2016 Policy History Conference
June 1 - 4 Nashville, TN
Welcome to the ninth biennial Policy History Conference co-sponsored by the Institute for Political History, *Journal of Policy History*, Center for Political Thought and Leadership, Arizona State University, Department of Government, University of Texas-Austin and Peabody College, Vanderbilt University.

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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 the program committee co-chairs, plenary participants, award luncheon keynote speaker and panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the Policy History Conference. This is the ninth Policy History Conference and the twenty-eighth year of the publication of 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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### Table of Contents

- **Conference Information**
- **Sponsors**
- **Location and Lodging**
- **Registration**
- **Transportation**
- **Local Weather**
- **Cancellations**
- **Questions? Contact**
- **Special Conference Events**
- **Thursday Plenary - Liberalism in America**
- **Thursday Reception**
- **Friday Awards Luncheon**
- **Friday Plenary - Technology and the State**
- **Friday Reception**
- **Conference at a Glance**
- **Concurrent Sessions**
- **Policy History Conference Awards Luncheon**
- **Ellis Hawley Prize**
- **Hugh Davis Graham Award**
- **Index**
- **Advertisements**
- **Hotel Map**
Conference Information

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

- Institute for Political History
- Journal of Policy History
- Center for Political Thought and Leadership, Arizona State University
- Department of Government, University of Texas-Austin
- Peabody College, Vanderbilt University

Location and Lodging
The ninth biennial Policy History Conference will be located at the Loews Vanderbilt Hotel, 2100 West End Avenue, Nashville, TN 37203. Phone: 615-320-1700.

We recommend Hotel Indigo Nashville, 301 Union Street, Nashville, TN 37201, 615-891-6000 or Double Tree by Hilton Hotel, 315 4th Ave N, Nashville, TN 37219, 615-244-8200 as alternatives.

Registration
To register for the 2016 Policy History Conference, visit https://jph.asu.edu/2016-registration. All participants should check in at the registration desk to receive a conference program, name badge and Friday 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 Neely Foyer, Mezzanine Level
- Wednesday, June 1 - 7:30 am – 5:00 pm
- Thursday, June 2 - 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
- Friday, June 3 - 8:00 am – 12:00 pm
- Saturday, June 4 - 8:00 am – 10:00 am

Book Exhibit Hours:
- Located in Sarratt/Kissam
- Wednesday, June 1 - 1:00 pm – 4:00 pm
- Thursday, June 2 - 8:30 am – 4:00 pm
- Friday, June 3 - 8:30 am – 4:00 pm
- Saturday, June 4 - 8:30 am – 11:30 am

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

Transportation
Nashville International Airport
Nashville’s airport is designed to keep you moving, with an easy flow to and from the terminal’s 45 gates. The award-winning airport features a range of dining and retail options, two massage bars, a nail salon, terminal-wide Wi-Fi access, an extensive Arts at the Airport program featuring visual art and live entertainment, a full-service business center with foreign currency exchange - and even meeting space for one last conference before you head home.

Taxis
Cabs are available from the taxi stand on the ground level of the airport. Nashville features a flat-rate service triangle, charges should not exceed the flat-rate fare, which should be posted in the rear window of the taxi. For trips outside the triangle, consult the meter rates posted in the cab.

Buses
The Metro Transit Authority provides hourly service between downtown and the airport seven days a week. Express trips take only 20 minutes, and local service takes 35 to 45 minutes. One-way fares between the airport and downtown are available for under $2. In town, MTA provides bus service in and out of downtown and throughout the city. All-day, unlimited-ride passes are available for $5.25. Downtown circulator buses, called the Music City Circ, provide free transportation Monday through Saturday.

Commuter Rail
The Music City Star Commuter Rail has six stations along the route between Lebanon (east of town) and the destination station at Riverfront Park in downtown Nashville. Upon arrival at the Riverfront Park station, passengers can board one of two Metropolitan Transit Authority buses at no additional cost: one circulates downtown and one goes to West End/Belmont. Trains operate Monday-Friday during peak commuter hours, plus a late train on Friday with a 10:30pm departure from the Riverfront Park station. For more information, call customer service at 615-862-8833 or go to musiccitystar.org.

Shuttles
Jarmon Transportation, 615-275-0146, is located on the property. Sharing services are available from hotels, but reservations are suggested to ensure a timely departure. One-way tickets are $14 per person, round-trip $25 per person.

Local Weather
Highs are expected to be in the low to mid eighties with lows in the mid to low sixties.

Cancellations
Conference participants can cancel registration by visiting https://jph.asu.edu/2016-registration and clicking on the registration link. Credit card processing and registration processing charges will not be refunded. The last day to cancel is Wednesday, May 25, 2016.

Questions? Contact:
- Program: Amy Wallhemm-fechtel policyhistoryconference@gmail.com
- Book Exhibit: Matthew C. Sherman sherman_matthew@hotmail.com
- Registration: Roxane Barwick policyhistory@gmail.com
- Hotel/Lodging: Matthew C. Sherman sherman_matthew@hotmail.com

Special Conference Events
Thursday Plenary - Liberalism in America
Organized by Dr. Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas-Austin, the Thursday Plenary Session on Liberalism in America will be from 5:00 pm – 6:15 pm in Symphony I.

Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas-Austin
Andrew Rehfeld, Washington University in St. Louis
William Rorabaugh, University of Washington
Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania
Jeffrey Tulis, University of Texas-Austin

Thursday Reception
Sponsored by the Department of Government at the University of Texas-Austin and the Journal of Policy History, the Thursday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from 6:15 – 7:30 pm, June 2, in the Skylight Foyer for conference participants and their guests.

Friday Awards Luncheon
An Awards Luncheon will be held on Friday, June 3 at 12:00 pm in the Skylight Foyer. 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. Dr. David Farber, University of Kansas will deliver the keynote address titled “Black Power: Working the Interstices of Radical Activism and Insider Politics.” 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 recipients of the Hugh Davis Graham Award will also be announced at the luncheon.

Friday Plenary - Technology and the State
Organized by Dr. Christopher Los, Vanderbilt University, the Friday Plenary Session on Technology and the State will be from 5:00 pm – 6:15 pm in Symphony I.

Chair: Christopher Los, Vanderbilt University
Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University
Sarah Igo, Vanderbilt University
Margaret O’Mara, University of Washington
John Skrentny, University of California – San Diego

Friday Reception
Sponsored by the Peabody College at Vanderbilt University and the Institute for Political History, the Friday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from 6:15 – 7:30 pm, June 3, in the Skylight Foyer for conference participants and their guests.
Conference at a Glance

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

Wednesday, June 1

Registration: 7:30 am – 5:00 pm
Located in Neely Foyer, Mezzanine Level

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am
• “Uneven” State in the 1970s: Military, Immigration, and Economic Regulation
• That ‘70s Panel
• First Nation Politics
• Policymaking in the Human Rights Context
• Making Markets: Rethinking the Late-Twentieth-Century Regulatory State

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am
• Perspectives on the Political Economy of the 1970s
• Foreign Policy
• Who is the Citizen’s ‘Other’? Defining Citizenship through Alienage Discriminations, 1901-1997
• Conservative Activism
• Recapturing the ‘Oval Office’
• Institutional Finance, Institutional Politics: Central Banks, Mortgage Finance, and Consumer Lending in the Mid-20th Century
• Trade Associations: Contracting Out the State

Lunch Break: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

Book Exhibit: 1:00 pm – 4:30 pm
Located in Sarrat/Kissam

Concurrent Sessions 3: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
• Rethinking the Tax Revolt: The Liberal-Left’s Response to Fiscal Crisis in the 1960s and 1970s
• Rethinking Party History
• State of Human Rights and Humanitarianism in the 20th Century
• Late 20th and Early 21st Century Revolution in Land Grant Higher Education: Policy From On High or From Below?
• Re-Conceptualizing the Connections between New Deal Mortgages, Race, and Economics

Concurrent Sessions 4: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
• Education and State Building in the 19th Century: How Americans Built and Staffed the New Public Schools
• Before the ‘Big Sort’: 1970s Democrats Advance Republican Policies
• Racial Integration and the Politics of Community Control in Metropolitan America
• Race and Policy: Mexican Origin Persons in the United States, 1930-2020
• Voting Rights in Historical Perspective: Complicating the Narratives

Thursday, June 2

Registration: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:30 am – 4:00 pm

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am
• Food Politics: The Rise of the Bureaucratic State and Welfare Relief
• Regulatory Policy
• Crisis Management: U.S. Industrial and Urban Policy in the 1970s and 1980s
• Race, Courts and Politics in the Nineteenth Century
• Religion and Anti-Labor Politics, 1900s-1950s

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am
• Black School Superintendents and the Politics of Community Control in the Post-Civil Rights Revolution Era
• Immigration Policy
• Crime Policy as Urban Policy
• The Future of Voting Rights and Representation
• Design and Management of Energy and Environmental Policy Over Time
• Book Panel: Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy

Lunch Break: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

Editorial Board Meeting: 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm
Located in Green Room, Lobby Level

Concurrent Sessions 3: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
• Sexual Politics
• Politics of the 1980s
• Citizens, Activism and Politics
• Public Relations, Law, and Interest Groups in the Late-nineteenth and Early-twentieth Century United States
• Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion in the American Context
• Leah Wright Riguex’s ‘The Loneliness of the Black Republican: Pragmatic Politics & The Pursuit of Power

Concurrent Sessions 4: 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm
• Church and State: Religion in the Development and Implementation of State Policy
• Fragment of Our Sectional Imagination - The Antebellum Tariff Revisited
• Neoliberalism and U.S. Social Policy
• Covering, Commenting on the Cold War
• People’s Welfare at 20: A Roundtable on William J. Novak’s Pioneering History of the Early American State
• New Views of the New Deal and Its Legacy

Friday, June 3

Registration: 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
Book Exhibit: 8:30 am – 4:00 pm

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am
• Creating Post-War Liberalism
• Conscious Agent[s] of the Communist Conspiracy: The John Birch Society and Anti-Government Conservatism During the Cold War
• Race and Urban Policing Since the 1960s
• Organizing Principles: Political Innovation During The First Century of American State-Building
• American Quest for Security in the Twentieth Century: Ideas and Practices
• Panic at The Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am
• Policy Making Precarity: The Politics of Intimacy
• Antimonopoly Reconsidered
• Brian Balog’s The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century

Awards Luncheon: 12:00 pm – 1:15 pm (Prior Registration Required) Located in Skyfley Foyer

Keynote Address by David Farber, University of Kansas
• Black Power: Working the Interstices of Radical Activism and Insider Politics

Concurrent Sessions 3: 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm
• Education Policy
• Rethinking Late Twentieth Century Political History
• Policy Making Precarity: The Politics of Intimacy
• Antimonopoly Reconsidered
• Brian Balog’s The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century

Plenary Session: 5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Symphony I

Liberalism in America
Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas-Austin
Andrew Reinholz, Washington University in St. Louis
William Rorabaugh, University of Washington
Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania
Jeffrey Tulis, University of Texas-Austin

Thursday Reception: 6:15 pm – 7:30 pm
Located in Skyfley Foyer

Saturday, June 4

Registration: 8:00 am – 10:00 am
Book Exhibit: 8:30 am – 11:30 am

Concurrent Sessions 1: 8:30 am – 10:00 am
• Congress, Policy, and History
• Health Planning, Health Policy: Why Examining the Past Matters for Understanding The Present and Future of Health Care in the United States
• Disputed Elections in American History
• Metrics of Governance: Evaluating State Actors at Midcentury
• Liberalism and the Carceral State

Concurrent Sessions 2: 10:15 am – 11:45 am
• The Longest War: Construction and Enforcement of Drug-Control Policy in the 20th Century
• Patterns in Twentieth-Century Legal Thought
• The Last Days of the Great Society: Policymaking in the 1970s
• What Counts as Neoliberal? Governance, Markets, and Managing Crisis, 1945 – 1995
• Moderate Republicans and the Political Conflicts of the 1970s

Plenary Session: 5:00 pm – 6:15 pm
Located in Symphony I

Technology and the State
Chair: Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University
Sarah Igo, Vanderbilt University
Margaret O’Mara, University of Washington
John Skrentny, University of California – San Diego

Friday Reception: 6:15 pm – 7:30 pm
Located in Skyfley Foyer
Wednesday, June 1
Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

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

“Uneven” State in the 1970s: Military, Immigration, and Economic Regulation

Panel 1-A: Calhoun
Chair and Commentator: Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University, New Brunswick
Participants: Jess Bird, Temple University
Dirty, Disorderly, and Dangerous: Regulating New York City’s Underground Economy in the 1970s
Smita Ghosh, University of Pennsylvania
Managing Borders in the Post-Civil Rights Era
John Worsencroft, Temple University
Making Ends Meet in the All-Volunteer Era

That ’70s Panel

Panel 1-B: Gold
Chair: Joshua McCabe, Wellesley College
Participants: W. Elliot Brownlee, University of California, Santa Barbara
Taxation in the United States since 1945: Was there a “Neo-liberal” Revolution in the 1970s and 1980s?
Andrew W. Kahrli, University of Virginia
Why Property Taxes Matter: Rethinking the Role of Local Government in the Transformation of Tax Policy in the 1970s
Joshua McCabe, Wellesley College
Comment: Laura Blessing, Georgetown University

First Nation Politics

Panel 1-C: McTyeire
Chair: Jean Schroedel, Claremont Graduate University
Participants: Kelly O’Reilly, Vanderbilt University
The Third World “in Miniature”: Health Care Policy and the Rhetoric of Development
Jean Schroedel, Claremont Graduate University
Political Conflicts over Section 5 Pre-Clearance in Indian Country
Comment: Audience

Policymaking in the Human Rights Context

Panel 1-D: Kirkland
Chair and Commentator: Clara Altman, Federal History Office
Participants: Tim Lovelace, Indiana University Maurer School of Law
Made in America
Joanna Grisinger, Northwestern University
‘Project Inequality’ and Litigation Strategy: Challenging South African Apartheid in New York Courts
Ronald Williams II, UNC Chapel Hill

Making Markets: Rethinking the Late-Twentieth-Century Regulatory State

Panel 1-E: Neely
Chair: Quinn Mulroy, Northwestern University
Participants: Charles Halvorson, Columbia University
Regulators (un)Make the Market: The Rise and Fall of EPA’s Emissions Trading Program
David Reinecke, Princeton University
Network Struggles in U.S. Deregulated Industries, 1970-2010
Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University
Inventing the 401(k)
Rebecca Shimon Stoll, Johns Hopkins University
Parity in the Free Market: A Policy Puzzle from the Farm Crisis of 1977-78
Comment: Edward Balleisen, Duke University

Perspectives on the Political Economy of the 1970s

Panel 2-A: Calhoun
Participants: John Farris, Georgia Perimeter College
‘Looking Backwards’: The Carter Administration’s “National Accord” and the Durability of the New Deal Order.
Brian Domitrovic, University of Colorado
The Origins of the Laffer Curve at Chicago, 1968-74
Grant Madsen, Brigham Young University
The Revenge of Disembedded Liberalism
Comment: Audience

Foreign Policy

Panel 2-B: Neely
Chair and Commentator: Shamira Gelbman, Wabash College
Participants: Zachary Kaufman, Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government
The American Political History of Responding to Suspected Perpetrators of Genocide and other Mass Atrocities
Zachary Matsusheski, US Army Heritage and Education Center
The Foment of 1956: Adlai Stevenson and Cold War Foreign Policy Reform
Patrick Roberts, Rutgers University-Newark
The South African Nuclear Program Under the Gaze of the International Atomic Energy Agency

Who is the Citizen’s “Other”? Defining Citizenship through Alienage Discriminations, 1901-1997

Panel 2-C: Gold
Chair and Commentator: Carl Bon Tempo, SUNY at Albany
Participants: Sarah Coleman, Princeton University
“To reward the wrong way is not the American way:” Welfare, Immigrants’ Rights and the Politics of Immigration 1990-1997
Brendan Shanahan, University of California, Berkeley
Who Has the Right to Work? Debating Alien Laborers’ Rights to Employment, 1901-1941

Conservative Activism

Panel 2-D: McTyeire
Chair and Commentator: Derek S. Hoff, University of Utah
Participants: George R La Noue, UMBC
The Disappearance of On-Campus Debates and the Decline of Intellectual Diversity in Higher Education
Richard Meagher, Randolph-Macon College
“To Treason or Madness”: The Dan Smoot Report and the Anti-Communist Roots of American Conservatism
Guigui Yao, Jiangshan University; Yale University and Robert Wyman, Yale University
The American Christian Right and China’s One-Child Policy: A Focus on the Population Research Institute

Recapturing the Oval Office

Panel 2-E: Carmichael
Chair: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Participants: Robert Self, Brown University
Kathryn Brownwell, Purdue University
Comment: Jeremi Suri, University of Texas at Austin

Institutional Finance, Institutional Politics: Central Banks, Mortgage Finance, and Consumer Lending in the Mid-20th Century

Panel 2-F: Melody
Chair and Commentator: Kathryn Lavelle, Case Western Reserve University
Participants: Peter Conti-Brown, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania
Central Bank Independence, Revisited: The Many Meanings of the Fed-Treasury Accord of 1951
Chloe Thurston, Northwestern University
Organized Interests and Advocacy in the 1950s Mortgage Industry
Sean Vanatta, Princeton University
Charge Account Banking and the Political Origins of America’s Credit Card Economy, 1950-1958
Trade Associations: Contracting Out the State

Panel 2-G: Kirkland

Chair and Commentator: Christy Ford Chapin, University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC)
Laura Phillips Sawyer, Harvard Business School
The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and State-Building: Trade Associations, Antitrust Reform, and the Administrative State, 1912-1925
Benjamin C. Waterhouse, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Small Business Mythology and American Conservatism: The National Federation of Independent Business in the 1980s
Jennifer Delton, Skidmore College
The NAM in the 1990s

Wednesday, June 1
Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Rethinking the Tax Revolt: The Liberal-Left's Response to Fiscal Crisis in the 1960s and 1970s

Panel 3-A: Calhoun

Chair: Andrew W. Kahrl, University of Virginia
Participants: Kelly Goodman, Yale University
Leveling Up: Tax Politics in the Sixties Schools of the Urban Crisis
Joshua Mound, University of Michigan
"New Populism" Ascendant: Local Fiscal Crises, Tax Inequalities, and the Left Capture of the Tax Revolt
Joseph Hower, Southwest University
"Dog Days for American Liberalism": AFSCME, Tax Reform, and the Roots of the Labor-Liberal Crisis
Comment: Audience

Rethinking Party History

Panel 3-B: McTyeire

Participants: Bell Julian Clement, George Washington University
The Urban Policy Battle in Great Society Congresses, 1964-1969
Boris Heersink, University of Virginia
Beyond Service: National Party Organizations and Party Brands in American Politics
Byron E. Shafer, University of Wisconsin and Regina Wagner, University of Wisconsin
Political Parties and Representative Democracy: The Long War Over Party Structure in American Politics
Comment: Audience

State of Human Rights and Humanitarianism in the 20th Century

Panel 3-C: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Paul Kramer, Vanderbilt University
Participants: Stephen Porter, University of Cincinnati
Protecting People, States, and Philanthropies: World War II Humanitarianism and the Creation of a New International Order
Carl Bon Tempo, SUNY at Albany
Helsinki at Home

State of Human Rights and Humanitarianism in the 20th Century

Panel 3-D: Melody

Participants: Bell Julian Clement, George Washington University
The Urban Policy Battle in Great Society Congresses, 1964-1969
Boris Heersink, University of Virginia
Beyond Service: National Party Organizations and Party Brands in American Politics
Byron E. Shafer, University of Wisconsin and Regina Wagner, University of Wisconsin
Political Parties and Representative Democracy: The Long War Over Party Structure in American Politics
Comment: Audience

Re-Conceptualizing the Connections between New Deal Mortgages, Race, and Economics

Panel 3-E: Neely

Chair: Kenneth Snowden, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Participants: Todd Michney, Georgia Institute of Technology
Explicating the Home Owners Loan Corporation’s Lending Policies with Regard to African American Borrowers
James Greer, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Moral Hazard, New Deal Policies, and the Creation of the American Racialized Housing Market
Judge Glock, Rutgers University
Federal Mortgage Programs in the "Roosevelt Recession" of 1937
Comment: LaDale Winling, Virginia Tech

Vanessa Walker, Amherst College
A Tale of Two Policies: Carter, Reagan, and Human Rights in the Western Hemisphere
Clara Altman, Federal Judicial History Office at the Federal Judicial Center, Washington DC

Late 20th and Early 21st Century Revolution in Land-Grant Higher Education: Policy From On High or From Below?

Panel 3-D: Melody

Chair and Commentator: Doug Hurt, Purdue University
Participants: Alan Marcus, Mississippi State University
Managing the Manufacture of Managers: Land-Grant Universities in a Steady-State World
Howard Segal, University of Maine
The Land-Grant Ethos in the Twenty-First Century: The University of Maine as a Case Study
Nate Sorber, West Virginia University
Land-Grant College Sagas and Practices in an Era of Neoliberal Policy and Discourse

Re-Conceptualizing the Connections between New Deal Mortgages, Race, and Economics

Panel 3-E: Neely

Chair: Kenneth Snowden, University of North Carolina at Greensboro
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Explicating the Home Owners Loan Corporation’s Lending Policies with Regard to African American Borrowers
James Greer, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Moral Hazard, New Deal Policies, and the Creation of the American Racialized Housing Market
Judge Glock, Rutgers University
Federal Mortgage Programs in the “Roosevelt Recession” of 1937
Comment: LaDale Winling, Virginia Tech
Wednesday, June 1  
Concurrent Session 4  
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Education and State Building in the 19th Century: How Americans Built and Staffed the New Public Schools

Panel 4-A: Carmichael
Chair: Richard R. John, Columbia University
Participants: Johann Neem, Western Washington University
A State from the Grass Roots? Education and the Public Sector in America 1776-1861
Mark Boonshoft, Post-doctoral research fellow New York Public Library
“State, Society, and the Rise of Academies in the Early Republic”
Gail Radford, SUNY-Buffalo
Solutions to the Teacher Problem in Antebellum New York State: Evolving Conceptions of Administration for Public Services
Comment: Tracy L. Steffes, Brown University

Before the “Big Sort”: 1970s Democrats Advance Republican Policies

Panel 4-B: Gold
Chair: Laura Blessing, Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
Participants: Laura Blessing, Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
Before the Revolt: Carter’s Forays into Tax-Cutting before Prop 13
Todd Rosa, Frostburg State University
Before the Nation was “At Risk”: Jimmy Carter and the Origins of the Standards Movement in American Public Education
Eugene Hillman, Princeton University
Drug Policy in the Carter Years: Continuities in the Long “War on Drugs”
Kelly Richter, Georgetown University Law Center
Before the Anti-Latino Backlash: the 1970s Liberal Economic Roots of Modern Conservative Immigration Politics
Comment: Joshua McCabe, Wellesley College

Racial Integration and the Politics of Community Control in Metropolitan America

Panel 4-C: Kirkland
Chair: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Participants: Nichole Nelson, Yale University
Metropolitan Mosaic: A Suburban Community’s Attempt to Maintain Integration and Combat Colorblindness
Anthony Pratcher II, University of Pennsylvania
Erika Kitzmiller, Barnard-Columbia
“A White Noose around the City”: Metropolitan Approaches to School Desegregation in Philadelphia and Wilmington
Comment: Jeffery Gonda, Syracuse University


Panel 4-D: McTyeire
Chair and Commentator: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Participants: Anne Fleming, Georgetown University Law Center
Expertise without Activism: The Russell Sage Foundation and Consumer Lending
Elizabeth Harmon, University of Michigan
A National Menace: The Rockefeller Foundation and Corporate Welfare Policy
Emily Klancher Merchant, Dartmouth College
The Technopolitics of Population Control: The Population Council and Population Policy


Panel 4-E: Melody
Chair and Commentator: Paul Kramer, Vanderbilt University
Participants: Brian Gratton, Arizona State University (ret.) and Emily Klancher Merchant, Dartmouth College
The Strange Career of the Mexican Race: the United States Census, 1930 to 2020
Patrick Lukene, Eastern Arizona College
Policy Implications of the Timoteo Andrade Naturalization Case
Matthew Gritter, Angelo State University
People of Mexican Origin, Fair Employment and the Southwest 1944-1964

Voting Rights in Historical Perspective: Complicating the Narratives

Panel 4-F: Neely
Chair and Commentator: Pippa Holloway, Middle Tennessee State University
Participants: R. Volney Riser, U. West Alabama
Jim Crow’s Unexpected Influence upon Hawaii: Southern Disenfranchisement, Northern Imperialists, and the 1900 Hawaii Organic Act
Liette Gidlow, Wayne State University
“To Tell You the Truth, We Are Not Going to be Bothered with Colored Women”: Disenfranchisement After the Nineteenth Amendment
Julian Hayter, University of Richmond
The Miracle of 1960: How the NAACP and Local Activists Shaped the VRA and the Struggle for Voting Rights Post-1965

Comment: Tracy L. Steffes, Brown University
Thursday, June 2
Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Food Politics: The Rise of the Bureaucratic State and Welfare Relief

Panel 1-A: Calhoun

Chair: Nancy Beck Young, University of Houston
Participants: Natalie Schuster, Frostburg State University; Agricultural Disasters: The Mississippi Flood of 1927, the Dust Bowl, and US Agricultural Policy; Lindsay Drane, University of Houston; Bureaucratizing Food: The Origins of Food Stamps in the Interwar Period; Pierre Desrochers, University of Toronto; Towards a Typology of Local Food Movements: Insights from the American Experience.

Comment: Susan Levine, University of Illinois at Chicago

Regulatory Policy

Panel 1-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Participants: Jesse Halvorsen, University of California, Santa Barbara; The Vexed History of Deregulation: Daniel O’Neal, the ICC, and the Roots of Regulatory Reform, 1974-1977; Katherine Jewell, Fitchburg State University; “The Old Maids at the FCC”: College Radio and Indecency in the Interwar Period; Pierre Desrochers, University of Toronto; Contesting Equality of Opportunity: Race and Liberalism in the Freedmen’s Bureau.

Comment: Audience

Religion and Anti-Labor Politics, 1930s-1950s

Panel 1-E: Symphony I

Chair: Kevin Kruse, Princeton University
Participants: Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University and Ken Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University; Evangelical Protestantism, Business, and the Attack on Organized Labor and Liberalism in the Post-World War II South; Christopher Cantwell, University of Missouri-Kansas City; In the Lord’s Employ: Christian Work and Christian Workers at the David C. Cook Publishing Company; Kathryn Olmsted, University of California, Davis; Red Scare in the Churches: The Backlash Against Liberal Ministers’ Labor Activism in Depression-Era Los Angeles.

Comment: Darren Grem, University of Mississippi


Panel 1-C: Kirkland

Chair: Tom Packer, Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford

Race, Courts and Politics in the Nineteenth Century

Panel 1-D: McTyeire

Participants: Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University; Family, Race, and Judicial Policy in Antebellum Louisiana Courts; Boris Heersink, University of Virginia; Republican Party Politics and the American South: From Reconstruction to Redemption, 1865-1880; Michael Brown, University of California, Santa Cruz; Contesting Equality of Opportunity: Race and Liberalism in the Freedmen’s Bureau.

Comment: Audience

Black School Superintendents and the Politics of Community Control in the Post-Civil Rights Revolution Era

Panel 2-A: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Ansley Erickson, Columbia University - Teachers College
Participants: Benjamin Cohen, University of Virginia; Running from Radicalism: Washington D.C.’s Public Schools, 1973-1975; Alexander Hyres, University of Virginia; Too Busy to Integrate: Alonzo Crim and the Politics of Community-Controlled Schools, 1973-1980

Immigration Policy

Panel 2-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Carl Bon Tempo, SUNY at Albany
Participants: Craig Kaplowitz, Judson University; From Task Force to Signing Statement: The Reagan Administration and Immigration Reform; Magdalena Krajewska, Wingate University; Identifying America. The Political History of Proposals for National ID Cards in the United States; Eulogio Romero, Vanderbilt University; Rethinking Refugee History: American Diplomacy, Administration and Immigration Reform.

Comment: Audience

Crime Policy as Urban Policy

Panel 2-C: Gold

Chair and Commentator: Christopher Agee, University of Colorado, Denver
Participants: Nora Krinitsky, University of Michigan; Crime Prevention in the Midwest Metropolis; Ashley Johnson, Binghamton University; Deportation Policy and the Politics of Law and Order from Detroit to Windsor in the Depression; Timothy Lombardo, University of South Alabama; Safeguarding the Police: Law Enforcement Policy, Criminal Justice, and the Politics of the Urban Crisis.

The Future of Voting Rights and Representation

Roundtable 2-A: Kirkland

Participants: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan; J. Douglas Smith, Independent Scholar

Design and Management of Energy and Environmental Policy Over Time

Panel 2-D: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Brian Cook, Virginia Tech
Participants: Adam Eckerd, University of Tennessee and Roy Heidelberg, Louisiana State University; Administrative Control through Citizen Participation under the National Environmental Policy Act; Barry Rabe, University of Michigan; Taxing Fracking: The Politics of State Severance Taxes in the Shale Era; Tony Reames, University of Michigan; From Oil Crisis to Economic Crisis: 40 Years of American Energy Conservation and Assistance.

Book Panel: Moral Minorities and the Making of American Democracy

Panel 2-E: Symphony I

Chair: Matthew C. Sherman, Institute for Political History
Participants: Seth Cotlar, Willamette University; Johann Neem, Western Washington University; Gautham Rao, American University; Comment: Kyle G. Volk, University of Montana-Missoula

Thursday, June 2
Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

The Future of Voting Rights and Representation

Roundtable 2-A: Kirkland

Participants: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan; Ari Berman, The Nation Institute; J. Douglas Smith, Independent Scholar

Design and Management of Energy and Environmental Policy Over Time

Panel 2-D: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Brian Cook, Virginia Tech
Participants: Adam Eckerd, University of Tennessee and Roy Heidelberg, Louisiana State University; Administrative Control through Citizen Participation under the National Environmental Policy Act; Barry Rabe, University of Michigan; Taxing Fracking: The Politics of State Severance Taxes in the Shale Era; Tony Reames, University of Michigan; From Oil Crisis to Economic Crisis: 40 Years of American Energy Conservation and Assistance.

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Chair: Matthew C. Sherman, Institute for Political History
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Panel 3-A: Calhoun
Chair and Commentator: Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University
Participants: Anna Krome-Lukens, UNC-Chapel Hill; John Garvey, University of Virginia; Todd Erickson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 3-B: Carmichael
Chair and Commentator: Nicole Hemmer, Miller Center, University of Virginia
Participants: Robert Fleegler, University of Mississippi; Michael Dukakis, New Democrat; Kathryn Brownell, Purdue University

Panel 3-C: Kirkland
Chair and Commentator: NA
Participants: Mauricio Castro, Purdue University; Anthony Clark, Ohio State University; Angela Davis, University of California, Berkeley

Roundtable 3-A: Symphony I
Chair: NA
Participants: NA

Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Church and State: Religion in the Development and Implementation of State Policy
Panel 4-A: McTyeire
Chair and Commentator: Robert Self, Brown University
Participants: Ronit Stahl, John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics at Washington University in St. Louis; A Radical Departure*: The Origins of the Federal Farm Loan Act; Daniel Robert, University of California, Berkeley

Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion in the American Context
Panel 3-F: Neely
Chair: Brett Flehinger, Harvard University
Participants: Amy Wallherfechtel, Saint Louis University; Sean Snyder, University of Kansas

Citizens, Activism and Politics
Panel 3-C: Kirkland
Chair and Commentator: NA
Participants: Mauricio Castro, Purdue University; Anthony Clark, Ohio State University; Angela Davis, University of California, Berkeley

Roundtable 3-A: Symphony I
Chair: NA
Participants: NA

Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

Neoliberalism and U.S. Social Policy
Panel 4-C: Kirkland
Chair: NA
Participants: NA
Friday, June 3
Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Creating Post-War Liberalism

Panel 1-A: Kirkland
Participants: Luke Messac, University of Pennsylvania
From modernization theory to human capital: health in international development discourse and practice, 1960-1980
Ben Zdenanovic, Yale University
The Man with the Plan: William Beveridge, Transatlantic Postwar Planning, and the Idea of an American Welfare State During World II
Comment: Audience

Conscious Agent[s] of the Communist Conspiracy: The John Birch Society and Anti-Government Conservatism During the Cold War

Panel 1-B: Carmichael
Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Participants: Darren Mulloy, Wilfrid Laurier University
Who’s Afraid of John Birch?: Democracy, Fascism and the Rise and Fall of the Radical Right in the Early 1960s
Colin Reynolds, Emory University
David Walsh, Princeton University
John Birch’s Scholarly Bulldog: Revilo P. Oliver, Robert Welch, and the John Birch Society, 1959-1966

Race and Urban Policing Since the 1960s

Panel 1-C: Calhoun
Chair: Christopher Agee, University of Colorado, Denver
Participants: Michael Staub, University of Michigan
From Mini-Riots to Mini-Stations: Policing Urban Unrest in 1970s Detroit
Peter Pillos, Duke University
De Mau Mau and the Flak Catcher: Prosecutors, the Press, and “Black Crime”
Christine Lamberson, Angelo State University
A Policy of Fear: Operation Zebra, Public Opinion, and Post-Civil Rights Racial Profiling
Toussaint Losier, University of Massachusetts at Amherst
“But Now We Can’t Escape It”: Policing the Crisis during the Harold Washington Administration, 1981-1987
Comment: Donna Murch, Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

Organizing Principles: Political Innovation During The First Century of American State-Building

Panel 1-D: McTyeire
Chair: Stephen J. Rockwell, St. Joseph’s College, New York
Participants: William Adler, Northeastern Illinois University
From Army of Israel to Conqueror of Canaan: Religion, The Army, and American National Identity in the Early Republic
Jonathan Keller, Manhattan College
From Army of Israel to Conqueror of Canaan: Religion, The Army, and American National Identity In The Early Republic
Tim Lindberg, University of Minnesota-Morris
Controlling The American Empire: Territorial Policy and U.S. State-Building In The Late 19th-Century
Jeffrey Broxmeyer, University of Toledo
Beyond Jacksonian Spoils: The Transformation of Political Patronage
Comment: Laura Jensen, Virginia Tech

American Quest for Security in the Twentieth Century: Ideas and Practices

Panel 1-E: Neely
Chair: Jason Scott Smith, University of New Mexico
Participants: Dexter Fergie, University of British Columbia
Re-Imagining America: The Princeton Military Studies Group and the Cultivation of the National Security Imagination, 1935-1945
Thomas Lassman, National Air and Space Museum and Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense
Jessica Wang, University of British Columbia
A Rumor of Loyalty: Scientists, ‘Low’ Knowledge, and the Specter of Espionage in the 1940s and 1990s
Comment: Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University

Panic at The Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s

Roundtable 1-A: Symphony I
Chair: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Paul Sabin, Yale University
Jeremi Suri, University of Texas
Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University
Matthew Lassiter, Michigan University
Meg Jacobs, Princeton University
Friday, June 3
Concurrent Session 2
10:15 - 11:45 am

Education Policy
Panel 2-A: Calhoun
Chair: Brett Flehinger, Harvard University
Participants: Ethan Hutt, University of Maryland - College Park
Surveying the Nation: Longitudinal Surveys and the Construction of National Solutions to Educational Inequity
Laura Jensen and Donna Sedgwick, Virginia Tech
Separate and Dissimilar: Federalism and the Making of Parallel Preschool Programs (with Donna Sedgwick)
Campbell Scribner, Ohio Wesleyan University
First Principles: Philosophy in Educational Law
Comment: Audience

Rethinking Late Twentieth Century Political History
Panel 2-B: Kirkland
Chair and Commentator: Kathryn Brownell, Purdue University
Participants: Tom Packer, Oxford University
Rethinking the Southern Conservative Movement: The New Right in the New South
Jonathan Bell, University College London
Rethinking the "Straight State": Welfare Politics, Health Care, and Public Policy in the Shadow of AIDS
Louisa Hotson, Corpus Christi College Oxford University
American Political Science in the 1960s
Mark Wilson, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Policy Making Precarity: The Politics of Intimacy
Panel 2-C: McTyeire
Chair: Mary Frances Berry, University of Pennsylvania
Participants: Rachel Moran, University of North Texas
The Physiological Impossibility of Aid: The Politics of Pregnancy and Poverty in the Late 20th Century
Melinda Chateauvante, Independent Scholar
Against the "New Jane Crow": Racialized Gender Profiling, Anti- (sex-) Trafficking Laws, and Trans- (sex) Panics
Heather Berg, University of California Santa Barbara
"Maybe the State Should Pay": Porn Work and the Welfare State
Comment: Eileen Boris, University of California, Santa Barbara

Antimonopoly Reconsidered
Panel 2-D: Neely
Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University
Participants: Christopher England, Georgetown University
"Land Monopoly" and 20th Century Utility Policy
Charles Postel, San Francisco State University
Anti-Monopoly Demands for Equality in the Post-Civil War Political Economy
Richard R. John, Columbia University
Ida Tarbell, Standard Oil, and Antimonopoly

Brian Balogh's The Associational State: American Governance in the Twentieth Century
Panel 2-E: Symphony I
Chair: Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin
Participants: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Christopher Loss, Vanderbilt University
Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University, New Brunswick
Stephen Porter, University of Cincinnati
Mark Wilson, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Policy History Conference Awards Luncheon
Skylight Foyer
Welcome and Opening Introductions - Donald T. Critchlow
Keynote Address - "Black Power: Working the Interstices of Radical Activism and Insider Politics"
David Farber, Roy A. Roberts Distinguished Professor of History, University of Kansas
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.

Gwendolyn Alphonso, Fairfield University
"From Need to Hope: The American Family and Poverty in Partisan Discourse"
Volume 27 / Issue 04 / October 2015, pp 592-635.

Neil Young, Princeton University
"Worse Than Cancer and Worse Than Snakes": Jimmy Carter's Southern Baptist Problem and the 1980 Election

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.

Erik Erlandson
"Regulator-In-Chief: How the White House Reshaped the American State, 1971-1984"

Peter Conti-Brown

Nichole Nelson
"Critical Crossroads: Three Suburbs’ Journeys to Intentionally Racially Integrate"

Lauren F. Turek
"To Bring the Good News to All Nations: Evangelicals, Human Rights, and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1969-1994"
Friday, June 3
Concurrent Session 3
1:30 - 3:00 pm

**Business and Tax Policies**

**Panel 3-A: Neely**

Chair and Commentator: W. Elliot Brownlee, University of California, Santa Barbara
Participants: Carl-Henry Geschwind, Independent Scholar
A Postwar Path to the VAT: Selective Excise Taxes in Great Britain and the United States, 1940-1973
Shintaro Kurachi, Faculty of Economics, Keio University
A Comparative Historical Analysis of Tax Revolt and Social Service in Denmark and the U.S. State California
Seiichiro Mozumi, Keio University
Jesse Tarbert, Case Western Reserve University
American Business and Government in the 1920s: Reassessing the New Era “Associative State”

**Panel 3-B: Carmichael**

Chair and Commentator: Paul Kramer, Vanderbilt University
Participants: Julie Novkov, University at Albany, SUNY and Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College
“Building the Administrative State: Courts and the Admission of Chinese Women and Children to the United States, 1870s-1920s”
David F. Ericson, Cleveland State University
United States Immigration Policy and State Building
Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University and Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College
Family Matters, Public Work: Juvenile Courts and the Shaping of Early Twentieth Century Social Welfare Provision

**Panel 3-C: Kirkland**

Chair: William Adler, Northeastern Illinois University
Participants: Chad Frazier, Georgetown University
Elitist Root’s “Picked Men”: American Political Development and the Enduring Legacy of U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico
Jonathan O’Hara, Southern Connecticut State University
American Republicanism and the fin-de-siecle Imperialism Debate
Glen Olson, The Graduate Center, City University of New York
Empire’s Dubious Reach: Slaveholder Demands and Abolitionist Critiques of the Regular Army in Florida, 1835-1842
Comment: Armin Mattes, University of Missouri

**Panel 3-D: McTyeire**

Chair: David Robertson, University of Missouri - St. Louis
Participants: David Robertson, University of Missouri-St. Louis
State and Landscape: The Constitution of American Environmental Policy, 1607-1789
Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas - Austin
Go West Young Man: Poverty, Squatting, and trans-Appalachian America
Colin Moore, University of Hawaii - Manoa
American Colonialism and the Creation of Authoritarian Enclaves in Hawaii and Puerto Rico
Comment: Audience

**Empire in the Nineteenth Century**

**Panel 3-E: Calhoun**

Chair and Commentator: Richard Meagher, Randolph-Macon College
Participants: Samuel Goldman, George Washington University
Jonathan Bronitsky, Independent Scholar
Neoconservatism: A Jewish Movement?
Vincent Cannato, University of Massachusetts Boston
First ‘Second Thoughts’: Catholicism and the anti-Socialist Crusades of David Goldstein and Martha Moore Avery

**Land, Expansion and Empire**

**Assessing the Role of Religion in the Rise of Neoconservatism**

**Roundtable 3-A: Symphony I**

Co-Chairs: Betty Koed, Senate Historian and Matthew Wasienski, House Historian
Participants: Theodore Marmor, Yale University
Medicare Act of 1965
Paul Milazzo, Ohio University
Water Quality Act of 1966
Philip Wolgin, Center for American Progress
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965
Nancy Beck Young, University of Houston
Political Context of the 89th Congress
Comment: Audience
Friday, June 3
Concurrent Session 4
3:15 - 4:45 pm

“America’s Unfinished Business”: Building the Rural Great Society through Housing, Labor, and Food Policy

Panel 4-A: Calhoun

Chair and Commentator: Sarah Phillips, Boston University
Participants: Chris Deutsch, University of Missouri
Eating Opportunity: Improving Rural Diets in the Age of Plenty
Doug Genens, University of California, Santa Barbara
Developing Rural California: The Private Sector, Housing, and the War on Poverty
Angela Sirna, Middle Tennessee State University
The Job Corps: Waging a War on Poverty in the National Parks
Adam Hilton, York University
The Right to a Job: The Crisis of Postwar Liberalism and the Struggle for Full Employment in the 1970s

Racialized Policies: Segregation, Education, Democracy and Incarceration

Panel 4-C: Kirkland

Chair: Drew Halfmann, UC Davis
Participants: Christopher Bonastia, CUNY-Lehman College and CUNY Graduate Center
Educational Parks: The Solution to School Segregation?
Michael Fortner, CUNY
Race, Time, and Institutions: Mass Incarceration and the Importance of Policy History
Drew Halfmann, UC Davis
Federal Enforcement and the Birth of the One-Party South
Emily Lieb, Seattle University
Jim Crow Schools and Public Policy in Baltimore, 1900–1917
Comment: Audience

Presidents and Congress

Panel 4-D: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, Loyola University Chicago
Participants: Douglas Craig, Australian National University
“What Happened to the Generals? The Presidential Election of 1920 and the Great War in the United States”
Jasmine Farrier, University of Louisville
Constitutional Dysfunction, Member Lawsuits, and Flipped War Powers
Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University
Institutions and Ideology: Understanding the 2016 Presidential Nomination Process and its Policy Consequences
David Stebenne, Ohio State University
The Problem of Presidential Third Terms

Constitutional Theory, Institutional Development, and Regionalism in American History

Panel 4-E: Carmichael

Chair: Paul Herron, Brandeis University
Participants: Ken Kersch, Boston College
Rethinking the Place of History in Constitutional Theory
Sean Beienburg, Lehigh University
Neither Nationalism nor Nullification: The Endurance of Jacksonian States’ Rights in Popular Constitutionalism, from Reconstruction to Prohibition
Herschel Nachlis, Franklin & Marshall College
Institutions as Neither Strong nor Weak: Sub-institutional Variation Across the National Institutes of Health
Amy Bridges, University of California San Diego
Progressive Politics in the Western States
Comment: Richard Bensel, Cornell University

New Institutional Synthesis: Organizations, Rules, Inflections, and Disciplines in Historiography

Roundtable 4-A: Symphony I

Peter Conti-Brown, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania
Richard R. John, Columbia University
Edward Balleisen, Duke University
Meg Jacobs, Princeton University

Structure and Politics in the Nineteenth Century

Panel 4-B: Neely

Participants: Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Montana
Banks and states before the civil war: the United States, 1836-1860
Jack Edelson, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Electoral Bias, Election Dates, and Unified Government in 19th Century America
Comment: Audience

Constitutional Theory, Institutional Development, and Regionalism in American History
Saturday, June 4
Concurrent Session 1
8:30 - 10:00 am

Congress, Policy, and History

Panel 1-A: Carmichael

Chair: Richard Bensel, Cornell University
Participants: Travis Johnston, APSA
Access at a Cost: Medicare’s Missed Opportunity and the Hurdles to Prescription Drug Reform
David Bateman, Cornell University
From Gilded-Age Doughfaces to Tentative Reformers: African American Civil Rights and the Northern Democratic Party, 1866-1921
Ruth Bloch Rubin, University of Chicago
Coordinating Liberal Hardliners: A History of the Democratic Study Group
Alexander Hertel-Fernandez and Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
Conservative Mobilization in Congress: Contrasting the Koch Network, Americans for Tax Reform, and the Club for Growth
Comment: Frances Lee, University of Maryland

Health Planning, Health Policy: Why Examining the Past Matters for Understanding The Present and Future of Health Care in the United States

Panel 1-B: McTyeire

Participants: Dominique Tobbell, University of Minnesota
Planning for Dr. Nurses: Regional Planning and the Rise of Nursing PhD Programs.
Gabriel Winant, Yale University
"That Hospital Was a Part of Them": Social Democracy and Postwar Hospital Growth.
Andrew Simpson, Duquesne University
Medical Schools as Policy Entrepreneurs: Baylor College of Medicine, Community Outreach Programs and the "Health" of Houston, Texas.
Guilan McKee, University of Virginia
Hospital Cost Control versus Hospital Jobs: The Emergence of Health Care as Economic "Anchor" During the 1970s
Comment: Audience

Disputed Elections in American History

Panel 1-C: Gold

Chair: David Stebenne, Ohio State University
Participants: Brian Balogh, University of Virginia
Alex Keyssar, Harvard University
Lisa Marshall Manheim, University of Washington
Comment: Edward Foley, Ohio State University

Metrics of Governance: Evaluating State Actors at Midcentury

Panel 1-D: Neely

Chair: Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University
Participants: Emily Charnock, Selwyn College, University of Cambridge
More than a Score: Ideological Ratings and Polarized Politics
Andrew McGee, Darden School of Business, University of Virginia
How to ‘Govern Like a Business’: Midcentury Debates on Evaluating Federal Agencies like Private Sector Firms
Jonathan Lewallen, University of Texas at Austin
Congressional Subcommittees and Policy Subsystem Dynamics, 1947-2012
Comment: Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University

Liberalism and the Carceral State

Panel 1-E: Symphony I

Chair: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan
Participants: Kathleen Frydl, University of California, Berkeley
Elizabeth Hinton, Harvard University
Christopher Agee, University of Colorado, Denver
Comment: Audience

The Longest War: Construction and Enforcement of Drug-Control Policy in the 20th Century

Panel 2-A: Calhoun

Chair: Sarah Igo, Vanderbilt University
Participants: J.W. Hubbard, Vanderbilt University
The (Drug) Dogs of War: Narcotics Detection Dogs and the Work of Drug Enforcement
Phil Nicholas, Bloomsburg University
Sarah Brady Siff, Ohio State University
The Chicken or the Egg? State and Federal Influence on Postwar Drug Control
Comment: Kathleen Frydl, University of California, Berkeley

Patterns in Twentieth-Century Legal Thought

Panel 2-B: Carmichael

Chair and Commentator: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University
Participants: Sarah Seo, Princeton University
Discretionary Policing in a Free Society
Erik Erlandson, University of Virginia
Comment: Jefferson Decker, Rutgers University

The Last Days of the Great Society: Policymaking in the 1970s

Panel 2-C: McTyeire

Chair and Commentator: Matthew Lassiter, University of Michigan
Participants: Derek S. Hoff, University of Utah
Andrew Morris, Union College
Nixon, New Federalism, and Disaster Policy in the Early 1970s

Moderate Republicans and the Political Conflicts of the 1970s

Panel 2-D: Kirkland

Chair and Commentator: Geoffrey Kabaservice, Republican Main Street Partnership
Participants: Michael Koncewicz, New York University
They Said No to Nixon: How the IRS Stopped the President’s Enemies List
Kristoffer Smeno, University of California Santa Barbara
Buffalo, New York, 1971: Black Power, the Building Trades, and the End of ‘Rockefeller Republicanism’
Ann Marie Wambeke, Wayne State University
Republican Feminists: Reconciling Partisanship and Feminism in the Michigan Women’s Political Caucus


Panel 2-E: Neely

Chair and Commentator: Margaret O’Mara, University of Washington
Participants: Brent Cebul, University of Richmond
Rediscovering Supply Side Liberalism: Public Venture Capital and the Nationalization of Congressional Politics in the 1980s and 1990s
Benjamin Holtzman, Brown University
Homesteading and the Movement for Low-Income Housing during New York’s 1970s Fiscal Crisis
Keith Orejel, University of Missouri
Index

A
Adler, William 16, 20
Agee, Christopher 13, 16, 24
Alphonso, Gwendoline 12, 14, 19
Altman, Clara 6, 9
Andelic, Patrick 12

B
Baker, Paula ii, 14
Balleisen, Edward 22
Baltimore, Brian ii, 5, 7, 10, 17, 16, 24
Barwick, Roxane ii, 3
Bateman, David 24
Beinberg, Sean 23
Bell, Jonathan 18
Bensel, Richard ii, 23, 24
Beng, Heather 18
Berman, Ari 13
Bernard, Alexander ii
Berry, Mary Frances 18
Bird, Jess 6

C
Canaday, Margot ii
Canuto, Victor 22
Canuto, William 6, 24
Carroll, Hugh 14
Caruso, Joseph 6, 24
Cassidy, Michael 6, 24
Catalano, Mark 15
Cease, Linda 12
Chatterjee, Abhishek 22
Chateauverte, Melinda 18
Charnock, Emily 24
Chapin, Christy Ford 8
Cebul, Brent 25
Chesterfield, Richard 13
Churchill, Canon 6, 24
Clark, Roger 14
Cordaro, Jack 22
Cowen, Kent 24
Craig, Douglas 22
Crittow, Donald T. ii, 14, 19

D
Decker, Jefferson 6, 25
Delton, Jennifer 8
Desrochers, Pierre 12
Deutsch, Chris 22
Dickerson, Dennis 14
Domrosvich, Brian 7
Drane, Lindsay 12

E
Ecker, Adam 13
Edelson, Jack 22
Einhorn, Robin ii
Eilonata, Jar 15
England, Christopher 18
Erickson, Ansley 13
Ericson, David F. 20
Eskew, Jennifer 15
Erlandson, Erik 19, 25
Estrada, Natalie ii

F
Farber, David ii, 5, 19
Farrier, Jasmine 22
Farris, John 7
Fergie, Dexter 17
Fleegler, Robert 14
Flehinger, Brett 14, 18
Fleming, Anne 10
Foley, Edward 24
Fones-Wolf, Elizabeth 12
Fones-Wolf, Ken 12
Fortner, Michael 22
Frazier, Chad 20
Fried, Richard 15
Frydl, Kathieen 24, 25

G
Gage, Beverly ii
Geltman, Shamira 7
Genova, Doug 22
Geschwind, Carl-Henry 20
Ghosh, Sima 6, 10
Gidlow, Lette 11
Glusk, Jude 9
Goldman, Samual 21
Gonda, Jeffery 10
Goodman, Kelly 9
Grafton, Brian 11
Greer, James 9
Grem, Darren 12
Grisinger, Joanna 6
Grinner, Matthew 11

H
Hallman, Drew 22
Halvorsen, Jesse 12
Harlson, Charles 6
Harmon, Eilin 10
Hayter, Julian 11
Heinsirk, Boris 9, 12
Heidelberg, Roy 13
Hemer, Nicole 14
Herron, Paul 23
Herter-Fernandez, Alexander 24
Hillman, Eugene 10
Hilton, Admiral 24
Hinton, Liz 14
Hoff, Dersk 7, 15, 25
Holloway, Pippa 15
Holtzman, Benjamin 25
Horwitz, Robert 14
Hotzin, Louisa 12, 18
Hower, Joseph 9
Hubbard, J.W. 25
Hung, Eugene 10
Hurt, Doug 9
Hutt, Ethan 18

I
Igo, Sarah 3, 5, 25
Jacobs, Meg 17, 23
Jenkins, Laura 16, 18
Jewell, Katherine 12
John, Richard R. ii, 10, 14, 18, 23
Johnson, Ashley 13
Johnston, Travis 24

K
Kabasevics, Geoffrey 25
Kahl, Andrew W. 6, 9
Kaplowitz, Craig 13
Katzenelson, Ira ii
Kaufman, Zachary 7
Keller, Jonathan 16
Kersch, Ken 23
Keysar, Alex 24
Klitmiller, Erika 10
Koed, Betty 21
Koczewicz, Michael 25
Krajewksa, Magdalena 13
Kramer, Paul 9, 11, 20
Krishtly, Nora 13

L
Lambert, Christine 16
Lane, Julie 15
LaNeve, George R. 7
Laslatter, Matthew ii, 16, 24
Lassman, Thomas 17
Lavelle, Kathy 7
Lee, Frances 24
Levine, Susan 12
Lewallen, Jonathan 24

M
Madsen, Grant 7
Mann, Philip 15
Manheim, Lisa Marshall 24
Marcus, Alan 9
Marmor, Theodore 21
Masur, Kay 15
Mates, Armin 20
Mattheski, Zachary 7
McCabe, Joshua 6, 10
McCarr, Kathy 15
Mcgee, Andrew 24
McKee, Guian 24
McTague, Richard 21
Merchant, Emily 10
Messac, Luke 16
Meiners, Todd 9
Miazoo, Paul 21
Miller, Samuel 12
Mittelsdett, Jennifer 6, 17, 18
Mohl, James ii
Moore, Colin 20
Moore, John 15
Moran, Rachel 18
Morris, Andrew 25
Mound, Joshua 9
Mozumi, Sachihiro 20
Mulloy, Darren 20
Mullroy, Quinn 6
Murch, Donna 16

N
Nachts, Herschel 23
Nackenoff, Carol 20
Neem, Johann 10, 13
Neison, Nicholas 10, 19
Nicholas, Phil 25
Noell, David 12
Novak, William ii

O
O’Brien, Cyrus 15
O’Hara, Jonathan 20
Olstein, Kathryn 12
Olson, Glen 20
O’Mara, Margaret 3, 5, 25
O’Reilly, Kelly 6
Orejel, Keith 25

P
Packe, Tom 12, 18
April, Daniel 15
Phillips, Sarah 15, 22
Pihos, Peter 16
Porter, Stephen 9, 18
Postel, Charles 18
Powers, Patricia E. ii
Pratchett II, Anthony 10

R
Rabe, Barry 13
Rabe, Robert 15
Raford, Gail 10
Rao, Gautaman 13, 15
Rauchway, Eric 15
Reames, Tony 13
Rehfeld, Andrew 3, 5
Renecke, Daniel 6
Reynolds, Colin 16
Rhodes, Jesse 15
Richter, Kelly 10
Riguer, Leah Wright 4, 14
Riser, R. Volene 11
Robert, Daniel 14
Roberts, David 6
Robert, Patrick 4
Rockwell, Stephen J. 16
Romero, Eulogio 13
Rorabaugh, William 3, 5
Rosa, Todd 16
Rowe, Daniel 12
Rubin, Ruth Bloch 24

S
Sabin, Paul 17
Sanders, Elizabeth 18, 22
Sawyer, Laura Phillips 8
Schroedel, Jan 6
Schuster, Natalie 12
Sedgwick, Donna 18
Segal, Howard 9
Self, Robert 7, 15
Seo, Sarah 25
Seyor, Sean 14
Shafer, Byron E. ii, 9
Shanahan, Brendan 7
Shar, Christopher W. 14
Shinegate, Adam 24
Sherman, Matthew C. ii, 3, 13, 19
Shriver, Elizabeth Tandy 10, 12, 16, 22
Silf, Sarah Brady 25
Simpson, Andrew 24
Sima, Angela 22
Skocpol, Theda ii, 24
Skrentny, John 3, 5
Smemo, Kristoffer 25
Smith, Jason Scott 15, 17
Smith, J. Douglas 13
Smith, Rogers 3, 5
Snowden, Kenneth 9
Sorber, Nate 9
Sparr, Bartholomew ii, 3, 5, 16, 20
Stahl, Ronit 15
Staub, Michael 16
Sbieben, David 24
Steffes, Tracy L. 10
Stolt, Rebecca Shimonii 6
Strand, Daniel ii
Strychowsky, Mauricio ii
Sullivan, Kathleen S. 20
Suri, Jeremi 7, 17

T
Tani, Karen 15
Tarbet, Jesse 20
Thomas, Karen Kruse 14
Thurston, Chloe 7
Tobbell, Dominique 24
Tuils, Jeffrey 3, 5
Turek, Lauren F. 15, 19

V
Vanatta, Sean 7
Volk, Kyle G. 13, 15
Walker, Vanessa 9
Walthermiefschel, Amy ii, 3, 14
Walsh, David 16
Wambke, Anne Marie 25
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