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.

Conference Administration and Staff

Donald T. Critchlow, Conference Organizer, Arizona State University
Amy Wallhermfechtel, Conference Co-Coordinator, Institute for Political History
Roxane Barwick, Conference Co-Coordinator, Arizona State University
Matthew C. Sherman, Director of Programs, Institute for Political History

Journal of Policy History Editorial Staff

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David Robertson, Associate Editor, Book Review Editor
Patricia E. Powers, Managing Editor

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Brian Balogh, University of Virginia (History)
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Byron Shafer, University of Wisconsin, Madison (Political Science)
Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin (Government)
Ann-Marie Szymanski, University of Oklahoma (Political Science)
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.
Conference Information

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

Institute for Political 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 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 Matthew C. Sherman, 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”
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Chair: William Rorabaugh, University of Washington
Daniel Walker Howe, Oxford University
Robin Einhorn, University of California, Berkeley
Richard Bensel, Cornell University
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7:30 pm – 9:30 pm (Prior registration required) – Poolside Terrace

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Conferences 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.

- 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:
Program: Amy Wallermechel
policyhistoryconference@gmail.com
Book Exhibit: Matthew C. Sherman
sherman_matthew@hotmail.com
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policyhistory@gmail.com
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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 Matthew C. Sherman, 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.

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Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
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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, 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 Recognition - 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. Erlandsen, University of Virginia

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 Oren and Stephen Skowronek
• Policy Innovation and Apathy: the American Right after Reagan
• Administrative Law and Policy in the Twilight of the NewDeal 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 Interested” 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

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 Bensel, 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

Risky 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
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

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, Westminster 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

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
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

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 John, Duke University
Ridge 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 Bensel, Cornell University
Daniel Sledge, University of Texas, Arlington
Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
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

Elizabeth Hinton, Harvard University
Why Maximum Feasible Participation Matters
Julian Lim, Arizona State University
Immigration and the Borders of Coalescent 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-Bobeck, 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 Sterrett, 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
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(mend): a study of the Tea Party in Pennsylvania
Kacey Calahane, University of California, Irvine
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 the 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


Panel 4-A - Dolores
Chair/Comment: David Stebenne, Ohio State University
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 Benson, 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

The Founders and Majority Rule: Presidential and Other Elections

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Panel 4-E - Palm ABC
Douglas Craig, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
History Department
The Founders and Majority Rule: I
Edward Foley, Ohio State University
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

Panel 4-F - Cavetto
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
Daniel Robert, University of California, Berkeley
Taking over the Chautauqua Circuit and Movie Theater: How Monopoly Capitalism Beat Municipal Socialism in the 1920s

Panel 4-G - San Pedro
Chair: Richard Benson, 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

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Dominic Barker, University of Oxford
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Anne Kornhauser, City College of New York History Department
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Author Meets Critics: Health Divided by Daniel Sledge

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Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
Herschel Nachlis, Dartmouth College
Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
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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
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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 “Collegeate 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 Tzraskowski, 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, 1953-1983

Federal Regulation: Consumers and Employment

Panel 1-E - Xavier

Chair: Robert Horwitch, University of California, San Diego
Ashton Merck, Duke University

Anais Bowring, UCSF
Liberal Constraint on Reagan’s Neoliberal Employment Policy Agenda

Alexandra Straub, Temple University

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 Dearnorn, Yale University
Presidential Representation: The Political Efficacy of an Idea

Jeffrey Broxmeier, 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

Maurice Cottler, 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: Well 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

*Supply-Side Economics and Public Memory, 1994 to the Present*
Marcus Witcher, West Virginia University

### Roundtable: Tax Cuts and American Society, 1954 to the Present

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### The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History

**Panel 3-E - Xavier**

Richard Johnston, The University of British Columbia

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

**Panel 3-F - Cavetto**

Chair: Daniel Sledge, University of Texas, Arlington

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

### 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

### 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

### 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
*The Canadian Party System: An Analytic History*

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

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

**Panel 3-F - Cavetto**

Chair: Daniel Sledge, University of Texas, Arlington

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

### 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
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 Zdenčanovic, Yale University
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 University 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
Anthony Pratchett, 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

Panel 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
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
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
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
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 Boren 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
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