

# 2023 Policy History Conference

## June 7-9

### Columbus, Ohio



*jph*

Institute for Political History

**ASU**

Center for  
American  
Institutions

Arizona State  
University



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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.

## Questions? Contact:

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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*



# Wednesday, June 7

Concurrent Session 2  
3:15 - 4:45 pm

## 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*

## 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  
*The Moral Foundations of Presidential Rhetoric, 1945-2000: A Digital History Approach*  
**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*

## 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*

# 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 Bense**, 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

*Putting the 'Un-' Back in 'Unalienable Rights': The*

*Declaration of Independence, Textualism, and Citizenship in the Black Freedom Struggle, 1960-1970*

# 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*

## Financial Loyalty in Mid-Century America

### 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  
*Collective Bargaining, Retraining, and the Politics of Plant Closures, 1979-1988*

## Funding Education

### 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*

### 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

*Maternalists and the Social Security Act: Victories, Defeats, and Lessons in American Political Development, 1899-1939*

**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*

### 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

*Business, Labor, and the Fiscal Federalism Debate in the United States, 1946-1972*

# 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 Bense**, 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*

### 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*

### 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

*Privatizing the Ocean: Resort Hotels and the Enclosure of Nature in Miami Beach, 1926-1982*

**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*

**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*

**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

*Polarizing Pluralism: Party Competition, Interest Group  
Strategy, and the Resurgent Mischiefs of Faction*

**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*

**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  
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