

Teacher Fellowship Programme

Local history: untold stories of the people of Britain

What did it mean to belong in Mill Road 1962–1988?

Sarah Jackson

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My enquiry question is 'What did it mean to *belong* in Mill Road 1962–1988?'. The enquiry is based on a single street (Mill Road) in the centre of Cambridge, which is renowned for being one of the more diverse and alternative areas of the city. The enquiry focuses on the changing identity of the street from 1962 to 1988 – the period that saw rapid migration to the city, gentrification and the loss of working-class identity. Students are exposed to a wide range of oral histories and testimonies from the local community, and asked to interrogate them using a cultural history process by unravelling 'meaning'. Students are asked to explain what 'belonging' meant to the inhabitants of Mill Road through a close reading of the original words of the testimonies, combined with their own understanding about belonging, national and, finally, local context. These layers of 'unpicking' the testimonies should enable students to create 'thick description', so that the emotions and actions of those living on Mill Road can be meaningfully understood. It is envisioned that it would be taught in Year 9, building on earlier work that students have carried out with sources and historical perspectives and on substantive knowledge of empire, gender, class and migration.

Rationale

Our department has invested in developing many local history schemes of work over the last couple of years, as outlined below:

Year 7: What can the 'layers' of Denny Abbey reveal about medieval life? This is a site study of an abbey and the different 'layers' of evidence existing from the different owners of the abbey (Benedictines, Knights Templars and the Poor Clares under Marie de St Pol).

Year 8: How loudly can we hear the different voices of the Tharp plantation? This study uses a local archive collection from John Tharp, a plantation owner. Students analyse the 'loudness' of different voices from the archive: John Tharp himself, his shipowner William Miles, the overseers, the enslaved, runaways, rebels and apprentices.

Year 9: How comparable were the experiences of World War I for the people of Sawston? This is a similarity and difference enquiry, comparing the different experience of soldiers in the First World War from our village. The soldiers fought all across the world in different conditions, and so it makes for an interesting comparison.

GCSE: 'History Around Us' unit on our own school (Sawston Village College) In this local study, our students engage with how and why their school has changed over time. They learn about both the changes to the school itself and what these changes reveal about wider society.

For this project, I was particularly keen to develop a more diverse local scheme of work, as the village in which the school is situated is a very white and rural area. As a department we are looking to move to migration at GCSE next year, as part of a wider plan to diversify our curriculum, and I thought that it would be a potentially interesting way in which to bring a sense of migration via a local unit at the end of Year 9, before going on to look at a more national

picture in Year 10. I also thought that exploring this complex topic through a local lens would make students realise and appreciate how far migration is relevant to them, despite being in rural Cambridgeshire. I was keen to show that diversity was not just something that occurred 'elsewhere'.

I was interested in developing a scheme of work linked to place and space. Initially I wanted it to be based in the village in which they study, so that students would know the places that we were talking about already. I thought that this would be particularly helpful in historical perspective analysis, as if students could identify familiar experiences/emotions within the accounts that they were reading, then they would be better able to unpick meanings. I was therefore keen for it to be a very localised history. However, it became clear that sources were not available on this period and I had to be more flexible, and I therefore investigated other local areas. Only upon reading Burn and Todd's (2018) article on a street in Oxford did I have the idea to think about which streets in Cambridge itself might prove more fruitful. Mill Road is, in fact, only seven miles from our school, and nearly all of our students know it, which has helped in maintaining the sense of space and place. Thankfully I was able to uncover a wealth of sources on this street, which directed the focus of my enquiry to 'belonging' as a theme, as it became clear from the sources that I read how strongly those testifying had a sense of belonging.

I decided to make this enquiry fall across the period of the 1960s to 1980s, as the period saw radical social change, and historians have recently challenged notions that Britain 'never had it so good' and raised the idea that belonging was fraught with complexity at the time. Historians of this period have engaged significantly with ideas of belonging and class specifically; Selina Todd (*The People: the rise and fall of the working class*, 2015) and Jon Lawrence (*Me, Me: the search for community in post-war England*, 2019) in particular have considered the changing nature of belonging in post-war Britain. Furthermore, Wendy Webster has engaged with these oral and migrant histories through her study *Imagining Home: gender, 'race' and national identity, 1945–1964* (1998). This enquiry would therefore support students in engaging with whether the local context supported the national trends that have been identified by the historical literature of the period.

Learning aims

- To enable students to analyse sources with historical perspective, in order to allow them to 'unravel' what belonging meant to a wider range of people, by engaging with their human emotion of belonging and, crucially, also developing their sense of how important context is in explaining the meaning of actions and emotions in the past.
- By getting students to engage in the mundane and everyday lives of people in the street, I hoped that they could unpick the strange within the familiar and the familiar within the strange.
- To enable students to develop an understanding of the relationship between the local environment and the national context, in order to see how a sense of belonging can only be explained by the specific context of the place and not just time.
- To enable students to understand the value of oral history in getting them closer to the emotions and feelings of a diverse range of people from the past. I wanted students to understand the experiences of different members of the community (working class, middle class, immigrants, youth culture and those with LGBTQ+ identities) within the period of the 1960s to 1980s.

The structure of the enquiry

The overall enquiry is an eight-lesson enquiry followed by an outcome task. The first lesson introduces the students to the street in both 1968 (through an interview) and today, through a video filmed of myself walking down the street with some commentary, to provide them with a sense of space and place and a sense of change.

The following seven lessons largely focus on encountering individual testimonies and then analysing what they reveal about sense of 'belonging':

- Lessons 2 and 4: These focus on the 1960s, through the working-class community experience and the arrival of Empire Windrush migrants.
- Lesson 3: This engages students with the process of cultural history, to make them aware of the process with which they are engaging.
- Lessons 5 to 8: These focus on the 1970s and '80s, through the gentrification and loss of working-class identity, and through other migrant experiences, the development of an alternative culture and, finally, through the experiences of the LGBTQ+ communities.

Six out of seven of these lessons follow largely a similar structure. Students will be introduced to the place spoken about or lived in by the author to provide them with a sense of place. They will then study the source closely and pick out features that seem 'foreign' or strange to them. Students will then be expected to unpick this sense of 'strangeness', through analysing what it meant to belong by exploring the emotions of the testimonies, followed by national and, lastly, local context. The emphasis here is that by completing the unravelling in this order, students will hopefully realise how important local context is to understanding the specific meanings of the feelings and experiences displayed, as they are so particular to that place and time. In many of the lessons there are opportunities for students to engage with original oral testimonies (recordings) from the Mill Road History Society, capturingcambridge.org and 'A Great Recorded History: Queer Cambridge Audio Trail' from the University of Cambridge.

If you are adapting this resource for your own classroom context, you may not have the time to teach all nine lessons. You could consider leaving out Lesson 3 if this is the case – as it isn't directly relevant to the local focus of the enquiry – and incorporating cultural history elsewhere in your teaching.

It is really important to acknowledge here that many of the principles of the approach to historical perspective (encouraging students to see the familiar in the strange and the strange in the familiar) are developed from Jessica Phillips' (another history teacher at Sawston's) PGCE assignment on medieval ideas, which she explored through a cultural history lens. I am heavily indebted to her for her contributions to my thinking.

Summary of lessons

Lesson focus and learning	Learning activities	Resources for the lesson
objectives		
Lesson 1: Introduction to Mill Road	Students produce a comparison of Mill Road today and Mill Road in 1968, comparing	Interview with Sam and Pat Calderwell (from <i>Wholefood Heroes: the story of Arjuna Wholefoods</i> by David Jarvis, 2014 – see resource
To provide students with an	today's Mill Road from a video clip of Sarah	pack)
understanding of Mill Road as a	Jackson on the road with the Mill Road of the	
place	past from the close reading of an account from Sam and Pat Calderwell.	Video recording of Sarah Jackson on Mill Road (provided in resources)
To develop students' understanding		
of belonging as a concept	Students then reflect on what belonging means, and key drivers of belonging are	
To develop students' understanding of historical perspective through	introduced to the students.	
close reading of 'familiar' and 'alien'	Students then come to initial conclusions	
elements	about what belonging meant to Sam and Pat.	
Lesson 2: The working class: what	Students explore the context of class	Sue's story from 'A Community in Transition: Romsey Town,
did it mean to belong for the original	identities and the working-class heritage of	Cambridge 1966–2006': https://capturingcambridge.org/wp-
inhabitants of Mill Road?	the Romsey Town area through discussion.	content/uploads/2015/10/A-Community-in-Transition.pdf
	Using a quote from Selina Todd, students	
To develop students' substantive	discuss initial ideas on how working-class	Source inference sheet and supporting source sheet (see resource
knowledge of the working-class	identity and belonging are connected.	pack)
community living in Romsey in the 1960s	Students then analyse a working-class	Information sheet on local context on daily life in the 1960s (see
19003	account, 'Sue's story', and use a source	resource pack)
To develop students' understanding	inference grid, combined with input on	,,
of cultural history	cultural history and local and national	Information video on changing nature of women's experience in the
•	context, to analyse historical perspective.	1960s: www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00wfrgf
To develop students' understanding		
of what cultural history writing		
could look like		

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Lesson 3: How can we write about	Students are introduced to the concept of	Information sheet on <i>The Great Cat Massacre</i> (in resource pack)
'belonging' as a cultural historian?	cultural history through being able to discern	
	the difference between winking and	Exemplar written cultural history response analysing Sue's sense of
To develop students' awareness of	twitching, using Geertz's favourite metaphor	belonging in Mill Road (in resource pack)
cultural history as a discipline	to analyse the process of cultural history.	
To make students aware of the	Students then explore the different elements	
'unravelling' process that cultural	of cultural history writing using the example	
historians carry out, and which they	of <i>The Great Cat Massacre</i> by Robert	
are emulating	Darnton, to ascertain the kinds of knowledge	
_	that cultural historians use in order to	
To develop students' understanding	unravel meaning.	
of what 'good' historical perspective	_	
analysis might look like	Students then analyse an example answer in	
	response to the question 'What did	
	belonging mean to Sue?', so that they can	
	see what historical perspective writing might	
	look like.	
Lesson 4: What did it mean to	Students are given the initial context of the	Avis Fox's account from 'People of All Nations: Cambridge Ethnic
belong for the Windrush generation	Empire Windrush and migration.	Community Forum, Interviews' (2001), held at the Cambridgeshire
in Mill Road?		Collection in the Cambridgeshire Central Library
	Students are then introduced to the context	
To develop students' substantive	of oral history and how it can be particularly	Short excerpt from Joyce Browne's oral history interview at:
knowledge of the experience of the	beneficial to cultural history, using quotes	https://capturingcambridge.org/blackheritage/joycebrowne
Windrush migrants in Britain in the	from Carlo Ginsburg (see Lesson 3).	
post-war period		Source inference sheet and supporting source sheet (see resource
	Students then analyse the experience of a	pack)
To develop students' understanding	Windrush migrant (Avis Fox), and use a	
of the links between oral and	source inference grid, combined with an	Information sheet on national changes experienced by the
cultural history and how oral	alternative oral history (recorded) from Joyce	Windrush community (see resource pack)
histories might be particularly	Browne and local and national context, to	
important	analyse historical perspective.	

		Input video on the <i>Empire Windrush</i> from CBBC:
To develop students' understanding	Students then analyse why local and national	www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/43793769
of why local and national contexts	contexts might be particularly important for	
are so important to making sense of belonging	understanding Avis's sense of belonging.	
Lesson 5: Middle and working class	Students analyse a perspective from the	Excerpts from Steve and Merryn's stories from 'A Community in
divisions: how did belonging change	middle-class experience (Merryn) and use a	Transition: Romsey Town, Cambridge 1966–2006':
on Mill Road in the 1970s and the	source inference grid, combined with local	https://capturingcambridge.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/A-
1980s?	and national context, to analyse historical perspective.	Community-in-Transition.pdf
To develop students' substantive	, ,	Source inference sheet and supporting source sheet (see resource
knowledge of how council housing	Students then contrast this perspective with	pack)
privatisation and gentrification of	working-class perspectives and engage with a	
suburbs affected different communities	quote from Jon Lawrence about why some might experience loss of identity with	Information sheet on local changes (see resource pack)
	change.	Right to buy advert:
To develop students' understanding		www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/films/1979to2006/filmpage_right.htm
of how different individuals' sense	Students then encounter Steve's perspective	
of identity might change in different	of the changes (working classes) and the	
ways	teacher uses this difference to discuss the	
•	importance of psychological understanding	
To develop students' understanding	and emotions in understanding belonging.	
of how psychology, combined with		
context, is important to historical		
perspective		
Lesson 6: How did the sense of	Students explore Penny Gordon's account of	Worksheet of sources (see resource pack), including Penny Gordon's
belonging in Mill Road change for	growing up in the Midland Tavern. Students	account of growing up in the Midland Tavern and Albert Gordon's
immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s?	pick out experiences and her sense of	interview on the same web page for comparison:
5	belonging.	https://capturingcambridge.org/petersfield/devonshire-
To develop students' substantive		road/themidlandtavern
knowledge of how the experience of	Students then explore the difference	
-	between Penny Gordon and Albert's	

the migrant community changed in the 1970s and 1980s	recorded oral testimony, and think about why their accounts might be different.	Information sheet on national changes experienced by the immigrant community (see resource pack)
To explore why accounts of the same events might differ	Students then explore the wider national context and compare how different it is from the local experience.	Input video on police racism from the BBC: www.bbc.co.uk/teach/class-clips-video/history-ks3-gcse-small-axe- leroy-logan-and-the-metropolitan-police/zwt7dp3
To develop students' understanding of how local accounts and oral history can challenge national and traditional narratives		
Lesson 7: What did it mean to belong on Mill Road for those who followed an 'alternative culture'?	Students are asked to recall what 'radical' ideas are and are then introduced to the idea of radical ideas in the 1970s and 1980s.	Interview with Rychard Carrington, Pete Jackson and Prudence Jones (from <i>Wholefood Heroes: the story of Arjuna Wholefoods</i> by David Jarvis, 2014)
To develop students' substantive knowledge of what alternative culture and the hippie movement	Students then analyse a range of three accounts from Arjuna and use a source inference grid, combined with	Source inference sheet and supporting source sheet (see resource pack)
meant in the 1970s and 1980s	input on cultural history and local and national context, to analyse historical	Information sheet on local and national changes in alternative cultures (see resource pack)
To explore the relationship between local and national contexts in	perspective.	
developing a sense of belonging	Students then have a go at their first draft of a paragraph of writing, modelled first.	
To enable students to practise cultural history writing		
Lesson 8: What did it mean to belong on Mill Road for those with LGBTQ+ identities?	Students are asked to initially explore Harriet Lintott's account through the source inference diagram. They then compare the	Interview with Harriet Lintott (from Wholefood Heroes: the story of Arjuna Wholefoods by David Jarvis, 2014)
	experiences of Harriet with an alternative oral history (recorded) from Paulina Palmer	Short excerpt from Paulina Palmer's interview from 'A Great Recorded History: Queer Cambridge Audio Trail': www.lgbtq.sociology.cam.ac.uk/queer-cambridge/audio-trail

To develop students' substantive knowledge of the experiences of LGBTQ+ communities	and local and national context to analyse historical perspective.	Source inference grid and supporting source sheet (see resource pack)
To develop students' awareness of why accounts might vary between people in the same community and across national contexts To enable students to practise cultural history writing	Students then think about why local feelings of belonging could have been different between different people and different to the national context. Students then have a go at their second draft of a paragraph of writing, modelled first.	Information sheet on local changes for LGBTQ+ communities (see resource pack) Input video from the Evening Standard: www.standard.co.uk/news/london/watch-gay-rights-activist-peter-tatchell-explain-how-london-pride-first-began-in-1972-among-threats-of-violence-and-arrest-a3277551.html
Lesson 9: Outcome task	Students are reminded of key aspects of cultural 'unpacking' of the sources and shown again the model of the analysis of Sue's account. For the majority of the lesson, students should analyse three unseen sources, using their own ideas.	 Unseen sources in the resource pack: Source 1: Romsey Town, Cambridge, in the 1960s – Alison's story.* Interview by Allan Brigham in 2006. Extract from: Brigham, A. (2006) 'A community in transition – Romsey Town, Cambridge 1966–2006' in A. Brigham and C. Wiles (eds), Bringing it All Back Home: changes in housing and society 1966–2006, Chartered Institute of Housing Source 2: Mrs Pankhania recalls Mrs Malik and her shop (probably in the early 1980s). Interview conducted by Linda Cockburn, 1 September 2014. Extract from: Blyth, K. (2016), Mill Road History Project, Building Report, 175 Mill Road, Cambridge Source 3: Suzanne Pitman talking about Arjuna. Extract from: Jarvis, D. (2014) Wholefood Heroes: the story of Arjuna Wholefoods, San Francisco: Blurb Books

^{*} Note: You or your students may notice similarities between the stories of 'Sue' and 'Alison'. For this publication, some names were changed and I believe that they are in fact the same person. This should not impact on the substance of the enquiry in any way.

Reflections

What made the enquiry powerful?

This enquiry was particularly powerful because almost all the students knew the street that we were exploring. This gave them a sense of place, which helped to make the experiences from the past more powerful.

Furthermore, because of the focus on belonging, and the universal emotions that can be linked to belonging and lack of belonging, students were able to engage personally with the comments made in the sources about this theme. Getting students to reflect on their own sense of belonging was an important part of this process, I think. Yet it was also interesting because students were able to find more 'strangeness' in the accounts than I was expecting. This enabled them to develop interesting cultural history analysis as a result, as they had to draw on the context to explain it.

I also think that having access to vocal recordings made the history seem more 'real' and relatable to students. It brought an authenticity to the enquiry and enabled them to 'see' oral history in action. I think that this helped with getting across the idea that oral history was an important aspect of this project.

Finally, I think that this enquiry was helpful in that the local and oral histories did challenge national narratives and each other considerably. This helped to emphasise the complicated and messy nature of human psychology and experiences, and therefore demonstrated to the students the importance of looking at a range of source material.

Relevant application to other enquiries

I think that there are several aspects that I have learnt from this process that might be useful to other history teachers in different areas:

- 1. For teachers who want to engage with a particular locality and how it changed over a short period of time: By familiarising students with one place in great detail, students are able to grasp a better sense of change over time. I have found that using visuals and Google Maps to support students' rich understanding of place enables them to better grasp how big national changes in culture affected specific local areas.
- 2. For teachers who want to engage with local migration history: Using local and oral history can be a really valuable way of enabling students to interact with a range of voices that would typically not be heard. Local archives and history groups were able to support with finding some really interesting and fascinating sources that were not available in history books. This has shown the power of investigating the archive as a teacher.
- 3. For teachers who want to engage with the interplay between local and national context: By using a historical perspective framework, students were able to see the importance of local context for fully understanding individual testimonies and accounts. Some of the sources could not be unravelled or made sense of using national context alone, and therefore combining historical perspective and local history powerfully enables

- students to develop a genuine sense of need for local history knowledge. This method or approach can enable students to see how local history can complicate narratives and generalisations.
- 4. For teachers who want to engage students in 'historical perspective' enquiry: My focus on belonging throughout the enquiry, and getting students to engage with belonging themselves first, really got them to think more carefully about the human emotions present in the testimonies and enabled them to therefore unpick and explain them in more detail. I would encourage teachers in the future to pick a particular area of 'emotion' or 'meaning' and to get students to think about this carefully themselves first to develop better perspective writing.

Advice on the planning and resourcing process

My key advice on the planning process is taking the time to find the right sources, and then letting the sources shape the planning process. I only concluded that the enquiry question about belonging was the right one because so many of the sources that I came across inadvertently talked about belonging and community. I think that my experience of the project has shown me that you have to be flexible with the planning process, as initially I was determined that I wanted to stick to my local village, but I was prepared to change approach when needed. It can therefore be quite a time-consuming process to carry out this kind of project, and so I would ensure that you don't rush a local scheme!

My breakthrough came with a vibrant local history society, who were happy to answer questions. I have learnt that it is so important to pool the expertise of local historians, as they undoubtedly know the topics much better than you! As soon as I had made a useful contact (Lucy Walker at Mill Road History Society), I was able to make rapid progress. If I was carrying out this enquiry again, I would therefore set this as my first goal. Similarly, the local library (the Cambridgeshire Collection) was able to help but, again, this was due to the expertise of the local librarian. Don't be afraid to ask! I have found the enthusiasm and recommendations from the community invaluable.

My other key recommendation would be looking at local newspapers; some have regular 'historic' features, where they include pictures and reports on specific areas. I found Cambridgeshire Live incredibly helpful in my research on this topic – for example, the following article: www.cambridges-curry-houses-start-21564208

Special thanks

Alongside Jessica Phillips, for her help with developing this enquiry, I would also like to thank both Roger Lilley and Lucy Walker for their support and local knowledge. I simply could not have developed this enquiry without them. I'd also like to thank staff at the Cambridgeshire Collection at the Cambridge Central Library for helping me to find relevant materials and for providing permission to publish these resources. I'd also like to thank David Jarvis from Arjuna, for providing so much amazing material to make this enquiry possible and for giving me permission to reuse materials. Finally, I'd like to thank Cambridgeshire Live for providing permission to use the archive photographs of Cambridge and Mill Road.

Resource recommendations and references

National Archives guidance pages: These gave me a sense of what sources were available on each of the potential periods that I was studying, and so it was a really good starting point. www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides

Local history organisations (especially ones that reply to your emails and provide advice, as they are genuinely experts!): For me, these turned out to be Mill Road History Society – https://millroadhistory.org.uk – and Capturing Cambridge – https://capturingcambridge.org

Benger, A. (2020) 'Teaching Year 9 to argue like cultural historians' in *Teaching History, 179, Culture in Conversation Edition,* pp. 24–35. This was a really helpful article for considering what students' thinking about historical perspective could look like.

Blyth, K. (2016) 'Mill Road History Project, Building Report, 175 Mill Road, Cambridge', www.capturingcambridge.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/175 Mill Road 1st-ed-2016-01-12.pdf. This was a helpful report for the local area, providing more primary sources.

Brigham, A. (2006) 'A community in transition – Romsey Town, Cambridge 1966–2006' in A. Brigham and C. Wiles (eds), *Bringing it All Back Home: changes in housing and society 1966–2006*, Chartered Institute of Housing, pp. 5–26, https://capturingcambridge.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Romsey.-Changes-in-Housing-Society-1966-2006..-Nov-16-2006.pdf. These chapters were invaluable for providing primary sources for the enquiry.

Burn, K. and Todd, J. (2018) 'Right up my street: the knowledge needed to plan a local history enquiry' in *Teaching History*, 170, Historians Edition, pp. 50–60. This was a really helpful article for thinking about the importance of sense of place and its connection to students' learning.

Ethnic Community Forum (2001) People of All Nations, Cambridge: Ethnic Community Forum, Cambridge, found in the Cambridgeshire Collection. This was invaluable as a source of oral history references.

Jarvis, D. (2014) Wholefood Heroes: the story of Arjuna Wholefoods, San Francisco: Blurb Books. This book was the source of a large proportion of the personal testimonies that I used in the enquiry. It is wonderful!

Lawrence, J. (2019) Me, Me, Me: the search for community in post-war England, Oxford: Oxford University Press. This book was really useful in thinking about belonging and changing identity.

Phillips, J. (2022) 'Saints and lice: unravelling medieval culture to using the familiar', OBHD blog, https://onebighistorydepartment.com/2022/06/15/saints-and-lice-unravelling-the-medieval-past. I applied Jessie's historical perspective approach to unravelling medieval sources to this project.

Todd, S. (2015) *The People: the rise and fall of the working class*, London: John Murray. This book was really useful for thinking about changing working class identity.

Webster, W. (1998) *Imagining Home: gender, 'race' and national identity 1945–1964,* London: UCL Press. This book was really useful for seeing how oral histories and 'silenced' voices could counter generalisations about sense of belonging.