Research in urban history: a review of recent theses

BARRY M. DOYLE
School of Law, Humanities and International Studies, University of Teesside, Middlesbrough, TS1 3BA

As in previous years, this article consists of a broad overview of recent unpublished doctoral theses. Following on from last year’s survey of theses submitted in Britain, this selection is drawn entirely from dissertations awarded by universities in the United States, mostly in 1996. Utilizing a fairly broad interpretation of urban history, which embraces both the history of, and history in, urban areas, the review consists of short descriptions based on abstracts published in Dissertations Abstracts International [DAI]. Overall, the decision to review British and North American doctoral work separately has thrown the changing agenda in urban history into relief and has highlighted the diversity and richness of the research conducted within the sub-discipline. As in Britain, urban historical research would appear to be a dynamic area of study in the United States, though the forty-three theses selected do suggest some significant methodological and subject differences, along with some notable shifts in emphasis from previous years.

The central concern of the majority of this year’s selection is the construction and maintenance of identity by diverse groups, places and communities, from the ancient near east to post-industrial America. However, within this search for identity a number of other issues are aired, with ethnicity dominant. The process of immigration and acculturation in the United States, and the experience of the post-emancipation African-American community, predominate, but ethnicity also informs – either directly or indirectly – some of the non-American studies, especially those relating to Jewish communities in Europe. Whilst the importance of ethnicity may not come as a surprise, the relatively small number of studies focusing primarily on women and gender is rather less expected, especially given the dominance of this field in Britain. In all, only four of the dissertations were specifically concerned with women as a group, though it is important to note that gender was a central concern of many of the other studies, especially those concerned with the formation of ethnic identities – possibly a reflection of the more developed nature of women’s history in North America. Control of the urban environment in all periods – either through planning or policing – is the other main area of interest apparent, though again there is a notable difference in emphasis in North America. Though there are some studies which focus on policing – both moral and medical – in general there is more concern with the shaping of the physical environment, with a special emphasis on the links between reshaping the city and political authority and legitimacy. There are few studies of cultural production, either popular or ‘high’, but there is an interesting focus on the uses of political violence and, in particular, the link between civil
disorder and moral economy. The most intriguing development, however, is a batch of dissertations which attempt to uncover a history of opposition to consumerism and urbanism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century America similar to the recent work of Gary Cross. Overall, though the methodology of cultural history would still appear to be in the ascendant among US scholars, the focus on contested urban culture apparent since the early 1990s appears to have given way to a more introverted examination of behaviour within communities and the internal conflicts which created their ultimate identity.

Looking at the overall spread of the selection in terms of time and place some obvious differences emerge with the British sample. Not surprisingly a majority deal with the United States, but a significant minority treat subjects in other areas, including China, South America, continental Europe and the United Kingdom. However, there would appear to have been some change in emphasis among US scholars, with little attention being paid to modern Britain, and nothing on London, a mainstay of some recent reviews, whilst comparative and international studies are very rare, with only one of each. In terms of temporal focus, though a couple range across two or three centuries, the most popular period is the twentieth century, followed by the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. There are some ancient, medieval and early modern studies, but surprising few on the nineteenth century and only one on the eighteenth, a very popular period in recent years.

The evolution of ethnic identities in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America is the subject of the first group of dissertations. E.S. Barker, 'Los Tejanos de San Antonio: Mexican immigrant family acculturation, 1880–1929' (Ph.D., George Washington University, 1996) [DAI] examines acculturation in first- and second-generation Mexican immigrant families through analysis of the 1880, 1900 and 1920 censuses of San Antonio, Texas. Employing a definition of acculturation which acknowledges the interaction between assimilation and cultural preservation, it illustrates the process by which Tejano families, by creating a familiar environment, were central in maintaining Mexican cultural heritage – especially Catholicism and the Spanish language – whilst facilitating immigrants' adjustment to San Antonio's urban, industrial economy. Though this process did not reflect assimilation to Anglo-American culture, it nevertheless signified a degree of Americanization by producing a new ethnic group in the United States with a unique Mexican American culture. J.L. Saverino, 'Private lives, public identities: the Italians of Reading and Berks County, Pennsylvania, 1890–1940' (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1996) draws similar conclusions from an analysis of Italians in a mid-size industrial town in a rural region. Weaving together personal narratives and material culture, it explores the creation, maintenance and adaptation of inter-group and intra-group relations and cultural boundaries. By studying individuals' life histories within a framework of regional, national and global economic change, it reveals differences of gender, class, age and generation, reinforcing the idea that ethnicity is an ideological strategy that changes over time and involves individual choice. In charting the processes of migration, settlement, and institutional and cultural development, it illustrates the way Italians, through symbolic language, imagery and enactment, created and shaped a collective history distinct from the mainstream cultural consensus. E.M. Wong, 'Sweet cakes, long journey: a social and urban history of Portland, Oregon’s first Chinatown' (Ph.D., University of
Washington, 1994) [DAI] employs a slightly different focus to reconstruct the social community and urban form of the substantial Chinese community of Portland between 1850 and 1930. In determining the size and geographic location of this Chinatown, it documents the critical events and prominent people that contributed to the development, decline and relocation of an ethnic community. Through comparisons with other Chinatowns on the west coast, it reveals the unique contribution that Oregon legislation made to federal enforcement, and suggests that Portland’s Chinatown was not an ethnic urban enclave, the evidence presented developing a new theory of ethnic urban spatial form.

Two studies of the consolidation and transformation of established ethnic communities in Europe highlight the centrality of family to the maintenance of Jewish identity. E.B. Klein, ‘Power and patrimony: the Jewish community of Barcelona, 1050–1250’ (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1996) [DAI] traces the transformation of power structures and government from a personal and affective system of communal governance into a regime characterized by clearly defined roles for leaders, elections of officials, and broader participation in the political life of the community. Focusing on the emergence of a self-conscious group of families of nesi’im, it demonstrates how they used their influence in an expanding royal court to consolidate their position in the community. However, as growing unease about reliance on courtiers prompted Royal recognition of elected communal officials, a new elite emerged based on wealth and public service, which gradually incorporated most nesi’im. Moving forward in time, S.I. Gillerman, ‘Between public and private: family, community and Jewish identity in Weimar Berlin’ (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1996) [DAI] takes as its subject the perceived crisis of the family within the Jewish community of Berlin and the solutions proposed by social workers, educators and community leaders to effect familial and communal renewal. The study shows how, in the context of the political disorder and social dislocation of the Weimar Republic, the family occupied a unique and central position as the social institution with the greatest potential from which to effect the full-scale renewal of German society. Focusing on the development of social work as a gateway to the family, it reviews the ambitious prescriptions for renewal promoted by institutions such as the pedagogic experiments of Siegfried Bernfeld, and the Zentralewirtschaftsstelle der Deutschen Juden designed to form the core of a rejuvenated Jewish community based on the organic bonds of Gemeinschaft.

Returning to ethnic communities in America, the next batch of dissertations charts the various strategies utilized by African-Americans to negotiate the post-emancipation world. E.B. Brown, ‘Uncle Ned’s children: negotiating community and freedom in post-emancipation Richmond, Virginia’ (Ph.D., Kent State University, 1994) [DAI] draws on a range of private and institutional sources to explore the development of class, status, gender, literacy and other distinctions among one black community of the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries. The increasingly exclusive nature of the church, continuing dire poverty for most and a political culture which tied black Richmonders to the Republican Party and state constitutional conventions are analysed, with particular emphasis on the political functions of families and mutual benefit societies. And though it makes clear that the decreasing promise of economic and political advancement produced sharpened divisions based on gender, class and education, a case study of one mutual benefit society does show that black Richmonders could
build institutions which incorporated difference and encouraged the struggle for freedom. Utilizing oral interviews and archival materials, N.M. Davis, ‘Integration, the ‘New Negro’, and community building: black Catholic life in four Catholic churches in Detroit, 1911 to 1945’ (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1996) offers a social history of African-American participation in ‘mainline’ Christian denominations. The study assesses the impact of a late nineteenth-century world-view on black Detroiter’s early participation in the Church and the influence of the first wave of southern migrants and the ‘New Negro’, paying particular attention to how regional differences influenced methods for combating racism. Building on this, it illustrates – through analysis of two black Catholic missions – the way Detroit’s black Catholics met the urgent need for community organizing and building stimulated by inter-war economic and social changes coupled with a political structure which provided African-Americans with little representation at the municipal level. Whilst religion clearly offered one avenue to social and economic advance, business offered another. Engaging with contemporary debates over black entrepreneurship as a strategy of race empowerment, W.C. McDowell, ‘The ideology of black entrepreneurship and its impact on the development of black Harlem, 1930–1955’ (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1996) [DAI] sets out to analyse its effects on the emergence and growth of this renowned black community. Focusing on black entrepreneurial initiatives and responses to them within Harlem, it unites the individual ideas, organizational strategies and community reactions to argue that black entrepreneurial development, hampered by problems ranging from structural shortcomings to ineffective leadership, consistently fell short of the rewards envisioned by its supporters. Furthermore, it suggests that alternative strategies, such as the jobs boycotts and contentious labour battles, could neither overcome the social and economic constraints of black Harlem, nor reconcile the racial, class and ethnic divisions within the community which they unwittingly unearthed.

Focusing specifically on gender in the black urban experience, B.G. Bond, ‘“Till fair Aurora rise”: African-American women in Memphis, Tennessee, 1840–1915’ (Ph.D., University of Memphis, 1996) [DAI] utilizes legal documents, newspapers and the works of contemporary African-American observers of city life to study the social, economic and cultural experiences of slave, free, middle- and working-class African-American women. In examining the various interactions of these socially diverse women, it indicates that they utilized a variety of strategies either to challenge or to adapt to racial and gender conventions, expanding traditional assumptions of their proper places within families, communities and city life, and developing social, educational and economic institutions which specifically served the African-American community.

The theme of developing female agency around the turn of the twentieth century is also the concern of W. Cheng, ‘Nationalists, feminists, and petty urbanites: the changing image of women in early twentieth-century Beijing and Tianjin’ (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1996) who challenges the previous emphasis of scholarship on the elite-led Chinese women’s movement in the south, by examining northern urban women – both elite and commoner. It shows how early female activists were involved in a variety of moderate and pragmatic programmes, but that after the Revolution of 1911 there was a shift towards individualism, consumerism and iconoclast Nicola slowly picked up by less organized or self-conscious lower-class women. Thus in the private and family
sphere, women challenged customary restraints to develop a self-centred and hetero-social lifestyle, whilst in the public sphere, more collective and feminist-oriented activities, including involvement in education, organization, journalism and other political action, crossed the boundaries between genders, making women more conscious and informed. Two further studies indicate how middle-class American women broke free of their proscribed gender roles to influence the shape of the urban landscape. J.A. TIJASON, ‘Gendered landscapes: women, men, and the spatial transformation of urban parks in the United States, 1850–1920’ (Ph.D., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1996) investigates the reasons behind the major shift in the location, design and use of urban parks in the United States in the 1890s, from the large landscaped park to the small playground park located in densely populated neighbourhoods within the city. Based on the hypothesis that park-making was not a gender-neutral activity, it reviews the place of women and changing gender ideology in these processes. Through a case study of Chicago, it shows that the roots of the small playground park can be traced to women involved in social settlements and women’s civic organizations, for whom promotion of safe play spaces for children formed part of a larger movement known as ‘municipal housekeeping’ – an urban-reform vehicle through which women challenged the Victorian doctrine of separate spheres, gained access to urban affairs and transformed the city landscape. How bourgeois women came to participate fully in the process of envisioning, building and selling the cities of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century California is the concern of L.M.A. SIMPSON, ‘Selling the city: women and the California city growth games’ (Ph.D., University of California, Riverside, 1996) [DAI]. Placing their gradual incorporation into these fields of activity within time and space, it maps their progression from ‘apprenticeships’ in property ownership and management in the citrus region of southern California, through entry to city planning in the commercial north, to mastery of the tools of city and county planning in the coastal tourist centres. Along the way, it suggests, these women created the language and the social networks necessary to enter the male sphere of urban planning, embraced the ideology of self-interest and, by blending the language of capitalism with that of female moral authority, asserted themselves as capitalists, visionaries and planners.

The development of the theory and practice of planning – both professional and lay – features in a variety of dissertations this year. E.P. MUMFORD, ‘The discourse of CIAM urbanism, 1928–1959’ (Ph.D., Princeton University, 1996) argues that CIAM (Congres Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne) was an attempt by a coalition of architects to join radical politics and the Modern movement in architecture to form a vanguard party. Based on CIAM publications and detailed archival research in the US and Europe, it provides a history of the movement from its founding in 1928 to its break-up in 1959 which emphasizes its central place in the intellectual genealogy of modern urbanism. The formation of the CIAM urban discourse and the changes wrought by its ‘transplantation’ to North America are discussed, as is CIAM’s largely unsuccessful efforts to determine the form of post-war reconstruction in Europe. The subsequent shift towards civic centres and the ‘heart of the city’ is charted along with the ‘death of CIAM’ and the efforts of Team Ten to build a new urban discourse. The urban vision of one particular architect and planner is explored in J.M. DESMOND, ‘A clearing in the woods: self and city in Frank Lloyd Wright’s organic commu-
ities' (Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1996) [DAI] which undertakes an assessment of seven of Frank Lloyd Wright’s community scale planning projects executed during the decade of the Second World War (1938–48). In charting the development of his thinking from viewing the settlement as a ‘constructed whole’ to a design philosophy that approached nature as an a priori, all-embracing context, it reveals how he explored the relationship of the natural to the man-made and sought to redefine the ever-present tension between the individual and the democratic group in terms of a symbolic interaction of self and landscape that lies at the heart of the American myth of nature.

Moving from ideal to reality, and in particular the problem of providing adequate low-cost housing for the American working class, R.A. Phelps, ‘Dangerous class on the plains of Id: ideology and home-ownership in Southern California, 1880–1920’ (Ph.D., University of California, Riverside, 1996) [DAI] seeks to remedy the historiographical dichotomy between the supposedly middle-class residential character of Los Angeles before 1920, and evidence of intense class conflict during the period. It contrasts the official ideology, created by Los Angeles’s urban bourgeoisie, of homeownership as the natural outgrowth of the region’s economic development and its faithful adherence to anti-unionism, with the reality of Los Angeles as a segregated city, with an inner core of work and low-income residence and a peripheral region of affluent housing. Furthermore, it relates how attempts to address the social problems inherent in the city’s early segregation, via ‘model’ working-class suburban communities, failed because of the difficulties working-class families faced in becoming homeowners, representing an admission by local elites that the residential dream of southern California often outran its reality. Another experiment in model housing is assessed in C.J. Socci, ‘The Endicott Johnson home-building program: welfare capitalism and the meaning of domestic architecture in the early twentieth century industrial suburb’ (Ph.D., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1995) [DAI] which relates how, during the 1920s, the shoe manufacturing Endicott Johnson Corporation, embarked upon an ambitious corporate home-building programme as part of a wider investment in a unique brand of welfare capitalism. Designed both to relieve housing shortages and as part of a larger policy to develop positive relations between labour and capital in an era of increasing unionization and labour militancy, access to the new homes was restricted to those that conformed to corporate policy, whilst visually the substantial houses were located in pastoral surroundings which reinforced the meaning of these new communities as middle class – an ideal promoted by company-sponsored publications. Utilizing theory from various disciplines to understand the meaning of this landscape, the object ‘home’ is considered a text which connotes and denotes ideological constructions of working-class attitudes towards authority, including both the Endicott Johnson Corporation and a hegemonic welfare capitalism. Taking a slightly different spin on the low-cost homes issue, D.G. Knerr, ‘“The house America has been waiting for”: the Lustron experiment in factory-made housing, 1946–1954’ (Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, 1996) [DAI] unearths the history of the Lustron Corporation, the largest and most completely industrialized prefabricated housing company in the United States. Lustron manufactured innovative porcelain enameled steel, one-storey houses stylistically similar to other post-war era dwellings, planning to produce 100 ready-to-deliver houses per day. The Lustron ‘experiment’ in
mass-produced housing offered the prospect of a new age of affordable factory-made housing, which promised to lead the American housing industry away from its decentralized, undercapitalized and inefficient past toward a level of rationalization and organization found in most other sectors of the industrial economy. But Lustron proved unable to provide a house which most wage earners could afford and the experiment ended in bankruptcy, the company producing just 2,498 houses.

In similar vein, the next selection of theses illustrate the political importance of kings in their capital cities in the medieval and early modern periods. E.D. Hermann, 'Urban formation and landscape: symbol and agent of social, political and environmental change in fourteenth-century Nasrid Granada' (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1996) focuses on the evolution of the capital city of the Nasrid dynasty, into the cultural and legislative centre of the entire Iberian-Muslim community. Charting its evolution from a model Islamic capital into a showpiece for the Nasrid state – a monumental urban panorama encoded with symbolic references to the sultante's strength and productivity – it places the aggrandisement of the Alhambra in the context of the transformation of the whole urban area and explores the possible motivations behind, and impact of, these new developments. Particular emphasis is placed on developing notions of national solidarity, the impact of the plague, the switch from civic institutions to the building of private palaces and country retreats, and public responses to the ruler's appropriation of vast amounts of financial and natural resources for private use. Shifting the focus to the Muslim East, C. Kafescioglu, 'The Ottoman capital in the making: the reconstruction of Constantinople in the fifteenth century' (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1996) [DAI] explores the formal and visual aspects of the decision to rebuild the city as the seat of the Ottoman throne by placing the major architectural works of the period in the context of the interaction between the Byzantine, Ottoman and Renaissance ideas of ordering the urban environment. It scrutinizes the intent and meaning of images of the city produced in printed and manuscript sources, maps and contemporaneous Ottoman myths, and examines the interaction between the residential and the monumental layout of the city, with particular emphasis on neighbourhood as an institution and as a physical entity in the context of early Ottoman Istanbul.

The interaction of politics and architecture was equally important in early modern Christian Europe. Based on newly uncovered visual evidence as well as fragments of the sixteenth-century structure, C.P. Steever, 'The Hotel de Ville of Paris: the architecture, urbanism and politics of Francois I' (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1996) [DAI] provides an architectural and political history of this key municipal building. Confirming that the structure follows the design of Domenico da Cortona, it interprets the Hôtel de Ville as a gesture of architectural diplomacy, part of a royal policy of alliance with the wealthy Parisian merchants who funded military expenditure. A joint undertaking of the city government and the king of France, François I, it united medieval town hall and royal châteaux styles in a physical manifestation of the alliance between city and crown, providing a centrepiece to François I's broader urban project to establish Paris as a vital commercial capital allied with the king. Similarly, J.R. Escobar, 'The Plaza Mayor of Madrid: architecture, urbanism and the imperial capital, 1560–1640' (Ph.D., Princeton University, 1996) [DAI] utilizes written and visual
sources to reconstruct the shaping of the Plaza Mayor in the heart of Madrid, a central undertaking for the place’s emerging image as capital of Habsburg Spain. The construction history of the Plaza Mayor is analyzed with particular emphasis on the monumental Casa de la Panadería – begun in 1590 as the model for all future reform in the square – highlighting the propaganda of beneficence in Felipe II’s public works projects, and revealing the changing nature of architectural practice at this time. Emphasizing the importance of the Plaza Mayor as a symbol of the new imperial capital, the study also examines the manifold uses of the city square as a ceremonial space and market.

Whilst these various forms of urban planning reflect a desire to shape the physical environment, towns also produced many problems which required management and the tools to police rapid social change. In ‘Social reform in an urban context: Colchester, Essex, 1570–1640’ (Ph.D., University of Colorado at Boulder, 1996) [DAI] R.D. Smith joins the debate about the motives behind, and nature of, the reformation of popular behaviour and morals in early modern England. Efforts to control social disorder are approached through a case study of the major cloth town of Colchester, where attempts to modify social and sexual behaviour were prompted by a diverse cluster of forces whose specific constellation changed several times during the period. Focusing on the three decades beginning in 1580, 1600 and 1620, it reveals that, though the number and nature of cases changed, the poor were disproportionately charged with sexual offences. Thus, as presentments increased substantially during the first decade of the seventeenth century, bastardy replaced fornication and adultery as the most common offence, and remained the major concern when cases fell back in the 1620s. As this suggests, religion was a vital weapon in the arsenal of civic leaders, but one many believe to have been of decreasing significance by the late nineteenth century. However, A.H. Walsh, ‘For our city’s welfare: building a Protestant establishment in late nineteenth century Hartford’ (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1996) challenges the tendency of American historiography to exaggerate the degree to which Protestants suffered a conclusive loss of hegemony and social initiative at the end of the 1890s. Hartford’s Congregationalists, it suggests, responded energetically and fairly effectively to perpetuate their civic hegemony by shaping a new, resilient and less exclusive form of Protestant civic establishment which accommodated religious and ethnic diversity to some degree. Through a series of linked internal and external reforms and ideological reformulations intended to preserve their influence and claims to custody of public discourse and civic institutions, they were able to mobilize a network of institutions, leaders and activists which created the local foundations for the Social Gospel movement and Progressivism. A complementary attempt to maintain control over a changing urban landscape is explored in K.K. Bender, ‘Cleveland, a leader among cities: the municipal home rule movement of the Progressive Era, 1900–1915’ (Ph.D., University of Oklahoma, 1996) [DAI] which analyses the municipal home rule movement of the progressive era, describing the legal constraints on city governments and frustrated urban reformers struggling to establish cities as engines of progress and symbols of hope. The study shows how centralized economic and political organizational structures provoked a large-scale reaction against over-centralization among urban residents of large cities, producing sufficient political interest and social energy to initiate a national home rule movement. Employing a range of municipal and business
records, it provides case studies of city-state legal conflict, non-partisan government, financial problems, taxation issues, municipal ownership, urban beautification, city planning, charter development and judicial interpretation of municipal authority in the boom town of Cleveland where rapid urban growth and immigration created a demand for decentralized decision-making.

Medical history – both in terms of public health and institutional development – is flourishing in America. R. Rogaski, 'From protecting life to defending the nation: the emergence of public health in Tianjin, 1859–1953' (Ph.D., Yale University, 1996) examines the shifting meaning and practice of *weisheng* (literally 'protecting life') in the treaty-port of Tianjin, arguing that in this 'semi-colonial' Chinese city, Western public health theories were employed by Chinese elites as a means to expand the state and assert political autonomy in the face of Western encroachment. Surveying the nature of the competing interests which hampered the formation of meaningful public services in the nineteenth century, it suggests the establishment of a municipal sanitary police during the foreign occupation of 1900–2 provided a model successive Chinese modernizing administrations found appealing but difficult to enact due to limited funds, competing interests and popular resistance. However, after 1949, with the threat of American germ warfare, the communist administration in Tianjin was able to combine nationalism, germ theory and public health to mobilize individuals in the Patriotic Hygiene Campaign of 1953. The politics and ideology of health care in the United States are assessed in two related theses with rather different conclusions. S. Opdycke, 'Private choices, public obligations: New York City and its hospitals since 1900' (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1995) [DAI] studies change in two New York City hospitals – Bellevue, a municipal institution, and the private New York Hospital (NYH) – across the twentieth century, focusing on the impact of the city's history; the changing nature of large urban hospitals; and the growing gulf between public and private sector. In 1900, NYH and Bellevue both sought to provide free care to the poor but, over time, NYH concentrated on the expanding pool of paying patients and those useful for research and teaching, whilst public institutions like Bellevue were left to serve a disproportionate share of the city's poor. Despite increasing public funding NYH retained most of the advantages of private ownership, diverging sharply from Bellevue so that by the 1990s the gulf between the two illuminated the inequalities within the city's network of hospitals – and, in a larger sense, within the city itself. However, B. Saxon, 'The problem with planning: Springfield hospital and the development of the United States healthcare system, 1890–1980' (Ph.D., University of Massachusetts, 1996) [DAI] builds on existing work on hospital development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Drawing on the medical staff, Trustee and Superintendent records of Springfield Hospital, it reveals infighting among physicians over competing definitions of professionalism, ambivalence to the development of the medical centre model of health care, and evidence of higher numbers unable to pay for it than commonly believed. Furthermore, it indicates that private hospitals like Springfield did provide for large numbers of such individuals, with their inherent cost and complications shaping priorities and finances. As a result, effective long-term planning was impossible, precipitating the decline of the medical centre model of health care and laying the basis for the dominance of local Health Maintenance Organizations.
Research in urban history

The interrelationship between city, environment and ideas, and the way these impact on the emerging identity of the place, are investigated in the following dissertations. D.W. REYNOLDS, 'Forma urbis Romae: the Severan marble plan and the urban form of ancient Rome' (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1996) interrogates the Severan Marble Plan to recreate the spatial structure of third-century AD Rome. Though simplified and largely symbolic, comparison with other sources shows the plan to be broadly correct, clarifying many of the forms characteristic of imperial Rome’s residential and commercial structure. In particular, it shows that certain forms of apartment building, particularly a type with small living units in rows grouped around a large shared court, were very common in Rome though they are not characteristic of other Roman cities and that across Rome residential and commercial structure was thoroughly intermixed, as were the dwellings of the upper and lower classes. Drawing together ideas and place, L.J. HALL, 'Berytus, “mother of laws”: studies in the social history of Beirut from the third to the sixth centuries A.D.' (Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1996) [DAI] presents a social history of the ‘most Roman city in the East,’ to explore both the urban milieu which shaped the self-identity of the formulators of Justinian’s Code and life in late antique cities. Utilizing the technique of three-dimensional graphing, information about the geography, political history, physical layout, administrative structures and economic base of Berytus was mapped on a general model of a Romanized city of the Greek East. The self-identity of the inhabitants of Berytus was also reconstructed, with particular consideration of ethnic identity, occupational status and religious identification. It concludes that the setting of the city and the self-view of the residents shaped the role of Berytus as an ‘outpost of empire’ and thereby influenced the attitudes of the compilers of legal codes in the East and the West.

Reflecting analogous concerns in a later period, N.J. WILSON, 'Implicit meanings and self-representations in official correspondence and accounting: Regensburg, 1467–1567' (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994) [DAI] studies the urban history of a free imperial city during the Reformation to examine how – in the face of shifting political and religious allegiances – the various authorities in Regensburg represented themselves, other corporate groups and the city itself during a period of change. It suggests that external political factors were more influential in determining policy – for example towards Jews – than were the demands of the common citizen and that evidence of an underlying civic concept of a sacral corporate ideal was actually a product of the sphere of communication rather than any real conception of unity. Thus overlapping jurisdictions influenced both the range of possible representations and the strategies best employed for depicting those representations, and, as a result, the level of unity and corporate spirit evident was contingent on the sphere of communication under consideration. Unitig place, environment and ideas, D.A. DHADAWAY, JR, 'Approaching enlightenment: environment and popular thought in Philadelphia and Mexico City during the age of reason' (Ph.D., University of Delaware, 1996) [DAI] compares two cities which, despite historical and social differences, filled similar functions as the principal centres of the British and Spanish colonies. Employing a wide range of sources, it examines the demographic, historical and social development of the two cities; the penetration and dissemination of the Enlightenment; religion; surviving occult
notions and practices; the challenge of pain, medicine and death; and differing
tonetics and experiences of independence and self-rule. In the process, it
illuminates the vitality of a distinctive New World Enlightenment and the way the
environment, defined as both natural setting and group interaction in an urban
milieu, became more important than Old World heritage and gradually con-
verted Europeans into independent Americans. Continuing the consideration of
the links between urban identity and natural environment, F.P. KOTHENHOEPER,
"The clustered spires of Frederick": the cultural creation of local community
identity, 1745–1995' (Ph.D., George Washington University, 1996) offers an
examination of the history and meanings applied to the 'clustered spires' 
imagery of Frederick, Maryland, inspired by a Civil War poem of John Greenleaf
Whittier. This poem, which linked the two components of the image – foliage and
church spires – with local patriotic defiance of an occupying Confederate army,
was followed by visual depictions from the 1920s, making the image the
dominant city motif. Originally nativist, it became closely associated with white,
middle-class conceptions of Frederick's historic core when new development
threatened to destroy the downtown economy during the 1970s and 1980s. Thus
the selection of the clustered spires logo for use on 250th anniversary memor-
abilia can be seen as symbolic of downtown Frederick's efforts to regain its
control over the surrounding county.

L. PODALSKY, 'Urban negotiations: Buenos Aires and the articulation of
hegemonic discourses in the 1950s and 1960s' (Ph.D., Tulane University, 1995)
[DAI] forms a bridge between ideas and popular culture through an exploration
of the crisis of modernity in post-Peron Buenos Aires, where certain middle-class
groups tried to reassert classic liberal ideology, by criticizing the alienating
nature of contemporary urban life, and blaming the supposed deterioration of
the city on the Peronist administration. Yet their efforts to reinforce spatial and
social segregation through high-rise apartment buildings and the increased use
of automobiles, were challenged by new types of magazines and publishing
houses reworking the patterns of cultural production by equating democracy with
consumption. Despite government censorship, they utilized an increasingly
explicit treatment of sex to signal the ultimate breakdown of the traditional
notions of the private, producing new articulations of the social meaning of the
city and urban life which were the basis of a new hegemonic formation. Direct
studies of popular culture are, however, few in number. M.T. LUCKETT, 'Cities and
spectators: a historical analysis of film audiences in Chicago, 1910–1915'
(Ph.D., University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1995) [DAI] provides a social and
cultural history of film audiences and spectatorship practices during the transi-
tion to features, emphasizing the interaction between the regulation of the city,
and the more abstract experiences of modern urban life in the shaping of the
consumption, censorship, regulation and industrial organization of cinema. It
shows how contemporary writings on spectatorship posited links between urban
life and the consumption of popular culture, with many believing the cinema and
other mass media destroyed individuality by producing an 'aggregate mind'
that threatened social order. These theories influenced attempts to regulate the
cinema and led to municipal government intervention in leisure, which along
with other period innovations, such as movie palaces, the feature film and
children's matinees, formed a multidimensional project to establish the cinema as
a middle-class recreation.
Whilst cinema history is now a well-established field, modern popular music has only recently emerged as a legitimate area of historical study. Two studies offer very different approaches to the recent history of black popular music. M.A. Neal, 'Discursive soul: black popular music, communal critique and the black public sphere of the urban North' (Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1996) examines the black popular music tradition as primary discursive spaces for an African-American communal critique of the twentieth-century condition. The black public sphere – the often covert social, cultural and political spaces and institutions created by blacks for the purpose of fellowship, recovery and the creation and distribution of social and political critique – reached its apogee in the periods of African-American migration to the urban north, as forced segregation and the spatial logic of cities facilitated the creation of highly structured covert social spaces. However, the urban upheavals of the 1960s, post-industrialism, black middle-class flight and corporate America’s annexation of the black popular music tradition, undermined the black public sphere and produced an intense communal crisis, resulting in contemporary black popular music evolving into a ‘digitized aural facsimile’ of the traditional black urban landscape which allows working-class and underclass youth to popularize critical issues. On the other hand, S.E. Smith, “‘Dancing in the street’: Motown and the cultural politics of Detroit, 1963–1973” (Ph.D., Yale University, 1996) dissects the relationship between the Motown Record company, symbol of African-American success during the Civil Rights years, and its music, and the black community of 1960s Detroit. Motown’s achievements in this period contributed to Detroit’s image as a city where African-Americans could establish themselves and prosper, yet this idealized vision conflicted with and masked the social, political and economic realities that eventually culminated in the city’s 1967 riot. Covering the period 1963 to 1973, it traces the development of Motown in relation to the history of black politics in Detroit and larger shifts in the national Civil Rights campaign. The company is placed in the context of black culture in Detroit, illustrating how various forms of African-American cultural production and expression were shaped by the urban and political milieu that surrounded them.

Urban popular culture has, since ancient times, been associated with disorderly youth. M.E. Vessey, 'Youthful misbehaviour in the early Roman Empire' (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1996) uncovers the nature of adolescent deviance in antiquity, and especially the opportunities for luxury and vice open to young, urban upper-class males. Forms of misbehaviour varied from those generally permitted, including drinking, gambling, whoring and love affairs, through the grey areas of adultery, parasitism and hooliganism, to those forbidden, such as public performance on stage or in the arena, membership of a philosophical sect or cult, the practice of magic, passive homosexuality, and rejection of military service, marriage and public life in favour of leisure, whilst for girls loss of virginity or diminution of marriageability were intolerable. Three further dissertations take the subject of disorder, and particularly political violence, and link it to enduring beliefs in the significance of moral economy and community norms. M.D. Myers, ‘Well-nigh ruined? Violence in King’s Lynn, 1380–1420’ (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 1996) [DAI] seeks to understand the frequent and ferocious civil disturbances as rival merchant factions in King’s Lynn sought political hegemony. It asserts that violence was used to protect
socially perceived rights, correct transgressions against community norms and stabilize and reinforce the local polity in the wake of an economic transition which diversified the town’s merchant community, but failed to redistribute political power. Thus the burgesses perpetrating violence did not seek to usurp authority, only to restore the privileges conferred by citizenship, and, with the creation of a Common Council in 1418, the links between wealth and power were restored and the status and honour of citizenship affirmed. Communal violence in the face of social, economic and political transition was also central to urban culture in the nineteenth century, as shown by S.M. Farrell, ‘Conflicting visions: sectarian violence in Ulster, 1784–1886’ (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1996) [DAI] which attempts to fill a historiographical gap by uncovering the historic roots of Ulster sectarianism. Drawing on E.P. Thompson’s notion of moral economy, it focuses on the relationships between partisan violence and national and local political events, economic and demographic trends, and popular conceptions of sectarian geography. Thus challenges to the loyalist conception of moral economy – Protestants should maintain ascendancy over Catholics – prompted plebeian loyalists to respond with ritual-laden public demonstrations, triggering most of the sectarian riots of the nineteenth century. And though changes did occur over time, especially the creation of Belfast’s segregated environment, conflict over the sectarian moral economy remained at the centre of party violence, with a dramatic impact on modern Ulster politics. Similarly M. Kaplan, ‘The world of the b’hoys: urban violence and the political culture of antebellum New York City, 1825–1860’ (Ph.D., New York University, 1996) [DAI] explores the violent connections between the emergence of New York City as a modern metropolis, polarized along lines of class, ethnicity, religion, race and gender, and the political and cultural revolution brought about by the Jacksonian movement, which raised expectations of empowerment for the average working-class citizen that the new industrial economy could not sustain. It illustrates the way Jacksonian Democrats drew strength from, and gave legitimacy to, the violence of young white working-class males – the b’hoys – perfecting a style in which rhetorical denunciation of the rich and powerful diverted their anger into violence against African-Americans, rival immigrant groups and independent women, whilst avoiding genuine reform and reconciling American working men to social and economic inequality.

The last group of theses is also concerned with reactions to economic transition and in particular the development of a materialist, urban industrial culture of consumption. Together they offer a novel critique of this process, by attempting to uncover the history of opposition to urban consumerism in America, centred on the strategies of rural dwellers and their supporters. Rejecting a standard historiography dominated by works on urban, working-class consumers after 1920, D.P. Blanke, ‘Sowing the American dream: consumer culture in the rural middle west, 1865–1900’ (Ph.D., Loyola University of Chicago, 1996) [DAI] attempts to unravel the historical roots of a process whereby Americans have come to rely on consumption as one of the most prevalent and manifest means by which to express popular political and social sentiments. Focusing on rural consumers of the American Midwest from 1865 to 1900, it explores the ‘rural consumer ethos’ based on four contentious and contradictory elements of the common experiences and mores of the region’s commercial agronomists – a demand-driven consumer economy, a commitment to communal economic
equality, an effort to apply rationalized efficiency to meet consumer demand, and
an endeavour to apply standards of fairness and honesty drawn from a
Protestant heritage. Though these inconsistencies made it easier for suppliers to
press their advantage, the prolonged struggle by Midwestern farmers to use their
unique cultural and economic cohesion to stave off the splintering effects of
consumerism offers an alternative reading of the development of consumer
society. In a complementary study, drawing on popular literature, sermons,
memoirs, psychological and sociological studies, S.J. MATT, ‘A history of envy in
consumer society: middle-class aspirations, social mobility, and morality in
America, 1890–1930’ (Ph.D., Cornell University, 1996) [DAI] surveys the nature
and perceptions of envy among middle-class Americans in a burgeoning
consumer economy, challenging recent interpretations of consumer society to
recover forgotten traditions of protest against consumerism. It relates how, in an
effort to achieve social mobility by emulating upper-class consumer styles, the
urban bourgeoisie channelled their envy and competitive instincts into the
consumer market-place, whilst rural men and women, frustrated by their lack of
access to consumer goods, abandoned the countryside for the alluring bounty of
the city. It describes how initial attempts by moralists to preserve a moral
economy and a conservative, hierarchical social order by praising the virtue of
contentment, broke down after 1915 as a new generation of secular leaders
repudiated this doctrine of contentment, encouraging all to pursue what they
desired in the interests of the economy. Finally, though primarily interested in
attempts to stop the drift to the city, P.J. NELSON, ‘An elusive balance: the small
community in mass society, 1940–1960’ (Ph.D., Iowa State University, 1996)
[DAI] also finds evidence of enduring anti-consumption ideology in the mid-
twentieth century. The study places the tiny group of cultural critics defending
the small community in 1940s and 1950s America in the context of wider
opposition groups formed in both the inter-war years and the 1960s and 1970s.
Tracing minority opposition to the industrial urban paradigm, to a disparate
coalition including Southern Agrarians, regionalists, proponents of the TVA and
greenbelt towns, subsistence homestead advocates and Henry Ford, it suggests
that while much of the opposition to the developing urban-industrial order lost
its focus during the period 1940–60, a tiny group did continue to discuss how the
small community could be revitalized. Whilst some of their themes echoed the
previous period, such as decentralization, help to small farmers, planning and
cooperation, newer concepts were developed, including community study
groups, adult education and area development centres, which sowed the seeds of
future protest.