

2008

Policy History Conference



Sheraton Clayton Plaza Hotel -
St. Louis, Missouri

May 29 to June 1, 2008

Sponsored by the Institute for
Political History and the *Journal of
Policy History*

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THURSDAY, May 29, 2008

9:00 am - 4:00 pm	Registration
12:00 pm - 4:00 pm	Book Exhibit
10:15 am - 11:45 am	<p>ROUNDTABLE: Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the Modern City Law and the State in the Early Frontier The Politics of Exclusion and U. S. Women's Struggle for Inclusion DuBois' Dilemma: Policy History Methods and Approaches in the Field of Africana Studies Beating Back Defeat: The Conservative Movement's Response to 1964 New Perspectives on American Political Parties</p>
12:00 pm - 1:15 pm	Lunch Break
1:30 pm - 3:00 pm	<p>Conservatives in Power Schools and State Building Federal Housing Policy and Grassroots Social Movements in the Twentieth Century The Moral Equivalent of War: The Genesis and Fate of 1970s American Energy Policy Competing Visions of Political Economy in the Industrial Age Civil Rights in the University</p>
3:15 pm - 4:15 pm	PLENARY: Did 1968 Change History? Two Perspectives

FRIDAY, May 30, 2008

8:00 am - 5:00 pm	Registration
8:00 pm - 4:00 pm	Book Exhibit
8:30 am - 10:00 am	<p>Shifting Conceptions of Race and Citizenship Works, Works, and the Legacy of New Deal Liberalism Media and Conservative Politics in Postwar America The Cold War University and Beyond Tax and Welfare Policy and Politics in the United States: 1950 to the Present Complicating Suburban and Urban Backlash</p>
10:15 am - 11:45 am	<p>The Conservative Revolution, Public Policy, and the Challenges of Power Bringing Capitalism Back In: The Market, State, and Policy History Governing the Twentieth Century: U. S. Governors and Public Policy Shifting Boundaries: Public, Private, and Media Policy in the United States Gender and Policy Who's Capturing Whom? Rethinking Public and Private Power in the Postwar Administrative State</p>
12:00 pm - 1:15 pm	Lunch Break
1:30 pm - 3:00 pm	<p>The Politics of Social Policy in the United States Revisiting Modern American Elections Public Policy in the Era of Dwight Eisenhower Going Public: Localism and State Development in the Early Twentieth Century The Metropolitan Paradox Privatizing Public Policy and Public Services</p>
3:15 pm - 4:45 pm	<p>Defining Rights Outside the Courts in America The Religious Issue in the 1960 Presidential Election Regional Dimensions of Environmental Policy Apostles of Black Capitalism: Booker T. Washington, Richard Nixon, and Oprah Security, Rights, and War The State and the Stork: Population and American Political Development</p>
5:00 pm - 6:00 pm	PLENARY: How Does the Nineteenth Century Matter in Policy History?

SATURDAY, May 31, 2008

8:00 am - 5:00 pm	Registration
8:00 pm - 4:00 pm	Book Exhibit
8:30 am - 10:00 am	The Happy Marriage of Women's History and Policy History U. S. Foreign and Domestic Policy Development Disaster Policy Political Economy in Nineteenth-Century America Reconsidering Inner-City Poverty Disability, Labor, and Policy in America
10:15 am - 11:45 am	ROUNDTABLE: Partisan Politics and War Children, Public Health, and the Role of the State Business, Trade, and Politics in the Mid-Twentieth Century Social Policy in the Colonies Education Policy Politics of Veterans Policy: Defining and Challenging Post-War Liberalism, 1944-1984
12:00 pm - 1:15 pm	Lunch Break
1:30 pm - 3:00 pm	ROUNDTABLE: Rethinking the Cold War: A Discussion Nineteenth-Century Economy, Law, and Politics Female Empowerment in the Mid-Twentieth Century Riots, Race, and Crime Labor and Policy Aspects of Social Security Policy in the United States
3:15 pm - 4:45 pm	ROUNDTABLE: The Learning Curve The Organizational Challenge and the Reemergence of Liberal Individualism New Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century American Political History Religion and Politics in the Twentieth Century Envisioning the Political Whole Reproductive Justice: Policies, Politics, and Protest
5:00 pm - 6:00 pm	PLENARY: Paul Starr and the Transformation of American Medicine

SUNDAY, June 1, 2008

8:00 am - 10:30 am	Registration
8:00 am - 11:00 am	Book Exhibit
8:30 am - 10:00 am	Ideas and American Political Development Morality, Memory, and the Cold War Reform at the Turn of the Century
10:15 am - 11:45 am	ROUNDTABLE: Suburbanization: Reflections on the State of the Field Race, Pluralism, and the State Political Economy in the Nineteenth Century

▽ Thursday, May 29, 10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.

Gallery I

ROUNDTABLE: Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the Modern American City

Chair:
TODD SWANSTROM, Saint Louis University

GAIL RADFORD, SUNY, Buffalo

JOHN A. WRIGHT, Interim Superintendent, Normandy School District

COLIN GORDON, University of Iowa

Gallery IV

Law and the State in the Early Frontier

Chair/Commentator:
PETER KASTOR, Washington University

ROMAN HOYOS, University of Chicago, Illinois
The Limits of Popular Sovereignty: The Law of Constitutional Conventions from the First American Revolution to the Second

HONOR SACHS, Yale University
From Colonial Backcountry to National Frontier: Race, Gender and State Formation in Eighteenth-Century Kentucky

STEFAN HEUMANN, University of Pennsylvania
Built in the West: Territorial Expansion and State-Building in the Antebellum U. S.

Gallery V

The Politics of Exclusion and U. S. Women's Struggle for Inclusion: Historical Perspectives

Chair: LIETTE GIDLOW, Wayne State University

MARY FARMER-KAISER, University of Louisiana, Lafayette
'The Greatest Judicial Outrage History has Ever Recorded!': United States v. Susan Anthony and the Constitutionalism of the New Departure

MEREDITH CLARK-WILTZ, Ohio State University
Reconstructing Constitutions and Citizenship: Women and Jury Service after the Reconstruction Amendments

SHEILA JONES, Bowling Green State University
The Economics of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: Working Women and Citizenship Rights, 1975-1981

ERIN KEMPKER, Purdue University
Feminists and Conservatives at the Indiana International Women's Year Conference, 1977

Commentator:
EILEEN MCDONAGH, Northeastern University

Gallery VI

Du Bois's Dilemma: Policy History Methods and Approaches in the Field of Africana Studies

Chair/Commentator:
TBD

ZACHERY R. WILLIAMS, University of Akron
Meeting of the Minds: Howard Public Intellectuals, Africana Policy Studies, and the Creation of Black Studies Institutes

TARA A. JABBAAR-GYAMBRAH, University of Buffalo
Gender and Culture: The Shaping of British Colonial Education Policy in West Africa

MICHAEL M. KITHINJI, Bowling Green State University
Setting the Stage: University Policies in Postcolonial Kenya, 1963-1978

SENECA VAUGHT, Niagara University
Thug's Law: How Post-Civil Rights Policy Created African American Outlaw Culture, 1966-1999

Gallery VII

Beating Back Defeat: The Conservative Movement's Response to 1964

Chair/Commentator:
GREGORY SCHNEIDER, Emporia State University

SETH OFFENBACH, State University of New York, Stony Brook
M. A. D. About You: Détente, Vietnam, and the Transformation of American Conservatism

JEFFERSON A. DECKER, Columbia University
The Rights Revolution on the Right: Conservative Legal Activism in the Reagan Era

NICOLE R. HEMMER, Columbia University
After the Storm: Conservative Media and the Goldwater Campaign

Gallery VIII

New Perspectives on American Political Parties

Chair/Commentator:
ANDREW REHFELD, Washington University

DANIEL DISALVO, Amherst College
Party Factions in Presidential Nominations

DANIEL GALVIN, Northwestern University
Parties as Political Institutions in American Political Development

ROBERT SALDIN, Johns Hopkins University
Wars and American Party Change

▽ Thursday, May 29, 1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Gallery I

Conservatives in Power

Chair/Commentator:
TBD

WILL CRAFTON, University of Chicago
'An Incremental Revolution': Ronald Reagan and the State Assumption of Welfare

BRIAN J. GLENN, Emerson College
Conservatives and American Political Development

BEVERLY GAGE, Yale University
Conservative Power in the Liberal Age: Rethinking J. Edgar Hoover

Gallery IV

Schools and State Building in Twentieth-Century America

Chair/Commentator:
BRIAN BALOGH, University of Virginia

JOAN MALCZEWSKI, New York University
Approximate Rather than Absolute Justice: Education and Political Development in the Jim Crow South

TRACY L. STEFFES, Brown University
National School Reform, Federalism, and American State-Building, 1890-1940

PATRICK J. MCGUINN, Drew University
Negotiated Federalism: The U. S. Department of Education and the Expansion of National Administrative Power over Schools

Gallery V

Federal Housing Policy and Grassroots Social Movements in the Twentieth Century

Chair: DAVID M. P. FREUND, University of Maryland

CHRISTOPHER BONASTIA, Lehman College
The Impotence of Federal Housing Desegregation Efforts, 1969-1980

LILY GEISMER, University of Michigan
An Open Door: Suburban Grassroots Organizing and Fair Housing Law in Massachusetts in the 1960s

PATRICIA HAMPSON, Rutgers University
African-Americans in Interwar Montclair: The Racial Politics of Space

Commentator: TODD SWANSTROM, Saint Louis University

Gallery VI

The Moral Equivalent of War: The Genesis and Fate of 1970s American Energy Policy

Chair/Commentator: JOE PRATT, University of Houston

JASON P. THERIOT, University of Houston
The Development and Demise of the Agrifuels Ethanol Plant, 1978-1988

JOSEPH A. STROMBERG, University of Houston
Harassing the Atom: Nuclear Regulatory Failure in Texas

ROBERT LIFSET, University of Houston
Killed by Ideology? The Fate of American Energy Conservation Policy

Gallery VII

Competing Visions of Political Economy in the Industrial Age

Chair: DEREK HOFF, Kansas State University

DREW VANDECREEK, Northern Illinois University
Simon Patten, Joseph Willits, and the Search for 'Voluntary Socialism'

JONATHAN CHAUSOVSKY, SUNY, Fredonia
Creating the Rules of American Capitalism: States, Courts, and Corporations in the American Political Economy, 1865-1900

YAFFA EPSTEIN, University of Minnesota
From Emission to Pollution: Regulation and the Changing Conception of the Right to Pollute in the Twin Cities, 1890-19

DANIEL HOLT, University of Virginia
Beyond Shares in the 'Blue Sky': State Securities Regulation and the Institutions of America's Financial Markets, 1911-1925

Commentator: MARK H. ROSE, Florida Atlantic University

Gallery VIII

Civil Rights in the University

Chair/Commentator:
MARIS VINOVSIS, University of Michigan

SVEN H. DUBIE, John Carroll University
Civil Rights and the Ivory Tower: Academics, Lawyers, and the Transformation of Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Policies in the mid-20th Century

ANTHONY S. CHEN, University of Michigan and
LISA M. STULBERG, New York University
Beyond Disruption: The Forgotten Origins of Affirmative Action in College and University Admissions, 1961-1969

Gallery VIII Continued

CHRISTINE D. MYERS, Independent Scholar
'Slipped in By the Side Door': The Acceptance & Education of Women at the University of Glasgow, 1868-1934

▽ **Thursday, May 30, 3:15 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.**

Gallery I

PLENARY: Did 1968 Change History? Two Perspectives

Chair/Commentator:
 JULIAN ZELIZER, Princeton University

BYRON SHAFER, University of Wisconsin-Madison

NELSON LICHTENSTEIN, University of California, Santa Barbara

▽ **Friday, May 30, 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.**

Gallery I

Shifting Conceptions of Race and Citizenship:
 Immigration, Multiracialism, and Racial Identity

Chair/Commentator: PAUL FRYMER, University of Southern California

JENNIFER HOCHSCHILD, Harvard University,
 BRENNAN POWELL, Harvard University and,
 VESLA WEAVER, University of Virginia
Multiracialism Then and Now

VICTORIA HATTAM, New School for Social Research and
 CARLOS YESCAS, New School for Social Research
Transnational Coalitions: Boston Immigrant Rallies and the New Politics of Opposition

MARK SAWYER, University of California, Los Angeles
Blacks, Race, and Republicanism in the Americas

CEDRIC S. SAGE, University of Delaware
Anatomy of a Large-Scale Regularization Policy: The French 1981-83 Legalization Program in Historical Perspective

Gallery IV

Works, Works, and the Legacy of New Deal Liberalism

Chair/Commentator:
 JASON SCOTT SMITH, University of New Mexico

STEVEN ATTEWELL, University of California, Santa Barbara
First Objective of Reform: Public Employment and the Committee on Economic Security

LAWRENCE RICHARDS, Miami University, Ohio
The Bonus March and the New Deal: The Role of National Belonging and National Obligation in Social Welfare Provision

GUIAN MCKEE, University of Virginia
The Philadelphia Plan at Home: Affirmative Action, Local Liberalism, and Post-New Deal Employment Policy

ERIK TRUMP, Saginaw Valley State University
The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of New York City's New Deal Zoos

Gallery VI

The Cold War University and Beyond

Chair/Commentator:
 MICHAEL BERNSTEIN, Tulane University

BRUCE HEVLY, University of Washington
Interdisciplinary Studies in the Cold War

CHRISTOPHER LOSS, Vanderbilt University
Diversity in the University from the Great Society to the Michigan Decisions

MARGARET PUGH O'MARA, University of Washington
The Global University: Public Policy and the Internationalization of American Higher Education

PHILIP ROCCO, University of Pennsylvania
'A Future Better for All of Us: RAND, Cold War, Interdisciplinarity, and Networks of Expertise

Gallery V

Media and Conservative Politics in Postwar America

Chair: BRUCE J. SCHULMAN, Boston University

MARK NEVIN, University of Virginia
Polling, the Media, and the Making of the Silent Majority, 1969-1970

JUSTIN COFFEY, Quincy University
Becoming Nixon's Nixon: Spiro Agnew's Media Attacks

BRYAN THRIFT, Tougaloo College
Jesse Helms: Canceling ABC News

STEPHANIE ROLPH, Mississippi State University
From Marginal to Mainstream: White Resistance, Conservative Media, and the Concealment of Race, 1957-1966

Commentator: DAVID GREENBERG, Rutgers University

Gallery VII

Tax and Welfare Policy and Politics in the United States: 1950 to the Present

Chair: JAMES MORONE, Brown University

MOLLY C. MICHELMORE, Washington & Lee University
From Reform to Reduction: Tax Politics and the State in the 1970s

Gallery VII Continued

CHRISTY CHAPIN, University of Virginia
Organizing the Private Health Care Market: The Intersection of Business and Federal Policy during the 1950s

JEREMY JOHNSON, Brown University
The Contours of the Welfare State in a Republican Era

Commentator: BRIAN BALOGH, University of Virginia

Gallery VIII

Complicating Suburban and Urban White Backlash

Chair/Commentator:
DAVID FREUND, University of Maryland, College Park

PETER SISKIND, Arcadia University
The Many Meanings of 'Home Rule': The Politics of Suburban Affordable Housing in 1970s New York

ANDREA GILL, University of California, Santa Barbara
Upholding the 'Right' to Discriminate: The California Real Estate

KAREN FERGUSON, Simon Fraser University
Complicating the New York City Schools Crisis: The Ford Foundation and the White Ethnic Architects of Community Control

▽ **Friday, May 30, 10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.**

Gallery I

The Conservative Revolution, Public Policy, and the Challenges of Power, 1969-1988

Chair:
DONALD T. CRITCHLOW, Saint Louis University

MEG JACOBS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Foxes in the Henhouse: How Conservatives Inside the Government Shifted the State to the Right

JULIAN ZELIZER, Princeton University
Conservatives in Power: Ronald Reagan and the Politics of National Security

JOHN DINAN, Wake Forest University
Consequences of Supreme Court Decisions for the Development of American Federalism

Commentators:
ROBERT COLLINS, University of Missouri

GARY GERSTLE, Vanderbilt University

Gallery IV

Bringing Capitalism Back In: The Market, the State, and Policy History

Chair/Commentator: WILLIAM NOVAK, University of Chicago

STEPHEN MIHM, University of Georgia
Advertising the State: Flash Notes and Federal Control of the Currency in Nineteenth-Century America

GAIL RADFORD, SUNY, Buffalo
Economic Activism by the Public Sector: The Case of the Federal Land Banks

JASON SCOTT SMITH, University of New Mexico
Twentieth-Century Capitalism and International Development: Exporting the New Deal

Gallery V

Governing the Twentieth Century: U. S. Governors and Public Policy

Chair:
ETHAN SRIBNICK, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library

SALADIN M. AMBAR, Rutgers University
Rise of the Hudson Progressives: Roosevelt, Wilson, and the New American Executive, 1881-1911

AJAY K. MEHROTRA, Indiana University School of Law, Bloomington
To Lay and Collect: American Governors, Fiscal Federalism, and the Political Economy of Twentieth-Century Tax Policy

MARIS A. VINOVSIS, University of Michigan
Gubernatorial Leadership and American K-12 Education Reform

Commentator: JON C. TEAFORD, Purdue University

Gallery VI

Shifting Boundaries: Public, Private, and Media Policy in the United States, 1930-1973

Chair/Commentator:
PAULA BAKER, Ohio State University

DAVID HAUS, Bowling Green State University
Radio is an Extension of the Home: Protecting Private Space from Vulgarity, 1930-1954

LAURA WITTERN-KELLER, University of Albany, SUNY
The Turning Point: The Supreme Court and Movie Freedom in the 1950s

LEIGH ANN WHEELER, Bowling Green State University
Publicizing Sex: How the American Civil Liberties Union Liberated Media, 1965-1973

Gallery VII

Gender and Policy

Chair/Commentator:
ALICE O'CONNOR, University of California, Santa Barbara

EILEEN McDONAGH, Northeastern University
When the State Acts Like a Woman: A Policy Feedback Model of Women's Political Representation

Gallery VII Continued

ERIN MCKENNA, Bowling Green State University
Embryonic Policies: In Vitro Fertilization in the United States

FREIDA FUCHS, College of Wooster
Paternalism, Patriarchy, and Women's Welfare: The Case of Protective Labor Legislation in Britain and France

Gallery VIII

Who's Capturing Whom? Rethinking Public and Private Power in the Postwar Administrative State

Chair:
DANIEL ERNST, Georgetown University Law Center

ANNE KORNHAUSER, Princeton University
'Groups Less Well Organized': Liberal Anxieties and the American Leviathan State

SOPHIA Z. LEE, Yale University
Entrenchment: Public Interest Organizations and the Making of a Civil Rights State

STEPHEN R. PORTER, University of Chicago
From Voluntary Agencies to State Sub-Contractors: Hybrid Governance and Cuban Exiles in the Cold War

Commentator: BRIAN BALOGH, University of Virginia

▽ **Friday, May 30, 1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.****Gallery I**

The Politics of Social Policy in the United States: A Twenty-Year Retrospective

Chair: CHRISTOPHER HOWARD, College of William & Mary

EDWIN AMENTA, University of California, Irvine

ROBERT LIEBERMAN, Columbia University

ALICE O'CONNOR, University of California, Santa Barbara

Gallery IV

Revisiting Modern American Elections

Chair/Commentator:
ROBERT COLLINS, University of Missouri

RICHARD FRIED, University of Illinois, Chicago
"Operation Polecat": Tom Dewey and the Communist Issue in 1948

WILLIAM RORABAUGH, University of Washington
Kennedy vs. Nixon: New Thoughts about the 1960 Election

JAMES L. BAUGHMAN, University of Wisconsin
Almost Truman: Gerald Ford's 1976 Media Campaign

Gallery IV

Public Policy in the Era of Dwight Eisenhower

Chair/Commentator: CHESTER PACH, Ohio University

WILLIAM BECKER, George Washington University and
WILLIAM MCCLENAHAN, University of Maryland
Eisenhower and the Economy

DAVID STEBENNE, Ohio State University
Republicanism in the Eisenhower Era

MICHAEL D. BOWEN, University of Florida
Eisenhower, the Republicans, and the South

Gallery VI

Going Public: Localism and State Development in Early Twentieth Century America

Chair/Commentator:
M. ELIZABETH SANDERS, Cornell University

GREGORY P. DOWNS, City College of New York
Dry Land: The Punitive State in Prohibition North Carolina

DANIEL AMSTERDAM, University of Pennsylvania
The Roaring Public: Reconceiving State Development in 1920s America

DAVID LEVITUS, University of Southern California
Generating a "New Deal" Leadership in Los Angeles

Gallery VII

The Metropolitan Paradox

Chair/Commentator: COLIN GORDON, University of Iowa

AMY WIDESTROM, Syracuse University
Zoned Out: The Impact of Urban Renewal Policies on Organizational Capacity of Voluntary Associations in Inner-City Neighborhoods

RICHARDSON DILWORTH, Drexel University
Metropolitan Fragmentation as an Evolutionary Process: Comparing Expansionist Efforts in Newark and Houston

PETER F. BURNS, Dartmouth College
How History Affected Policy in Post-Katrina New Orleans

Gallery VIII

Privatizing Public Policy and Public Services: Origins and Impacts

Chair/Commentator:
EILEEN BORIS, University of California, Santa Barbara

JANE BERGER, Ohio State University
Threat to All Public Employees, Threat to All Public Services: Privatization, Race, and Gender in Baltimore

Gallery VIII Continued

DAVID ERICKSON, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco
Caring Capitalism: How Housing Advocates, the Private Business Sector, and Government Forged New Low-Income Housing Policy

GUIAN MCKEE, University of Virginia
From National Planning to Public-Private Coalitions: Reassessing Privatization in Urban Economic Development Policy, 1937-1982

ANDREW MORRIS, Union College
Privatizing Human Services: The Nonprofit Sector and the Contracting State

▽ **Friday, May 30, 3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.**

Gallery I

Defining Rights Outside the Courts in Cold War America

Chair:
MARY L. DUDZIAK, University of Southern California Law School

JOANNA L. GRISINGER, Clemson University
Procedural Bulwarks and Subversive Threats: Internal Security Procedures in Cold War America

CHRISTOPHER W. SCHMIDT, American Bar Foundation
The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Congressional Interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment

H. TIMOTHY LOVELACE, JR., University of Virginia
South African Americans: SNCC, Atlanta Apartheid, and the Development of the United Nations' Race Convention

NEAL ALLEN, College of St. Benedict and St. John's University
The Supreme Court, Backlash, and the Defense of White Supremacy: Judicial Decisions as Change Agents in American Political Development

Commentator: JAMES SPARROW, University of Chicago

Gallery IV

The Religious Issue in the 1960 Presidential Election

Chair:
GARY A. DONALDSON, Xavier University of Louisiana

ROBERT FLEGLER, University of Mississippi
The Last Time a Barrier was Broken: JFK, Catholicism, and the 1960 Election

STEVEN P. MILLER, Goshen College
Dilemmas of the Neo-Evangelical Project: Billy Graham, Richard Nixon, and the 1960 Election

DANIEL K. WILLIAMS, University of West Georgia
'A Protestant Strategy for the Sixties': The Effect of the 1960 Presidential Election

Commentator: THOMAS J. CARTY, Springfield College

Gallery V

Regional Dimensions of Environmental Policy

Chair/Commentator: PAUL MILAZZO, Ohio University

DARREN F. SPEECE, University of Maryland, College Park
From Corporatism to Citizen Oversight in Postwar Environmental Politics: The Fight over California Redwoods

MATTHEW BLOOM, Bowling Green State University
Ohio Ditch Laws: Land Use Policies, Environmental Attitudes, and Economic Development in Mid-Nineteenth Century Ohio

ERICA A. MORIN, Purdue University
Contextualizing the Adirondack Wind Energy Park Debate: Incorporating Environmental History into Environmental Policy-Making

DOROTHY KENNY, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
Seeing through Smoke: Sorting through the Science of British Environmental Policy following the 1952 London 'Killer Fog'

Gallery VI

Apostles of Black Capitalism: Booker T. Washington, Richard Nixon, and Oprah

Chair/Commentator:
JONATHAN J. BEAN, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

ROBERT NORRELL, University of Tennessee, Knoxville
Into the Lions' Den: Booker T. Washington and Voting Policy in the Age of Disfranchisement

ROBERT E. WEEMS, JR., University of Missouri, Columbia
Richard Nixon's Promotion of 'Black Capitalism': A Multi-Faceted Phenomenon

JULIET E. K. WALKER, University of Texas, Austin
The Double Os, Oprah and Obama, A Double Victory? Power to the People, Wealth, Celebrity and Politics in the Age of Information Technology

Gallery VII

Security, Rights, and War

Chair/Commentator: JULIAN ZELIZER, Princeton University

DONALD C. EBERLE, Bowling Green State University
'An Organization Composed of Cranks and Religious Fanatics': Investigating the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World during World War I and the Limitations of Confidential Informants

Gallery VII Continued

DANIEL J. SMYTH, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
The U. S. Press and National Security in Four Wars: World War I, World War II, the Vietnam War, and the War on Terrorism

WILLIAM BENDIX and
 PAUL QUIRK, University of British Columbia
Deliberating the Trade-off Between Security and Democracy: The Politics of the USA Patriot Act, 2001-2007

Gallery VIII

The State and the Stork: Population and American Political Development

Chair/Commentator: JAMES REED, Rutgers University

DEREK HOFF, Kansas State University, PANEL CONTACT
The 'Stepchild of Overpopulation': Poverty, Progressives, and Revival of Malthusianism

TRENT MACNAMARA, Columbia University
'Baby Bust! The 1930s Fertility Crisis and the American Polity

THOMAS ROBERTSON, Worcester Polytechnic Institute
The End of the Cold War Consensus and American Population Policy in the 1970s

▽ **Friday, May 30, 5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.****Gallery I**

PLENARY: How Does the Nineteenth Century Matter in Policy History?

Chair/Commentator:
 PAULA BAKER, Ohio State University

ROBIN EINHORN, University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD BENSEL, Cornell University

WILLIAM J. NOVAK, University of Chicago

▽ **Saturday, May 31, 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.****Gallery I**

The Happy Marriage of Women's History and Policy History: The Work of Jane Sherron De Hart

Chair: MATHEW A. SUTTON, Oakland University

DONNA M. BINKIEWICZ, California State University, Long Beach
Directions in Arts Policy History

EILEEN BORIS, University of California, Santa Barbara
Politicizing Women's History, Engendering Policy History

GRETCHEN RITTER, University of Texas, Austin
Gender, the 'War on Terror' and American Democratization

LEANDRA ZARNOW, University of California, Santa Barbara
On the Writing of Feminist Biography

Commentators:

LINDA K. KERBER, University of Iowa

JANE SHERRON DE HART, University of California, Santa Barbara

Gallery IV

U. S. Foreign and Domestic Development Policy

Chair: JESSICA WANG, University of British Columbia

KEVIN ARMITAGE, Miami University
Making Scientists, but Keeping Them on the Farm: The Country Life Movement as Development Policy

AMANDA KAY MCVETY, Miami University
An Economic Interpretation of U. S. Development Policy

JESSICA BREITENEICHER ELKIND, San Francisco State University
Development Policy in Action: A Case Study of the International Voluntary Services in South Vietnam, 1956-1965

Commentator: HAMILTON CRAVENS, Iowa State University

Gallery V

Disaster Policy

Chair/Commentator: MARC LANDY, Boston College

MARTHA DERTHICK, University of Virginia

STEVE THOMAS, Ohio Dominican

Gallery VI

Political Economy in Nineteenth-Century America

Chair: MARK W. SUMMERS, University of Kentucky

SHARON ANN MURPHY, Providence College
Public Interest, Private Industry: Life Insurance and the State in Antebellum America

PHILLIP W. MAGNESS, George Mason University
Policy Entrepreneurship and the Warehousing Act of 1846

GAUTHAM RAO, University of Chicago
The Warehousing Act of 1846 and the Centralization of American Capitalism, 1846-1878

Gallery VI Continued

JOSHUA SALZMAN, University of Illinois at Chicago
Safe Harbor: Justice Stephen Field's Instrumentalist Understanding of the Public Trust Doctrine in Illinois Central v. Illinois (1892)

Commentator:
ROBIN EINHORN, University of California, Berkeley

Gallery VII

Reconsidering Inner-City Poverty

Chair/Commentator:
BRUCE SCHULMAN, Boston University

MARK SANTOW, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth
'A Prize Piece of Political Pornography': Saul Alinsky, Black Poverty, and the Limits of the War on Poverty

FRANK STRICKER, California State University
Labor Gluts and the 1970s Turning Point: A Failure of American Anti-Poverty Ideas

DEVIN FERGUS, Vanderbilt University
Deregulation, or the Origins of Today's Ghetto Tax, 1974-1979

Gallery VIII

Disability, Labor, and Policy in America

Chair/Commentator:
EDWARD BERKOWITZ, George Washington University

SARAH ROSE, University of Illinois, Chicago
War Heroes or Unproductive Citizens? Disabled Veterans and Vocational Rehabilitation, 1917-1930

AUDRA JENNINGS, Ohio State University, GS
From Derelict to Productive Citizen: People with Disabilities in War and Work, 1940-1945

JOHN WILLIAMS-SEARLE, The College of Saint Rose, AT
Risk, Disability, and Citizenship: U. S. Railroaders and the Federal Employers' Liability Act

▽ **Saturday, May 31, 10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.**

Gallery I

ROUNDTABLE: Partisan Politics and War

Chair/Commentator:
PAUL QUIRK, University of British Columbia

MARK NEELY, Pennsylvania State University

ADAM BERINSKY, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

JULIAN ZELIZER, Princeton University

Gallery IV

Children, Public Health, and the Role of the State

Chair: ADAM SHEINGATE, Johns Hopkins University

COLLEEN GROGAN, University of Chicago,
Public Health's Ironic Role in Forestalling National Health Insurance

DAN GITTERMAN AND CHRISTEN HOLLY, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Varieties of Federalism and the State Children's Health Insurance Program: A Conceptual Framework

RICK MAYES, University of Richmond
Medicating Kids: The Tipping Point for ADHD and Stimulants

Commentator: TBD

Gallery V

Business, Trade, and Politics in the Mid-Twentieth Century

Chair/Commentator:
DAVID B. ROBERTSON, University of Missouri, St. Louis

MCGEE YOUNG, Marquette University
Constructing an Advocacy Coalition: The RTAA and the Emergence of Free Trade in America

GERALD BERK, University of Oregon
Outside the Box, or Why the Shipping Container Code Contravenes Everything we Thought we Knew About the National Recovery Administration

LAURA D. PHILLIPS, University of Virginia
Fair Trade Policy in America, 1890-1940: Federalism and the Origins of the Miller Tydings Act

STEPHEN AMBERG, University of Texas, San Antonio
Having it Both Ways: The Regional Politics of High and Low Labor Standards in U. S. Trade Policy

Gallery VI

Social Policy in the Colonies

Chair/Commentator: TBD

JOHN MURPHY, University of Melbourne
The Pauper in the New World: On Not having a Poor Law in the Colonies

MARGARET TENNANT, Massey University
'There are no Paupers in New Zealand': The Legacy of Public Relief in New Zealand

MICHELLE DUROSS, SUNY, Albany
Legal Remedy: Divorce in Revolutionary New York

Gallery VII

Educational Policy

Chair/Commentator:

PATRICK MCGUINN, Drew University

LESLIE LEIGHNINGER, Arizona State University
*Positioning Head Start in the 1960s*VANESSA PEREZ, Columbia University
*The Retrenchment of Bilingual Education in America, 1968-2001: A Policy Feedback Approach*BENEDICT ROBERT, Sciences Po
*Title I: Social Learning and Paradigm Change, 1988-2002***Gallery VIII**

The Politics of Veterans Policy: Defining and Challenging Post-War Liberalism, 1944-1984

Chair/Commentator:

STEPHEN R. ORTIZ, Bowling Green State University

NANCY BECK YOUNG, University of Houston
*The World the War Made: Congress, the G. I. Bill of Rights, and Postwar Domestic Reconversion*CHARLOTTE CAHILL, Northwestern University
*'Macho Used to Be an Okay Thing': Conservatism and Vietnam Veterans in the 1970s*MARK BOULTON, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa
Federal Debates over Citizenship and Military Service in the Passage of the 1966 Cold War G. I. Bill▽ **Saturday, May 31, 1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.****Gallery I**

ROUNDTABLE: Rethinking the Cold War: A Discussion

Chair: CHESTER PACH, Ohio University

ROBERT MCMAHON, Ohio State University

BILL MISCAMBLE, Notre Dame University

GREGG BRAZINSKI, George Washington University

Gallery IV

Nineteenth-Century Economy, Law, and Politics

Chair/Commentator:

ADAM SILVER, Boston University, GS, PS
*The Prevalence of Economic Versus Culture in Nineteenth-Century American State and Party Platforms*MATTHEW E. STANLEY, Olney Central College
*'Purely Military Matters': John A. McClernand and Civil Liberties in Early Civil War Cairo, Illinois*RICK L. WOTEN, Iowa State University
*Boosterism, Statehood, and Law: The Politics of Improvement in Nineteenth-Century Iowa***Gallery V**

Female Empowerment in mid-Century

Chair/Commentator: TBD

TANYA L. ROTH, Washington University
*Experimentation, Efficiency, and Equality: Creating a Sexually-Integrated U. S. Military after World War II*MARK CROWLEY, British Postal Museum and Archive, University of London
*The Second World War and Increased Female Recruitment to the General Post Office, 1939-45*CHRISTINE MCKENNA, Emmanuel College
*Ideology, Institutions, and the Development of Federal Child Care Subsidies, 1954-1971***Gallery VI**

Riots, Race, and Crime in Modern America

Chair: JAMES REED, Rutgers University

MICHAEL FLAMM, Ohio Wesleyan University
*In the Heat of Summer: The Political and Policy Implications of the Harlem Riot of 1964*AHARON ZOREA, University of Wisconsin, Richland
*A Liberal Democrat on Everything But Organized Crime: Dissenting Democrats on Law and Order, 1968-1970*ALAN PETIGNY, University of Florida
Race and Crime in the Sixties and Seventies

Commentators:

DARYL MICHAEL SCOTT, Howard University
JAMES REED, Rutgers University**Gallery VII**

Labor and Policy

Chair/Commentator:

NELSON LICHTENSTEIN, University of California, Santa Barbara

MARTIN R. WEST, Brown University
*Bargaining with Authority: The Political Origins of Public Sector Collective Bargaining*MICHELE M. HOYMAN, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill and DIANE SCHMIDT, California State University
Is There Policy Delivery Variation Across the Administrative Regions of the National Labor Relations Board?

Gallery VIII

Social Security

Chair: ROBERT LIEBERMAN, Columbia University

ANDREW MEADE MCGEE, University of Virginia
*Technology as Policy: Computers and the Social Security Administration*MARC GOLDWEIN, New America Foundation
*Riding the Third Rail: Social Security under George W. Bush*LARRY DEWITT, Social Security Administration
The History of Gender Distinctions in the United States Social Security Program

Commentator: EDWIN AMENTA, University of California, Irvine

▽ **Saturday, May 31, 3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.****Gallery I**

ROUNDTABLE: The Learning Curve: Lessons of Education Policy in Modern America

Moderator: JEFF HENIG, Teacher's College, Columbia University

JOHN SKRENTNY, University of California, San Diego

KATHLEEN JILL FRYDL, University of California, Berkeley

J. MARTIN ROCHESTER, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Gallery IV

The Organizational Challenge and the Reemergence of Liberal Individualism

Chair: M. ELIZABETH SANDERS, Cornell University

JAMES BLOCK, DePaul University
*Progressive Child Development and the Return to Individualism*JAMES SPARROW, University of Chicago
*The Opening Act of the Rights Revolution*DAVID CIEPLEY, University of Denver
Totalitarianism Nightmares and the Retreat to Liberal Individualism

Commentator: ELDON EISENACH, University of Tulsa

Gallery V

New Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century American Political History

Chair: RICHARD BENDEL, Cornell University

GAUTHAM RAO, University of Chicago, Illinois
*Jefferson v. The Mercantile State: Rethinking the Failure of the Embargo*KYLE G. VOLK, University of Montana, Missoula
*The Rights Association & the Nineteenth-century American State*MATTHEW C. SHERMAN, Saint Louis University
*Presidential Protection Policy during the Civil War and Reconstruction*LISA ANDERSEN, The Juilliard School
*The Perils of Well-Meant Reform: The Prohibition Party Perspective on the Secret Ballot*Commentator:
MARK NEELY, Pennsylvania State University**Gallery VI**

Religion and Politics in the Twentieth Century

Chair/Commentator: MARK HERLIHY, Endicott College

RANDALL STEPHENS, Eastern Nazarene College
*The Politics of Apocalypse: The Politicization of American Pentecostals*JONATHAN BAER, Wabash College
*Faith Healing and the Law: Early Pentecostal Conflict*BRYAN MCGRAW, Wheaton College
*A First Casualty? The Narrowed Scope of Religious Liberty and the Prospects for Limited Government***Gallery VII**

Envisioning the Political Whole

Chair/Commentator:
DANIEL DISALVO, Amherst CollegeFORREST NABORS, University of Oregon
*The Methodological Model of the Political Whole in Studying American Political Development*BARTHOLOMEW SPARROW, University of Texas, Austin
*The Geography of American Political Development: Security, Space, and Citizenship*ANN-MARIE SZYMANSKI, University of Oklahoma, Norman
*Transformations in Regulatory Policy and the Decline of the Amateur***Gallery VIII**

Reproductive Justice: Policies, Politics, and Protest

Chair:
EILEEN BORIS, University of California, Santa BarbaraLENA MCQUADE, University of California, Santa Barbara
*New Mexico's Reproductive Health Policies: Midwifery, Race, and Professionalism*LISA LEVENSTEIN, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Welfare Policy and Reproductive Justice in the United States

Gallery VIII Continued

ANDREA SMITH, University of Michigan
Native Women's Organizing for Reproductive Justice

RICKIE SOLINGER, Independent Scholar
The First Welfare Case: Challenging the Meaning of Marriage, the Meaning of Money, and the Meanings of History after the Voting Rights Movement in Selma, Alabama

Commentator: JOHANNA SCHOEN, University of Iowa

▽ **Saturday, May 31, 5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.****Gallery I**

PLENARY: Paul Starr and the Transformation of American Medicine

Chair/Commentator: JAMES MOHR, University of Oregon

PAUL STARR, Princeton University

JENNIFER KLEIN, Yale University

ROSEMARY STEVENS, University of Pennsylvania

▽ **Sunday, June 1, 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.****Gallery V**

Morality, Memory, and the Cold War

Chair: WILSON D. MISCAMBLE, University of Notre Dame

RICHARD M. FILIPINK, JR., Western Illinois University
'The Long Twilight Struggle': Remaking the Memory of John F. Kennedy's Foreign Policy

CHRISTOPHER HICKMAN, George Washington University
The Kennedy Administration's Alliance for Progress and the Policy Burdens of the Marshall Plan

MICHAEL JANSON, University of Pennsylvania
Protestant Moralism and the Origins of the Cold War

ITAI SNEH, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY
The Periphery Becomes the Core: Institutional Integration of Human Rights in U. S. Foreign Policy

Commentator: ROBERT MCMAHON, Ohio State University

Gallery I

Ideas and American Political Development

Chair: STEPHEN PIMPARE, Yeshiva University

GWENDOLINE ALPHONSO, Cornell University
The Roots of Family Policy: Partisan Ideas of the Healthy American Family in the Progressive Era

DANIEL KENNEY, Dickinson College
State Repression, Ideas, and APD: Shifting Notions of Domestic Security, 1877-1920

DANIEL SLEDGE, Cornell University
Before the Backlash: The Federal Government and Public Health in the South, 1921-1948

ROBERT D. LEIGHNINGER, JR., Arizona State University
Federal Oversight: A New Deal Model Revisited

ZACHARY CALLEN, University of Chicago
From the Outside In: Local Governments and State Building

Commentator:
ADAM SHEINGATE, Johns Hopkins University

Gallery VI

Reform at the Turn of the Century

Chair/Commentator:
GUY ALCHON, University of Delaware

ARIANE LIAZOS, Harvard University, PS, GS
'Expert Administrators in Popular Government': Political Science, Municipal Reform, and the Rise of Expert Models of Governance, 1900-1920

BARBARA BRIDGMAN PERKINS, Independent Scholar
Hospital Surveys and Progressive Reforms

MATTHEW S. R. BEWIG, University of Florida
Trans-Atlantic Bakery Reform Movements in the Fin de Siècle Era

STEPHANIE HUNTER MCMAHON, TBD
What Does it All Mean? The Rhetorical Power of the Income Tax in the United States, 1861-1918

▽ Sunday, June 1, 10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.

Gallery IV

Race, Pluralism, and the State

Chair: ANDREW HUBNER, University of Alabama

JEFFREY DEMSKY, Independent Scholar
Considering Racial Rhetoric in the Nixon White House: Expressions of Elite Backlash against Cultural Pluralism

DAVID BEITO, University of Alabama
'The Richer Gift of Individualism': Zora Neale Hurston on the State, War, and Race

JEFF MANUAL and ANDY URBAN, University of Minnesota
"The Backlash as a Conflict Over Expertise: Ideologies of Government in Mayor Charles Stenvig's Minneapolis, 1969-1977"

Commentator: ALAN PETIGNY, University of Florida

Gallery V

ROUNDTABLE: Suburbanization: Reflections on the State of the Field

Chair/Commentator:
TBD

MATT LASSITER, University of Michigan

JOSHUA ZEITZ, Cambridge University

Gallery VI

Political Economy in the Nineteenth Century

Chair/Commentator:
JEFFREY PASLEY, University of Missouri, Columbia

STEVEN J. MACIAS, University of California, Berkeley
The Effect of Political Economy on the Science of Law in the Early Republic, 1800-1850

WILLIAM D. ADLER, CUNY, Graduate Center
Who Commands? Coercion and Economic Development in the Early Republic

LOREN GATCH, University of Central Oklahoma
The Clearinghouse Certificate as a Cash Substitute

ALLISON BROWNELL TIRRES, Depaul University College of Law
The Railroad and the Courthouse: National Policies and Local Law in a Border Community