklin, Matthew 11
Conn, Steven 13
Copeland, Charlton 12
Critchlow, Donald T. 2
Crosson, Jesse 13

D
Decker, Jefferson 7, 9, 12
Desrochers, Pierre 13
Disalvo, Daniel 2

E
Edsall, Thomas B. 4
Elmore, Bart 4

F
Farber, David 6, 11
Farris, John 7
Fields, Kollin 7
Firmin, Titus 12, 13
Furnas, Alexander 13

G
Goldsmith, William 11
Grabar, Mary 10
Greer, James 10
Gregory, Anthony 7

H
Haberski, Raymond 7
Harris, Keith 13

J
Jager, Anton 8
Jensen, Jill 9
John, Richard R. 2
Johnston, Neil 9
Johnston, Brad 6

K
Katznelson, Ira 2
Kishuni, Andrew 6
Kneeland, Timothy 12

L
Lassiter, Matthew 2
Lavelle, Kathryn 13
Leech, Beth-Anne Schuelke 13
Leech, Timothy 13
Lewis, Andrew 12
Lorenz, Geoff 13
Loss, Christopher 2, 4, 6

M
Madsen, Grant 7
McDonagh, Eileen 8
McDonald, Todd 6
Mehrotra, Ajay 9
Mickelson, Nathanael Louis 9
Milazzo, Paul Charles 2, 7, 10
Muller-Parker, Gisele 9
Myers, Adam 10

N
Nackenoff, Carol 10
Nakamura, Shoji 6
Nichols, Christopher 6

O
Norell, Robert 6, 7

P
Packer, Tom 12
Peters, B. Guy 10
Powers, Patricia E. 2
Prifogle, Emily 11

Q
Quansah, Kwesi 11

R
Rae, Nicol C. 9
Revell, Keith 12, 13
Rhode, Paul W. 8
Rogers, Samuel 11
Rome, Adam 4
Rubin, Ruth Bloch 2, 8, 11, 13

S
Sanders, Elizabeth 12
Sawyer, Laura Phillips 2
Schneider, Gregory 10
Shafer, Byron 2, 9
Shanahan, Brendan 12
Shannon, Christopher 6
Simpson, Andrew 11
Skinner, Daniel 8
Sparrow, Bartholomew 2
Spitzer, Scott 10
Steben, David 9
Steelman, Austin Lee 12
Stohler, Stephan 7
Strickland, James 2, 10
Sullivan, Kathleen 10
Summers, Mark W. 4
Szymanski, Ann-Marie 2, 10

T
Tieleman, Matthijs 6

W
Waddan, Alex 7
Wagenhoffer, Maxine 10
Wagner, Regina L. 2, 9
Ware, Alan 2
Whitesell, Anne 9
Wohl, Kenneth 12, 13

Z
Zackin, Emily 8, 13