THE URBAN HISTORY GROUP

Annual Conference

URBAN POVERTY: WEALTH, INEQUALITY AND EXPERIENCE, 1600-2014

University of Warwick, UK

27 – 28 March 2014

Programme and Abstracts of Papers
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Conference Programme Resumé

Thursday 27 March

11.00-14.00 Registration

13.00-14.00 Lunch

14.00-15.30 **Session 1: Plenary Session**

*Power and the City: Contemporary Elite Formation in London*

15.30-16.00 Tea

16.00-17.30 **Session 2: Parallel Sessions**

2.1: Poverty and Urban Institutions in the UK under the New Poor Law
2.2: Measuring Segregation
2.3: Materiality and Inequality

17.45-19.15 **Session 3: New Researchers’ Workshops**

3.1: New Approaches to Urban History
3.2: Poverty and its ‘Solutions’
3.3: Culture, Identity and Place in the Contemporary City

20.00-21.30 Conference dinner

21.30-late Bar
Friday 28 March

08.00-08.45  Breakfast

09.00-10.30  **Session 4: Parallel Sessions**
  4.1: The Emotional Experiences of Urban Poverty
  4.2: Governing Inequality

10.30-11.00  Coffee

11.00-12.00  **Session 5: First-Year PhD Presentations**

12.15-13.15  **Session 6: Plenary Session**
  Investigating Inequality in Historical Perspective

13.15-14.00  Lunch

14.00  Conference ends
Conference Theme

Wealth and poverty, inequality and social justice figure prominently in urban history, as they do in contemporary society. This conference explores these interconnections in an effort to understand the ways by which urban poverty and wealth have been created, managed, experienced and reconceptualised. Do squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease – the ‘Five Giant Evils’ identified by William Beveridge (1942) – contribute equally as causes of poverty, or does historical research suggest some factors are more influential than others? Have policy initiatives and relief strategies focused on some factors to the exclusion of others? And if, as the Authorised Version of the English Bible states, ‘for the poor you have always with you’, how have towns and cities responded to this, for example, through segregation and regulation? The conference also explores the notion of urban wealth and how both cities and citizens have created wealth.

As such this year’s conference sessions cover ‘Materiality and Inequality’, ‘Measuring Segregation’, ‘The Emotional Experiences of Urban Poverty’, ‘Poverty and Urban Institutions’ and ‘Governing Inequality’. We also have the New Researchers Forum and, new for this year, 10-minute presentations by first-year PhD students which are all designed to generate feedback and discussion on the latest findings in the field and directions for future research. In order to theoretically frame the conference, we have opening and closing keynotes by Professor Mike Savage from the London School of Economics and Dr Pedro Ramos Pinto from the University of Cambridge. This is intended to set the conference in its historical and contemporary contexts and to highlight the key areas in which research in urban history is contributing, and can continue to contribute, to debates on urban inequalities.

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Conference Website

Abstracts and conference programme are available from the conference website which also contains links to registration:
(http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/urbanhistory/uhg).
Brief guide to conference arrangements

The conference will take place in the Ramphal Building on the Central Campus of the University of Warwick. The University is located in the heart of England, adjacent to the city of Coventry – 3 miles (5 kilometres) from the city centre – and on the border with Warwickshire.

Conference accommodation on campus
Ensuite accommodation will be in Arthur Vick or Jack Martin (Nos. 3 and 31 respectively on the campus map on page xi), which are located a short distance from the Ramphal Building (No.53). A campus map can also be found at: www2.warwick.ac.uk/about/visiting/maps/campusmap/

Check-in for residential delegates
On arrival, residential delegates should check in at Conference Reception in the Students Union Building (No. 62), where keys will be available from 15:00 – 23:00; a luggage storage facility is available for those arriving before 15:00. If you plan to arrive after 23:00, please advise Maureen Galbraith (ehsocsec@arts.gla.ac.uk); who will arrange for your bedroom key to be left with security at the Gatehouse (No. 19) for you to collect.

Registration
Registration will take place between 11:00 and 14:00 in the foyer of the Ramphal building. The registration desk will be staffed for the duration of the conference.

Car parking
Delegates may park, free of charge, in the car parks numbered: 7, 8, 8a and 15 on the campus map; please look out for the green Warwick Conferences signage to direct you to the car park and conference venues. In 8 or 8a, conference delegates need not pay and display. In 7 and 15 you will receive a blue token at the barrier, keep it with you and have it validated at the conference reception when you check in – the token is valid for 6 days.

Book displays
Publishers’ and booksellers’ displays will be in the Ramphal building.

Meals and Morning Tea/Afternoon Coffee
All meals will be served in the Rootes building. Breakfast and lunch in the dining room (Rootes Restaurant, 1st floor), the Thursday dinner in Chancellors Suite (Rootes building). Teas and coffees will be served in the Ramphal building.

Bar
The bar will be in the Rootes building.
Meeting rooms for sessions
All meeting rooms will be located in the Ramphal building.

Internet Access
There are computers (but not printers) available at Conference Reception in the Students Union Building. If you have your own mobile computer you can access the wifi network by requesting a login code at Conference Reception or at any of the Information Points around campus. Wifi access is available in all bedrooms using your login code, alternatively if you bring an Ethernet cable you can use a hardwired connection.

Useful Contacts
Warwick: Tel: +44 (0)2476 523 222 Email: conferences@warwick.ac.uk
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Maureen Galbraith Tel: +44 (0)141 330 4662 Email: ehsocsec@arts.gla.ac.uk
How to reach the University of Warwick

Comprehensive information on travelling to the University of Warwick can be found by following the links at: http://www.warwickconferences.com/about-us/how-to-find-us#tab-3

Regional location

(A copy of this map can be found at: www2.warwick.ac.uk/about/visiting/maps/access/)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typical Travel Times to Coventry</th>
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By Road: Using a Sat Nav

CV4 7AL – directs you to Gibbet Hill Road, the main road which runs through the University. Main campus (the Conference Park) is signposted from this road.

From the North

From the M69/M6 interchange (M6 Jct 2) take A46 towards Warwick and Coventry S & E. After approximately 3.5 miles you will reach Toll Bar End roundabout (junction with A45). At the roundabout, follow signs for A45 Birmingham. After approximately 3 miles you will cross the A429 (Kenilworth Road), half a mile after this junction take the left-hand turn signposted ‘University of Warwick’. Follow signs for University of Warwick (and Warwick Arts Centre) across two roundabouts. You are now approaching the University of Warwick from Kirby Corner Road.
**From the South East**
From M45 Jct 1 take A45 towards Coventry. After approximately 7 miles you will reach Toll Bar End roundabout (junction with A46) follow signs for A45 Birmingham. After approximately 3 miles you will cross the A429 (Kenilworth Road), half a mile after this junction take the left-hand turn signposted ‘University of Warwick’. Follow signs for University of Warwick (and Warwick Arts Centre) across two roundabouts. You are now approaching the University of Warwick from Kirby Corner Road.

**From the South**
From M40 Jct 15 take A46 towards Coventry. After approximately 8 miles leave A46 at junction signposted ‘University of Warwick and Stoneleigh’. After a further 1.5 miles you will cross the A429 (Kenilworth Road). You are now approaching the University of Warwick from Gibbet Hill Road.

**From the West**
From M42 Jct 6 take A45 towards Coventry. After approximately 9 miles you will pass a large Sainsbury store on your left. At the next roundabout (Fire Station on right) take the right-hand exit, signposted ‘University and Canley’. Follow signs for University of Warwick (and Warwick Arts Centre) across two roundabouts. You are now approaching the University of Warwick from Kirby Corner Road.

**By Rail**
The nearest railway station for the University of Warwick is **Coventry**. Coventry station is easily reached from London (Euston), Birmingham (New Street) and Leicester, all of which run regular and frequent services direct to Coventry. From Coventry station, there are frequent local bus services to the University. The station that serves Birmingham Airport is Birmingham (International).

Detailed travel information and timetables can be found at:
[http://nationalrail.co.uk/times_fares/](http://nationalrail.co.uk/times_fares/)

**By Bus**
Visitors should follow the signs from the station to Warwick Road (a 2-minute walk) and from there catch the Travel Coventry services 12/12A or U1 which travel onto the main campus. The Stagecoach service U1 travels along Warwick Road and onto the Central Campus. It is also possible to catch the Travel Coventry number 42 which goes to Cannon Park Shopping Centre which is a 5-10 minute walk from Central Campus.

**By Taxi**
Taxis are available from the railway station and Birmingham airport to the campus. A local Taxi Company is ‘Trinity Taxis’: 024 7699 9999 Costs are approximately:
Birmingham airport-University of Warwick: £30 (30 minutes)
Coventry railway station-University of Warwick: £11 (15 minutes)

By Air
The University of Warwick is 18 miles from Birmingham Airport. To get to the University from Birmingham airport either (cheapest): take the train to Coventry (£3.50, 10 minutes) and then local bus (£1.60, 25 minutes; exact fare must be paid to driver) or: taxi from the station (about £11, 15 minutes) to the University of Warwick.

London Heathrow has many more flights, and is about two hours from Coventry either by bus (National Express: www.nationalexpress.com/) or by rail (via London Euston) – the bus option is simpler, and cheaper.

London Luton also has various international flights, and is under two hours from Coventry by bus (National Express).

East Midlands (near Nottingham) has some international flights, and has an infrequent National Express service to Coventry.
Urban History Group Annual Conference Programme

URBAN POVERTY: WEALTH, INEQUALITY AND EXPERIENCE, 1600-2014

University of Warwick, UK

THURSDAY 27 MARCH 2014

11.00-14.00 Registration (Ramphal Foyer)

13.00-14.00 Lunch (for early arrivals) (Rootes Restaurant)

14.00-15.30 Session 1: Plenary (Ramphal Lecture Theatre)
Opening remarks by Barry Doyle and Rebecca Madgin

Power and the city: contemporary elite formation in London
Mike Savage (London School of Economics)

15.30-16.00 Tea (Ramphal Foyer)

16.00-17.30 Session 2: Parallel Sessions

2.1: Poverty and Urban Institutions in the UK under the New Poor Law (Ramphal 1.13)

The Poor Law Archipelago: mapping relief institutions in nineteenth and twentieth-century London
David Green (King’s College London)

‘Manufacturing’ criminals; childhood, poverty and welfare in Edwardian Belfast
Georgina Laragy (Queen’s University Belfast)

The urban workhouse in England and Wales under the new poor law
Douglas Brown (Kingston University)

2.2: Measuring Segregation (Ramphal 1.15)

Investigating interwar, household-level poverty in British towns and cities: the 1936 Overcrowding Survey returns for Lincoln
Andrew Jackson (Bishop Grosseteste University)

Remembering the West End: social science, mental health and the built environment in the twentieth century-United States
Ed Ramsden (Queen Mary, University of London) & Matthew Smith (University of Strathclyde)
Managing poverty and social exclusion in socialist cities
Christoph Bernhardt (Leibniz Institute for Regional Development & Structural Planning)

2.3: Materiality and Inequality

Protecting urban wealth: security, inequality and the Victorian city
David Churchill (IHR/Birkbeck, University of London)

The poverty of life: eating and dining at Toynbee Hall, 1885-1914
Lucinda Matthews-Jones (Liverpool John Moores University)

17.45-19.15 Session 3: New Researchers’ Workshops

3.1 New Approaches to Urban History

A tale of three classes: bio-archaeological perspectives on socio-economic status and health in urban children from the industrial revolution
S.L. Newmand & R. Gowland (Durham University)

Spreading the gospel of urban renewal: urban poverty, photography and the citizens’ council of Detroit and Chicago
Wes Aelbrecht (University College London)

The paradox of the provincial industrial town: walking, emotion and masculinity in Stalybridge, 1856-63
Nathan Booth (University of Manchester)

3.2 Poverty and its ‘Solutions’

Life within the workhouse: connecting urban history with bio-archaeology
Brittney Shields (Durham University)

From Booth to Bowley: surveying poverty in London, 1886-1931
Simon T. Abernethy (University of Cambridge)

‘Why let landlords get the lot?’ The Labour Party, urban landlords and managing housing inequality, 1950-70
Phil Child (University of Exeter)

3.3 Culture, Identity and Place in the Contemporary City

Medium-sized cities and globalisation: the mutation of the urban economy of Leicester and Reims, 1980-2008
Ines Hassen (University of Leicester)

South Central Farm as a reappropriation of the City of Los Angeles’ master narrative on urban green space
Hélène Schmutz (Université de Savoie)
Between convergence and divergence: Dar es Salaam City as an urban planning pastiche
Chambi Chachage (Harvard University)

20.00-21.30 Conference Dinner (Chancellors, Rootes Building)
21.30-24.00 Late bar (Rootes Building)

FRIDAY 28 MARCH 2014

08.00-08.45 Breakfast (Rootes Restaurant)

09.00-10.30 Session 4: Parallel Sessions

4.1 The Emotional Experiences of Urban Poverty (Ramphal 1.13)
Mother, father or parish? The maintenance of illegitimate children in Southwark in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
Samantha Williams (University of Cambridge)

‘My clothes [were] eaten one by one’: recovering the experience of the urban poor in late nineteenth-century Dublin
Virginia Crossman (Oxford Brookes University)

Conceptualising and experiencing the ‘slum’: the university settlements and the urban working classes in London, c.1945-90
Kate Bradley (University of Kent)

4.2 Governing Inequality (Ramphal 1.03)

The ‘Great Fire’ of Edinburgh, 1824
Malcolm Noble (University of Edinburgh)

Selling the city: commercial property development in postwar Manchester
Alistair Kefford (University of Manchester)

Seeing like a cyclist: visibility and mobility in modern Dublin, c.1930-80
Erik Hanna (University of Edinburgh)

10.30-11.00 Coffee (Ramphal Foyer)
11.00-12.00 Session 5: First-Year PhD Presentations

*Birmingham and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835: 1838-52*
Donna Taylor (University of Birmingham)

*Philanthropy, ‘moral reform’ and ‘associational culture’: social relations in Dublin and Edinburgh 1815-45*
Joseph Curran (University of Edinburgh)

*Documentary depictions of postwar urban decline in British cities*
Jenny Stewart (University of Leicester)

12.15-13.15 Session 6: Plenary Session

*Investigating inequality in historical perspective*
Pedro Ramos Pintos (University of Cambridge)

13.15-14.00 Lunch (Rootes Restaurant)

14.00 Conference ends
ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS
Power and the city: Contemporary elite formation in London

Mike Savage (London School of Economics)

Professor Savage has long standing interests in social stratification and inequality, and he is especially keen in the future to develop sociological analyses of the rich and powerful. His recent book *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: the politics of method* (2010) argues that we need to place our understanding of the contemporary in the context of detailed historical research. Professor Savage has also recently carried out, with colleagues, work for the BBC on their Great British Class Survey which produced the largest ever survey of class ever conducted in the UK, with 161,000 responses to their web survey.

The Poor Law Archipelago: mapping relief institutions in nineteenth and twentieth-century London

David Green (King’s College London)

The poor law was never a single institution but rather a set of legal obligations to provide relief to those in need. The form of that relief, and the material structures by which it was provided, comprised a complex archipelago of institutions, more or less directly related to the poor law. Although the workhouse was a central feature of this institutional archipelago, it was by no means the only space in which relief was given.

This paper explores the range of institutions in which welfare was provided, focusing on London from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Economies of scale in the city provided unique opportunities for the growth of specialist institutions, such as district schools, casual wards and infirmaries, together with more localised kinds of spaces, such as vaccination stations, in which ancillary services were provided. Education, health care, along with different kinds of workhouses, each required separate and different kinds of spaces for the provision of welfare. Understanding this map of poor law institutions is an important part of appreciating the ways in which the poor law came to take on ever increasing numbers of functions during the nineteenth century. This paper explores how these institutions developed, paying close attention to local political structures, as well as national poor law policy.
‘Manufacturing’ criminals; childhood, poverty and welfare in
Edwardian Belfast

Georgina Laragy (Queen’s University Belfast)

In March 1910 the Lord Justice of Belfast referred to the prevalence of child crime in
the city, referring to the powers conferred on magistrates by the recently enacted
Children Act (1908). His comments received widespread press attention with one
paper characterising the ‘present manufacture of young criminals out of neglected
children [as a] disgrace to Belfast’. (Northern Whig, 30 May 1910). In response to the
Lord Justice’s comments, and likely the visibility of child poverty on the streets of
Belfast, the Ulster Children’s Aid Society was established in order to ‘promote the
welfare of Orphan, Destitute, Neglected, Uncontrollable, and Criminal Children and
Young Persons’. This society, in the eyes of the Northern Whig had a dual purpose, to
ensure that the Children’s Act did not become a ‘dead letter’, and to rouse public
opinion towards action.

In a sermon on ‘child life in Belfast’, Presbyterian minister Rev. Dr. Purves
appealed to the civic responsibility of his congregation; ‘no man who loves the city ...
can rest contented until [child begging] is wiped out’. The Children’s Aid Society
itself, using photographs of pitiful, poor children, and ‘specimen cases’, tugged at the
heart-strings of wider Belfast, to ensure cooperation and support for their ‘non-
sectarian’ society. While the C.A.S. aimed to organise the care of children in industrial
schools and through ‘boarding-out’, they also provided shelter and food and a sort of
‘clearing house’ for destitute children. The workhouse was viewed as a ‘last resource’
for children.

Irish workhouses had been established in 1838 under the Poor Law, and in the
early decades children had comprised a large proportion of the institutions’ population.
Within twenty years however, workhouses came to be viewed as unsuitable places for
children. Perhaps owing to their largely ‘deserving’ status, guardians and
philanthropists wished to see an alternative arrangement made for pauper children.
The introduction of ‘boarding-out’ in 1862 provided a form of outdoor relief to
children, however, the Irish tendency to favour indoor rather than outdoor relief more
generally, meant that not all unions adopted the strategy, nor were all children in those
unions that did adopt it, cared for in homes with ‘foster-mothers’. By 1910 numerous
legislative interventions had been made on behalf of pauper children, yet despite this
the private citizens of Belfast felt compelled to act.

This paper will investigate the relationship between private and public welfare
initiatives as they sought to improve the lives of poor children and remove them from
the streets and the workhouse, while also engaging in ‘practical philanthropy’ in order
to improve the reputation of Belfast.
The urban workhouse in England and Wales under the new poor law

Douglas Brown (Kingston University)

The workhouse was a totemic institution at the heart of the new poor law, the system of poor relief in England and Wales for the century after 1834. This paper argues for a reconsideration of the geography of relief practices, by focusing on the unique ways urban workhouses were used in different parts of the country.

Workhouse accommodation was intended to be the principal method of relief by policy makers at the inception of the new poor law, and by successive waves of reformers. Central government encouraged poor law unions, the local government units responsible for administering relief, to adopt workhouse relief as the key to saving money. By giving only such ‘indoor’ relief, and by making workhouse conditions a deterrent to applicants, they hoped to reduce the numbers of paupers and thereby ease the burden on ratepayers. Despite their efforts, the majority of relief continued to be given ‘outdoors’ – in the community, in cash or in kind.

Yet some unions were keener to take on the policy than others. Relief policy and practice has been understood as regionally dependent, in particular as showing a north-south divide, with Wales and much of the north of England seen to be resistant to the policy. This paper suggests that this broad analysis needs to be revisited, and uses hitherto-neglected detailed data to show that workhouse use was much more complex.

In particular, urban unions in the south, especially in London, were much greater users of workhouses than their rural counterparts. Meanwhile in the north, urban unions were not initially enthusiastic adopters of indoor relief. In fact fewer paupers were put in workhouses in the urban north than in the rural north in the 1850s. This changed drastically over the next twenty years, however, and by 1870 urban unions in the north were much closer in relief practices to those in the south of England. This paper considers the reasons for these developments. It argues that in the early years of the new poor law, distance from London was a critical factor in the adoption of central government policy. This changed over time, however, through a combination of efforts from the centre and changing local attitudes.

This paper therefore sheds new light on the distinctively urban characteristics of poor relief. In so doing, it makes an important contribution to our understanding of how and why central government policy was implemented so unevenly at local level.
Investigating interwar, household-level poverty in British towns and cities: the 1936 Overcrowding Survey returns for Lincoln

Andrew Jackson (Bishop Grosseteste University)

The 1936 Overcrowding Survey returns provide one of the most important sources of data for urban historians carrying out local-level investigations of urban poverty in interwar Britain. They offer some of the most detailed, publicly accessible information on individual families and households while the 1921 and 1931 enumerators’ returns of the Census of Population remain subject to a statutory, 100-year embargo.

The Overcrowding Survey was a requirement of the 1935 Housing Act, commissioned to inform slum clearance and council-house building measures. Just short of 10 million working-class homes were surveyed in Britain. Local Authorities established what rateable value defined a property as being working class, while central government determined what criteria would classify a home as being overcrowded. The Survey recorded the names of owners and occupying heads of household. The remaining members of any households were recorded by number, age and gender category, if not by name. The accommodating unit, meanwhile, was surveyed in order to list numbers, dimensions and functions of each room. The returns remained located in environmental health officers’ departments as active, annotated documents for some decades after 1936, for they provided a reference for giving advice to landlords on the ‘permitted number’ of tenants.

The background to the 1935 Act and the subsequent Survey reveals much about contemporary perceptions of what constituted acceptable living conditions. The returns themselves invite micro-scale mapping and comparative evaluation of overcrowding levels. In addition, they prompt research alongside other contemporary sources, for example: slum clearance maps, works’ notices and accounts, tenant relocation records, complaints’ registers, housing and health committee minutes, photographs and oral history testimony.

There are some limitations on the value of the returns for the urban historian today. The threshold set for defining working-class homes was conservative, and much housing that might have been considered overcrowded in 1936 was excluded. The disappearance of homes through bombing or redevelopment rendered many local returns redundant as a comprehensive guide to housing and living conditions for local government officers and planners. In addition, surviving returns often lingered long in housing or environment departments, and did not find their way to the safekeeping of public archive repositories. Moreover, budget cuts in recent years have made twentieth-century sources especially vulnerable. This paper refers to the substantial body of records that form the 1936 Survey for Lincoln, saved from destruction by Bishop Grosseteste University in 2011. The city of Lincoln was not suffering from especially extensive slum conditions in the early twentieth century. However, the local authorities were keen to engage in clearance measures and relatively large scale municipal-housing provision, and the Survey would have informed the development and implementation of the city’s housing policies.
Remembering the West End: social science, mental health and the built environment in the twentieth-century United States

Ed Ramsden (QMUL) & Matthew Smith (University of Strathclyde)

The focus of this paper is an event of critical importance in urban planning history, in the social and behavioural study of urban spaces, and in the history of social psychiatry. In 1958, Boston Redevelopment Authority began to raze a 48-acre portion of the West End, displacing 2,700 families of a lower-working class, Italian American community, to make way for five residential high-rise and high-rent apartment complexes. For Erich Lindemann, chief of psychiatry at the Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH), the urban renewal programme offered a unique opportunity to study the effect of acute stress and loss on the population, helping to orient the mental health field towards social psychiatry and public health. The publications from the resulting project, ‘Relocation and Mental Health: Adaptation Under Stress’, undertaken by Lindemann’s newly established Centre for Community Studies, helped generate opposition to urban renewal, not only in Boston where ‘Remember the West End!’ was a rallying call, but throughout the United States, due to the damage it was seen to inflict on socially and economically disadvantaged populations. It also advanced a new approach to studying the lives of urban populations – qualitative methods of participant observation were combined with statistical indices and measures of attitudes, mental health and social wellbeing; and new theories of territoriality and social and personal space advanced.

The paper will show how the influence of the West End project stemmed from its ability to reflect, extend and synthesise elements from existing paradigms – social scientists and psychiatrists having focused on social inequalities, and urban planners, housing reformers and public health workers on the physical problems of homes and neighbourhoods. It also carefully situated itself in between science and action – its qualitative methods gave voice to the inhabitants of the West End, and helped to popularise their plight, but the project members were prohibited by Lindemann from engaging in political action on their behalf. As a consequence, the West End project will be seen to have contributed to two future approaches to the problem of mental health in the city that increasingly existed in direct opposition to one another. One argued that the power of science, planning and design to improve urban mental health was severely limited without large-scale social changes that tackled directly the problems of inequality and discrimination. For the other, the case of the West End emphasised the relevance of the psychiatric, social and behavioural sciences as aids to the planning and design of urban spaces, as realised in the federal Model Cities programme beginning in 1966.
Managing poverty and social exclusion in socialist cities

Christoph Bernhardt (Leibniz-Inst. for Regional Development & Structural Planning)

In their radical approach to re-arrange class society the socialist Welfare States strongly limited the role of private property and massively reduced the gap between incomes and wages of different social classes. But in the urban context new problems emerged which municipal administration had to deal with: in the field of housing public authorities had to define standards and to develop strategies on how to (re-) distribute flats and remodel social housing. This provoked complicated problems like how to define a ‘worker’, how to deal with traditional housing associations etc. Another challenge for municipal administration was the management of ‘anti-social’ individuals and families (‘Asoziale’) who refused to work and adopt a ‘socialist lifestyle’. Municipal administrations developed sophisticated strategies of welfare and repression to deal with these groups of people which did not fit into the socialist ideology.

The paper will discuss these and related problems of poverty and social exclusion along the examples of East-German socialist cities in three steps: it will firstly reflect on theoretical challenges that socialist regimes imply for traditional concepts of social inequality, segregation and poverty. One intention is to identify new forms of exclusion and discrimination which emerged in the context of fordist welfare states. In a second step, empirical cases will be discussed along the examples of housing policies in cities like Leipzig and East-Berlin and of municipal strategies to control ‘deviant’ groups of persons. In a third step the roots of some socialist strategies in dealing with urban poverty and exclusion will be traced back to the 1920s and 1930s and some common patterns will be identified which socialist and other welfare regimes of the twentieth century shared.
Protecting urban wealth: security, inequality and the Victorian city

David Churchill (Institute of Historical Research/Birkbeck, University of London)

This paper, which arises out of on-going research into urban security and crime prevention in nineteenth-century England, will examine the social context of material protection in the Victorian city. It will analyse security practices in terms of both the historical built environment, and the antagonistic social distribution of wealth in this period. The evidence presented will help to extend the discussion of urban poverty and inequality, and their consequences, beyond those areas already familiar to historians (welfare, housing, health), to a further field of urban social experience. Specifically, it will touch upon social inequalities in access to security, and how the protection of property formed an important adaptation to social injustice in the Victorian city.

Urban wealth was frequently insecure in the nineteenth century. There was the ever-present threat of property crime, perpetrated overwhelmingly by the working class and city poor. Moreover, urban property enjoyed few inherent protections from criminal risk, thanks especially to the patchwork social geography of residential settlement, and the fact that much wealth was inevitably exposed, whether to clients, customers, employees or domestic servants. These conditions meant that propertied inhabitants had to strive deliberately to protect their belongings from the threat posed by the poor.

To this end, various everyday measures and precautions were adopted in order to minimise the threat of property crime. This paper will use court depositions (witness statements) and newspaper crime reports to reveal a selection of these practices, including methods of handling cash and other valuables, and means of securing premises. These instances signal an impressive awareness of the criminal risks associated with particular forms of social interaction and material exchange, and an understanding of the relative degrees of security afforded by different urban and domestic spaces. Much of this material highlights the advantages enjoyed by the urban middle class in safeguarding their belongings, yet further, limited evidence suggests that similar practices were also adopted by those lower down the social hierarchy.

Additionally, the nineteenth century witnessed the arrival of enhanced technologies, designed to protect valuables from property offenders. In particular, this paper will focus on the rise of new locks and safes, and how these products were integrated into the existing infrastructure of urban security. These goods were designed and manufactured in a highly sophisticated manner, and grand claims were made in marketing regarding the measure of protection they afforded the consumer. While not impregnable, these devices heralded a marked improvement upon more basic models, which themselves were far from ineffectual. The result was to reinforce those inequalities of protection from criminal risk which were already embedded in nineteenth-century urban society.
The poverty of life: eating and dining at Toynbee Hall, 1885-1914

Lucinda Matthews-Jones (Liverpool John Moores University)

Everybody needs to eat. Yet food was (and still is) divisive. What people ate, when they ate and the rituals governing the act of eating served to highlight class differences in the nineteenth century. When the Rev. Samuel Barnett, vicar of St. Jude’s Whitechapel, proposed that Oxbridge men come and reside in poor districts of Britain’s great cities, he contended that their working-class counterparts suffered not only from economic disadvantages but also from a ‘poverty of life’.

The university settlement house, for Barnett, was understood as a place where working men could experience beauty, truth and culture, but also as a place where the ‘two nations’ could be reconnected. Toynbee Hall was therefore designed to be an alternative domestic space for both the Oxbridge graduate settler and for their working-class neighbour. This not only demonstrates the important role domesticity played in Barnett’s philanthropic endeavours but also how new spaces were created to rectify the experiences of what it meant to be poor. Barnett and his wife Henrietta encouraged settlers to make friends with the poor. The idea was that they would then cement this friendship by inviting them to dinner. These specially chosen diners would then mingle with West end guests, social commentators and Oxbridge lecturers. This practice expands our understanding of food philanthropy. Barnett actively discouraged giving food to his parishioners. Yet he placed a strong emphasis on the idea that settlers and working men should break bread with one another.

This paper turns to Toynbee Hall’s dining room to consider how settlers engaged and interacted with local working men. It will consider the customs and rituals behind these cross-class dinner parties and what it meant to eat and be entertained at Toynbee Hall. Peering behind Toynbee’s net curtains can be tricky, however. Few sources exist to tell us what food was served or what was said at these events. Rather, by turning to the material culture of the dining room, this paper will consider whether guests would have been comfortable in a room that included sunflower wallpaper and college shields. It will also turn to the writings of Henrietta Barnett to consider whether everyone fully supported her husband’s notion of food philanthropy.
A tale of three classes: bio-archaeological perspectives on socio-economic status and health in urban children from the industrial revolution

S. L. Newman & R. Gowland, (Durham University)

The great industrial centres of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were notoriously afflicted with detrimental living conditions; this is often associated with the poor health of these cities’ inhabitants. The study of child health is particularly valuable in reconstructing these past urban environments, as children were, and still are, the most vulnerable to the effects of environmental stressors. One method by which overall population health can be assessed is through the analysis of children’s growth. Children raised in unfavourable living conditions may have their growth stunted as the process of growth cannot be efficiently maintained and regulated. Poor growth within archaeological populations is consequently interpreted as an indication of poor living conditions.

Four post-medieval London based populations (cemeteries dating c.1712-1854) will be analysed to elucidate the effects of growing up in the polluted industrial environment of this time. This will be achieved through the assessment of growth (via measurements of the length of the limb bones) and the prevalence of disease within the non-adults (0-17 years of age) for each of the populations of interest to this study. The data collected will be used to comment on the general health status of children within post-medieval London, and the variance of this health status across the differing social strata. The population of Chelsea Old Church represents those of a higher socio-economic status who would have resided on the outskirts of the city, perhaps further away from the detrimental environmental conditions that have been heavily documented for the more central areas of London. Even at the time it was recognised that ‘the air of cities is not so friendly to the lungs as that of the country, for it is replete with sulphureous steams of fuel’ (Arbuthnot, 1733; 208). The St Benet Sherehog and Bow Baptist populations represent individuals of the middling classes. The Cross Bones burial ground is renowned for having been the final resting place of those who experienced extreme poverty during their lifetimes, and so will represent those most vulnerable to the potentially harmful effects of the industrial environment.

Is it possible to detect social inequality through the study of health indicators and metric analysis? Using bio-archaeological techniques in conjunction with historical documentation, this study aims to quantify and discuss the effects of socio-economic status on the health experiences of a post-medieval urban population during a time of great social and political change, and rapid population expansion.
Spreading the gospel of urban renewal: urban poverty, photography and the citizens’ council of Detroit and Chicago

Wes Aelbrecht, (University College London)

Photographs of urban poverty were crucial to urban renewal programmes in American cities of the fifties and sixties. They were published in urban studies books and governmental planning publications, hung on exhibition panels in libraries and included in presentations. Photography’s impact on the debates and policies of urban renewal, however, is not reflected in academic research. What we can observe instead is a split between photography, debates on poverty and urban renewal by its classification into the photographic archive, disconnected from its original conditions of production and presentation. In this presentation I want to demonstrate that photography did play a fundamental and challenging role in those initial decades of urban renewal. By focusing on photography I will expose how the discourse around renewal was developed and how it earned broad public support or repulsion.

As proof of photography’s role in urban renewal I will present the photographic collections of two non-profit citizens’ Councils: the Metropolitan Housing Council of Chicago (MHC) and the Citizens’ Housing and Planning Council of Detroit (CHPC). Both Councils were involved in commissioning, collecting and (re-)distributing photographs of decline and renewal to investigate and create arguments for intervention to resolve the crisis. By bringing together and comparing two bodies of photographs from two different cities that have neither been discussed nor presented together, two ways of using photography can be discussed. The photographic collection of the neglected Chicago photographer Mildred Mead (1948-62) will be discussed to unfold how the MHC created a discourse around her photographs to mediate a city in need of renewal. In Detroit the emphasis will be on the communication networks used by the CHPC to disseminate photographs to bridge the gap between citizens and technical planners. Here, I will emphasise how the media and government built up a case for renewal, using photograph as their star witness. To understand the uniqueness of this case study, a critical comparison will be made to the ‘social discourse’ (Martha Rosler) of the liberal reformer Jacob Riis who documented the late nineteenth century slum conditions in NYC and the photographic collection of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) of rural poverty and the impact of the Great Depression. Besides contrasting the postwar Councils with historical precedents, this presentation will also offer a reflection on more recent photographic practices such as the work of the photographer Camilo Jose Vergara on the American ghetto.

The presentation will show how a discourse of urban renewal was constructed with photographs of urban poverty by using original research material from fieldwork in the US. This material will range from documents from the archives where Mead’s photographs are stored – University of Chicago, Chicago Public Library, Chicago Historical Museum and University of Illinois – to the CHPC’s archive at the Walter P. Reuther Library and Burton Historical Collection in Detroit.
The paradox of the provincial industrial town: walking, emotion and masculinity in Stalybridge, 1856-63

Nathan Booth (University of Manchester)

For James Knight, a young Stalybridge schoolmaster working in the 1850s and 1860s, walking was both a necessary part of everyday life and a means of expressing his identity. When undertaken as a solitary leisure activity, walking provided a space in which Knight could privately reflect upon or manage his emotions; whereas with male friends, ‘strolling’ offered a chance to develop homosocial networks and be recognised about town.

Industrialisation gave rise to townships of thousands where villages and hamlets had stood decades earlier, but the development of these towns was still shaped by the topography and natural boundaries which had underpinned the earlier settlements. In their introduction to The City and the Senses (2007), Jill Steward and Alexander Cowan discussed ‘the cultural liminality of … key areas that so often linked the urban and rural’. This liminality informed the perception and lived experience of new towns in such areas, contributing to an urban culture which felt somewhat fixated on the possibilities of its broader geographic environs. This was particularly true of Stalybridge; the mountainous landscape in which it was situated dominated depictions by social commentators and shaped the leisure practices of its inhabitants. Local historian James Butterworth wrote in 1831 that the town was ‘a wild and romantic region, interspersed with bold hills and Moorish gullies separating them’. Stalybridge’s position in the foothills of the Pennines and on the north-west boundary of the Peak District influenced the place-identity of the town. For James Knight, traversing this distinctively northern terrain both underpinned the mundanity of the everyday and permeated the major events of his social and family life. It provided an arena for public display and personal introspection. Whether Knight understood or was conscious of it, the contested or liminal nature of the environment in which he lived was a key aspect of his development as a young man in the mid-nineteenth century.

This paper engages with the emerging discourse on subjectivity and emotion in gender history. It examines three aspects of Knight’s walking practices in relation to the experience and construction of masculinity. First, the schoolteacher used his knowledge of the urban environment to arrange discreet romantic encounters. Secondly, Knight used walks into the nearby countryside to express or contemplate his emotions in response to personal tragedy. Finally, ‘strolling about town’ with companions represented a means of consolidating male social networks. Knight’s surviving diaries allow one to examine both text and actions to reconstruct emotional experience. They affirm the significance of both the built and natural environment in shaping everyday life, hint at the ways in which young men in the nineteenth century processed emotions, and uncover contemporary attitudes to romance, fatherhood and grief.
Life within the workhouse: connecting urban history with bio-archaeology

Brittney Shields (Durham University)

This paper examines the life of London’s destitute through an interdisciplinary analysis of published historical accounts of the workhouse and osteological collections of London’s lower classes. The aim of the paper is to determine the effects of the workhouse on inmates during the nineteenth century through bio-archaeological techniques and to assess whether the change in the English Poor Laws made life worse than prior centuries.

The Poor Rate had its foundations with the English Poor Laws passed during the reign of Elizabeth I. The most common form of aid during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a monetary allotment to the pauper to be used to purchase foodstuffs, pay rent or bills. The statutes passed by Elizabeth I held the test of time and went largely unchanged until the middle of the nineteenth century with the enactment of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. This enactment chiefly prohibited outdoor relief and nationalised the workhouse test. Elements of daily life that were affected by the workhouse test were diet, living conditions, and physical labour.

Extraneous physical labour was utilised, such as crushing bone and picking oakum, in an attempt to instil the ‘virtues of the independent labourer’ in the hopes of making them productive members of society. The poor diet, detrimental living conditions, and heavy workloads associated with the lifestyle of the inmates would expose them to episodes of dietary deficiencies and infectious disease. Such indicators are detectable in the osteological record. Analysis of the severity and prevalence of such conditions within skeletal collections, alongside historical documentation can be used to assess the quality of life experienced by London’s destitute.

Connecting this urban history with the osteological evidence proves the existence of metabolic conditions brought on by the poor diets and strenuous workloads, along with infectious conditions that would be present more within individuals with compromised immune systems due to poor diet and overcrowding. In order to determine if the workhouse test did make life worse, an analysis of published workhouse diets will be undertaken in conjunction with published osteological reports of low status cemeteries within London, including St Pancras, St Bride’s lower churchyard, Broadgate, and Crossbones burial ground.
From Booth to Bowley: surveying poverty in London, 1886-1931

Simon T. Abernethy (University of Cambridge)

In 1928 the London School of Economics attempted to repeat Charles Booth’s *Life and Labour of the People in London* from forty years before. The aim was to compare how levels of poverty had changed in the Metropolis, but the New Survey radically changed Booth’s methods. Overseen by Professor A.L. Bowley, who had pioneered the use of random sampling in the social sciences to measure poverty, the New Survey undertook a household survey in which interviewers recorded on data cards the household’s birthplaces, ages, employment, wages, hours, cost of transport, the number of rooms in the house, unearned income, and tenure status. In contrast, Booth’s survey never undertook a specific survey of households, instead relying on the reports of school board visitors cross referenced with charitable workers and clergy. Furthermore, whilst Booth’s survey was limited to the County of London, the New Survey included certain Greater London boroughs, covering 38 boroughs in total. In the 1990s some 26,915 of the New Survey data cards were digitised, all of which belonged to nominally working-class households, as defined by the New Survey. Over the last two years my PhD project has added some 5,814 cards which were defined as ‘middle-class’, allowing the two groups to be compared for the first time. Using this database to provide the raw information this paper seeks to evaluate three main areas.

Firstly, how did the New Survey differ from Booth’s original, especially with regard to the sampling method? The use of specific interviewers to fill in data cards occasionally had negatives as they sometimes found themselves in difficult social situations, or were incompetent, and failed to fill in cards properly. We can briefly examine how accurate the data might be considered. Secondly, how did the definition of poverty change between Booth’s survey and Bowley’s? The New Survey established a poverty line for a moderately sized family of forty shillings in contrast to Booth’s twenty-one shillings. But this was based largely on monetary inflation over the intervening forty years and not with regard to changing living standards. Was this measure therefore a useful one or perhaps misleading? Finally, how did the preconceptions of those running the New Survey help to define the nature of poverty? Poverty was assumed to be a working class problem, and hence the data on the middle-class households was largely excluded. The definition of class was based primarily on the head of household’s occupation, with non-manual workers being defined as middle class without regard to their earnings or expenditure. Using the database we can consider whether elements of the middle class in London could be considered as being in poverty.
‘Why let landlords get the lot?’ The Labour Party, urban landlords and managing housing inequality, 1950-70

Phil Child (University of Exeter)

This paper will explore how the Labour Party attempted to reduce urban poverty in the mid-twentieth century through decisive action against the private landlord. Though the private landlord had often been a figure scorned by the Left as little more than a parasitic ‘rentier’, by the 1950s the circumstances of severe housing shortage and poor conditions which those within the private rental market lived in gave rise to Labour calls for the ‘municipalisation’ of controlled private rental stock. This assertion that local councils should take over the majority of privately-let property was perhaps logical from the socialist point of view, but all the more surprising in that it had strong support throughout the Party. The view that the private market was failing to provide adequate dwellings also found sympathetic mainstream ears, to the extent that the replacement of the common landlord by the state as the preeminent provider of rental tenancies did not seem entirely far-fetched by the late 1950s. Utilising a variety of Labour sources, I will identify how Labour rhetoric met the situation within British cities in the period, exploring what this meant in practice for the British housing market and conceptions of solving urban inequality.

Quite apart from the ‘affluence’ that narratives of the 1950s and 1960s frequently demand, the period was also one of uncertainty for many in the housing market. For many within Labour, the culprit responsible for the continued presence of inadequate housing, and by extension a large part of urban poverty, was the private landlord letting rent-controlled properties. This was not without precedent: the ‘ethical socialism’ of the interwar Labour Party had held that slum landlords were in need of a dose of stiff justice, whilst those with an inclination to Marx tended to take a dim ideological view of property-owners capitalising on their assets. What was new was the seriousness that was taken by the party leadership; the idea that private rented housing and by association landlords kept standards down for the working classes gained wider currency than it might have been expected to beforehand. This standpoint gained further credence with the liberalisation of rent control in 1957 by the sitting Conservative government, and the 1964 scandal of ‘Rachmanite’ slum landlordism in London. The removal through slum clearance of older, privately rented housing stock or temporary ‘municipalisation’, and replacement by newer public housing units, came to be seen as less the ‘forward march of Labour’ than the most sensible solution at hand. I will use this paper to argue that the stance taken by Labour on private rentals exposes a wider set of ideas about the composition of accommodation in the city, as well as how a reduction in urban poverty could be effected. In the situation of the present, where the ‘management’ of social inequality and market failure is a frequent topic of discussion, action against ‘rentier capitalism’ in the 1950s and 1960s can offer important insights into how policy outcomes are by no means certain.
Medium-sized cities and globalisation: the mutation of the urban economy of Leicester and Reims, 1980-2008

Ines Hassen (University of Leicester)

Globalisation implies new relations between time and space with the emergence of new means of communication. Cities are in the heart of an interconnection and interdependence process. Recent debates on globalisation emphasise the fact that this process changes people’s way of life as it creates more proximity and cultural homogenisation. The notion of sameness, openness or wholeness is central in the definition of the term globalisation. However, when globalisation is concerned, one always talks about few global cities whereas the numerous medium-sized cities keep being forgotten. As a result, my research aims to analyse the role of provincial cities such as the English city ‘Leicester’ and the French city ‘Reims’ in globalisation by exploring the extent to which regional capitals have their chance in a global changing world since the 1980s.

The worldwide economic crisis of the mid-1970s corresponds to the end of the long postwar economic boom. As a result of this economic depression, the 1980s marked a turning point in both Britain and France as more effort had been set up by municipalities in order to improve the image of inner cities. My research will originally contribute to enhance our understanding of medium-sized cities by showing their advantages and their assets as well as their specific particularities in terms of economy in a globalised world. How did globalisation affect both Leicester’s and Reims’ economy from 1980 to 2008? How did the local authorities manage to adapt themselves by redefining the city’s role within a context of enterprise culture and private and public sector partnership?
South Central Farm as a reappropriation of the City of Los Angeles’ master narrative on urban green space

Hélène Schmutz (Université de Savoie)

The division between urban poverty and wealth can be materialised geographically on a map. If one looks at a map of Los Angeles, wealth is concentrated in its north-western half, while poor areas are located to the east – where the coast’s Mediterranean climate becomes semi-arid – and the south. The latter two areas are the most industrialised. When one superimposes to it a map of Los Angeles’s tree cover, the disparity matches perfectly the inequalities in access to capital (Pincetl, 2003).

Since the mid-nineteenth century, governments have repeatedly attempted to bridge the gap in the access to urban green space. The first famous endeavour was the creation of Central Park in New York, as a place where the immigrants and working classes could acculturate (Sutton, 1971). Then in the 1910s, the City Beautiful Movement of the Progressive era provided the poor with small pocket parks, in order to improve their physical as well as mental health. Similar greening programmes appeared at regular intervals throughout the twentieth century (Azuma et al., 2006). The revitalisation projects of the late twentieth century are therefore not a novelty.

My paper will focus on an example situated in South Central Los Angeles, one of the poorest areas in the city. After the 1992 Rodney King race riots, one of the main complaints of the mostly African-American inhabitants of the neighbourhood was the lack of green spaces. The City of Los Angeles entrusted the local Food Bank with the supervision of an empty plot. It would be turned into a community garden and thus help alleviate the racial and social tensions in South Central. The garden was run and grown by 357, mostly Latino, families.

What is interesting in the situation of that garden, which lasted from 1994 until 2006, is the momentary reappropriation of its meaning by economically disadvantaged members of a racial minority (Green, 2004). South Central Farm became the nexus of class and race politics, centred on the question of urban environmental justice. The initiative taken by the city as a solution to social unrest was subverted into a critical political weapon by those whom it was meant to silence.
Between convergence and divergence: Dar es Salaam City as an urban planning pastiche

Chambi Chachage (Harvard University)

This paper revisits the history of urban planning in Dar es Salaam. In the course of doing so it unpacks the social, economic and political currents that tend to push it towards a pastiche of varying, and in many cases contradictory and conflicting, city designs. As Harm J. de Blij observed – in line with a theory of regime-cum-city change – two years after Tanzania won its independence from Britain in 1961, the city’s urban patterns displayed features introduced through a sequence of individual ruling states – Arab, German, British and, at the time he was writing, Tanganyikan. Even though the state has been under the rule of the same political party known as Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) that literally translates ‘the revolutionary party’, the radical shift that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s during the so-called second wave of democratisation qualifies it as a regime change. What came out of this is a state that is neoliberal. It is this regime, this paper argues, that has been promoting the haphazard converging and diverging conditions of further turning Dar es Salaam into an urban planning pastiche – a jumble of London, Dubai and Johannesburg among other cities.

In the opening part the paper will thus present a historical overview of urban planning based on published sources. Then it will follow key players from both the private and public sectors as they engage in formulating and implementing urban plans that have been turning Dar es Salaam into a pastiche. Of particular interest are the following cases: The Kigamboni New City project primarily modelled on Dubai; the Property and Business Formalisation Programme (PBFP) modelled on Lima; and an assortment of interventions geared toward modernising/upgrading the city. In regard to the first case, the paper will focus on responses from the civil society and the extent to which the government and the private sector have gone in attempting to make it a reality. As far as the second case is concerned, it will look at the way government agencies have collaborated and contended with the civil society and the international community.

Finally, the paper will briefly touch on other interventions which, though they may appear sporadic and dispersed across time and space, are part of the same broad neoliberal turn that is attempting to shape Dar es Salaam in the urban image of something other than itself. These recurring interventions range from bulldozing of informal business premises, evictions of squatters and harassments of street vendors to make way for supermarkets and skyscrapers, among other structures, that have been on the increase since Tanzania started to ‘Liberalise, Marketise and Privatise (LIMP)’ in the 1980s.
Mother, father or parish? The maintenance of illegitimate children in Southwark in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

Samantha Williams (University of Cambridge)

This paper will address the themes of the history of London, how institutions (workhouses) functioned to relieve poverty, the experience of urban poverty for unmarried mothers and their children, and geographies of poverty (Southwark).

Despite recent scholarship, notably by Nutt, Lyle, and Levene, historians still know relatively little about the maintenance of illegitimate children under the old poor law. Legislation of 1576, 1609-10, 1662, 1733, 1809, and 1810 established and strengthened the legal mechanism of the affiliation of putative fathers. Nutt has argued that the mothers of illegitimate children were expected to nurse and care for their children, while putative fathers were to bear the cost of their maintenance.

This paper examines the maintenance of bastard children in Southwark parishes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Registers of bastard children, bastardy adjudications, and workhouse admission and discharge registers allow for an analysis of parental and/or parish provision for illegitimate children. It is possible to explore whether fathers paid a lump sum or a regular weekly amount, and for how long. In many cases no money was forthcoming from a putative father but the parish nevertheless paid an allowance. Although affiliation bonds or orders were generally generated before or just after the birth of an illegitimate infant, some children did not become the responsibility of the parish until later. Some children were maintained for many years until they were apprenticed, while others ended up in the workhouse. Evidence is also available on the place of birth and whether the mother or a parish nurse nursed the child. This paper will reflect upon the extent to which mothers nursed and cared for their children, fathers paid for their maintenance, and the role the poor law played – either in facilitating these roles or in standing in for fathers and/or mother.
‘My clothes [were] eaten one by one’: recovering the experience of the urban poor in late nineteenth-century Dublin

Virginia Crossman (Oxford Brookes University)

The workhouse, according to the subtitle of one popular history, represented ‘the fate of Ireland’s poor’. This view is typical of much historical writing on Ireland in which the poor appear only as victims of an oppressive system. Studies of poverty and welfare in Ireland have tended to concentrate on the measures taken to relieve destitution, however ineffectually, and on the fears prevalent amongst the upper and middle classes of the social evils associated with poverty, disease and disorder. Little attempt has been made to explore the experience of being poor or to identify the strategies adopted by poor people to survive an inhospitable economic and social climate. Still less has any systematic consideration been given to the differences between urban and rural poverty.

This paper seeks to recover the voices and experiences of the urban poor through innovative analysis of the records of poor law boards and charitable organisations in Dublin. Whilst these records were compiled by and thus reflect the view of the administrators of relief rather than the recipients, the voices of the latter are preserved in the form of letters seeking relief and in evidence given to official inquiries. This material provides important insights not only into the lives of poor people but also into the ways in which they accounted for and described their situation and sought to establish a claim to assistance. By allowing the poor themselves to take centre stage, the paper reveals poor people to have been active agents of their fate, making calculated choices about how, when and where to apply for aid, and thus offers an important new perspective on the experience of urban poverty.
Conceptualising and experiencing the ‘slum’: the university settlements and the urban working classes in London, c.1945-90

Kate Bradley (University of Kent)

The university settlement movement grew out of experiments in residential living and volunteering in the East End of London from 1884. Toynbee Hall and Oxford House brought young male Oxbridge graduates to live and work for the benefit of the poor in Whitechapel and Bethnal Green respectively, and in doing so, to learn something of what it meant to be poor. Many Oxford House residents went on to the ministry, whilst, as Standish Meacham (1981) has shown, many of their Toynbee Hall colleagues went on into influential careers in public life and administration. The basic model of providing residential accommodation in return for voluntary social work was adopted elsewhere, and was particularly instrumental in enabling women to forge careers and lead independent lives (Vicinus, 1985; Bradley, 2009). By the interwar period, settlement residents were increasingly drawn from a much wider constituency than Oxbridge graduates, and this trend continued into the postwar period.

This paper is concerned with this question of the more affluent ‘discovering’ poverty through the medium of settlement social work, and how this was manifested during the establishment of the welfare state. It will firstly consider how the expansion of higher education and professional training for social work and related careers changed the landscape of volunteering at settlements, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, and how this marked a distinct change (or not) from earlier experiences. The paper will then examine the emotional processes and labour involved for the young people/career changers who came to settlements in order to gain experience for careers in the voluntary and public sectors. It will explore how these individuals made sense of their encounters with the needy, and with neighbourhoods that were rapidly undergoing industrial and social change – including gentrification. The paper will draw upon memoirs, fiction set at settlements, oral history testimony and other documentary sources to explore this emotional labour of volunteering at a settlement, and the role this experience then played in how individuals went on to try and achieve social justice aims in their later careers. In theoretical terms, it will draw upon the social scientific and historical literature around emotion (Stenner and Greco, 2008; Langhamer, 2012), as well as the concept of gift exchange (Mauss, 1954; Titmuss, 1970). In this way, this paper will contribute to the conference’s aim to explore the emotional consequences of wealth and poverty, tackling in particular the issues of charity and philanthropy, the experience of urban poverty, wealth and inequality, and political beliefs, amongst others.
The ‘Great Fire’ of Edinburgh, 1824

Malcolm Noble (University of Edinburgh)

In 1824, Edinburgh suffered a disastrous fire. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the fire was not in the rational, ordered New Town, but the in the cramped wynds and tenements of the Old Town. The recent spatial separation of social classes meant that the poor suffered disproportionately. Different theories circulated as to the cause. Some reckoned it was the wickedness of attempting to improve upon God’s word: a recent musical festival had included Haydn’s *Creation*, and Handel’s *Messiah*, amongst other sacred music. From several pulpits it was preached, in sermons subsequently published, that it was a sign of God’s fury: the filth in which the poor lived in the darkest, dirtiest bits of the Old Town was claimed a direct causation of their sin. The disaster, and the responses to it, highlighted the problems of managing the decaying but growing city, especially the poorest areas. Different agencies were eligible to take on responsibility for these issues, including the unreformed corporation, the new police commissioners, and the voluntary sector.

There were several different responses to the fire. Within days the Lord Provost ordered several fire engines. Within a fortnight, the first serious steps toward a serious fire-fighting were being made – and out of it James Braidwood came to the fore, under the aegis of the police commission. Meanwhile, philanthropy had a crucial role in the response to help the poor – and less poor – alike. A series of prints showing the devastation was made and sold, and the proceeds of this, alongside many generous subscriptions, formed a fire fund to help those who had lost homes and businesses. The trustees who managed this fund, included representatives from the social and legal elites. They were adamant that the poor must not expect general support in the case of fires, as the moral hazard of this was too great. Instead, the leftover was used to provide support to injured firemen and their families.

This tragedy, and the response to it, laid bare attitudes towards both poverty, and the poor themselves. This paper considers the issues around managing the fabric of the poorest areas of the city, the discussions around poverty, its causation and morality, and how these linked to attitudes about government and medical intervention, in the critical era immediately before reform.
Selling the city: commercial property development in postwar Manchester

Alistair Kefford (University of Manchester)

In the 1950s commercial property development emerged as a major source of wealth creation in urban centres. Entrepreneurs took urban land as their raw material and were able to exploit wartime bomb damage and the ambitions of state planners, along with changing patterns of residence, employment and consumption in order to make large profits. By the 1960s property development was established as a major sector of the British economy; one which not only transformed the bases of wealth creation in British cities, but also had a major impact on the urban environment, urban government and the experiences of citizens.

This paper examines the role played by commercial developers in the redevelopment of central Manchester in the three decades following the Second World War, with particular focus on the creation of the vast Arndale shopping centre. The Arndale Centre was, at the time, the largest shopping centre in Europe. Constructing it required demolition on a scale which dwarfed any damage caused by German bombing, displaced many existing businesses and residents, and permanently transformed central Manchester. The realisation of this commercially-driven project was only possible with the cooperation of the city council, which allied itself politically and financially with the objectives of private developers.

The paper uses this episode to explore the ways in which property developers and financiers acted as drivers of urban change in a period which is often characterised as one of state-led intervention. It argues that urban historians’ tendency to focus on the objectives of state actors risks understating the significance of entrepreneurs and private capital to development of British cities in the 1950s and 60s. In light of this, the paper suggests that narratives of the neoliberalisation of urban government since the 1970s need to be revisited.
Seeing like a cyclist: visibility and mobility in modern Dublin, c.1930-80

Erika Hanna (University of Edinburgh)

Elizabeth Leslie remembered the Dublin of her youth as viewed from over the top of bicycle handlebars. Writing in the Irish Times in 1965, she described how, ‘When you went around on a bicycle you knew all the back streets and all the short cuts and had a superior sense of knowing your city much better than other people’. For Leslie, the city had a legibility that came from repeated use; however, her knowledge of how to negotiate the spaces of the city was becoming swiftly invalid in the 1960s, as planners and transport engineers adapted pre-existing roads to new uses, and modernised and widened the streets of the city. She went on: ‘Now that knowledge is useless because all the back streets have either gone or are no longer back streets. Traffic goes up and down in streets that used to be quiet and almost empty. Regulations have sent cars into places that only the locals knew’. Indeed, Leslie was not the only one to experience the disjuncture between the city she had got to know by bicycle, and the city she inhabited. In the mid-twentieth century, cycling was the most common way of getting to work in Dublin, however, between 1945 and 1980 cycle use in the city collapsed. Indeed, Dublin went from a ‘bicycle city’ to a place where cycling was ‘extraordinarily unpopular’.

Despite its enormous popularity, the bicycle has tended to disappear from urban historian’s analysis of the city in the period after 1945, following the ways of seeing the city of the town-planners who devised urban change in this era. Rather than just unproblematically noting that in the postwar decades one-time cyclists got into newly acquired hire-purchase cars, this paper provides a study of the place of the cyclist in Dublin during the mid-twentieth century. Taking inspiration from James Scott, I situate cycling within the series of processes through which the modern city was made ‘legible’. I show how, despite the enormous popularity of cycling in the immediate postwar years, the cyclist was largely invisible in the ways that the city was quantified. In this context, the bicycle came to be seen as a relic of Ireland’s poverty, while the cyclist was seen as an irrational urban traveller. Indeed, a range of measures to make the cyclist more visible were enforced, including lights and reflectors, while licence plates were considered. However, all of these schemes and devices proved to be either ineffective or unfeasible and the image of the cyclist as unruly only grew. Foregrounding the cyclist shows how, during the period of ‘high modernism’, the technologies which made the city visible were inextricably bound up with cultures of affluence and predetermined notions of the future which functioned to obscure the practices of the residents of the city. Pushing against teleologies of modernisation, and continuing to seek Dublin’s cyclists – on the streets, in images, and planning documents – provides a more nuanced account of postwar urban modernity.
Birmingham and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835: 1838-52

Donna Taylor (University of Birmingham)

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 can be understood as representing a profound change in the history of British democracy, and Birmingham Radicals had been at the forefront of both its design and its implementation. Less than forty years after successfully petitioning for a Charter of Incorporation, Birmingham was being hailed as ‘the best governed city in the world’. And yet there is still little historiography on these formative years of the town’s municipal history, quite often being presented as a period in which little progress was evident.

The dates under consideration represent the very earliest years of Birmingham’s incorporation, a time when the newly elected borough men had to share administrative power with seven other authorities, the majority of which were dominated by representatives who held conflicting political and social ideologies. This is often presented as a key reason for perceived stagnation. The primary objective of this study is to understand the extent to which shared authority between bodies of conflicting ideologies impacted on urban society, using Birmingham as a case study, and to assess how incorporation was both perceived and received in a broad social spectrum.

Philanthropy, ‘moral reform’ and ‘associational culture’: social relations in Dublin and Edinburgh 1815-45

Joseph Curran (University of Edinburgh)

This project analyses philanthropic activity in Dublin and Edinburgh between 1815 and 1845, a time of social and religious tensions throughout the British Isles. Examining the numerous charities operating in both cities in this period will provide an insight into social relations in each. Since the management of these organisations was drawn from prominent social groups, study of the interactions that took place within them will reveal how urban elites responded to social pressures. Did established philanthropists respond positively to attempts by upwardly-mobile individuals to join their organisations? How did religious tensions affect the management of charities? Dublin and Edinburgh were both ‘stateless capitals’, cities without parliaments which performed many of the administrative and legal functions of a capital city, yet they appear to have had very different associational cultures. It has been argued that Edinburgh’s elites successfully cooperated to ‘manage’ social problems, whereas, although Dublin possessed many charities, the central state had to play a significant role in that city’s relief work. By analysing the day-to-day interactions among the managers of philanthropic associations, this project seeks to assess what these differences meant in practice, and what they reveal about social relations in each city more generally.
Documentary depictions of postwar urban decline in British cities

*Jenny Stewart (University of Leicester)*

This paper discusses how the impact of de-industrialisation in postwar British cities during the 1970s and 1980s was depicted in documentary film and television. I employ a ‘new film history’ approach to assess how documentary portrayals of urban decline were shaped by their production and institutional contexts. Case studies include depictions of Handsworth, Birmingham, in the mid-1980s, where I consider how differing discussions of issues such as inadequate housing and high unemployment in the area were shaped by the televisual and filmic contexts in which they were produced. I argue that this approach to the study of moving image sources also enables an assessment of how moving image narratives support or challenge current dominant historical accounts of urban decline in British cities.

Investigating inequality in historical perspective

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Dr Pedro Ramos Pinto is interested in understanding how contemporary inequalities are shaped by the past, bringing a more long-term view to explain how and why societies distribute resources, opportunities and capabilities. As part of this he directs an international research network on the topic of *Inequality, Social Science and History*, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and also works on the evolution and implications of authoritarian welfare regimes in Southern Europe and Latin America.