

2018 Policy History Conference

May 16 - 19
Tempe, Arizona

jph

Institute for Political History

ASU
Arizona State
University

**ANNIVERSARY
CELEBRATION**

30
years

Welcome to the tenth biennial Policy History Conference co-sponsored by the Institute for Political History, the *Journal of Policy History*, and 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.

2018 marks the 20th year of continued academic excellence for the Policy History Conference and the 30th anniversary of publication for 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.

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Alan Ware, Oxford University (Politics)

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 plenary participants, award luncheon keynote speaker and panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the 2018 Policy History Conference.

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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
Arizona State University

Location and Lodging

The tenth biennial Policy History Conference will be located at the Tempe Mission Palms Hotel, 60 E. 5th St. Tempe, Arizona 85281. Phone: 480-894-1400.

Self parking and valet parking for guests are included in the hotel's hospitality fee. Self parking for participants not staying at the hotel is \$2 hr. or \$12 per day.

Registration

To register for the 2018 Policy History Conference, visit <https://jph.asu.edu/2018-registration>. All participants should check in at the registration desk in Foyer EF to receive a conference program, name badge, reception ticket, and 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 Foyer EF

Wednesday, May 16 - 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Thursday, May 17 - 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Friday, May 18 - 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Saturday, May 19 - 8:00 am – 11:00 am

Book Exhibit Hours:

Located in Foyer EF

Wednesday, June 1 - 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Thursday, June 2 - 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Friday, June 3 - 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Saturday, June 4 - 8:00 am – 11:00 am

Refreshments

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

Cancellations

Conference participants can cancel registration by visiting <https://jph.asu.edu/2018-registration> and clicking on the registration link. Credit card processing and registration processing charges will not be refunded. **The last day to cancel is Friday, May 11.**

Transportation

Sky Harbor International Airport

Sky Harbor International Airport is located 5.2 miles from Tempe Mission Palms Hotel.

Shuttles

Once you have arrived at Sky Harbor International Airport, please follow the directions below to obtain a complimentary shuttle to Tempe Mission Palms Hotel. Shuttle service is available between 5:30 am and 10:30 pm: Pick up your luggage at the baggage claim first.

- Call Tempe Mission Palms Operator at **480-894-1400** using your personal cell phone or airport pay phone.
- Tell the operator what terminal you are located in.
- Follow the directions from the operator.
- Tempe Mission Palms vans are white and have the hotel logo on them.
- Shuttle should arrive within a few minutes. Time to hotel is about 10 minutes.

Taxis

Taxi service is available at Sky Harbor International Airport. Taxi terminal access is as follows:
Terminal 2: east outside door # 8
Terminal 3: North curb, outside door # 7
Terminal 4: Level 1, North curb, outside door # 7 and south curb, outside door #6
The following taxis are contracted to pick up passengers at Phoenix Sky Harbor: AAA/Yellow Cab; Mayflower Cab; VIP TAXI

Buses and Light Rail

Valley Metro offers airport passengers options to Sky Harbor International Airport by taking the bus (Routes 1 and 44) or connecting via light rail to PHX Sky Train from the 44th St./Washington Valley Metro Rail station. The PHX Sky Train is a free service connecting travelers from the 44th St/Washington light rail station to all terminals and East Economy parking.

Take the Light Rail from 44th St./Washington to the Mill Ave/3rd St. stop. Tempe Mission Palms is located east of Mill Ave on 5th St. - an easy 5 minute walk from the station.

Ride Share

Lyft and Uber are both active in Phoenix and Tempe. Download the app and request a ride. A nearby driver will be dispatched to your location within minutes.

Local Weather

Highs are expected to be in high to mid 90s. Please feel free to dress business casual.

Restaurants

One block west of Tempe Mission Palms Hotel, Mill Avenue in Tempe includes dining establishments, entertainment venues, shops and hosts multiple events every year. Restaurants listed below are within easy walking distance of the hotel

Caffe Boa Bistro and Wine Bar \$\$\$

2 minute walk
398 S. Mill Ave Tempe AZ 85281
(480) 968-9112
Reservations recommended

House of Tricks \$\$\$

3 minute walk
114 E. 7th St. Tempe AZ 85281
(480) 968-1114
Reservations recommended

RA Sushi Bar \$\$

2 minute walk
411 S. Mill Ave Tempe AZ 85281
(480) 303-9800

Rula Bula Irish Pub \$\$

2 minute walk
401 S. Mill Ave Tempe AZ 85281
(480) 929-9500

In addition to the Tempe Mill Avenue District, we recommend **Old Town Scottsdale**, which is a short 15 minute drive from the hotel and offers many more food and beverage options. Some of our favorites include:

Citizen Public House \$\$\$

7111 E 5th Ave Ste E Scottsdale, AZ 85251
(480) 398-4208

Cowboy Ciao \$\$\$

7133 E Stetson Dr. Scottsdale, AZ 85251
(480) 946-3111

House Brasserie \$\$\$

6936 E Main St. Scottsdale, AZ 85251
(480) 634-1600

Questions? Contact:

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sherman_matthew@hotmail.com

Special Conference Events

Thursday Awards Luncheon

An Awards Luncheon will be held on Thursday, May 17 at **12:00 pm in Palm EF**. 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. The keynote address - **“Reflections of a Political Historian”** will be delivered by **Daniel Walker Howe**, Rhodes Professor of American History Emeritus at Oxford University and Professor of History Emeritus at UCLA. 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 recipient of the 2018 Hugh Davis Graham Award will also be announced at the luncheon.

Thursday Plenary - “Policy History at 30 Years”

Thursday 5:00-6:15 – Palm ABC

Chair: Edward Berkowitz, George Washington University
Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
Stephen Skowronek, Yale University
Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin
Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara

Thursday Reception

Sponsored by Arizona State University, the Institute for Political History and the *Journal of Policy History*, the Thursday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from **6:15 – 7:30 pm**, May 17, in **Courtyard East** for conference participants and their guests.

Friday *JPH* Editorial Board Meeting

12:00 pm – 1:00 pm - Colonnade

Friday Plenary - “American Political Tradition Revisited”

Friday 5:00-6:15 – Palm ABC

Chair: William Rorabaugh, University of Washington
Daniel Walker Howe, Oxford University
Robin Einhorn, University of California, Berkeley
Richard Bense, Cornell University
Paula Baker, The Ohio State University

Friday 30th Anniversary Celebration

7:30 pm – 9:30 pm (Prior registration required) – Poolside Terrace

2018 marks the 20th year of continued academic excellence for the Policy History Conference and the 30th anniversary of publication for the *Journal of Policy History*. Join us to celebrate this historic milestone.

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, May 16

Registration: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:00 am – 4:00 pm
Located in Foyer EF

Concurrent Sessions 1: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

- *Risking the Republic: Federal Policy and Financial Change in the Postwar Era*
- *Policy and Twentieth Century Housing Markets in the U.S.*
- *After the Great Society: Public/ Private Partnerships and the Changing Welfare State*
- *U.S. Policy and Popular Culture from World War II to the 1970s*

Concurrent Sessions 2: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

- *Regulating Religion*
- *Constitutional Conservatism and the New Right*
- *College/Higher Ed: Sex, In Loco Parentis, and Free Speech*

Thursday, May 17

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

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am

- *Nineties Kids: Policy, Politics, and Childhood in the Late Twentieth-Century United States*
- *Policy and Women's Activism in the 1970s*
- *Conservative Evangelical Politics in the Late Twentieth Century*
- *Insiders and Outsiders: Refiguring the Historical Agency of People of Color in American Political History, Part 2*
- *Domestic and Global Economic Policy Approaches in the 1970s*
- *Law: Slavery, Torts, and Elihu Root*

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am

- *Historical Perspectives on Policy, Politics, and the American State*
- *Authors Meet Authors – State Constitutionalism and American Political Development*
- *Insiders and Outsiders, Part 1: Refiguring the Historical Agency of People of Color in American Political History*
- *Roundtable: "The Year of the Woman," Past and Present*
- *Early Republic and Politics*
- *Expertise and the Administrative State*

Thursday Awards Luncheon

12:00 pm – 1:15 pm (Prior registration required)
Located in Palm EF

Welcome and Opening Introductions - **Donald T. Critchlow**

Keynote Address - "**Reflections of a Political Historian**"
Daniel Walker Howe, Rhodes Professor of American History Emeritus at Oxford University and Professor of History Emeritus at UCLA

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.

Erik M. Erlandson, University of Virginia

"A Technocratic Free Market: How the Courts Paved the Way for Administered Deregulation in the American Financial Sector, 1977-1988," Volume 29, Issue 3, Summer 2017.

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.

Mitchell Robertson, Oxford University
"The Afterlife of the Great Society"

Concurrent Sessions 3: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

- *Author Meets Critics: The Policy State: An American Predicament* by Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek
- *Policy Innovation and Atrophy: the American Right after Reagan*
- *Administrative Law and Policy in the Twilight of the New Deal Order*
- *Challenges to the Welfare State and National Security State*
- *Populist Protest: The Roots of Rightwing Populism in Our Day*
- *Federalism: Seen through the New Deal, Johnson, and Reagan/Bush*

Concurrent Sessions 4: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

- *The Founders and Majority Rule: Presidential and Other Elections*
- *Author Meets Critics: Health Divided* by Daniel Sledge
- *Conservative Challenges to the Great Society*
- *Who Shaped Government Policy Regarding Corporations in the Progressive Era?*

Thursday Plenary Session

5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Palm ABC

"Policy History at 30 Years"

Chair: Edward Berkowitz, George Washington University
Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
Stephen Skowronek, Yale University
Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin
Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara

Thursday Reception: 6:15 pm – 7:30 pm
Located in Courtyard East

Friday, May 18

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

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am

- *Interpreting the "Public Interest" in Print, Radio, and Television*
- *New Perspectives on Richard Nixon's 1968 Presidential Campaign*
- *Gender, Family, and American State-Building*
- *Civil Rights: Activism and Empowerment*
- *Federal Regulation: Consumers and Employment*
- *Reinterpreting Party/Policy Structure*

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am

- *The Opioid Crisis: Perspectives from History, Medicine, and Journalism*
- *Roundtable: Bill Rorabaugh's Prohibition: A Concise History*
- *Disability, Dependency, and the Struggle for Equal Citizenship*
- *An Economist's Protest: Milton Friedman as Policymaker, Pundit, and Public Intellectual*
- *Home (In)Equity: Race, Class and the Politics of Housing Finance in the 20th-Century United States*
- *Veterans: Case Studies in Veterans Health*

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

Concurrent Sessions 3: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

- *Tax Cuts and American Society, 1954 to the Present*
- *Roundtable: The Democrats and 1968: A Reassessment, Fifty Years Later*
- *Trump and Populism: What Is On Everyone's Mind*
- *The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History*
- *Making Policy: From Ending Prohibition to Policy Makers in the 1990s*
- *The New Deal Wars*
- *Roundtable Discussion of Laura Phillips Sawyer's American Fair Trade: Proprietary Capitalism, Corporatism, and the 'New Competition,' 1890-1940*

Concurrent Sessions 4: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

- *Veterans, Disability, and Policy in the Mid-Twentieth Century United States*
- *Local Healthcare: Local Activism*
- *Roundtable Discussion of Edward Balleisen's Fraud: An American History from Barnum to Madoff*
- *Historical Perspectives on the Homeland Security Policy State*
- *Making the Reagan Era: Grassroots and High Politics*
- *Foreign Policy: Cycles, War, and Empire*
- *Government And Business: Regulations and Investment*

Friday Plenary Session

5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Palm ABC

"American Political Tradition Revisited"

Chair: William Rorabaugh University of Washington
Daniel Walker Howe, Oxford University
Robin Einhorn, University of California, Berkeley
Richard Bense, Cornell University
Paula Baker, The Ohio State University

Friday 30th Anniversary Celebration

7:30 pm – 9:30 pm (Prior registration required)
Located at Poolside Terrace



Saturday, May 19

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

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am

- *Just War, International Law, and Human Rights in the World Wars*
- *Crack Criminality and Public Policy*
- *American Environmental Politics in Historical Perspective*
- *Urban Federalism in Post-1945 America*

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am

- *The Seen and Unseen Influence of Money in Modern American Politics*
- *Roundtable: The History and Unexpected Policy Legacy of PURPA*

Wednesday, May 16

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.

Risking the Republic: Federal Policy and Financial Change in the Postwar Era

Panel 1-A - Campanile

Christy Ford Chapin, University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC)

The Inadvertent Trigger: How Federal Policy Helped Activate Financialization

Sean Vanatta, Princeton University

'A Very Distasteful Subject': The Rise of the Compliance Ethic in Federal Bank Supervision, 1965-1985

Peter Conti-Brown, Wharton, University of Pennsylvania
Does Financial Legislation Require a Crisis?: A Quantitative Historical Assessment

Comment: **Mark Rose**, Florida Atlantic University

Policy and Twentieth Century Housing Markets in the U.S.

Panel 1-B - Xavier

Chair: **Ladale Winling**, Virginia Tech

Bhashkar Mazumder, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
The Effects of the 1930s HOLC "Redlining" Maps

James Greer, CDFI Fund U.S. Treasury

Change and Continuity in U.S. Real Estate Markets, 1920-1939

After the Great Society: Public/ Private Partnerships and the Changing Welfare State

Panel 1-C - Palm ABC

Chair: **Marisa Chappell**, Oregon State University

Andrew Morris, Union College

Hurricane Camille, Disaster Relief, and the Politics of Voluntarism

Claire Dunning, Stanford University

Financing Community Development in the 1970s

Caitlin Rathe, University of California, Santa Barbara

Ending Hunger in America: Public and Private Provision of Food Welfare, 1968-1974

U.S. Policy and Popular Culture from World War II to the 1970s

Panel 1-D - San Pedro

Chair/Comment: **Alice O'Connor**, University of California, Santa Barbara

Sara Fieldston, Seton Hall University

"Our dollars are celebrities abroad": American Tourists, Consumption, and Power after World War II

Rachel Rains Winslow, Westmont College

'Petty Bureaucratic Details': 'Red Tape' and Political Culture during World War II

John Sbardellati, University of Waterloo

The FBI, Race, and Cold War Cinema

Constitutional Conservatism and the New Right

Panel 2-B - Dolores

Chair/Comment: **Sophia Lee**, University of Pennsylvania
Kenneth Kersch, Boston College

The Forging of Constitutional Co-Belligerence: Evangelical and Fundamentalist Stories of Constitutional Fall and Redemption in the Postwar U.S.

Logan Sawyer, University of Georgia

Originalism from the Soft Southern Strategy to the New Right

Calvin Terbeek, University of Chicago

The Birth of an Idea: Originalism, Institutions, Ideas, and the Conservative Legal Movement, 1977-1985

College/Higher Ed: Sex, In Loco Parentis, and Free Speech

Panel 2-C - Campanile

Craig Forrest, University of Missouri, Columbia

Children No More: The Ending of In Loco Parentis in a Cold War Context

Zachary Kaufman, Harvard Kennedy School of Government / Stanford Law School

Interventions in Sexual Violence

Thursday, May 17

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Nineties Kids: Policy, Politics, and Childhood in the Late Twentieth-Century United States

Panel 1-A - Campanile

Chair/Comment: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan
Anna Danziger Halperin, Columbia University
Advocacy after Retrenchment: Child-Care Subsidies in the 1990s
Michael Stauch, University of Toledo
The War on Crime from Below: 'Save Our Sons and Daughters' and the Politics of Childhood in Detroit
Paul Renfro, Southern Methodist University
'Make America Safe for Children': Protection and Punishment in the Clinton Era

Policy and Women's Activism in the 1970s

Panel 1-B - Palm ABC

Chair/Comment: Paula Baker, The Ohio State University
Anne Blaschke, College of the Holy Cross
The Women's Sports Foundation and Title IX Enforcement
Kumar Ramanathan, Northwestern University
From Civil Rights to Social Policy: The Development of Family and Medical Leave Policy in the United States, 1964-1978
Emilie Raymond, Virginia Commonwealth University
The Women's Bank of Richmond and Enforcement of the Equal Opportunity Credit Act

Conservative Evangelical Politics in the Late Twentieth Century

Panel 1-C - San Pedro

Chair/Comment: Matthew Sutton, Washington State University
Daniel Williams, University of West Georgia
Evangelicals' Evolving Political Litmus Tests: Why Conservative Christians Stopped Caring about Candidates' Religious Views
Laurence Connell, University of Manchester
The Political Culture of the Christian Right: Bellevue Baptist Church and the Republicanisation of American Evangelicalism
Karen Seat, University of Arizona
Conservative Christian Tax Resisters and the Neoliberal Family

Paul Matzko, Baylor University
Maintaining the Mainline: The Federal Communications Commission and the National Council of Churches of Christ

Insiders and Outsiders: Refiguring the Historical Agency of People of Color in American Political History, Part 2

Panel 1-D - Xavier

Chair/Comment: Rodney Hero, Arizona State University
Geraldo Cadava, Northwestern University
The Rise and Fall of a National Hispanic Conservative Movement
Lynn Itagaki, University of Missouri
Asian American Civic Engagement, from Reagan to Trump
Ronald Williams II, University of North Carolina
TransAfrica, The Congressional Black Caucus and the Haitian Refugee Crisis, 1991-1994

Domestic and Global Economic Policy Approaches in the 1970s

Panel 1-E - Dolores

Chair/Comment: Peter Conti-Brown, University of Pennsylvania
Grant Madsen, Brigham Young University
The Collapse of Bretton Woods and the birth of the "New" International Monetary Fund
John Farris, Perimeter College of Georgia State University
"This Tide of Imports:" The Carter Administration and the Steel Industry Crisis of 1977

Law: Slavery, Torts, and Elihu Root

Panel 1-F - Cavetto

Chair/Comment: Kenneth Kersch, Boston College
Anna Johns Hrom, Duke University
Sending a Message: Alabama Trial Lawyers and the Reinvention of the Tort Lawsuit
Redge Bendheim, Claremont Graduate University
The Constitutional Thought of Elihu Root

Historical Perspectives on Policy, Politics, and the American State

Panel 2-A - Dolores

Chair: Richard Bense, Cornell University
Daniel Sledge, University of Texas, Arlington
Policy Escalation: Richard Nixon, Welfare Reform, and the Development of a Comprehensive Approach to Health Insurance
Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
State Preventative Medicine: Public Health, Indian Removal, and the Growth of State Capacity, 1780-1850
Jonathan Obert, Amherst College
Elite Control and Reconstruction Violence
David Bateman, Cornell University
"To Abolish Odious Distinctions": Constant Friction and the First Civil Rights Movement
Comment: Daragh Grant, Harvard University

Authors Meet Authors – State Constitutionalism and American Political Development

Panel 2-B - Campanile

Chair: Robin Einhorn, University of California Berkeley
Amy Bridges, University of California San Diego
Democratic Beginnings: Founding the Western States
John Dinan, Wake Forest University
State Constitutional Politics: Governing by Amendment in the American States
Paul Herron, Providence College
Framing the Solid South, The State Constitutional Conventions of Secession, Reconstruction, and Redemption 1860-1902

Insiders and Outsiders, Part 1: Refiguring the Historical Agency of People of Color in American Political History

Panel 2-C - Xavier

Chair: Devin Fergus, University of Missouri
Anastasia Curwood, University of Kentucky
The Chisholm Coalition on the Campaign Trail, 1972
Brett Gadsden, Northwestern University
"We must try to do a positive job of having Negro voters for him": Marjorie Lawson, the Kennedy Campaign, and the Rise of African American Political Authority

Thursday, May 17

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Elizabeth Hinton, Harvard University
Why Maximum Feasible Participation Matters
Julian Lim, Arizona State University
Immigration and the Borders of Coalitional Politics

Roundtable: "The Year of the Woman," Past and Present

Roundtable 2-D - Palm ABC

Chair: Liette Gidlow, Wayne State University
Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara - 1896
Liette Gidlow, Wayne State University - 1920
Leandra Zarnow, University of Houston - 1977
Anna Mahoney, Newcomb College Institute, Tulane University - 1992
Francisca James Hernandez, Pima Community College - 1994

Early Republic and Politics

Panel 2-E - Cavetto

Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
The Founders' Servants: Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and White Hierarchy at the Founding
Calvin Schermerhorn, Arizona State University
Accidental Empire: The Thomas Jefferson Administration's Louisiana Project
Dinah Mayo-Bobee, East Tennessee State University
The Federalists Fight Against Marginalization through Public Policy 1805-1809
Simon Gilhooley, Bard College
The Radical Democracy of the "Antecedent" Constitution in the Thought of Jefferson and Paine

Expertise and the Administrative State

Panel 2-F San Pedro

Chair/Comment: Joanna Grisinger, Northwestern University, Center for Legal Studies
Judge Glock, West Virginia University, Department of Economics
The Novice's Administrative State: The Absence of Expertise in Progressive Reform
Ariane Liazos, Harvard University
"The Transition to Government by Experts": The Origins and Spread of City Manager Government, c. 1912-1925
Susan Sterett, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
Governance, Data, Expertise: What Do New Big Data Initiatives for Governing Bring?

Thursday, May 17

Concurrent Session 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

Author Meets Critics: The Policy State: An American Predicament by Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek

Panel 3-A - Palm ABC

Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin
Richard Johnston, University of British Columbia
Mary Furner, University of California, Santa Barbara

Policy Innovation and Atrophy: the American Right after Reagan

Panel 3-B - Cavetto

Edward Ashbee, Copenhagen Business School (Denmark)
Economic Policy: Retreating from the Supply-Side Revolution

John Dumbrell, University of Durham (UK)
Foreign Policy: Conservative Approaches after Reagan
Alex Waddan, University of Leicester (UK)
Reforming Health Care: Conservative Unity and Division

Administrative Law and Policy in the Twilight of the New Deal Order

Panel 3-C - San Pedro

Chair/Comment: Karen Tani, University of California, Berkeley School of Law
Joanna Grisinger, Northwestern University, Center for Legal Studies
"We Are Concerned Citizens": Environmental Concerns and the Right to Participate in the Administrative Process
Erik M. Erlandson, University of Virginia
The Carter Administration and the Origins of the Unitary Executive
Reuel Schiller, University of California, Hastings College of the Law
The Peculiar Origins of the New Governance or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Market

Populist Protest: The Roots of Rightwing Populism in Our Day

Panel 3-D - Dolores

Chair: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan

Marion Douzou, Université Lumière Lyon 2
American Conservatism on the Move(ment): a study of the Tea Party in Pennsylvania

Kacey Calahane, University of California, Irvine
Engineering a New Right: An Analysis of The Phyllis Schlafly Report, 1970-1980

Patrick Andelic, Northumbria University
Sunbelt Democrats: Suburbanites, Populists, and the Democratic Party in the American Southwest, 1974-84

Kelly Goodman, Yale University
"Don't spend it faster than I can make it." The 1970s Tax Limitation Movement

Comment: David Farber, University of Kansas

Challenges to the Welfare State and National Security State

Panel 3-E - Campanile

Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
Ashley Neale, University of Kansas
The Transition: President Richard M. Nixon's New National Security Architecture

Tracy Roof, University of Richmond
The Growth and Resilience of the Food Stamps Program from 1965-1996

Scott Spitzer, California State University, Fullerton
Ending the War on Poverty: President Nixon and Conservative Welfare State Retrenchment Strategy

Federalism: Seen through the New Deal, Johnson, and Reagan/Bush

Panel 3-F - Xavier

Chair/Comment: Melanie Newport, University of Connecticut
Michael Camp, Clemson University
Lawrence Wood Robert, Jr., the Southeast, and the New Deal
Nicholas Jacobs, University of Virginia
The Political Dynamics of "Creative Federalism": President Johnson, the Mayors, and the Development of Federal-Local Urban Policy in the 1960s
Erin Cully, CUNY Graduate Center
Branching Out: Interstate Banking in the American Southeast, 1984-1994

The Founders and Majority Rule: Presidential and Other Elections

Panel 4-A - Xavier

Chair/Comment: David Stebenne, Ohio State University History Department

Edward Foley, Ohio State University Law School

The Founders and Majority Rule - I

Charles Stewart, MIT Political Science Department

The Founders and Majority Rule - II

Anne Kornhauser, City College of New York History Department

The Founders and Majority Rule - Comment

Caroline Tolbert, University of Iowa Political Science Department

The Founders and Majority Rule - Comment

Author Meets Critics: Health Divided by Daniel Sledge

Panel 4-B - San Pedro

Chair: Richard Bense, Cornell University
Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
Herschel Nachlis, Dartmouth College
Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
Comment: Daniel Sledge, University of Texas, Arlington

Conservative Challenges to the Great Society

Panel 4-C - Campanile

Chair/Comment: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Dominic Barker, University of Oxford
"Welfare Spending Must Become Welfare Investing": How Governor Reagan Replaced the Great Society with the Creative Society
William Goldsmith, Duke University
"Privatization at Every Step of the Process": A Libertarian Crusade to Limit State Education Spending in the 1990s.
Mitchell Robertson, University of Oxford
"As if the previous Administration were still in command": How Legal Services Lawyers and Bureaucrats Saved the War on Poverty

Thursday, May 17

Concurrent Session 4

3:15 - 4:45 pm

Who Shaped Government Policy Regarding Corporations in the Progressive Era?

Panel 4-D - Dolores

Chair/Comment: Douglas Craig, Australian National University

Karen Moore, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Speaking the Language of Efficiency: The Role of Progressive Utility Policy in Silencing Debate

Stephen Leccese, Fordham University
Business, Government, and the Shaping of 'The Public' in the Progressive Era

Daniel Robert, University of California, Berkeley
Taking over the Chautauqua Circuit and Movie Theater: How Monopoly Capitalism Beat Municipal Socialism in the 1920s

Friday, May 18

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Interpreting the “Public Interest” in Print, Radio, and Television

Panel 1-A - Augustine

Chair/Comment: Margaret O’Mara, University of Washington
Kathryn McGarr, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Sensitive Material, Newspapers, and the “So-Called Public Interest”
Katherine Rye Jewell, Fitchburg State University
Regulating the “Collegiate Sound”: The FCC, Public Interest, and the Culture of College Radio in the 1960s
Kathryn Brownell, Purdue University
Cable Television and the “Right to Entertainment”

New Perspectives on Richard Nixon’s 1968 Presidential Campaign

Panel 1-B - Dolores

Chair: John Huntington, Lone Star College
Laurence Jurdem, Independent Scholar
Nixon’s Conservative: Pat Buchanan and the 1968 Election
Niklas Trzaskowski, Mississippi State University
H.R. Haldeman and the 1968 Presidential Election
Lindsay Drane, University of Houston
Nixon’s Response to the War on Poverty during the 1968 Presidential Election
Comment: John David Briley, East Tennessee State University

Gender, Family, and American State-Building

Panel 1-C - Palm ABC

Chair/Comment: Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara
Julie Novkov, University at Albany and **Carol Nackenoff**, Swarthmore College
Centering the Family in American Political Development
Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University
The Family and the State: Explaining Women’s Citizenship Patterns in the United States
Ann-Marie Szymanski, University of Oklahoma
Women, Suburbanization, and Environmental Activism after World War II
Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University
From County Courts to Federal Agencies: Political Development of the Juvenile Court Movement, 1899-1939

Civil Rights: Activism and Empowerment

Panel 1-D - Campanile

Chair/Comment: Timothy Lindberg, University of Minnesota Morris
Sarah Brady Siff, Miami University
Chiding the Police: The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Continuous Problem of Police Brutality in the Postwar United States
Jennifer Woodward, Middle Tennessee State University
Agency Amassed: The Institutional Capacity of the Early Equal Employment Opportunity
Shamira Gelbman, Wabash College
Coordination Capacity and Interest Group Coalition Influence: The Case of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 1953-1963

Federal Regulation: Consumers and Employment

Panel 1-E - Xavier

Chair: Robert Horwitz, University of California, San Diego
Ashton Merck, Duke University
The Fox Guarding the Henhouse: Coregulation and Consumer Protection, 1970-1996
Anais Bowring, UCSC
Liberal Constraint on Reagan’s Neoliberal Employment Policy Agenda
Alexandra Straub, Temple University
The Hoover Commission and the Origins of 1970s Water Policy, 1947-1970

Reinterpreting Party/Policy Structure

Panel 1-F - San Pedro

Chair: Richard Bensel, Cornell University
Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin and **Regina L. Wagner**, University of Wisconsin
The Long War over Party Structure: Policy Responsiveness and Democratic Representation, 1952-2012
John Dearborn, Yale University
Presidential Representation: The Political Efficacy of an Idea
Jeffrey Broxmeyer, University of Toledo
Anti-Monopoly Critics of the American Party System
Comment: Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago

The Opioid Crisis: Perspectives from History, Medicine, and Journalism

Panel 2-A - Palm ABC

Chair/Comment: William McAllister, U.S. State Department
David Courtwright, University of North Florida
The Origins and Aftermath of America’s First Opiate Crisis, 1870-1915
Harriet Ryan, Los Angeles Times
The Globalization of Opioid Addiction

Roundtable: Bill Rorabaugh’s Prohibition: A Concise History

Roundtable 2-B - Cavetto

Chair: Richard Hamm, University at Albany, SUNY
Lisa McGirr, Harvard University
Joseph Spillane, University of Florida
Michael Lewis, Christopher Newport University
William Rorabaugh, University of Washington

Disability, Dependency, and the Struggle for Equal Citizenship

Panel 2-C - Campanile

Chair/Comment: Edward Berkowitz, George Washington University
Karen Tani, University of California, Berkeley
Training the Citizen-Enforcers of Disability Rights
Jennifer Erkulwater, University of Richmond
Resisting then Recognizing the Collective Mobilization of People with Disabilities

An Economist’s Protest: Milton Friedman as Policymaker, Pundit, and Public Intellectual

Panel 2-D - Dolores

Chair/Comment: Brian Domitrovic, Sam Houston State University
Jennifer Burns, Stanford University
Milton Friedman and Universal Basic Income: A View from the Archives

Friday, May 18

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Paul Milazzo, Ohio University
Passing the Torch: Henry Hazlitt, Milton Friedman, and the Evolution of the Free Market Public Economist, 1946-1974
Maurice Cottier, Harvard University
Popular Neoliberalism: Readers’ and Viewers’ Reactions to Milton Friedman

Home (In)Equity: Race, Class and the Politics of Housing Finance in the 20th-Century United States

Panel 2-E - San Pedro

Chair: Alice O’Connor, UC Santa Barbara
Margaret Garb, Washington University
“Race, Credit and Housing: Segregated Banking in Early Twentieth-Century St. Louis”
Mark Santow, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth
Castles Made of Sand? Homeownership, ‘Mortgage Keynesianism,’ and Metropolitan Inequality
Alice O’Connor, UC Santa Barbara
Reinventing the Nonprofit Sector (Again)
Comment: Mark Tebeau, Arizona State University

Veterans: Case Studies in Veterans Health

Panel 2-F - Xavier

Chair: James Mohr, University of Oregon
Rosemary A. Stevens, Cornell: Weill Cornell Medicine
Scandal as Public Policy: The Case of the US Veterans Bureau
Colin Moore, University of Hawaii
The First Public Option: How the U.S. Veterans’ Health System Undermined Support for National Health Insurance
Jessica Adler, Florida International University
Vet Centers, and the Fortification of Community-Based Care in Post-Vietnam America
Comment: Olivier Burtin, Princeton University

Friday, May 18

Concurrent Session 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

Tax Cuts and American Society, 1954 to the Present

Panel 3-A - Palm ABC

Chair/Comment: Vincent Geloso, Texas Tech University
Phil Magness, Berry College and **Grant Madsen**, Brigham Young University

The Revolutionary 1954 Internal Revenue Act

Brian Domitrovic, Sam Houston State University

A Discovery of the pre-Napkin Laffer Curve

Marcus Witcher, West Virginia University

Supply-Side Economics and Public Memory, 1994 to the Present

Roundtable: The Democrats and 1968: A Reassessment, Fifty Years Later

Roundtable 3-B - Dolores

Chair/Comment: Lily Geismer, Claremont McKenna University

Kyle Longley, Arizona State University

Adam Hilton, Mount Holyoke College

Marisa Chappell, Oregon State University

Michael Brenes, Yale University

Trump and Populism: What Is On Everyone's Mind

Panel 3-C - Campanile

Robert Horwitz, University of California, San Diego

The Alt-Right, Trumpism, and Carl Schmitt

Maxime Chervaux, French Institute of Geopolitics (IFG), University Paris 8 Vincennes

A Tale of Two Populisms [Revisited]: Andrew Jackson, Donald J. Trump and the Changing Borders of the American Polity

Robert Saldin, University of Montana and **Steven Teles**, Johns Hopkins University

Historical Parallels to the Never Trump Movement

The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History

Panel 3-E - Xavier

Richard Johnston, The University of British Columbia
The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History

Comment: Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin

Making Policy: From Ending Prohibition to Policy Makers in the 1990s

Panel 3-F - Cavetto

Chair: Daniel Sledge, University of Texas, Arlington

Kyle Stein, Florida International University

A Case for Prohibition: The Rise of Economic Thought in Policy Creation

Roy Heidelberg, Louisiana State University

The Making of the Policy Maker

Jeremy Strickler, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga

"Vital to the Defense Effort": The Federal Security Agency, Social Policy Advocacy, and Home Front Mobilization during World War II and Korea

Nicolas Duquette, University of Southern California

Founders' Fortunes and Philanthropy: A History of US Charitable Contribution Income Tax Deduction for the Entrepreneurially Wealthy

The New Deal Wars

Panel 3-G - San Pedro

David Beito, University of Alabama

Race, the Crump Machine, the New Deal, and the GOP: The "Policing" of J.B. Martin

Anthony Gregory, UC Berkeley

Justice, Treasury, and the New Deal War on Crime

Randy Powell, Washington State University

"Hanging as By a Thread": The Mormon War against the New Deal and the Rise of the Conservative Movement

Comment: Gary Mucciaroni, Temple University and

Robin Einhorn, University of California, Berkeley

Friday, May 18

Concurrent Session 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

Roundtable Discussion of Laura Phillips Sawyer's American Fair Trade: Proprietary Capitalism, Corporatism, and the 'New Competition,' 1890-1940

Roundtable 3-H - Augustine

Chair: Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

Benjamin Waterhouse, University of North Carolina

Victoria Saker Woeste, American Bar Foundation

Joanna Grisinger, Northwestern University

Friday, May 18

Concurrent Session 4

3:15 - 4:45 pm

Veterans, Disability, and Policy in the Mid-Twentieth Century United States

Panel 4-A - Augustine

Tatum Koval, University of Houston

PTSD: Hell Under the Star Spangled Helmets

Ben Zdenecanovic, Yale University

A Reverse G.I. Bill: Veterans' Benefits and the Making of Social Policy in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945 – 1952

Olivier Burtin, Princeton University

"Forgotten Men": The American Legion and the Problem of Security for Aging Veterans after the Korean War

Local Healthcare: Local Activism

Panel 4-B - Palm ABC

Chair: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola Univeristy of Chicago

William P. Brandon, University of North Carolina Charlotte and **Lauren A. Austin**, University of North Carolina Charlotte

Leadership and Institution-Building: The Case of Public Health in North Carolina, 1909-1925

Christopher Foss, University of Portland

"What Is National Defense?": Senator Mark Hatfield and the Links Between National Security, Public Health, and Federal Spending in Oregon

Anthony Pratcherii, Brown University

"Public Debt, Private Profit: Community Healthcare and Civic Insolvency in Maryvale, Arizona"

Comment: Christy Ford Chapin, University of Maryland – Baltimore County

Roundtable Discussion of Edward Balleisen's Fraud: An American History from Barnum to Madoff

Roundtable 4-C - Dolores

Chair: Benjamin Waterhouse, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Cristie Ford, Peter A. Allard School of Law, The University of British Columbia

The View from Securities and Administrative Law

Pamela W. Laird, University of Colorado Denver

The View from Business History

Ajay Mehrotra, American Bar Foundation; Northwestern School of Law

The View from Legal and Economic History

Robert Horwitz, University of California, San Diego

The View from Regulatory Policy

Comment: Edward Balleisen, Duke University

Historical Perspectives on the Homeland Security Policy State

Panel 4-D - Cavetto

Chair: Patrick Roberts, Virginia Tech

William Bendix, Keene University

The Conflicts over Privacy, Security, and Government Secrecy, Coauthor Paul Quirk, UBC

Matthew Dallek, George Washington University

"Think War, Sleep War, Eat War": Militarization of Civilian

Life in World War II American Democracy

Magdalena Krajewska, Wingate University

The REAL ID Act of 2005: Homeland Security Policy

Implementation Despite Obstacles

Patrick Roberts, Virginia Tech

Is There Room for Risk? Constructing Homeland Security

Through Place, Function And Threat

Comment: Susan Sterett, University of Maryland,

Baltimore County

Making the Reagan Era: Grassroots and High Politics

Panel 4-E - Xavier

Chair: Patrick Andelic, Northumbria University

Jonathan Bell, University College London

Making Sexual Citizens: LGBT politics and the State in the 1970s

Tom Packer, Durham and Oxford

The Conservative Movement in North Carolina and

Washington 1972 -1992

Comment: Katherine Rye Jewell, Fitchburg State

University

Foreign Policy: Cycles, War, and Empire

Panel 4-F - San Pedro

Douglas Craig, Australian National University

The Beginning of America's Forgetting of the Great War

Timothy Lindberg, University of Minnesota - Morris

The American Empire Over Time: A Historiography of the American Territorial System

Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

Political and Partisan Cycles in U.S. Diplomacy

Government And Business: Regulations and Investment

Panel 4-G - Campanile

Chair/Comment: Jonathan Barth, Arizona State University

Daniel Berkhout, Georgia Gwinnett College

"Pioneering a Frontier in Science" Beyond the Rubber City:

Regulatory Capture and the Industry Response to the WWII

Synthetic Rubber Program, 1940-1955

Daniel Rowe, University of Oxford

Concealing Intervention: The Reagan Administration and

the U.S. Automobile Industry

Shant Fabricatorian, Columbia University

Bailing on Bailouts? Representations of Auto Industry

Rescues - a Comparison of 1979 and 2009

Saturday, May 19

Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Just War, International Law, and Human Rights in the World Wars

Panel 1-A - Xavier

Daniel Strand, Arizona State University
Christian Human Rights in World War II: Reconsidering Moyn

Marc Livecche, Institute on Religion and Democracy
Religious Responses to Dropping the Atomic Bomb

James Johnson, State University of New Jersey – Rutgers
The World Wars and the Development of International Law on War

Crack Criminality and Public Policy

Panel 1-B - Palm ABC

Chair/Comment: David Courtwright, University of North Florida

David Farber, University of Kansas
Night Shift: The Cook County Drug Court and The Capacity to Incarcerate

Noel Wolfe, Randolph College
Conceptualizing 'Safety' During a War on Drugs: A Grassroots Response to Crack Cocaine in the Bronx

Donna Murch, Rutgers
Crack in Los Angeles: Policing the Crisis and the War on Drugs

American Environmental Politics in Historical Perspective

Panel 1-C - San Pedro

Chair: Jessica Hejny, Amherst College
Sarah Mittlefehldt, Northern Michigan University
Convergence and Conflict: The Evolution of Environmental Values & Renewable Energy Advocacy since the 1970s

Keith Woodhouse, Northwestern University
Regulating From Somewhere: Environmental Assessment and the Administrative State

Jessica Hejny, Amherst College
The Parties' Environment: Tracing the Evolution of Environmental Ideology in Republican and Democratic Party Platforms, 1856-2016

Comment: **Christopher Klyza**, Middlebury College

Urban Federalism in Post-1945 America

Panel 1-D - Dolores

Melanie Newport, University of Connecticut- Hartford
Metropolitan Corrections: Federal Engagement with Local Jail Policy in Chicago

Mauricio Castro, Duke University
The Cuban Diaspora, Federal Policy, and the Transformation of Miami

Sarah Robey, Idaho State University
Federal Civil Defense and Public Solutions to Nuclear Threats in the Early Cold War

Peter Pihos, Williams College
Black Police Officers, Federal Agencies, and Civil Rights Officers in 1970s Chicago

The Seen and Unseen Influence of Money in Modern American Politics

Panel 2-A - Xavier

Chair/Comment: Katherine Rye Jewell, Fitchburg State University

Blake Scott Ball, Huntingdon College
Money, Ideology, and the Creation of a Two-Party System in Postwar Alabama

Karen M. Hawkins, Voyager Academy High School
Blacks for Nixon: Expanding the Civil Rights Movement, 1968-1974

Marsha E. Barrett, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
"The Myth of Influence": A Rockefeller becomes Vice-President

Roundtable: The History and Unexpected Policy Legacy of PURPA

Roundtable 2-B - San Pedro

Chair: Martin Melosi, Department of History and The Center for Public History, University of Houston
Jonathon Free, Energy Initiative, Duke University
Paul Hirt, School of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies and The Global Institute for Sustainability, Arizona State University

Richard Hirsh, Department of History and Science & Technology Studies, Virginia Tech

Leah Stokes, Department of Political Science and The Bren School of Environmental Science & Management, University of California Santa Barbara

Robert Lifset, The Honors College, University of Oklahoma

Julie Cohn, The Center for Public History, University of Houston

Saturday, May 19

Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

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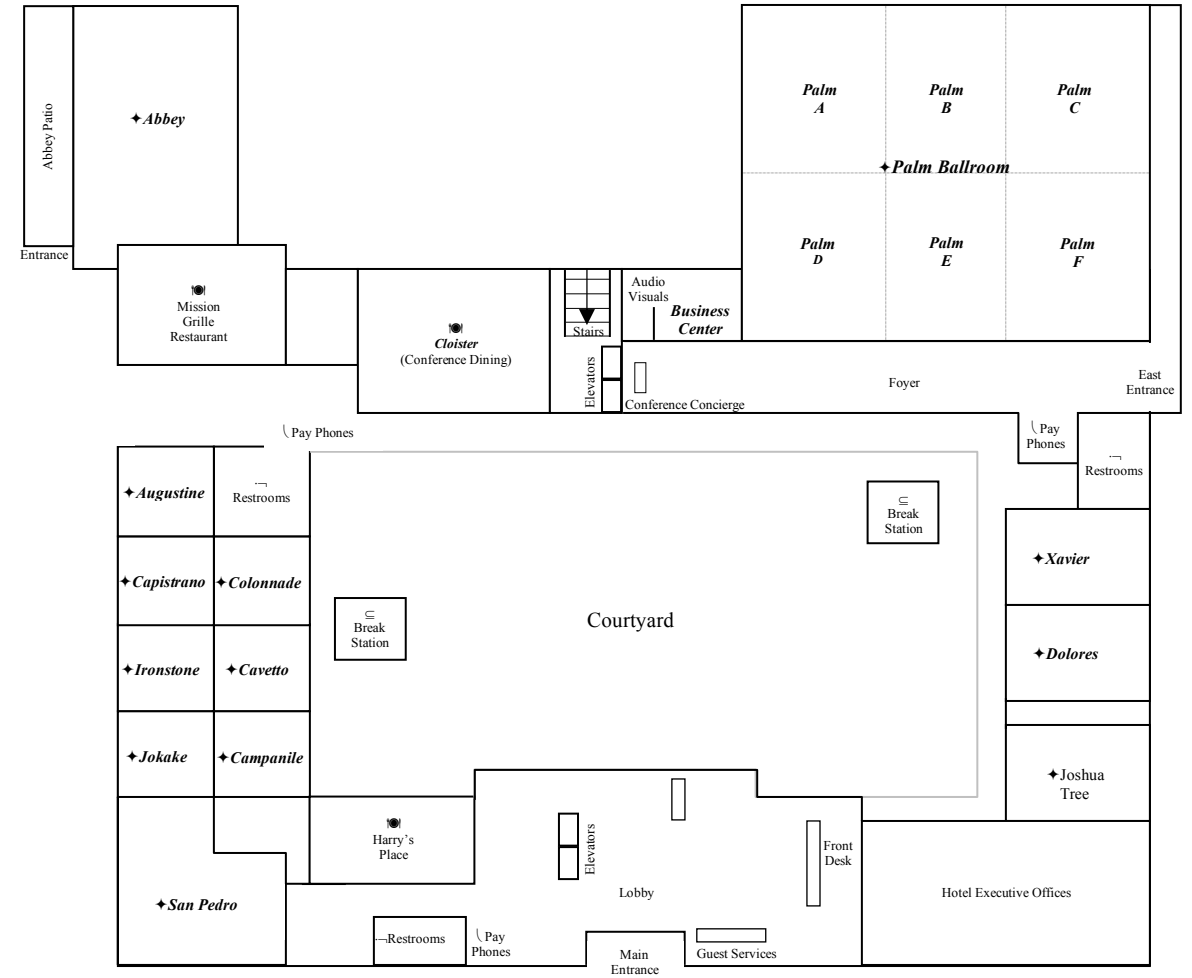
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