THE URBAN HISTORY GROUP

Annual Conference

VOICES OF THE CITY:
PEOPLE, IDENTITY AND PLACE, 1600 TO THE PRESENT

Queen’s University Belfast

4 – 5 April 2019

Programme and Abstracts of Papers
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Urban History Group Annual Conference

VOICES OF THE CITY: 
PEOPLE, IDENTITY AND PLACE, 1600 TO THE PRESENT

Conference Programme Résumé

THURSDAY 4 APRIL

11.00-14.00 Registration

13.00-14.00 Lunch (for early arrivals who have pre-booked lunch)

14.00-15.30 Session 1: Plenary Session
Contested Public Spaces and Protest in Urban Britain from the Eighteenth Century to Today

15.30-16.00 Tea

16.00-17.30 Session 2: Parallel Sessions
2.1 Belfast on the Margins: Class, gender and sexuality across the twentieth century
2.2 Deindustrialisation, Heritage and Urban Memory
2.3 Plans for People: Contestation, memory and place creation in urban planning
2.4 Urban Planning and Patterns of Privilege

17.45-19.15 Session 3: New Researchers’ and First-Year PhD Workshops
3.1 First-Year PhD Session
3.2 Engaging from Below: Civic culture and agency in the nineteenth century
3.3 Race, Gender, and Identity Intersections: Local-national-international
3.4 Who Belongs? Space, heritage and regeneration

19.15-20.00 Drinks Reception and Book Launch

20.00-21.30 Conference Dinner

21.30-late Bar
FRIDAY 5 APRIL

09.00-10.30  **Session 4: Parallel Sessions**
  4.1  Adapting Urban Space: Appropriation, freedom and control
  4.2  Nationalism, Ethnicities and Local Communities
  4.3  Fear and Emotion in Divided Cities
  4.4  Voices of the Socialist City: from Moscow to the Muslim periphery

10.30-11.00  Coffee

11.00-12.30  **Session 5: Parallel Sessions**
  5.1  Questioning the Expert? Experiences of the city, c.1890-1939
  5.2  Women’s Voices
  5.3  Finding and Using New Voices
  5.4  Spaces of Theatricality

12.30-13.15  **Session 6: Plenary Session**
  *The Past, Present and Future of Irish Urban History*

13.15-14.00  Lunch

14.00  Conference ends
Conference Theme

This year’s conference explores who can ‘speak’ and who has ‘spoken’ in, about or on behalf of the city from 1600 until the present. Planners, governors, powerful interest groups and a host of established elites have often loudly declaimed their right to shape both the form and the experience of the city. However, other groups and individuals have made the city a site of action and activism in which the voices of the notionally ‘powerless’ might be amplified in the pursuit of diverse political and social goals. In addition, the city as a lived space has provided people with a place to experience, create and understand multiple, often overlapping identities, which themselves have articulated the complex dynamics of urban society. Amongst this clamour, urban historians have often privileged the loudest voices: those able to command podiums and squares, print books and dominate headlines, or those who have left material evidence of their architectural or infrastructural ambitions amongst the urban fabric. In contrast, more obscure aspects of the city remain either ignored or frustratingly obscured by the established practices of recording and research. The conference seeks not to simply correct this imbalance or invert an existing binary, nor to merely promote certain voices as more valuable or authentic. Instead, its intention is to understand the origins and mechanisms at work in creating the hierarchy of voices and the ways that we might complicate our approaches to these.

Organisers

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Conference Website

A copy of this publication, and other conference information, can be found at: https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/urbanhistory/uhg/2019-conference
Brief guide to conference arrangements

The conference will take place at Queen’s University Belfast. All meetings and conference sessions will be located on the campus. Campus plans can be found on pages viii-x. Delegates should note that the front doors of the university will be closed, pending essential maintenance to stonework. The conference venue can be accessed from University Road, University Square and from Botanic Avenue to the rear of the main site; signage, directing delegates to the various conference locations, will be erected.

Conference accommodation
Delegates will have to book their own accommodation in local hotels. A link to some local hotels can be found on the conference registration site; note, however, that these may not be the best available rates and delegates are advised to compare these to accommodation websites.

Registration
Registration will take place 12:00 – 14:00 on Thursday, 4 April in the foyer of the Peter Froggatt Centre/Law School Atrium. The registration desk will be staffed for the duration of the conference.

Car parking
There is no on-site delegate parking at the university on week days. There is a public car park on Posnett Street (BT7 1FB), which is located 0.5 miles from the university and is a 10-minute walk.

Book displays
Publishers’ and booksellers’ displays will be in the Peter Froggatt Centre/Law School Atrium.

Meals and Morning Tea/Afternoon Coffee
Teas/coffees will be served in the Peter Froggatt Centre/Law School Atrium and all meals will be served in the venues detailed in the programme.

Bar
A bar will be available in the Council Chambers where the Thursday evening dinner will be served.

Meeting rooms for sessions
All meeting rooms will be located in the Peter Froggatt Centre.

Internet access
Wi-Fi is available in all buildings across campus and is accessed via ‘The Cloud’.
ATMs and Other Facilities
The nearest ATMs are located at the Student Guidance Centre building, which is clearly visible across University Road to the front of the university main building. There is a small post office adjacent to the ATMs which also sells sandwiches / confectionary and take-away coffee. There are also numerous coffee shops within walking distance (turn left at the university front gate, and past the entrance to Botanic Gardens). Turn right for a Tesco Metro about 3 minutes’ walk away.

The University Welcome Centre, located in the Lanyon Building, stocks a range of university branded and locally sourced gifts.

Useful contacts
Eventus Information: T: +44 (0) 2890 975 047
Security Emergency: T: +44 (0) 2890 972 222
Maureen Galbraith E: ehsocsec@arts.gla.ac.uk
More information on the QUB campus can be found at:

http://www.qub.ac.uk/about/Living-in-Northern-Ireland/Getting-here/
KEY TO CONFERENCE VENUES

ZONE 1
Peter Froggatt Centre / Foyer / Law School Atrium
Academic sessions; Publisher Exhibitions; Teas/Coffees.

ZONE 2
Sir William Whitla Hall
Friday Lunch.

ZONE 3
Lanyon Building
Thursday Lunch; Thursday dinner; Editorial board meeting.
How to reach Queen’s University Belfast

Comprehensive information on travel to Queen’s University Belfast, as well as maps, can be found at: https://www.qub.ac.uk/about/Living-in-Northern-Ireland/Getting-here/

By Air
Belfast is served by two airports: George Best Belfast City Airport and Belfast International Airport, which are both linked to the city by regular bus services. Belfast International is located 13 miles (21 kilometres) northwest of Belfast and City Airport is 3 miles (5 kilometres) from the city centre. A regular bus service operates at both airports; as do taxis. Dublin International Airport is located approximately 100 miles to the south.

By Boat
Fast ferry services including Stena Line and P&O make multiple daily crossings from ports in Scotland and England to Northern Ireland. The two main Belfast routes are from Liverpool and Cairnryan, both provided by Stena Line. An alternative route runs from Holyhead to Dublin, with excellent motorway connections between there and Belfast. Further information can be found at: https://www.stenaline.co.uk/ http://www.poferries.com/

By Road
If you are planning on driving to the university, and have a SAT NAV, you should use the following address:
Queen’s University Belfast
University Road
Belfast BT7 1NN
Northern Ireland
UK
Urban History Group Annual Conference Programme

*VOICES OF THE CITY: PEOPLE, IDENTITY AND PLACE, 1600 TO THE PRESENT*

**THURSDAY 4 APRIL**

11.00-14.00  Registration  *(Peter Froggatt Centre [PFC]/Law School Atrium)*

13.00-14.00  Lunch *(for early arrivals)*  *(tba)*

**14.00-15.30  Session 1: Plenary  *(PFC/02/18)*

Contested Public Spaces and Protest in Urban Britain from the Eighteenth Century to Today
Katrina Navickas (University of Hertfordshire)*

15.30-16.00  Tea  *(PFC/Law School Atrium)*

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

**2.1: Belfast on the Margins: Class, Gender and Sexuality across the Twentieth Century  *(PFC/03/005)*

The Soldier, the Constable, his Prisoner and his Lover: Queer Belfast during the First World War
Tom Hulme (Queen’s University Belfast)*

‘Getting Fixed Up’: Abortion in Belfast, 1917-67
Leanne McCormick (Ulster University)*

Emotional Journeys: ‘Joyriding’ through the UK’s marginal communities in the 1970s-1990s
Sean O’Connell, (Queen’s University Belfast)*

**2.2: Deindustrialisation, Heritage and Urban Memory  *(PFC/03/006a)*

European Integration and the City: Space, scale, and inequality in 1970s and 1980s Britain
Aaron Andrews (University of Leicester)*

Voices and Factors Influencing the Designation of Conservation Areas in Leicester
Sally Ann Hartshorne (University of Leicester)*

Sebastian Haumann (TU Darmstadt)*
2.3: Plans for People: Contestation, Memory and Place Creation in Urban Planning

"The People of this Country have had Enough of Experts": Town planning, urban authority, and citizenship in post-war Ireland
Richard Butler (University of Leicester)

Nathanya: A contested urban image
Noah Hysler Rubin (Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design)

Outside City: Stasis and change in Greater London's western suburbs; Hammersmith, Chiswick and Brentford, 1895-1927
Tracey Logan (University of Leicester)

2.4: Urban Planning and Patterns of Privilege

Among Claiming Participation and Activating Attendance: The interplay of public communication and civic engagement in urban planning in 1980s Berlin
Kathrin Meißner (Humboldt University Berlin)

Workers’ City? Conflicting voices in the remaking of Glasgow c.1946-2005
Valerie Wright (University of Glasgow)

Jessica Bean, (Denison University); Andrew Seltzer & Jonathan Wadsworth (Royal Holloway)

17.45-19.15 Session 3: New Researchers and First-Year PhD Workshops

3.1: First Year PhD Session

British World Reaction to Deviant and Delinquent Australian Youth, 1870-1930
Jasper Heeks (King’s College London)

Department Stores and the Socialist City: Expert discourse on modern retail and urban planning in socialist Yugoslavia in the 1960s
Ivana Mihaela Žimbrek (Central European University)

Gender, Loss and Memory: The impact of deindustrialisation on women textile workers, Glasgow, c.1970-2000
Rory Stride (University of Strathclyde)

3.2: Engaging from Below: Civic Culture and Agency in the Nineteenth Century

Harry Stokes: The man-woman of Manchester
Billie-Gina Thomason (Liverpool John Moores University)
A Catholic Church for a Calvinist City: Paternalism, petitions, and politics in Alsace, 1853-83
Will Clement (University of Oxford)

Rediscovering the Small Town: Recovering female agency
Caroline Mogg (University of Lincoln)

3.3: Race Gender and Identity Intersections: Local-national-international
(PFC/03/006/b)
Loyalty and Lived Lives: Women in wartime Cape Town
Sarah-Jane Walton (University of Cape Town)

From Marginalisation to Multiplicity: Stockholm’s Jewry before 1939
Maja Hultman (University of Southampton)

1960s Moscow as an International City: The view of students from the developing world
Riikkamari Muhonen (Central European University)

3.4: Who Belongs? Space, Heritage and Regeneration
(PFC/03/017)
Beyond the ‘Back-lot’: Using GIS to locate Charleston’s disenfranchised majority
Sarah Collins (Northumbria University)

Speaking for the Scheme? Local alternative press in Glasgow 1968-86
Kate Wilson (University of Strathclyde)

‘What Makes a Building Historic?’ The role of historians in shaping Melbourne’s urban heritage in the 1980s and 1990s
James Lesh (University of Melbourne / King’s College London)

19.15-20.00 Drinks Reception and Book Launch
(Canada Room)

20.00-21.30 Conference Dinner
(Council Chambers)

21.30-0.00 Late bar
(Council Chambers)

FRIDAY 5 APRIL

09.00-10.30 Session 4: Parallel Sessions

4.1: Adapting Urban Space: Appropriation, Freedom and Control
(PFC/03/005)
Invisibles? Country women in the socialist town squares
Zsófia Kisőrsi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
City-as-target? Thinking about how cities and spaces alter memories of the Cold War
Emily Gibbs (University of Liverpool)

Sleeping Rough: Navigating the urban space as ‘homeless’ in Stockholm c. 1776-1836
Tobias Larsson (Uppsala University)

4.2: Nationalism, Ethnicities and Local Communities
(PFC/03/006a)

Invisible Influences: Uncovering the role of rural migrants in city life in twentieth-century Ireland
Arlene Crampsie (University College Dublin)

Living Differently at a ‘Homely’ City: Locating the Chinese community in the postcolonial diasporic city-space of Calcutta
Koushiki Dasgupta (Diamond Harbour Women’s University, Calcutta)

“The Will of the People is the Supreme Law”: Reactions to slum clearance in Lagos, 1924-60
Jimoh M. Oluwasegun (Federal University, Brinni-Kebsi)

4.3: Fear and Emotion in Divided Cities
(PFC/03/006b)

Protestant City Lives in a Catholic Surrounding
Stephan Steiner (University of Vienna)

Urban Landscapes: The multicultural inner city in post-war Britain
Kieran Connell (Queen’s University Belfast)

Urban Space, Material Change and Emotional Response in Amsterdam, 1850-1930
Anneleen Arnout (Radboud University / Open Universiteit of the Netherlands)

4.4: Voices of the Socialist City: From Moscow to the Muslim Periphery
(PFC/03/017)

Demanding a Right to the Soviet City: Petitions, legal cases, and the voices of residents in urban Russia, 1917-35
Deirdre Ruscitti Harshman (University of Illinois)

Voices from the Shadows: Responding to urban renewal in post-war Moscow
Katherine Zubovich (Ryerson University)

Mobilization in the Socialist City: Traditional Institutions versus state-sponsored organizations in Soviet Central Asia during the 1960s
Zayra Badillo Castro (SOAS, London)

10.30-11.00 Coffee
(PFC foyer/Law School Atrium)
11.00-12.30 Session 5: Parallel Sessions

5.1: Questioning the Expert? Experiences of the City, c.1890-1939  
(PFC/03/005)

Risk, Expertise and the City: Charles E. Goad’s mapping of Edinburgh, c.1892-1906
Anna Feintuck (University of Edinburgh)

“It’s the same thing over and over again – it’s the poor that helps the poor”: Local government planning for bombardment on the coastal home front, 1914-18
Michael Reeve (University of Hull)

“As easy as turning on the tap”: Experiences of water usage in the city, 1918-39
Andrew McTominey (Leeds Beckett University)

5.2: Women’s Voices
(PFC/03/006a)

Urban Heritage: Resurrecting nineteenth-century businesswomen in Australasia’s towns and cities
Catherine Bishop (Northumbria University / University of Sydney)

“Working with Women’s Pain”: Birmingham Rape Crisis and Research Centre, sexual violence and feminist activism in the late twentieth-century city
Phil Child (University of Birmingham)

Finding their Voice: The use of the lodger franchise to influence urban governance in pre-independence Ireland
Ruth McManus (Dublin City University)

5.3: Finding and Using New Voices
(PFC/03/006b)

British Squatters in Leiden during the 1990s
Bart van der Steen, Elisa Hendriks & Blerina Nimanaj (Leiden University)

Tracing the Human Experience of Inner City Housing Redevelopment in Derry from 1945: A new approach to consultation in urban design
Adrian Grant (Ulster University)

City Epitaphs: Moving urban memory towards a fresh research agenda
Simon Sleight (King’s College London)

5.4: Spaces of Theatricality
(PFC/03/0017)

Voicing the Urban Experience of the Marginalised Through the ‘Impossible Dream’ of Non-Racial Theatre in Apartheid-era South African Cities
Vivian Bickford Smith (University of Stellenbosch / University of Cape Town)

A Middleman’s Process: Theatre owners, managers and booking agents in Montreal from the 1880s to the First World War
Antje Dietze (Universität Leipzig)
Haunting Bohemia: Décor, crowds, and temporality in the bohemian spaces of Victorian and Edwardian English cities
Rory Booth (University of Leicester)

12.30-13.15 Session 6: Plenary Session
The Past, Present and Future of Irish Urban History
Olwen Purdue (Queen’s University Belfast), Erika Hanna (University of Bristol)
& Richard Butler (University of Leicester)

13.15-14.00 Lunch
(Whitla Hall)

14.00 Conference ends
ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS
SESSION 1
PLENARY SESSION

Contested Public Spaces and Protest in Urban Britain from the Eighteenth Century to Today
Katrina Navickas (University of Hertfordshire)

This talk examines protest and contested spaces in Britain from the eighteenth century to the present day. I will draw from my previous work on the spaces of democratic and trade union protest in the early nineteenth century, and also point to new directions emerging from my current project on the history of public space. From enclosure and urban improvement in the eighteenth century, the parks movement in the Victorian era, slum clearance and new towns in the twentieth century, town and city residents have been in constant negotiation with authorities and planners over the uses of public space. Social movements often chose significant urban sites for mass protests, but what about the everyday and local contests over spaces. What do disputes over the smallest of sites reveal about communities and their sense of geography identity? This talk will point to new ways of thinking about urban history through digital methods, and through community-based sources.
SESSION 2.1
BELFAST ON THE MARGINS:
CLASS, GENDER AND SEXUALITY ACROSS THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Panel Overview
In historiographical terms, the study of twentieth-century Belfast has been dominated by the eruption of ethno-nationalist conflict during the Troubles (c. late 1960s to 1990s). Sectarianism, segregation and inequality (in areas such as education, housing and employment) have provided the framework for understanding the modern city – its structure, culture, and government. Given the centrality of sectarian tensions, this focus is not surprising. In more recent years, however, the perspectives it has enabled have been enriched with other approaches that seek to understand the social and cultural history of the city beyond the conflict. This panel seeks to build on this work by exploring several characters on the margins of everyday urban life: men who had sex with men, women seeking abortions, and joyriders evading the law. We focus our attention on these individuals – their lives, identities and interaction with discourses of class, gender and sexuality – in relation to the liminal spaces and experiences of urban life. In doing so, we do not seek to collapse the importance of religion and conflict in the history of Belfast; rather, we hope to open up new avenues for a more textured understanding of the specificity of the city.

The Soldier, the Constable, his Prisoner and his Lover: Queer Belfast during the First World War
Tom Hulme (Queen’s University Belfast)

Academic work on queer history in Belfast is scant. The few studies that do exist have been dominated by two perspectives: firstly, the causes célèbres of political figures (such as Irish Conservative MP, Edward de Cobain, or the diplomat and later revolutionary, Roger Casement); and secondly, the more recent fight for the legalisation of homosexuality against a broader backdrop of civil rights campaigns. This paper will instead take a cultural and spatial approach to tell the extraordinary story of one man and his many male lovers during the First World War. Vincent Cassidy, a native of Armagh, was a guest at the Imperial Hotel in Belfast for several months during 1917. He held high teas and cocktail parties in his rooms, moved around the city’s various cultural venues, and entertained a host of men from a diverse range of backgrounds – from students to soldiers. Cassidy’s story may have reached its apex in Belfast when he was convicted of buggery and sentenced to a year in prison, but it was also one of dispersion – both across other urban contexts (London, Liverpool and New York); terrains of life (class, respectability and sexuality). To understand Cassidy’s life, then, is to better understand ‘queer Belfast’ – both its idiosyncratic facets and its relation to broader patterns of identity and urban space.
‘Getting Fixed Up’: Abortion in Belfast, 1917-67

Leanne McCormick (Ulster University)

From kitchens in terrace houses in East Belfast, to the premises of a Nigerian naturopath in South Belfast and a chemist shop in the north of the city, illegal abortions took place in a variety of locations in twentieth-century Belfast. This paper draws on underused court records and newspaper reports about illegal abortion, 1917-67, to uncover the underground networks and the various ways in which information about abortion was exchanged across the city. It offers an analysis of those who were involved in carrying out abortions, and the methods they utilised, and will consider the profile of the women seeking to terminate pregnancies. The high number of single women appearing in court records for abortion related offences will be examined in the wider context of the stigma attached to illegitimacy in Ireland, north and south, in the twentieth century and the lack of support and options for unmarried mothers. The increasing religious and sectarian division of Belfast in terms of working-class housing in the twentieth century provides the backdrop to an understanding of transitional spaces and how the realities of illegal abortion operated within a changing city.

Emotional Journeys: ‘Joyriding’ through the UK’s marginal communities in the 1970s-1990s

Sean O’Connell (Queen’s University Belfast)

This paper addresses understandings of the urban marginalised through the use of oral history, and explores the cultural politics of car crime in the UK’s marginalised communities from the 1970s to the 1990s. During this period young ‘joyriders’ took part in aggressive, ritualised and performative displays in stolen cars in the UK’s urban spaces. With over 300,000 cars per year stolen by the joyriders, the issue occupied a central position in debates about the urban underclass, social exclusion and protest masculinity. The paper will delineate the peculiarities of joyriding in Belfast during the Troubles, when young car thieves challenged the authority of the police, the British Army and the IRA. The consequences of this transgressive behaviour were often deadly. Scores of joyriders and innocent bystanders were killed in car crashes and shootings and joyriding remains controversial in Belfast (a gunman opened fire on young car thieves as recently as 2017). Emotion is deployed as the paper’s analytical hub, in discussing interviews with joyriders from these localities. They describe the ‘buzz’ that drew them into a highly controversial subculture, reflecting on those experiences several decades on from their teenage car mania. Testimony from police officers, magistrates, journalists and probation officers is considered before this journey through emotional memories reaches its terminus with the perspective of those bereaved by ‘death driving,’ as they prefer to call it, who faced their own battles to have their voices heard in the debates about policing and social exclusion that followed in the wake of the wheel-spinning joyrider in his stolen hot hatch.
SESSION 2.2
DEINDUSTRIALISATION, HERITAGE AND URBAN MEMORY

European Integration and the City: Space, scale, and inequality in 1970s and 1980s Britain
Aaron Andrews (University of Leicester)

In histories of European integration, those who ‘speak’ the loudest are the politicians, diplomats, and bureaucrats who negotiated accession, fought against ‘ever closer union’, and shaped and implemented policy. But the experiences of urban communities – the people whose lives were affected by these supranational policies – have largely been overlooked. This paper suggests methodological approaches to uncovering the multiple ‘voices of the city’ within the history of European integration by focusing on issues of space, scale, and economic inequality in 1970s and 1980s Britain. Britain joined the European Economic Community in 1973, at which point it negotiated the establishment of a new European fund to direct cash to declining areas. Defining economic inequality in terms of high rates of unemployment, the European Regional Development Fund was, to an extent, an urban counterweight to the Common Agricultural Policy. But the regeneration of the physical environment also provided a mechanism through which European integration had a tangible impact on everyday life in urban communities. While the measures of economic inequality were negotiated by politicians and experts ‘from above’, by following the flow and physical effects of European funding across multiple scales – supranational, national, regional, urban, neighbourhood – this paper argues that we can begin to uncover the voices of the city to develop social histories of European integration in Britain.

Voices and Factors Influencing the Designation of Conservation Areas in Leicester
Sally Ann Hartshorne (University of Leicester)

Research undertaken for English Heritage in 2012 indicated that residents living in conservation areas ‘expressed strong values attached to a green, peaceful residential environment’. Prior to the introduction of the Civic Amenities Act in 1967 protection for the historic environment was limited to the listing of individual buildings and monuments. Through the introduction of Conservation Areas the 1967 Act expanded the limits of protection from these individual sites and provided consideration for the wider area. The designation of these areas has been influenced by a range of voices including planners, amenity societies and local residents.

This paper will look at the development of Conservation Areas in Leicester. Architectural critic, Ian Nairn, and illustrator, Kenneth Browne, undertook a townscape analysis of the city in 1963 and identified eight areas of special environment which they felt should be kept in order to maintain the uniqueness of Leicester for future generations. Three of these areas gained Conservation Area status in 1969 and over a twenty-year period the other five areas also received the designation. Leicester now has 24
Conservation Areas which cover a variety of urban environments. They are areas where the City Council believes ‘preservation or enhancement of the unique townscape is particularly important and they add much to the city in terms of attractive living environments, historical and cultural significance and high quality design’. Using Leicester as a case study this paper starts with the earliest designations made in the city by the modernist and conservationist planner, Konrad Smigielski. It will then consider the different voices involved and how the development of Conservation Areas has reflected the changes in thinking and attitudes towards conservation and heritage in the last 50 years.

**Being Unemployed: Deindustrialisation as social experience in the Ruhr, 1973-90**

*Sebastian Haumann (TU Darmstadt)*

Rising unemployment was one of the most severe structural problems of deindustrialising cities in the 1970s and 1980s and an incisive social experience. It did not only affect people’s individual lives, but even more significantly left a mark on urban communities. In effect, it was not only the unemployed themselves, but also their relatives and neighbours who shared this experience. This paper will discuss how sharply rising unemployment rates in the Ruhr Valley impacted upon collective everyday practices and the local perception of the social environment in deindustrialising cities. The rather depressing stories that this perspective yields have so far been largely side-lined in historical research. Only recently, in connection with the success of right-wing populism, is the significance of unemployment as social experience being discussed again. One reason why unemployment has so far been curiously absent from historical research is due to the difficulty of obtaining adequate sources from which the voices of the unemployed and their communities might be reconstructed. In fact, unemployment was often associated with feelings like shame and guilt, preventing people from speaking out and articulating their experiences. While a few contemporary surveys conducted by social scientists provide some insights, my paper will draw primarily on sources from a growing number of unemployed initiatives in the Ruhr.

Some tentative observations on the collective practices and the local perception can be drawn from this material. First, that the maintenance of social status became a dominant everyday concern to the degree of overcompensation. Second, at the same time social roles, notably between genders and ethnic groups, started to shift giving rise to unease and conflict. Finally, the city administrations’ attempts to face structural problems were regularly met with heavy criticism. Systematically interpreted, these tentative observations give a more nuanced picture of deindustrialisation and its consequences.
SESSION 2.3
PLANS FOR PEOPLE: CONTESTATION, MEMORY AND PLACE CREATION IN URBAN PLANNING

“The people of this country have had enough of experts”: Town planning, urban authority, and citizenship in post-war Ireland

Richard Butler (University of Leicester)

Urban historians hardly need Michael Gove to remind them that city ‘experts’ – planners, architects, government officials – have long had an uneasy relationship with the urban populations they claimed to understand and to help. This paper focuses on the Irish town planner, Dermot O’Toole, and his work in the western regional capital of Galway in the 1940s. It explains how his proposed town plan was challenged and undermined by a range of different actors in the city. The paper will focus on clerical, political, and business objections to an inner-city road scheme, seen through an analysis of the mechanics of protest, contestation, and displacement of narrative. But the paper will also question why there was so little resistance – or indeed involvement – ‘from below’ in planning the city’s future, and will comment on the uneven corpus of surviving source material. Those who were set to be most affected by O’Toole’s plan – including the Protestant minority community in the city centre and the working-class traders of the city market – are inexplicably, but perhaps predictably, absent from the narrow confines of the public ‘debate’ that occurred in the late 1940s. The paper will suggest that the absence of these voices is indicative of a wider problem within Irish town planning that is as apparent today as it was in the early post-war years. It will conclude with some brief reflections on the dynamics of major planning disputes in Irish cities today, including once again a proposed road scheme in Galway.

Nathanya: a contested urban image

Noah Hysler Rubin (Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design)

Nathanya was established by Jewish farmers on the Mediterranean coast of Mandate Palestine as an agricultural colony in 1927. Very soon, however, it was destined to become a city. Anticipated by its founders as a possible competitor to Tel Aviv, the successful adjacent suburb which turned into an independent township, Nathanya was celebrated from its very beginning as a national triumph. Its image became that of the Jewish return to Zion and a reclamation of a barren, deserted land. The town prospered and in 1935 its mayor commissioned a modern town plan from the British architect and Palestine’s official planning adviser, Clifford Holiday. Growing along its lines, Nathanya was finally declared a city in 1948. Told in biblical terms, the historiography of the small city of Nathanya seems to be a local one, typical albeit exaggerated, of the land and the people. However, as this paper will show, the story of Nathanya can be read as an exemplary tale of settler colonialism, using similar rhetoric and techniques as those used by white settlers in North America and Australia and their approach to the local indigenous population.
The first part of the analysis concentrates on the rhetoric used by the founders of Nathanya to ground the image of the city as the home of a renascent people on an ancient land, emptied of its occupants, relying on the notions coined by Jean O’Brien (2010) of ‘Firsting’ and ‘Lasting’. The second part of the paper concentrates on the urban employment of such tactics, describing the use made by Nathanya’s founders of the newly developed technique of town planning in the process of claiming the land and its development: Analysing the modern traits of Holiday’s plan, it will show how the land of Nathanya, a local form of *terra nullius*, was civilised and modernised by the combined forces of local Jews and colonial British.

**Outside City: Stasis and change in Greater London’s western suburbs; Hammersmith, Chiswick and Brentford, 1895-1927**

*Tracey Logan (University of Leicester)*

Much has been written of the ‘suburbanisation’ of Greater London at the turn of the twentieth century, and the modern technologies and ideologies which fuelled it. Less is understood of its recipients. Long-established communities of London’s rapidly growing ‘outer zone’ found their neighbourhoods, political and cultural lives, transformed rapidly by Greater London’s growth. Through case studies of three western suburbs, neighbours along the River Thames at the boundary between Greater London’s inner and outer ring, this paper explores locally-felt tensions between stasis and change at this time. It asks whether they were felt less, or differently, in districts inside and outside the newly created County of London with its progressive and expansionist government; the London County Council.

The perspective and methodology is unusual. Purposely forgetting well-studied themes in the history of Greater London’s growth, it sifts through neglected local election statistics to uncover forgotten differences in the experience of inner and outer London’s transformation at this time. Hammersmith, within the post-1888 London county boundary, is the ‘insider’ control in an historical experiment where Chiswick and Brentford are ‘outsiders’; districts of a newly diminished county of Middlesex. Did ‘insider’ communities respond differently to ‘outsiders’ when faced with the challenges of modern life; the advent of motor transport and new road infrastructures for example? Is that why we find Hammersmith residents obsessed with motor bus pollution, while in Chiswick the issue was road safety and ‘the motor peril’, and in Brentford economics took centre stage over the impact of new versus old arterial roads? What Greater London-related processes created ‘insider versus outsider’ differences? How were they understood locally within H.J. Dyos’ evolving ‘Continent of Suburbia’? And did the democratisation of local and national politics drive ‘outsider’ responses to change in the shadow of a spreading metropolis?
Planning communication between those politically responsible and the general public constitutes the frame in which most conflicts and compromises have to be negotiated in planning processes. Therein, visualisations can be assigned as one central instrument for transmitting and illustrating professional planning knowledge to a broader, less-expert audience, trying to find consensus, legitimisation, acceptance and/or approval. Depending on the intentions of planners, to what extent, when and how planning content is articulated publicly, including the type media and stage at which communication takes place, may vary. These intentions are shaped by the contemporary contexts of politics, planning principles, the understandings of the public, society and patterns of participation and power relations. This paper traces two case studies – “Hirschhof” Park in East Berlin and “Bülowblock” in West Berlin – the arenas of public planning communication and the actors, communication strategies and power relations involved. While the planning principles of East and West Berlin during the 1980s focused on similar approaches – dealing with housing shortages and decay through steady urban renewal of the historic inner-city – the political and social understanding of public communication and various actors’ involvement in public discourses differ distinctly. In the 1980s, both systems dealt with the increasing demand for participatory involvement, but chased different urban planning agendas. Whilst in West Berlin mutual urban renewal practices faced politicking, such as squatting, street riots and informal appropriation, my selected case study examines the top-down strategy of implementing a public dialogue in an early phase of planning conceptualisation using a variety of communication formats. A participation strategy which failed due to a lack of inhabitants’ interest. In comparison, in East Berlin formal participation in urban planning proceedings had faded into obscurity from the 1960s, so that civic engagement and even public information had to be reclaimed. The residents – mainly political opponents – were not involved in any planning, but claimed their right to participate as a bottom-up strategy by appropriating vacant spaces within housing blocks. Referring to the forgotten formal participation proceedings, they even obtained a voice in the official housing borough committee to ultimately prevent initial demolition plans.
Workers City? Conflicting voices in the remaking of Glasgow c.1946-2005
Valerie Wright (University of Glasgow)

In the post-war decades Glasgow became notorious as the most ‘slum ridden’ city of Britain. The Corporation of Glasgow aimed to tackle overcrowding and congestion through a massive scheme of slum clearance, public housing and urban redesign. Glasgow was to be remade. This was not the first reimagining of the city and was not to be the last; the latest cyclical regeneration of Glasgow is currently ongoing. This paper will explore the central conflict between the local authorities and politicians that have sought to improve or repurpose urban space in Glasgow and the community activists that have demanded the preservation of working-class community, culture and tradition. Such debates have roots in the nineteenth century, and in the immediate post-war decades the concerns were much the same, that the ‘real’ Glasgow was being lost, this time to the homogenising influence of ‘modernity’. Activists made similar arguments in the late 1980s and early 1990s, during the Garden Festival designed to kick-start Glasgow’s cultural renaissance and when Glasgow was European City of Culture. In both cases it was argued that Glasgow remained a ‘Workers City’ as a result of its industrial and working-class heritage. This was the city of ‘Red Clydeside’, radical politics and rent strikes not conspicuous consumption and neo-Liberalism. Of course, in reality, class identity and determining who ‘belongs to Glasgow’ was, and is, far more complicated. In the first years of the new millennium there continued to be conflicting voices over what experiences, memories and history should define the latest version of the ‘new’ Glasgow and this remains a contentious issue. Focusing on these three eras in the ongoing remaking of Glasgow, the 1960s slum clearance, late 1980s/early 1990s urban renewal and early 2000s regeneration, this paper will draw on oral history material and the writings of planners, politicians, architects, community activists and residents to explore this conflict in whose voices characterise the city of Glasgow.

Jessica Bean, (Denison University); Andrew Seltzer & Jonathan Wadsworth, Royal Holloway

The growth of public transportation networks played an important role in the twentieth century development of cities and urban labour markets. This paper uses data from the New Survey of London Life and Labour (NSLLL), a household survey conducted between 1929 and 1932 comprising a two percent sample of working class London households, to examine the extent and consequences of commuting in London two decades after the main expansion of the Underground network. The NSLLL contains two pieces of information about commuting for most of the 49,455 workers in the sample: 1) weekly expenditures on commuting to and from work, and 2) places of residence and employment. We have GIS coded the latter and use this to calculate distance commuted, distance from different modes of public transportation, and distance from the city centre.
Contemporaries regarded the improvements in access, speed, and reliability of public transport as having a dramatic effect on the lives of the working classes; reducing urban crowding and opening up new labour market opportunities. Our preliminary results support this broad conclusion and enable us to quantify the impact of commuting opportunities. According to our estimates, a worker living 500 meters from an Underground Station would, on average, commute about 250 meters further than one residing 1,000 meters from the nearest station. We also find that commuting was associated with increased earnings, with each additional kilometre commuted increasing earnings by about one percent. Finally, we find that, controlling for distance commuted, there is no earnings effect of proximity to an Underground or rail station.
British World Reaction to Deviant and Delinquent Australian youth, 1870-1930

Jasper Heeks (King’s College London)

First acknowledged in 1870, Australian larrikin urban youth performed a code of language, symbols and rituals and favoured values and behaviour contradictory to respectable bourgeois society, generating intense and sustained social commentary. The discourse stimulated was far from exclusive to Australian cities, and penetrated other British colonies as well as Britain itself. Contemporary concern over growing cities and the prospects of working-class urban youth was an international phenomenon. A global circulation of people and communications within the British Empire helped to collapse geographical and cultural space and build collective imaginations. Journalists and writers travelled, and news reports were directly extracted and reprinted between publications, forming channels for the depiction of events, peoples and circumstances elsewhere.

This thesis will illustrate and evaluate how larrikins figured in the bigger international picture and how reaction to deviant and delinquent Australian youth spoke to both local and imperial concerns across the British world. A global urban history approach is adopted to follow global urban connections, understand the relationship between larrikinism and port cities, and compare multiple sites. The thesis will explore the transnational discussions engendered by the topic of larrikins, which reveal the hopes and fears of, links and differences between, and place of cities and young people in communities. Newspapers are the main source and include both references to events in Australia and local stories, and, with travel writing, helped establish a word with colonial connotations as a new addition to the glossary of terms for the children of the poor. Police, court and municipal reports will provide depth and detail on people and incidents, and literary and theatrical circuits reveal the reception to larrikin shows and novels.

Department Stores and the Socialist City: Expert discourse on modern retail and urban planning in socialist Yugoslavia, 1960s

Ivana Mihaela Žimbrek (Central European University)

From the beginning of the 1950s, Zagreb as one of the federative capitals in Socialist Yugoslavia underwent a process of rapid economic, social and technological development. In contrast to these processes, however, the expansion and modernisation of the city’s already insufficient retail network considerably lagged behind, particularly in comparison to the significant increase in the number of inhabitants and urban space. This severe lack of satisfactory retail space, coupled with the ever-growing needs of the city and its population, made the intense expansion of the retail network a priority both for the city’s economic and retail experts, as well as architects and urban planners. In the plans and visions of these experts in charge of different spheres of planning the city, department stores emerged as the most representative and economical retail spaces that were imagined
to resolve the acute lack of retail spaces in existing and new neighborhoods in the city. From the late 1950s to the late 1980s, the expert discourse of various Yugoslav economic and retail professionals, as well as architects and urban planners, on the emerging issue of constructing department stores and developing the retail network illustrates the complex interconnection between modern retail, urban space and the social environment in different urban centres in Socialist Yugoslavia. On a broader level, these developments also shed light on the dynamic between different actors and their varying agendas in the spheres of city planning and managing that determined – and were determined by – the decentralised character of the Yugoslav self-management system. These are some of the topics that form the PhD project that I am researching in the Comparative History programme at the Central European University, and that I will present together with an overview of the current literature review, archival sources, and research questions.

**Gender, Loss and Memory: The impact of deindustrialisation on women textile workers, Glasgow, c.1970-2000**

*Rory Stride (University of Strathclyde)*

This research project is an oral history project which will explore the ways that deindustrialisation and the resultant job losses impacted on women workers employed in Glasgow’s substantial textile industry during the period c.1970-2000. The research will initiate a significant new oral history project to investigate the ways that deindustrialisation and its resultant job losses impacted on women workers. The themes of memory and regeneration are central to this research and will build upon a contemporary strand within the deindustrialisation studies literature which considers regeneration and memory in relation to the importance of former industrial places (High, 2007; Clarke, 2015 & 2017; Clark & Gibbs, 2018). It will consider the ways in which the regeneration agenda in Glasgow – which has promoted the demolition, gentrification and removal of industrial spaces – has impacted on women’s reflections on their own experiences of industrial employment and the value they assign to their working lives. The experiences of working-class women are underrepresented within Scotland’s industrial heritage which continues to be dominated by depictions of male workers and male dominated industries in Scotland’s industrial heritage (Clark & Gibbs, 2018). The research will critically examine the representation of working-class women within the dominant, male-centric narrative of Glasgow’s industrial heritage and consider how this shapes our knowledge of the industrial past. In addition to considering the tangible aspects of industrial heritage, the research will provide an exploration of intangible heritage and how it has been/can be effectively utilised to provide cross-generational memory-sharing of working-class women’s experiences of the industrial employment.
SESSION 3.2
ENGAGING FROM BELOW: CIVIC CULTURE AND AGENCY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Harry Stokes: The man-woman of Manchester

Billie-Gina Thomason (Liverpool John Moores University)

‘The most remarkable woman of this century was “Harry” Stokes, the bricksetter who committed suicide in the sluice of the river Irwell’ wrote the Liverpool Mercury and Salford Weekly in October 1859. Harry Stokes lived in Manchester and Salford during his adult life; he was married twice and was a ‘master bricklayer’. Harry Stokes was biologically female. This paper explores how Harry Stokes embodied his gender identity in the civic community and considers the roles he played in the city. Harry was a celebrated husband and bricklayer, however he also held positions as a beer retailer and a special constable. This paper will consider the impact that Harry had in Manchester and reflect upon his inability to settle in one area throughout his life. I will consider how Harry was able to shape himself to fit in within the expectations of the city and perform the roles of a man in a confident manner. I will also consider how Harry was forced to unbind his identity during his first court appearance in 1838 when his wife revealed him to be biologically female. I will examine this court case and reports covering Harry’s life demonstrating how he effectively performed his gender and engaged in urban life in nineteenth-century Britain. Using my own conceptual framework of the ‘3 Cs of Passing’, I will reflect, not only how Harry confidently embodied the expected roles of masculinity in the nineteenth century, but also comment on his confidence in fulfilling the role of a city man. I will demonstrate his commitment to his male gender identity through the roles that he performed. Similarly, how his consistency in his gender performance enabled him to be popular within his community in Manchester, largely evidenced through his entrepreneurial skills, private and public relationships and his employability.

A Catholic church for a Calvinist City: Paternalism, petitions, and politics in Alsace, 1853-83

Will Clement (University of Oxford)

Mulhouse was once an independent city-republic in the midst of French Alsace, ruled by a close-knit group of Calvinist families. After the voluntary annexation by France in 1798, industry and population boomed in the new ‘French Manchester’. With the majority of the thousands of workers who flocked to the factories being Catholics, Mulhouse was soon no longer a ‘Protestant oasis’, surrounded by Catholic France: Catholics and Protestants reached parity by 1830, and Catholics outnumbered Protestants by over two to one by mid-century. Despite this demographic shift, municipal and industrial power still lay with the same Calvinist elite families who had ruled Mulhouse for centuries. This ‘fabricantocracy’ used paternalism and philanthropy to consolidate and maintain their control in Mulhouse. They built libraries, wash-houses, and an unprecedented paternalist
housing scheme (the *cités ouvrières*) for their workers. One building they refused to construct, however, was a new Catholic church, for fear that this would shift their elite conception of Mulhouse’s identity as a Calvinist city. In this paper, I will explore the petitions lodged by Catholic working-class inhabitants of Mulhouse’s *cités ouvrières* for a dedicated Catholic church in this paternalist quarter. Early petitions reutilised the language of paternalism when addressing the industrial elite, trying to appeal to the fabricantocracy’s previous generosity. When these failed, other petitioners sought to shame the industrial elite by drawing comparison with church construction elsewhere in Alsace. Ultimately, the urban elite only acquiesced to build a church in the *cités ouvrières* once their own hegemony and identity were under threat. The German annexation of Alsace in 1871 threw local and regional politics into disarray. It was only then that the industrialists finally listened to the voices of their workers and, in building a new church, sought to redefine their city’s pan-class identity as non-German, rather than non-Catholic.

**Rediscovering the Small Town: Recovering female agency**

*Caroline Mogg (University of Lincoln)*

My paper takes a neglected urban setting – the small town – and re-examines it through the lens of a marginalised group – women. During the nineteenth century many of Britain’s small towns continued to play a key role in the economic life of Britain. A bridge between the urban and rural worlds, small towns were important retail, administrative, and social centres, catering to the diverse needs of the provincial population. Yet urban historians still overlook the small town. Dismissed as uninteresting and remote from the social and economic forces shaping the rest of the country, the small town has been viewed, by both contemporaries and latterly by historians, as backward and inferior when compared to its larger metropolitan neighbours. The focus on the metropolitan at the expense of the small town has also impacted on the writing of women’s history. Research has focused on female economic agency in major cities and large towns, ignoring women’s activities in smaller urban settlements. Like the small town, provincial women have also been dismissed as uninteresting, with little to contribute to the overall story of women’s history. By highlighting the activities of women as makers and shapers of small town environments I challenge the image of these towns and their inhabitants as irrelevant and inferior. Home to clusters of female householders and business owners, I will show that these towns were important sites of female agency. By colonising local streets and commercial neighbourhoods women exerted control over their locales, even going so far as to shape the built environment through the commissioning of public buildings like hospitals, churches, and schools. Seen through the lens of a normally marginalised group – provincial women – the small town is once again revealed as an important site where identities were forged and fortunes made.
Loyalty and Lived Lives: Women in wartime Cape Town
Sarah-Jane Walton (University of Cape Town)

This paper explores some of the ways in which women in Cape Town were affected by the First World War. Here a primary concern is how gender shaped performances of loyalty to Britain, Empire and the Union during the war, and how this intersected with race and class. For Anglophone white women, loyalty was often defined in moralistic and nationalistic terms. Anxiety regarding the city’s temptations led women’s groups to organise ‘wholesome’ entertainment for visiting troops. Women’s patrols were introduced to counteract indecent behaviour on the streets, and, with the plethora of public war-related work, women were more visible in the public sphere. Indeed, women – as an overall marginalised group – did help shape the image of Cape Town during the war. ‘Motherhood’ gained a heightened significance, framed as central to building a healthy nation. Here, loyalty for some was underlined with concern for the preservation and growth of white South Africa, but there was also a genuine concern for children of all races. Perceived slums were thus marked as the antithesis of the modern, clean city, and female sanitary-inspectors were increasingly employed to report on impoverished conditions. The rise in the cost of living and the contraction of housing in the city put pressure on poorer households, and the anxiety around these concerns found unexpected outlets for struggling women – such as the 1915 Lusitania riots. German women, targeted as ‘disloyal,’ were shunned and their lives dislocated, their husbands detained as enemy subjects. The disruption of trade with Britain enabled industrial expansion and more women found new work, even if it was poorly paid. The war thus affected the lives of different women in Cape Town in a variety of real and imagined ways. Overall this paper should introduce a complicated understanding of these effects and how they intersected with identifications of loyalty during the First World War.

From Marginalisation to Multiplicity: Stockholm’s Jewry before 1939
Maja Hultman (University of Southampton)

Historiography has cemented the spatiality of Stockholm’s Jewish population into hierarchal, binary identities, divided between rich and poor, German and Eastern European, northern and southern. Proving this oversimplified image to be a literary construction by contemporary religious leaders, this paper ventures into the spatial reality of the urban minority, finding diversity among the approximately 7,000 Swedish Jews. I will firstly use the architectural methodology of ‘building biography’ to demonstrate how the construction of different Jewish synagogues was aided by a mutually respectful Jewish/non-Jewish relationship. Providing hopeful evidence of multiculturalism and solidarity in a modern world that simultaneously saw the rise of anti-Semitic and
nationalistic forces, this methodology also allows us to view Stockholm from a minority’s perspective, shifting the focus to the physical manifestations that both challenged and shaped the urban landscape of the largely homogeneous Swedish capital. The second focus of this paper is to provide a voice to Jewish individuals twice marginalised. Stockholm’s Eastern European and/or orthodox communities have been ignored by historians, but I enable the plurality and individuality of this group to come to light through the methodologies of, once again, building biography, but also oral history and GIS. Locating various minyanim and religious schools across the map of Stockholm, I find inter-communal discussions on their construction and continued existence. Interviews emphasise the importance of individual ideals and choices in what sacred places to attend. GIS mapping contradict previous historians’ assumptions on the identifications of the orthodox Jew. Presenting case studies from my doctoral thesis, this paper sheds new light on the multiplicity that could and did exist within a small Jewish population. The interdisciplinary approach allows the marginalised Jewish minority, and the twice marginalised Eastern European and/or orthodox community, to become the centre of the study, retelling their struggle to shape the Swedish urban landscape.

1960s Moscow as an International City: The view of students from the developing world

Riikkamari Muhonen (Central European University)

This project concentrates on the Moscow-based People’s Friendship University as a case of Soviet cooperation with the developing world in the 1960s, but in this paper I will spread my point of view to look at the city of Moscow through the eyes of African, Arab, and Latin American students. As part of the newly-found internationalism of the Thaw era, the Soviet Union invited thousands of students from the developing world to study in Soviet universities. As a result, the city of Moscow became a home to a large international student community of thousands of members. As part of their studies, the students were encouraged to visit the theatres and museums of the Soviet capital. Excursions were organised to different factories to familiarise the students with “Soviet reality”. But outside the organised programme, the students also experienced a different kind of Moscow: they went to bars and dance halls, made friends with the Soviet people and invited local girls to their dormitories. On the other hand, they also experienced racism and difficulties of everyday life in Soviet Moscow. My paper analyses these different images of Moscow and Muscovites found in the archival material to form a multi-layered image of the city that was a temporary home to a community of students that differed largely by their skin colour, background and political orientations. This resulted in different images and ideas of the international Moscow of the 1960s.
SESSION 3.4
WHO BELONGS? SPACE, HERITAGE AND REGENERATION

Beyond the ‘Back-lot’: Using GIS to locate Charleston’s disenfranchised majority
Sarah Collins (Northumbria University)

Charleston in South Carolina was the most likely point of entry for Africans being brought to North America as slaves, and from 1790 it was also home to a large and increasing black majority. Yet the historical narrative surrounding Charleston continues to be dominated by the establishment of an enlightened physical design by the planter and merchant elites that facilitated their social advancement. In consequence, Charleston’s disenfranchised majority has been excluded from ‘space’ in favour of ‘place’. The place-specific nature of current research, which has considered the lives of slaves within the confines of the ‘back-lot’ (an architectural feature of Charleston’s single-houses) has over-emphasised segregation within the city. With tensions mounting in the early nineteenth century following a failed slave uprising, the back-lot is used as an example of both oppression and black-agency. However, with over half of Charleston’s population enslaved, slavery was omnipresent.

Collating and analysing historic maps, trade directories and census records within a GIS has determined how development took place in Charleston between 1740 and 1840. This compilation of sources not only enables the questioning of ‘top-down’ models of development in the city, but also populates the city with human activity. Significantly, Charleston’s physical fabric and spatial arrangement did not inherently polarise society. Rather, assumed social divides based on physical separation were far more complicated. The spatial distribution of peoples throughout the whole of Charleston highlights contradictory race relations of acceptance and tension, of ‘freedom’ and control that existed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Within a city still redressing its role within the North American slave trade, properly locating slavery is crucial in identifying the whole city as the work-space of slavery.

Speaking for the Scheme? Local alternative press in Glasgow 1968-86
Kate Wilson (University of Strathclyde)

From the post-war period onwards, Glasgow underwent extensive urban regeneration. The Corporation’s slum demolition and rehousing policies resulted in dispersed relocation of many of the city’s working-class communities in an era of politicised deindustrialisation. In the late 1960s and 1970s, a wealth of local alternative media publications emerged in Glasgow, many of which were based within city’s restructured communities. These publications incorporated local journalism, poetry and fiction, and regularly campaigned on a number of local, often housing-based, issues. Based on both archival research and oral testimony, this paper will seek to illuminate the ways in which the visual and written content of Glasgow-based community newspapers such as The Gorbals View and Castlemilk Today worked to challenge accepted ideas on the effects of urban regeneration.
I will consider how these publications constituted resistance to both media representations of residents living in restructured areas, and to the imposition of further restructuring in the context of Glasgow’s then-unprecedented urban regeneration project.

‘What makes a Building Historic?’ The role of historians in shaping Melbourne’s urban heritage in the 1980s and 1990s
James Lesh (University of Melbourne/King’s College London)

Following the closure of the 1965-85 ‘heroic period of conservation’ (Harwood & Powers, 2004), Australian urban historians Graeme Davison and Chris McConville published ‘A Heritage Handbook’ in 1991 as an intervention in the burgeoning field of urban heritage management. A 275-page edited collection, ‘A Heritage Handbook’ contained essays ranging from the preparation of heritage studies and presenting at planning tribunals to histories and theories of conservation – such as Davison’s ‘What Makes a Building Historic?’ (1986), which had provoked a retort called ‘The Ugly Historian’ (Lewis, 1986). At a moment when the future role of historians in urban heritage management was unsettled, the collection proposed a radical leadership role for them, shortly before Raphael Samuel’s ‘Theatres of Memory’ (1994) and two decades prior to the establishment of the scholarly field of critical heritage studies.

Did historians have more to contribute to heritage management than merely advising consultants on classifications? ‘A Heritage Handbook’ was an attempt to at once historicise and democratise heritage management and overcome its dominance by consultants, architects, planners and regulators, whose focus was on the safeguarding of canonical built fabric rather than the social and historical life of cities. Examining the writings of historians alongside Melbourne urban history archives including municipal heritage reports, periodicals and oral histories, this paper interrogates epistemological divides between urban history and urban heritage in the 1980s-90s. It applies these ideas to industrial places classified in Melbourne at this time, such as the Bryant and May match factory and the Swallow and Ariell biscuit factory. By revisiting ‘A Heritage Handbook’ almost three decades after its publication, this paper addresses the provocation: could historians provide a more qualified, diverse or democratic perspective to urban heritage than the practitioners who were the subject of their critique?
SESSION 4.1
ADAPTING URBAN SPACE: APPROPRIATION, FREEDOM AND CONTROL

Invisibles? Country women in the socialist town squares
Zsófia Kisőrsi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

In Hungary, as well as in other countries of the socialist block, after the family’s land was shifted to the co-operatives (1961) neither young girls nor women having children had a choice but take up a job in towns (usually in the factories) to provide a stable living for themselves and their families. The mass influx of rural and under-educated women, however, was against numerous economic and political interests and socialist ideas, and as a result, the leading party politicians were trying to make country women as much invisible as possible to their peers and to the posterity nation-wide and on town levels as well. In my paper after showing the historical context, first I will try to give an answer to the methodological question of how the “invisibility cloak” can be exposed for contemporary researchers; that is how the urban social group that was tabooed during the time of socialism can be uncovered. In the second part of the paper my aim is to present the ‘voices’, feelings, perceptions and emotions of these tabooed and partly marginalised women, who were tabooed by the public spaces of the socialist towns and the single-party state. To achieve this, I am studying the community of country women factory workers of a west Hungarian town, Szombathely. By answering the following general questions. I will show: how the atmosphere of public spaces (their outlook, sound, smell, and colour) changed after the mass appearance of country women. How did factory work women adopt and use the public spaces of the socialist towns, and the community places at the workplace? And respectively, reversing the question, how did town spaces (and their old users) adopt working women from the countryside? The main purpose of my paper is to show how our view on the socialist urban society is changed, if we talk about the urban society based on the town experience and feelings of people from the country.

City-as-target? Thinking about how cities and spaces alter memories of the Cold War
Emily Gibbs (University of Liverpool)

This paper explores the ways in which individuals were influenced by the urban spaces and cities they lived in when talking about their emotions, stories, and feelings regarding Britain’s Cold War, and its nuclear weapons. Individuals living in cities during the Cold War often felt that they were a “target”, usually providing a range of different reasons. This paper shall explore the oral history interviews from individuals living in Belfast, Glasgow, London, Liverpool, Lincoln, and Liverpool and the ways in which they discussed and talked about the nuclear threat. It shall think and explore the ways in which individuals presented the city as “a target” or not, and how nuclear weapons invaded urban and domestic spaces.
The paper shall also consider the expression and experience of “nuclear anxiety”, a topic which has received much historical attention in recent years, when discussing the ‘home’ and the ‘city’ in interviews, considering the emotional layers of story-telling in history. This paper shall argue that nuclear weapons, and the presence of the Cold War, resulted in intense emotional responses for many individuals and shaped the ways in which they discussed the urban space they lived within. It will argue that historians must consider the multifaceted layers of individual responses to military threats, and the ways in which individuals think about the home. The paper shall ultimately consider the ways in which individuals discussed and felt about the city they lived in, and stress that unique nuclear experiences developed within different urban spaces for numerous different reasons. Only by considering the emotions, stories, and voices of individuals, can historians of the Cold War truly understand the impact of Britain’s Cold War and the presence of its nuclear weapons.

**Sleeping Rough: Navigating the urban space as ‘homeless’ in Stockholm c.1776-1836**

*Tobias Larsson (Uppsala University)*

In 1776 Sweden’s first police, the Royal Police Chamber of Stockholm, treated 2,601 cases. All manner of brawlers, beggars and people of bad repute appear therein. Notably, however, there is only one person that today would be dubbed ‘homeless’. Catharina Dickman, a tanner’s widow, was not the only individual found sleeping outside, but she was alone in having done so for a long period (rather than it being a drunken exception). The constables appear to have been shocked by her condition, and they went into thorough detail seeking to understand how she came to sleep rough. The circumstances indicate a novel situation, which the constables had trouble conceptualising.

Six decades later a drastic change had occurred; this sort of issue was piecemeal rather than a rarity. In the summer of 1835, June through to August, the Chamber registered 1,477 cases. No fewer than 146 individuals appear herein whose situation was similar to Catharina’s. Showing ingenuity, they slept in a great variety of places. Beyond streets and gutters there were those found in outhouses or haystacks, on piles of fish trimmings or manure, and even some who broke into homes or hid in churches. The constables no longer had any problem conceptualising the situation and most were deemed to have committed an offence then categorised as ‘laying outside’ (*uteliggande*). Whether it was the number of people who did this or only the interest to police them that had increased is difficult to say. My paper will however seek to understand these individuals, their practices, and the constables that policed them. Here urban space, and wrongful appropriation and shaping of the same, come front and centre. Lacking other sources, the actions of these marginalised persons will have to voice what it meant to navigate the early modern city as someone who slept rough.
Invisible Influences: Uncovering the role of rural migrants in city life in twentieth-century Ireland

Arlene Crampsie (University College Dublin)

Traditional archival sources available to urban historians offer a wide body of documentary evidence written by and about cities’ governing politicians, officials and employees. Their records, alongside newspapers, periodicals and government reports provide fine-grained detail on the lives of these city elites and the poorer lower classes that they problematise. Much less evidence has survived to illuminate the lives of the ordinary, middle and lower middle classes. Oral history is increasingly being employed as a key methodology to uncover the otherwise hidden histories of twentieth-century city dwellers, gradually bringing to light extraordinary lives lived in very ordinary contexts and allowing researchers an opportunity to ask questions well beyond the scope of the traditional archival record. One potential avenue for this research is exploring the oft neglected role of rural migrants in city life. Yet, these largely invisible migrants arriving from a city’s rural hinterland play a key role in all aspects of city development and substantially complicate the binary urban-rural identity divide. Drawing on interviews conducted on the Irish national sporting organisation, the Gaelic Athletic Association, this paper explores the role of rural migrants in shaping the culture and society of Dublin in the early to mid-twentieth century highlighting the complex, overlapping urban and rural identities of Dublin’s citizens. In doing so, it is hoped to showcase the potential of oral history to illuminate a whole range of otherwise hidden voices key to the past life of the City.

Living Differently in a ‘Homely’ City: Locating the Chinese community in the postcolonial diasporic city-space of Calcutta

Koushiki Dasgupta (Diamond Harbour Women’s University, Calcutta)

Cities have been developed as sites for the analysis of transnational migration and citizenship in postcolonial India. The urban landscape itself articulated a space of encounter between the individuals and the groups to make the ‘post-colonial’ a lived experience through the lens of the minorities. Diasporic groups were an important part of all colonial cities and Calcutta, one of the most fascinating colonial cities in India, grew through the migration of different peoples not from other parts of Indian but also from outside the country. All these communities contributed to Calcutta’s metropolitan fabric as the ‘culture of the displaced’, but their ethnic unity in the face of spatial dispersal often faced a clash with this global city, portrayed by ethnic diversity through spatial convergence. Simultaneously the diasporic city space has been evolved as an important site to explore the power relations through a location-specific history manifested in the neighbourhoods, workplaces and in the households. The place making practices in fact
focused on the ideas of minority selfhood reflected through the lens of everyday lived spaces of the communities. In this paper an attempt has been made to understand how the notions of minority selfhood have been constructed in a post-colonial diasporic city space, how did it encounter with the trans-local visions of the community and the transnational faces of a ‘global city’ within the memory/nostalgia matrix. In this paper the tiny Chinese community, those who came to Calcutta during and after the Second World War and cultivated the city space with multiple historical trajectories, has been taken as a case study to frame the primary hypothesis that the city itself created the narratives of a ‘homely city’ in its diasporic space where the everyday lived spaces of the people explored a kind belongingness with the multicultural mosaic of Calcutta but also re-enacted their exclusive identity in some of the specific sites through the prisms of trans-locality and multiculturalism.

“The will of the people is the supreme law”: Reactions to slum clearance in Lagos, 1924-60

Jimoh M. Oluwasegun (Federal University, Brinni-Kebbi)

On the 7 November 1955, three hundred and seventy thousand members of the Association of Central Lagos Residents wrote a petition to the colonial administration over the planned demolition of their houses which had been designated as ‘unsafe’ by the town planning and medical authorities. The demolition of houses was part of measures aimed at controlling the outbreak of plague that ravaged the Island from 1924-32. The protestation generated by the slum clearance scheme to a large extent shaped the colonial authorities planning scheme and public health policies. Extant studies on nationalist activities in Nigeria have often neglected the nexus between space control, town planning, epidemic control, urban health policies and the development of nationalist movements in Nigeria. For instance the slum clearance scheme, 1930s-57 was one of the numerous situations that galvanised mass protest in the period leading to independence. Attempts by the colonial administration to clean up the city in the aftermath of the bubonic plague of 1924-32 that ravaged the city was fiercely resisted by the nationalists and residents who argued that it was an attempt by the government to sequestrate their land. In the light of relevant historiography and a variety of primary sources, this paper explores the interconnectedness between epidemic control, health and urban planning in colonial Lagos. It seeks to enhance our understanding of how these issues became entangled with nationalist activities to the extent that space control became one of the pretexts for public protests during the transfer of power in the 1950s.
Protestant City Lives in a Catholic Surrounding  
*Stephan Steiner (University of Vienna)*

1700–1781: The city of Vienna presents itself as the stronghold of mono-confessionality in the Habsburg Empire. Catholicism is the only religion allowed – except for three places in town: the embassies of Denmark, Sweden and Holland. There, so-called *Legation preachers* (*Legationsprediger*) looked after a community of privileged confessional outsiders: diplomats, wholesalers, military dignitaries. Often these groups were illegally joined by artisans and peasants passing through town. *Legation chapels* (*Gesandtschaftskapellen*), established on the premises of the embassies, housed a vivid life of its own. Furthermore, protestant private tutors were in town as well, approaching the baroque catholic ostentations with either spite or sarcasm. As Protestantism in these niches of Vienna was often heavily influenced by the pietists in Halle, a strong body of correspondences has been preserved there, allowing a deep insight into the perceptions, hopes and fears of a religious minority group. My paper will, in great parts, rely on such ego-documents, thus granting an insight into the emotional configurations of a marginalised group in pre-modernity.

Urban Landscapes: The multicultural inner city in post-war Britain  
*Kieran Connell (Queen’s University Belfast)*

In recent years, sociologists have called attention to the everyday dynamics of ‘lived’ multiculture in Britain – the ‘local negotiations’ and ‘processes of cohabitation’ that have, it has been argued, made ethnic diversity an ‘ordinary feature’ of life in urban spaces in particular. In this paper I explore how we might interrogate the historical dimensions of these themes. As part of a wider project to examine the multicultural inner-city across the post-war period through a focus on Balsall Heath, an inner-city area of Birmingham, I make the case for the importance of space within a process Stuart Hall referred to as Britain’s multicultural ‘drift’. In this respect, I argue, sources such as photography offer a particularly useful way of getting at the topographical changes to the inner-city landscape brought about in the context of mass migration from Britain’s colonies and former colonies.
Urban History Group Conference 2019

Urban Space, Material Change and Emotional Response in Amsterdam, 1850-1930
Anneleen Arnout (Radboud University / Open Universiteit of the Netherlands)

This paper uses a history of emotions perspective to reflect upon the commonplace notion that the modern metropolis (nineteenth – early twentieth-century) was a place of heightened emotionality. To substantiate this notion, scholars usually refer to contemporary intellectuals, such as Charles Baudelaire or Georg Simmel. Broader empirical research is rare. This is especially the case with regard to the question of changes to the physical environment. For some cities, like Amsterdam (Vroom, 2000), scholars have laid bare the way intellectuals protested against sweeping projects of urban renewal and undertook action to protect historic buildings and landscapes. Scholars interested in the introduction of new technologies have likewise stressed the bewilderment felt by contemporaries. Both strands of scholarship have likewise stressed the bewilderment felt by contemporaries. Both strands of scholarship have based themselves on rather specialised sources (intellectual/technical journals) and/or very specific moments (e.g. the first train journey). We are therefore left to wonder how widespread and long-lasting these feelings were. This paper seeks to understand how more varied groups of urban dwellers felt about their changing environments. It uses newspapers as its first source. Not only are they the main medium urban dwellers used to make sense of their urban lives, they also hold a large amount of articles of varying size referencing both bigger and smaller moments of material change (e.g. a newly asphalted street, the construction/demolition of a building or neighbourhoods). By using a large sample of articles from the period between 1850 and 1930, this paper will demonstrate that urban change in Amsterdam did not always elicit intense emotional responses. Urban dwellers instead expressed and practised a variety of emotions. Together, these practices and expressions demonstrate that urban dwellers were capable of (emotionally) managing urban change in very different, but far more efficient ways than is often presumed.
SESSION 4.4
VOICES OF THE SOCIALIST CITY: FROM MOSCOW TO THE MUSLIM PERIPHERY

Panel Overview

This panel examines how Soviet citizens spoke about and reacted to the heavy-handed edicts of socialist urbanism. Moving away from official plans and decrees, we turn to the voices of ordinary people who articulated their concerns about housing and urban life through petitions, letters of complaint, and through both traditional and state-sponsored residential organisations that mobilised against central authorities. Harshman’s paper examines Soviet housing allocation in the two decades following the Bolshevik revolution, showing how notions of a citizen’s right to the city were created and deployed in everyday life. Zubovich focuses on residents’ reactions to forced eviction and rehousing in Moscow in the 1940s and 1950s. And Badillo Castro examines the local organisations through which residents in Central Asian cities pushed back against urban visions emanating from Moscow during the Khrushchev era.

Demanding a right to the Soviet City: Petitions, legal cases, and the voices of residents in urban Russia, 1917-35

Deirdre Ruscitti Harshman (University of Illinois)

The Soviet urban housing situation was designed to be a top-down process. Access to housing – a valuable and sought-after commodity after decades of a housing crisis that left the average urban resident with just over seven square meters of housing stock per person in 1925 – was controlled through local and then state agencies. These institutions were supposed to apply strict bureaucratic regulation to the allocation of housing, and to do so, they were empowered with the ability not just to settle residents into particular locations, but to (in certain circumstances) use eviction, relocation, and “filling up” (i.e., adding new residents to a room or apartment that was deemed to have empty space) as tools. Yet, in actuality, the process of housing allocation was a much messier process. Residents regularly contended with their class categorisation, used institutional or family connections to strengthen their cases, or even occasionally simply refused to follow directives. Using legal cases, advice/question-and-answer columns in magazines, and petitions, this paper argues that these vignettes show us how a right to the city was created and deployed in everyday life. This paper will draw on examples from specific social groups to illustrate different systematic elements of this process. A section on low-level white-collar employees of Soviet institutions (sluzhashchie) and how they contested the fact that they could be evicted to make room for members of the working class provides insight into the contention surrounding class. A section on the different treatment of male and female landlords explores the role that gender played. And finally, a section on housing cooperatives illustrates how residents manipulated state hierarchies to create more secure housing for themselves.
Voices from the shadows: Responding to urban renewal in post-war Moscow
Katherine Zubovich (Ryerson University)

In 1947, Soviet leaders embarked on a project to transform the Soviet capital through the construction of eight skyscrapers. Driven by a commitment to urban monumentalism, those in charge of Moscow’s skyscraper project paid scant attention to the consequences that their monumental vision of the city would have on the ground. That the locations chosen for Moscow’s skyscrapers were not empty – that they contained existing structures inhabited by tens of thousands of people – was a fact not addressed in the decree initiating construction in early 1947. Soviet officials turned to the enormous tasks of evicting and resettling those who inhabited the city’s skyscraper plots only after the project was already underway. This paper examines local residents’ responses to eviction and resettlement in Moscow in the post-war Stalin era. Focusing on Moscow’s Zariad’e, the district chosen for skyscraper development closest to the Kremlin, this paper draws on letters of complaint that were sent by this neighbourhood’s residents to state officials in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The paper focuses on questions of class, identity, and belonging as articulated by evictees, many of whom voiced complaints about being moved from their existing homes in the centre of Moscow to new settlements on the outskirts of the city. In their letters, residents challenged the image of the city presented by Soviet officials and architects, articulating an alternative reading of post-war Moscow that took into account personal narratives of wartime loss and sacrifice. Ultimately, this paper suggests that large-scale urban construction projects – like skyscrapers – be considered not just for the symbolic work that they do on the cityscape, but that they also be seen as key sites of interaction between residents and planners, ordinary citizens and officials.

Mobilisation in the Socialist City: Traditional institutions versus state-sponsored organisations in Soviet Central Asia during the 1960s
Zayra Badillo Castro (SOAS, London)

In the 1950s and 1960s, under the leadership of Khrushchev, across the Soviet Union a number of projects of massive urban development took place. New housing came along with the establishment of several social organisations, operating in the neighbourhoods with the purpose of inserting the average person in the affairs of the Communist state. The new people’s state included Volunteers’ Militias, Women’s Committees, Comrades’ Courts and House Committees run on a voluntary basis by urban dwellers. Promoting a political project on the ground and in the new living spaces of the microrayon and within the old towns of Central Asia, these organizations also reflected residents’ concerns with the direction of a socialist city in the Muslim periphery and its promises. In Soviet Uzbekistan, in addition to these organizations, there were the mahalla committees, a centuries old traditional institution that have served to mobilise the population in old towns to improve living conditions. This paper looks at the participation of residents in the main cities of Soviet Central Asia in these two types of organisations, state sponsored and local initiatives, and the value they gave to their work in promoting a new socialist way of life in the 1960s among the population. Inserted both into the ideological
propaganda of the era, they served as examples of the differences between Moscow’s goals for the region and expectations, with the traditional structures of power in Central Asian cities that defined a local understanding of welfare for their society.
SESSION 5.1
QUESTIONING THE EXPERT? EXPERIENCES OF THE CITY, c.1890-1939

Panel Overview

Experiences of the city within urban history have often been mediated through narratives of expertise. One of the reasons for this is methodological: gaining a sense of how people actually experienced the city is often difficult due to a lack of evidence. Recently, however, historians have begun to utilise the frameworks of consumption in order to better understand how urban residents experienced the city; or, to use Vanessa Taylor and Frank Trentmann’s phrase, the ‘politics of everyday life’. This provides a starting point for uncovering the experiences of urban residents in the modern British city, and how they resonated with or reacted against expert knowledge and authority. It is not, though, the only way to reach everyday experiences, as archival sources, cartographic materials and newspaper remain valuable windows into urban experience. This panel seeks to explore how urban residents experienced the city during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in accordance with, or in reaction to, dominant expert narratives. In looking at the use of fire insurance maps, wartime regulations, and water usage, the panel makes use of a range of sources, such as maps, archival documents, and newspapers, in order to problematise the dominance of expertise that was constructed by cartographers, municipal authorities, and the press. In doing so, it provides insights into how the city was actually experienced by urban residents during this period, and uncovers voices that have previously been neglected.

Risk, Expertise and the City: Charles E. Goad’s mapping of Edinburgh, c.1892-1906
Anna Feintuck (University of Edinburgh)

This paper examines how, in the production and use of cartographic items, urban space and local knowledge were brought together to construct authoritative representations of place. It does so through a case study of Edinburgh and, specifically, the mapping activities of the London-based firm, Charles E. Goad Ltd, producers of fire insurance plans. From a distance, Goad employed authority-building rhetoric, primarily shaped through the acquisition of highly detailed local knowledge, in order to offer a credible means of assessing urban risk. In exploring the collaborative mechanisms by which Goad became expert on specific aspects of urban space in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the paper demonstrates the importance of close attention to geography and the spatial dimensions of knowledge construction, arguing that cartographic items and their reputations were produced socially as well as materially.
“It’s the same thing over and over again: it’s the poor that helps the poor”: Local government planning for bombardment on the coastal home front, 1914-18

Michael Reeve (University of Hull)

The First World War was a ‘total’ conflict, mobilising the entire material and human resources of the belligerent societies. In Britain, this industrialised modern war brought non-combatants on the ‘home front’ into direct contact with weapons and ordnance. For the first time in over 300 years, civilians were threatened with bombardment in their homes and on the streets. From the outset of war in August 1914, the British state enacted emergency legislation, with regulations designed to ensure ‘public safety and the defence of the realm’. The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) and Defence of the Realm Regulations (DRR) provided a thoroughgoing framework, empowering the military to take control of land for defences and giving a coalition of state, military and local authorities’ powers to regulate aspects of everyday civilian life hitherto seen as sacrosanct. This paper will use the north-east coast of England as a case study to explore the development of early civil defence against the bombardment threat. This area was affected heavily by bombing from December 1914, with Hartlepool, Scarborough and Whitby being hit by a severe naval attack. The port city of Hull was affected by a series of Zeppelin airship raids from 1915-18. Across the region, local government ‘experts’ – engineers, planners and town clerks – worked together to devise early warning systems and public shelters from the bombers. In some neighbourhoods, official efforts were seen as lacking, leading to self-organised ‘night patrols’ and campaigns for improved defences. As the title suggests, criticism was often underpinned by notions of classist snobbery from the ‘powers that be’. This paper will explore processes of community negotiation, particularly how civilians understood their role in the wider war and within the coastal-urban setting. In the period, the east coast was widely seen as particularly exposed to danger, a point that was not lost on civilians.

“As easy as turning on the tap”: Experiences of water usage in the city, 1918-39

Andrew McTominey (Leeds Beckett University)

Gaining a sense of how urban residents experienced the city on an everyday basis is difficult for historians. It is, though, a useful endeavour in illuminating how everyday practices shaped demands for water. Whilst Vanessa Taylor and Frank Trentmann have laid the groundwork for this line of enquiry by examining water demand and consumerism in the late nineteenth century, this paper will focus on water usage in the city of Leeds during the inter-war period. Through an examination of archival sources, and both textual and visual elements of local newspapers, this paper will explore the tensions between the top-down construction of water usage that stressed restraint, in spite of increased supply during the period, and how water was actually used in the city, whether these experiences conformed to or reacted against official narratives. By examining how urban residents reacted to expertise ‘from above’ of water engineers and municipal government, this paper will look to highlight how narratives of water usage were complicated, thereby helping to shed further light on the ‘politics of everyday life’.
SESSION 5.2
WOMEN’S VOICES

Urban Heritage: Resurrecting nineteenth-century businesswomen in Australasia’s towns and cities
Catherine Bishop (Northumbria University / University of Sydney)

A prominent feature of the urban landscape of nineteenth-century New Zealand and Australia were women in small business, their retail goods spilling out onto pavements, their voices schooling young children floating out of windows and their offers of food, drink, beds and perhaps a warm body to go in them visible and audible in city streets. Yet these colonial businesswomen have been lost in the intervening years in historical memory and heritage, which should more rightly perhaps be termed ‘his’itage. Spinks Cottage in Wellington (NZ) has been in continuous use since it was built in the middle of the nineteenth century. Its changing roles have had significant impact on the telling of its history. Presented merely as an early home, the business lives of its first two female occupants are invisible. Pedestrians in Pitt Street in Sydney can admire the 1890s façade of ‘E. Way and Co’, a long-lived department store. The historical plaque discusses Ebeneezer Way and the architect John Sulman, but Emily Way, the business founder, is ignored. Dresses displayed in museums seldom tell of the businesswomen who made, imported and sold them – instead the domestic lives of middle-class wearers or the worn-to-the-bone fingers of working-class home sewers is often recalled. Colonial women are idealised as wives and mothers, ‘colonial helpmeets’ across Australasia. Only occasionally (and more recently) have businesswomen been included in public historical narratives, and often in unexpected places. This paper discusses the forgetting and remembering of colonial businesswomen in the monuments, museums and built ‘his’-itage of towns in Australasia examining explanations, exploring exceptions, and suggesting solutions, restoring their voices to the historical cityscape.

“Working with Women’s Pain”: Birmingham Rape Crisis and Research Centre, sexual violence and feminist activism in the late twentieth century city
Phil Child (University of Birmingham)

In a 1985 television documentary produced on the Birmingham Rape Crisis and Research Centre (BRCRC), a car at night travelled along the central Smallbrook Queensway and under the Bull Ring shopping centre, against a soundtrack of chilling music. The camera followed the car’s progress into a side street, before BRCRC spokesperson Denise Richards pointed out that while rape might be associated with dimly lit streets, women often failed to think about rape in their own home, or by people who were not strangers. As she went on: ‘There’s a dreadful irony in the statement that we hear when we’re children that we should be afraid of strangers, because we’re most likely to be raped or abused by somebody who is actually known to you.’ The experiences of BRCRC, as they challenged prevailing views of rape in the late twentieth-century city as solely the product
of dark streets and dangerous strangers whilst simultaneously supporting women against a background of resurgent conservatism, can provide a means of understanding how feminist activism sought to shape images of the city through asserting bodily autonomy.

This paper utilises the work of BRCRC as an advocacy and campaigning group to investigate the ways in which feminist activism challenged sexual violence in the city in the era of Thatcherism. Two key themes stand out. Firstly, the negative response from state authorities to BRCRC’s calls to broaden public conceptions of the causes of sexual violence indicates the difficulties faced by feminist activists in diverting public views away from dark streets and towards patriarchy. Secondly, the problems faced by BRCRC in gaining stable funding, and the emotional weight of ‘working with women’s pain’ demonstrates the narrowing space for voluntary service provision and feminist activism. The work of BRCRC is illustrative of how women aimed to assert their rights to a safe urban environment in the late twentieth century.

Finding their Voice: The use of the lodger franchise to influence urban governance in pre-independence Ireland

_Ruth McManus (Dublin City University)_

Before universal suffrage, the right to vote was the privilege of a relatively small minority. In Ireland, the Representation of the People (Ireland) Act, 1868, for the first time provided for those who were neither property owners nor rate-payers to vote in local elections under the lodger franchise. Thirty years later, the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, widened the franchise at local elections to include men over the age of 21 and women over the age of 30, if they were either householders or lodgers. Few urban lodgers fulfilled the necessary eligibility criteria, based on valuation and duration of lodging, so that the majority of lodgers continued to be denied a voice in municipal affairs. Nevertheless, the lodger franchise offered the potential for marginalised groups to assert themselves, as was recognised by Anna Haslam, veteran campaigner for women’s suffrage. For those in power, potential abuses of the lodger franchise were checked by the operation of the revision courts and highlighted in occasional newspaper reports decrying ‘bogus lodger’ claims. However, detailed analysis of surviving electoral registers for Dublin city, when cross-correlated with household census returns for 1901 and 1911, reveals the extent to which the lodger franchise was manipulated by those who were denied access to political influence by other means. A newly-emergent suburban lower middle class and, in particular, young women, used the lodger vote to have their voice heard in the workings of civic government, although the degree to which lodger voters helped to shape the political agenda, or were manipulated by existing political parties, remains unclear.
SESSION 5.3
FINDING AND USING NEW VOICES

British Squatters in Leiden during the 1990s
Bart van der Steen, Elisa Hendriks & Blerina Nimanaj (Leiden University)

In the late 1980s and during the 1990s several hundreds of predominantly working-class British and Irish youths moved to Leiden to work as seasonal labourers in the region’s floral industry. As it was difficult to gain access to regular housing, most of them camped in tents or caravans on formal or improvised camp sites or squatted houses in and around Leiden. Local newspapers paid much attention to the British squatters, who were reported to organise raves, cause noise complaints and consume illicit drugs. The British themselves, however, only had limited access to the media and were only rarely given voice. Based on systematic newspaper research and Oral History interviews, this paper reconstructs the experiences of, and debates about, British squatters in Leiden during the 1990s. It asks who the British squatters were, how they were viewed by various groups (authorities, local residents and the press) and how their identity of foreign squatters influenced conflicts over the eviction or legalisation of squatted houses. Squatting in Europe is a predominantly urban phenomenon and has traditionally been researched as such. Thus, extensive historiographies exist on squatter ‘hotspots’ such as Amsterdam and (West-) Berlin. Squatters themselves, however, were highly mobile and easily moved from city to city. Only recently, academic research has taken this into account and refocused its attention to the travel networks of (activist) squatters and their transfer of action repertoires, styles and ideas. Far less is known, however, about the experiences of, and dealings with, large groups of migrant squatters in one specific place. Our case study takes up this challenge by focusing on British squatters in the city of Leiden. In order to do so, this research draws from a systematic analysis of 588 Leidsch Dagblad news reports, debates in the local squatter magazine De Pueraar and seven semi-structured interviews with British squatter veterans and their Leiden counterparts.

Tracing the human experience of inner city housing redevelopment in Derry from 1945: A new approach to consultation in urban design
Adrian Grant (Ulster University)

The city of Derry underwent a significant slum clearance programme in the post-war period that led to the depopulation of the inner city and significant changes to the built environment of tight-knit working class communities. This process occurred in cities across the UK in the post-war period although in Northern Ireland the history of housing provision is bound up with accusations of sectarian discrimination. Housing was one of the main concerns of civil rights campaigners in the 1960s and the city of Derry was held up as one of the most blatant examples of discrimination by Unionist-controlled local government.
This paper outlines a new approach to understanding the human experience of the redevelopment of inner city Derry. The ‘Divided Pasts – Design Futures’ project, funded by the AHRC, is a two-year multidisciplinary project that is driven by oral history interviewing and archival research. Researchers on the project, led by the presenter, intend to conduct sixty oral history interviews concentrating on the interactions of people with a changing built environment. The research data will then be curated and fed into a consultation process with local planning authorities to produce a ‘collaborative design statement’ authored by residents, academics, community activists, planners, architects and others. The project links social memory and history with design thinking through the use of digital fabrication technology, GIS mapping, augmented reality applications, and collaborative workshops. Ultimately the project will act as a laboratory for the use of heritage as a determinant in urban design and seek to broaden conceptions of urban heritage more generally. The project researchers intend to give voice to the emotional and spatial memory of post-war redevelopment in the case study city and seek to explore the potential of using the methodology as a form of deep consultation on future urban design projects.

City Epitaphs: Moving urban memory towards a fresh research agenda

Simon Sleight (King’s College London)

It is now over twenty years since American scholar, Dolores Hayden, posed an urgent question. In her celebrated book, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public Memory*, Hayden called for a more ‘socially inclusive’ urban history and demanded to know ‘where are the Native American, African American, Latino, and Asian American landmarks?’ From the widespread ‘statues wars’ in the United States to debates concerning female representation in London and the iconography of Captain Cook across Australasia, recent public contests have sought to address many of Hayden’s catalogue of oversights. Historians have served as both activists and commentators in several of these high-profile public disputes. Yet as this paper proposes, much is missed by the allure of the contentious, and by the singular concentration on memories made in stone. Instead, I argue for a far wider array of both tangible and intangible urban epitaphs to be investigated for cities past and present. From the fleeting and ephemeral, to the accidental but persistent, in cities best characterised as jumbled landscapes of overlapping memories, the process of inscription is more democratic than might be thought. Looking beyond the compelling cases of ‘counter-memory’ (Boyer), and beyond memory as demarcating only trauma or celebration, for a range of global cities, this paper examines memory on the move as well as memory seemingly fixed in place. Suggesting a range of sources and methods with which to pursue such research, I argue for more diverse – and ultimately more honest – understanding of urban memory, one which acknowledges casual indifference as well as intense attachment, and incorporates a broader range of social actors than hitherto acknowledged.
Voicing the Urban Experience of the Marginalised through the ‘Impossible Dream’ of Non-Racial Theatre in Apartheid Era South African Cities

Vivian Bickford-Smith (University of Stellenbosch / University of Cape Town)

This paper stems from a larger project that explores inter-racial encounters amid the highly divided social geography of the apartheid city. The counter-intuitive intention is to focus on encounters of a more positive kind, ones that in some way, consciously or unconsciously, undermined rather than reinforced racial (and ethnic, class and gender) prejudice, that might instead promote a sense of common humanity. Given the conference theme, the case study presented here is how some South Africans across the social spectrum attempted to transmit voices of the urban marginalised through stage productions. The paper will examine why and how inter-racial progressive theatre groups to this end were established in places like Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town between the late 1950s and 1980s, despite extensive legislation that made any such initiative ostensibly illegal or extremely difficult. The more enduring and significant among these initiatives included the African Music and Drama Association (Dorkay House, Johannesburg), the Serpent Players (Snake Pit, Port Elizabeth), the Space Theatre (Cape Town), and the Market Theatre (Johannesburg). What characterised many of the productions at these adapted venues, venues often situated on the edge of a CBD, was that they were trying to give voice to urban experiences of a wide variety of marginalised people including the likes of the homeless, shanty dwellers, prostitutes, night-watchmen, embattled township residents or ‘poor whites’. In part they attempted to do so by drawing on the pioneering work of Joan Littlewood’s Theatre Workshop in London. In the South African case, the desire to achieve authenticity of voice and experience drew both on the personal observations of those involved but also on personal experience.

A Middleman’s Process: Theatre owners, managers and booking agents in Montreal from the 1880s to the First World War

Antje Dietze (Universität Leipzig)

This paper focuses on the growth and differentiation of modern entertainment industries in Montreal from the 1880s to the First World War. At the time, theatrical and musical live entertainment reached mass audiences and profoundly shaped urban experiences and identities. Researchers have become increasingly interested in the investors, producers and mediators who established and steered these industries. They use this focus as a way of better understanding the transformations of modern cities as well as the representation and interaction of different social and cultural groups in the urban economies and public spheres. Montreal is an especially interesting case to study this process, as the development of mass entertainment had to be reconciled with the socially and culturally fragmented audiences in the largely bilingual city. Since the 1880s, the city’s theatrical
landscape experienced a strong wave of Americanisation, as it became part of theatrical touring routes and circuits that expanded across North America and were centralised in booking and production centres such as New York City. This paper investigates how theatre owners and managers in Montreal worked together with representatives of US-American circuits and booking agencies that provided the shows. They had to find ways to cater to the socially and culturally diverse audiences in Montreal with the increasingly standardised theatrical offers available. Analysing how these different mediating actors and organisations interacted in achieving this goal allows us to explore the relationship of the urban sphere with a variety of trans-regional supply networks and gives detailed insights into the institutionalisation and differentiation of popular entertainment.

**Haunting Bohemia: Décor, crowds, and temporality in the bohemian spaces of Victorian and Edwardian English cities**

*Rory Booth (University of Leicester)*

This paper will explore the symbiotic relationship between self-identifying bohemians in Victorian and Edwardian England and the spaces in which they existed, including clubs, cafés, and private dwellings. Scholars of bohemianism have often acknowledged the importance of the haunt to the bohemian, particularly in relation to his club or his café. However, these accounts often fail to fully unpack how deeply entangled the bohemians were with their haunts, and the forms this entanglement took. Looking at published remembrances, club records, and contemporary periodicals, I will argue that bohemians and the spaces they inhabited were highly co-dependent, the existence of one predicated on the presence of the other. The crowds, décor, and practices of each haunt produced spaces that enabled men to inhabit their bohemian selves, and be recognised for it within a community of peers. In this paper, I focus on how the choice and placement of décor, paintings, sculptures and meaningful objects produced desired behaviours and atmospheres, and how normative middle-class décor was often reframed to produce uncanny spaces with familiar materials. Finally, it will consider the lives and deaths of these spaces as they, and those who existed within them, dissipated and changed.
The Past, Present and Future of Irish Urban History

Olwen Purdue (Queen’s University Belfast), Erika Hanna (University of Bristol) & Richard Butler (University of Leicester)

After often playing second fiddle to histories of land and nationalism, Irish urban history has, in recent years, seen a marked growth. With the publication of several important monographs and edited volumes, and the formation of the Irish Modern Urban History Group, historians are now asking how we can re-conceptualise Ireland’s ‘distinctive engagement with modernity’ through the process of urbanisation. In the final panel of this conference, the first to have been held on the island of Ireland, three leading specialists reflect on the future of the subject.