

**ASU**® Center for  
**American Institutions**  
Arizona State University

**Policy History Studies:  
The State and Future of the Field**

**February 2-3, 2024  
Tempe, Arizona**







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## Workshop Information

### Sponsors

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

**Center for American Institutions, Arizona State University**  
**Institute for Political History**  
*Journal of Policy History*

### Location and Lodging

Policy History Studies Workshop 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 \$3 hr. or \$15 per day.

The workshop sponsors will cover the cost of 2 nights in the hotel. You will be billed for any nights other than February 2 and February 3.

### Registration

All participants should check in at the registration desk in the front lobby to receive a conference program and name badge during the hours below.

#### Registration Desk Hours:

**Located in front lobby**

Friday, February 2 - 2:00 pm – 5:00 pm

Saturday, February, 3 - 6:00 am – 5:00 pm

### Local Weather

Highs are expected to be in the mid 60s with a chance for rain.

## 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 10:00 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 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.

## 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

### **Casey Moore's Oyster House \$\$**

10 minute walk

850 S. Ash Ave. Tempe AZ 85281

(480) 968-9935

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

### **Fellow Osteria \$\$**

1455 N. Scottsdale Rd. Scottsdale, AZ 85257

(480) 207-1864

### **House Brasserie \$\$\$**

6936 E Main St. Scottsdale, AZ 85251

(480) 634-1600

### **Ocean 44 \$\$\$\$**

4748 N. Goldwater Blvd. Scottsdale, AZ 85251

(480) 867-0044

## Questions? Contact:

### **Roxane Barwick**

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## Workshop at a Glance

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

### Friday, February 2

**Registration:** 2:00 pm – 5:00 pm

#### Friday Reception:

5:00 pm – 6:00 pm

**Located in Courtyard West**

#### Friday Dinner & Plenary Session

6:00 pm – 7:30 pm

**Located in Cloister**

#### Welcome and Introduction

**Donald T. Critchlow**, Arizona State University

**“The Future of Political Science”**

**Richard Bense**, Cornell University

### Saturday, February 3

**Registration:** 6:00 am – 5:00 pm

**Breakfast:** 7:00 am - 8:00 am

**Located in Conferee Dining 1**

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

- *New Deal Parties and Elites*
- *Legislative Term Limits*
- *Voting Rights*

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

- *Ideological Shifts and Movements*
- *Healthcare, Disability, and Family*
- *Labor Policy*
- *Business Interests*

#### Saturday Lunch & Plenary Session

12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

**Located in San Pedro**

#### Introduction

**James Strickland**, Arizona State University

**“Arizona State University as the New American University”**

**Patrick Kenney**, Arizona State University

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

- *Race, Inequality, and Public Services*
- *Institutions and Criminal Justice*
- *Presidents and Policy*

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

- *Trade and Monetary Policy*
- *Race and Institutions*
- *Interest Groups*
- *Social Policy*

#### Saturday Reception:

5:00 pm – 6:00 pm

**Located in Courtyard West**

#### Saturday Dinner & Plenary Session

6:00 pm – 7:30 pm

**Located in Cloister**

#### Introduction

**James Strickland**, Arizona State University

**“The Future of the U.S. Supreme Court”**

**Janet Box-Steffensmeier**, Ohio State University

## **Workshop Administration and Staff**

James Strickland, Workshop Organizer  
Donald T. Critchlow, Workshop Organizer  
Roxane Barwick, Workshop Coordinator  
Carrie Bauer, Workshop Assistant

## ***Journal of Policy History* Editorial Staff**

Donald T. Critchlow, Editor  
James Strickland, Editor  
Patricia E. Powers, Managing Editor

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## **Institute for Political History**

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 workshop coordinators and conference staff receive small remuneration for their services. The Institute wants to thank plenary participants and panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the 2024 Policy History Workshop.

# Concurrent Session 1

## 8:30 - 10:00 am

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

### New Deal Parties and Elites

#### Panel 1-A - Cavetto

**Discussant: Paula Baker**, Arizona State University

**Kumar Ramanathan**, Northwestern University  
“Constructing Racial Liberalism: The Divergent Trajectories of Fair Employment and Fair Housing on the Congressional Agenda, 1933-68”

**Nathanael Mickelson**, University of Georgia  
“The Once and Future Democrat: Joseph T. Robinson and the Interwar Democratic Party”

**Nathan Feldman**, Columbia University  
“The Policy Origins of Ideology: A New Deal Case Study”

### Legislative Term Limits

#### Panel 1-B - Augustine

**Discussants: Gregory Koger**, University of Miami  
**James Strickland**, Arizona State University

**Michael Olson**, Washington University, St. Louis  
“Legislative Term Limits and Representation”

**Susan Miller**, Arizona State University  
“Legislative Term Limits and Public Approval of State Legislatures: A Reappraisal”

**Jordan Butcher**, Arkansas State University  
“Out With the Old, In with the Republicans? The Partisan Push of Legislative Term Limits”

**Noémie Févrat**, Avignon University  
The U.S. and French Debate on Term Limits”

### Voting Rights

#### Panel 1-C - Jokake

**Discussants: Sara Sadhwani**, Pomona College  
**Matthew Hitt**, Colorado State University

**Henry Ishitani**, Yale University  
“Reconstruction Disqualifications and the Development of the American State: 1865-1871”

**Robinson Woodward-Burns**, Howard University  
“Rollback of Civil-Rights-Era State Constitutional Voting Rights”



## Concurrent Session 2 10:15 - 11:45 am

### Ideological Shifts and Movements

#### Panel 2-A - Jokake

**Discussant: Paul Milazzo**, Ohio University

**Daniel Ruggles**, Brandeis University

“Becoming the Conservative Movement: Young Conservatives and the Evolution of the Conservative Movement, 1960-1981”

**Calvin TerBeek**, Trinity College

“Enemy Establishments: Liberalism and Conservatism from the Progressives to Trump”

**Adam Hilton**, Mount Holyoke College

and **Jessica Hejny**, independent scholar

“Explaining the Great Divergence: Party Building, Alliance Making, and the Asymmetric Polarization of American Politics”

### Healthcare, Disability, and Family

#### Panel 2-B - Cavetto

**Discussants: Jennifer Gunn**, University of Minnesota  
**Herschel Nachlis**, Dartmouth College

**Sophie Green**, University of California, Davis

“Paid Sick Leave Preemption Among the U.S. States”

**Elizabeth Thom**, Harvard University

“Examining the Geographic Concentration of Social Security Disability Insurance”

**Nora Kassner**, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

“Intimate Policing: Homosexuality, Foster Care, and the Remaking of the American Family”

### Labor Policy

#### Panel 2-C - Augustine

**Discussant: Benjamin Waterhouse**, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

**Bryant Etheridge**, Virginia Military

“‘A Program of Social Reform’: The National War Labor Board, Wartime Wage Policy, and the Origins of the Great Compression, 1942-1945”

**Katie Rader**, Christopher Newport University

“The Postwar Fight for Full Employment”

**Neil Johnson**, University of California, Santa Barbara

“‘An Employment Alternative to Welfare’: Supported Work and the Workfarist Politics of Job Training, 1974-1982”

### Business Interests

#### Panel 2-D - Dolores

**Discussants: Daniel Amsterdam**, Georgia Institute of Technology

**Bartholomew Sparrow**, University of Texas, Austin

**Seito Hayasaki**, Keio University

“The Influence of the American Business Community on Federal Budget and Tax Policy from Reagan to Clinton”

**Robert Kaminski**, University of Georgia

“Unmaking a New Deal: Small-Business Resistance to the NRA and the Origins of Libertarian Populism”

**Robert Ferguson**, University of Georgia

“Federal Salvation: Interest Group Politics and Cotton’s New Deal”

**Ashton Merck**, North Carolina State University

“The Fox Guarding the Henhouse: The Science and Politics of Risk in American Food Safety Regulation”

## Concurrent Session 3 1:30 - 3:00 pm

### Race, Inequality, and Public Services

#### Panel 3-A - Cavetto

**Discussants:** **Alice O'Connor**, University of California, Santa Barbara

**Bartholomew Sparrow**, University of Texas, Austin

**Aaron Hall**, University of Minnesota

“Common Roads and Public Power in Plantation America”

**Carey Kelley**, University of Missouri

“Failure to Serve: The Private Enforcement of Public Law”

**Douglas Atkinson**, Brigham Young University

“Maintaining Illusions: The Perception of Equality in an Unequal Draft”

**Donald Guillory**, University of Mississippi

“Black Oasis in a White Desert: African Americans and the Making of Race and Place in Phoenix, Arizona”

### Institutions and Criminal Justice

#### Panel 3-B - Augustine

**Discussant:** **Matthew Hitt**, Colorado State University

**Logan Strother**, Purdue University

“An Analytic History of The U.S. Court of Claims”

**Laine Shay**, Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi

and **Jason Byers**, University of Connecticut

“Term Limits and State Incarceration Rates”

**Susanne Schwarz**, Swarthmore College

“Prisons and Profits: The Political Economy of Incarceration in the Postbellum American South”

### Presidents and Policy

#### Panel 3-C - Jokake

**Discussants:** **Robert Maranto**, University of Arkansas  
**Steven Smith**, Arizona State University

**Charles Zug**, University of Missouri

“Eisenhower, the Highway Act, and Models of Presidential Leadership”

**Ignangeli Salinas-Muñiz**, University of Michigan

“When Bureaucrats Limit Presidential Power: Evidence from Abortion Bans”

**John Dearborn**, Vanderbilt University

“Congressional Expectations of Presidential Self-Restraint”

**Robert Ferguson**, University of Georgia

“Federal Salvation: Interest Group Politics and Cotton’s New Deal”

## **Trade and Monetary Policy**

### **Panel 4-A - Augustine**

**Discussants:** **Richard Bense**, Cornell University  
**Robert Wright**, American Institute For Economic Research

**David Martin**, Rutgers University  
“The Early Limits of Liberalism: Ideas and Interests in the Resumption of the Gold Standard in Postbellum America”  
**Donovan Fifield**, University of Virginia  
“Fiscal Centralization and War in Colonial New England, 1688-1700”  
**Derek Schloss**, Arizona State University  
“Economic Nationalism Without the Protective Tariff: How Albert Gallatin and Gulian Verplanck Reconciled Free Trade and the National Interest”

## **Race and Institutions**

### **Panel 4-B - Cavetto**

**Discussants:** **Alice O’Connor**, University of California, Santa Barbara  
**Sara Sadhwani**, Pomona College

**DeAnza Cook**, Ohio State University  
“Inventing Multicultural Policing: Hate Crime Warfare and the Birth of Civil Rights Enforcement in Boston, 1979-1990”  
**Chloe Thurston**, Northwestern University  
“Racial Orders, Market Logics and American Political Development”  
**Danielle E. St. Julien**, Xavier University of Louisiana  
“Progress over Parity: The Myth of America’s Growing Black Middle Class”

## **Interest Groups**

### **Panel 4-C - Jokake**

**Discussants:** **Steven Smith**, Arizona State University  
**James Strickland**, Arizona State University

**Jesse Crosson**, Purdue University  
“Taking Sides: Party Competition, Interest Group Strategy, and the Polarization of American Pluralism”  
**Alixandra Yanus**, Appalachian State University  
“Teetotalers and Moonshiners: Organized Interests and the Prohibition Question, 1880-1920”  
**Steven White**, Syracuse University  
“The Political Influence of the Police in American Cities”

## **Social Policy**

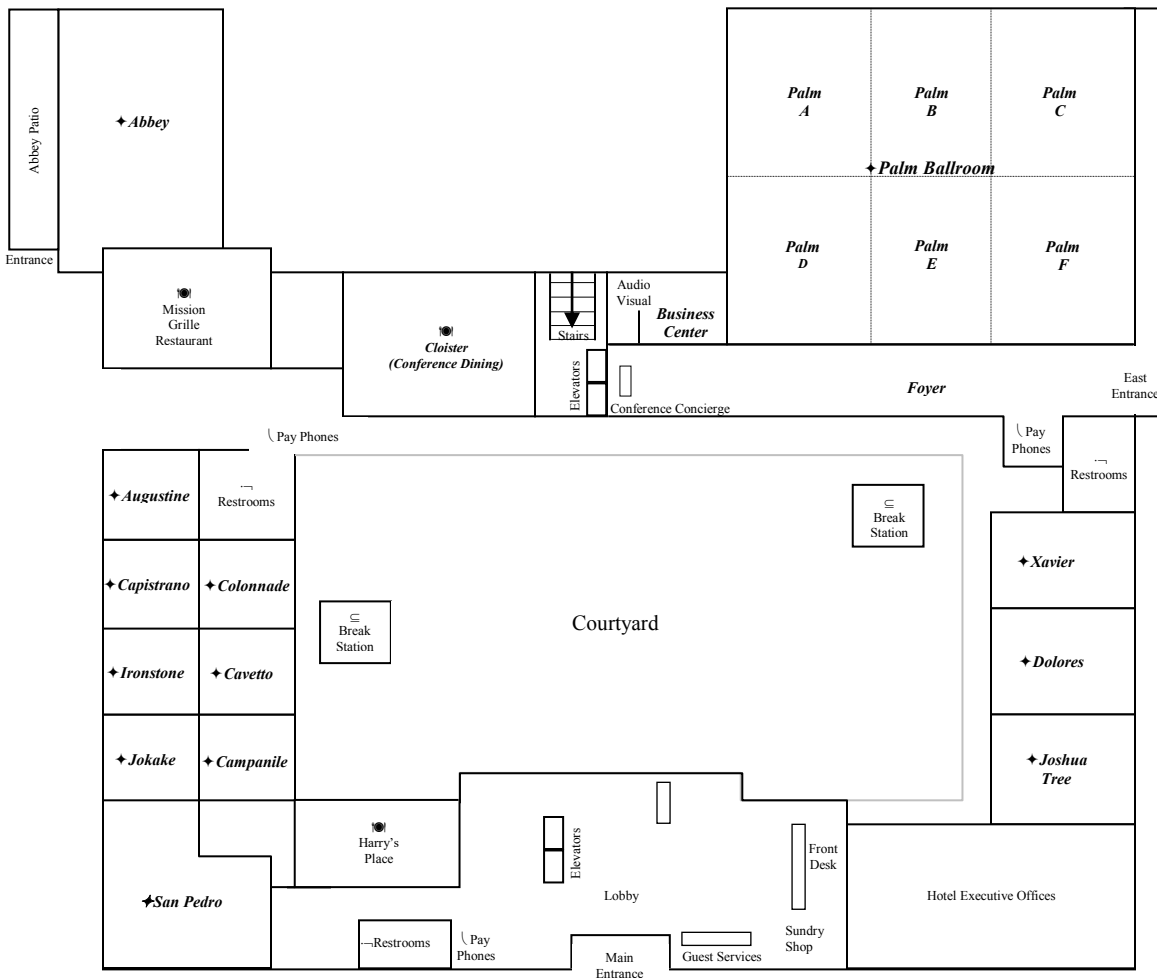
### **Panel 4-D - Dolores**

**Discusant:** **Edward Berkowitz**, George Washington University

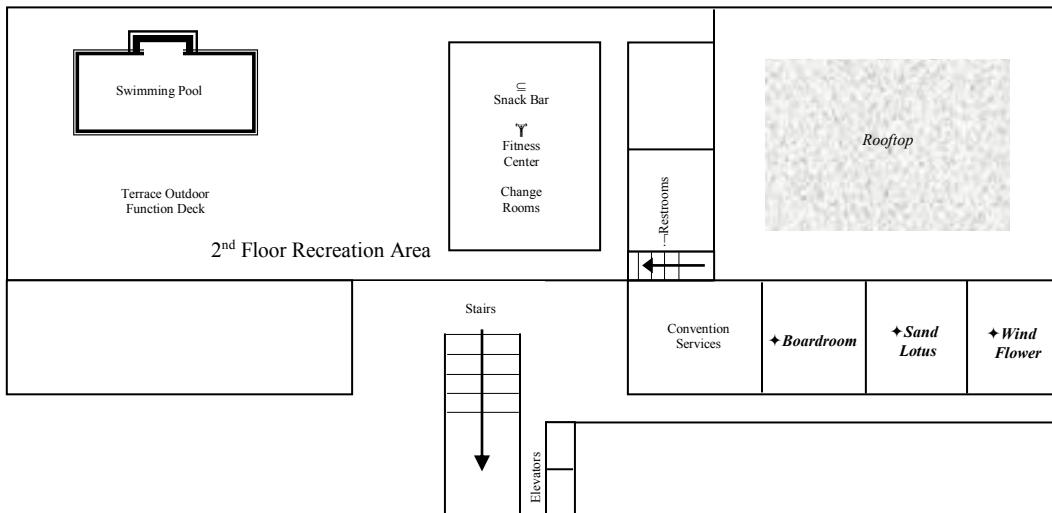
**Bobby Cervantes**, Harvard University  
“In the Shadow of the Welfare State: Latino Inequality and Capital at the End of the American Century”  
**Ben Zdencanovic**, University of California, Los Angeles  
“Rethinking the Welfare State and the National Security State in Cold War America”

# Tempe Mission Palms Hotel and Conference Center

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