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## Urban Lives

### A Micro-Level Approach to Economic and Demographic Change in the Twentieth Century

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#### The Big Picture

The past 200 years have witnessed revolutionary changes in living conditions for most people in the Western world. Nutrition, consumption, and overall quality of life improved dramatically, and the demographic constraints and behaviors that shape people's everyday lives were entirely transformed (Broadberry and O'Rourke 2010; Deaton 2013; Fogel 2004; Galor 2011; Goldin 2021). While the broad outline of these processes is well known through extensive research at the macro level, we still know very little about their micro-level foundations, largely because of the scarcity of appropriate data in most countries. This volume addresses highly relevant research questions using a unique data infrastructure that allows a detailed investigation at the micro level, covering most of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first.

Industrialization led to dramatic improvements in living standards by bringing in completely new ways of organizing society, wider access to high-quality consumer goods, a secure food supply, comfortable and hygienic housing, expeditious and inexpensive transportation, greater representation in political processes, and many other changes that have shaped the society we take for granted today (Broadberry and O'Rourke 2010). One of the most significant and enduring effects of industrial growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the rapid urbanization that accompanied it (Bairoch 1988). The relocation of the rural population to the cities was a common trend across Europe and North America, and it ushered in the most profound changes in normal working life since the Neolithic Revolution. For the first time in history, a majority of the working population was not relegated to manual farm labor but was instead given work in factories and offices in urban settings. The transition from a rural to an urban society not only had significant economic implications but also was a catalyst for sociopolitical change directly related to the great labor movements of the era and crucial in securing many of the fundamental conditions enjoyed in

modern welfare states, such as access to high-quality healthcare, childcare, and schooling, as well security in old age or in cases of disability (e.g., Baldwin 1990; Magnusson 2007; Olsson 1990).

In conjunction with these enormous societal transformations, more understated but nonetheless radical changes also emerged. These were changes in individual life courses, particularly in the ways individuals experienced basic demographic events: birth, death, marriage, and migration (Davis 1945; Demeny 1968; Notestein 1945). Improvements in health and declining mortality at all ages have considerably prolonged human life (Oeppen and Vaupel 2002). The mortality of infants and young children, once an anticipated reality, has become a nearly incomprehensible rarity in only three generations (see, e.g., Viazzo and Corsini 1993). Adults of all ages have experienced persistent increases in longevity and nowadays remain active and healthy up to and beyond retirement. Methods of preventing, diagnosing, and treating disease have made tremendous progress thanks to the scientific, social, and institutional breakthroughs of the industrial era and thereafter, and have all contributed to great improvements in life expectancy (Easterlin 1999; Kunitz 2006). The reduction in the number of births per woman and the transition to smaller families also changed living conditions, especially for women and young children, and had important ramifications for the age structure of the population (Lee 2003). This in turn has had far-reaching modern-day implications for public spending, labor supply, savings, and, ultimately, economic growth (Lindert 2004). Following the decline of fertility, family forms and formation changed and new life course patterns emerged, especially because married women were entering the labor force at an accelerating pace (Goldin 2021; Stanfors and Goldscheider 2017). The role of marriage has gradually become more marginalized as nonmarital cohabitation has become an increasingly important route toward family formation and as divorce has received ever greater social and institutional acceptance and support (Lesthaeghe 1983, 2010; Stanfors et al. 2020; Van de Kaa 1987). These changes have provided entirely new conditions for labor supply, educational investment, and economic decision-making within families.

Changes in the direction and volume of the flow of people also characterized Western countries in the twentieth century. Many transitioned from being emigrant countries to immigrant countries, and Sweden exemplifies this phenomenon. Industrialization gave people their first opportunity to travel further to seek work and a better life, and about 1 million Swedes did so by going to North America (Hatton and Williamson 1998; Runblom and Norman 1976). Then, as living standards improved and converged with those in North America, emigration flows slowed to a trickle (Taylor and Williamson 1997), and, in the 1950s and 1960s, the golden age of Swedish economic performance, the tide turned and attracted workers from the rest of Europe. Stagnation in the 1970s saw this

strong pull factor disappear, and, at the same time, immigration laws became stricter, but immigrants continued to arrive in even greater numbers as refugees and family reunification migrants (Lundh and Ohlsson 1999). This posed new challenges to society in terms of the labor market and social integration of these immigrants, but it offered opportunities, too (Bevelander and Lundh 2007; Lundborg 2013).

Migration can have significant economic impacts on the countries and regions that attract these individuals, including enhanced innovation (Hunt and Gauthier-Loiselle 2010; Moser et al. 2014; Sequeira et al. 2020), lower consumer prices (Bound et al. 2017; Cortes 2008), increased trade (Burchardi et al. 2019), and greater specialization in the labor market (Foged and Peri 2016). International migration also has important implications for the origin countries through, for example, remittances (Gibson et al. 2018), the transmission of know-how (Khanna and Morales, 2017; Khanna et al. 2022), and the transfer of cultural and political values that promote better governance (Docquier et al., 2016; Tuccio et al. 2019).

The most recent chapter in this long-term development has been the erosion of the traditional industrial society that served as the engine for these transformations. In recent decades, the relative importance of the manufacturing sector has declined, giving way to the rise of the service and knowledge economy. While this new development has generally been beneficial, it has placed a strain on many cities whose economies were dependent on manufacturing. Previously wealthy cities fell into stagnation, while others were able to leverage their position by creating a more modern, service-based economy.

Despite extensive previous research, these processes are still poorly understood due to a lack of suitable micro-level data. Even though we know the basic outline of these fundamental societal changes in the twentieth century, we lack a detailed picture of much of the process, especially for the pre-1970 period.

## **Aim and Scope**

In this volume, we look at economic and demographic change at the micro level of individuals and families to contribute to a better understanding of the societal transformations that profoundly changed people's lives during the twentieth century. We study these vital transformations in Sweden through the lens of an industrial city—Landskrona—and its rural hinterland. Landskrona, founded in 1413, evolved from being a port and military town in the pre-industrial period to becoming a medium-sized industrial city (Jönsson 1993, 1995) that later experienced serious deindustrialization (Jönsson 1997). Sweden was a country with limited urbanization, and its cities were small by international comparison.

Landskrona had a population of 14,000 in 1900, which grew to about 40,000 in the 1970s, reaching 45,000 in 2015, after a period of both stagnation and decline and, after the year 2000, growth. As well as being subject to the fundamental demographic processes occurring everywhere else, Landskrona experienced considerable immigration and bears evidence of many of the present-day societal challenges of both economic stagnation and transformation as well as immigrant integration.

The research presented in this volume is based on a unique data infrastructure, the Scanian Economic-Demographic Database (SEDD), which contains economic and demographic longitudinal data at the individual level for the entire twentieth century. Each chapter answers research questions related to health, family, migration, and residential segregation, combining demographic and socioeconomic information for all individuals who were born in or moved to Landskrona. Individuals present in the historical population registers have been linked to the complete national population registers in Sweden for the period 1968–2015. Thus, the book offers a concise, yet comprehensive, examination of economic and demographic processes connected to modern economic growth and profound societal transformation in a city transitioning from the industrial to the post-industrial era.

The unique data have given us entirely new opportunities to study individuals and families from a long-term historical perspective, to follow individuals across individual life courses and generations, and to situate individuals and families in their social, institutional, and environmental contexts. The volume provides novel insights into the micro-level foundations of economic-demographic processes over the long run. A conceptual advantage of using individual-level instead of aggregate data is that the patterns correspond more closely to individual-level decision-making, and a micro-level perspective allows for an improved understanding of underlying mechanisms regarding the relationships studied. More importantly, a micro-level approach does not suffer from the confounding from compositional differences over time inherent to aggregated data.

Another approach common to several of the chapters is to view the findings identified for individuals and their household members residing in the city in relation to those in nearby rural settings. These comparisons are relevant not least for understanding urban–rural divides and potential shifts therein during the transition from a rural to an urban society. The different chapters unite around four main economic-demographic processes: inequality in health and mortality, changing family patterns and gender relations, social and economic mobility, and migration. Each chapter addresses research questions connected to the research frontier in these respective fields to improve our understanding of these fundamental societal processes. The analyses in the chapters are based on

a common periodization reflecting the long-term social, economic, and demographic development of Swedish society.

### **Periodization: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial City**

The “rise of the industrial city” began as early as the nineteenth century and continued until the 1950s. Rationalization in industry in the 1960s led to continued rapid growth in some sectors (e.g., the shipyard industry) but to a downturn in others (e.g., sugar production and, to some degree, textiles and clothing manufacturing). In the 1970s, this development resulted in a structural crisis and ultimately in the “fall of the industrial city,” which culminated in the 1980s. From the 1990s onward, there has been renewed expansion in many industrial cities in terms of innovation and sectors (hi-tech, knowledge-intensive, services, etc.). This has fundamentally changed the old industrial cities, including Landskrona, even though the upturn here has been somewhat weaker than in some of its counterparts such as nearby Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden. We identify four broad periods of “rise” (1905–1949), “culmination” (1950–1974), “fall” (1975–1994), and a “new rise” (1995–2015). The first period can be subdivided around 1930, demarcated by the deep economic crisis connected to the Great Depression. The first period also covers the two world wars. Sweden was neutral and nonparticipating in both World War I and World War II, but, given the importance of international trade in a small open economy, ongoing war and related blockades meant shortages and rationing together with increased price levels (Torregrosa-Hetland and Sabaté 2022). This periodization fits well with the periodization of Swedish industrial history as outlined by economic historian Lennart Schön (e.g., 2010), and it also fits with major elements of Sweden’s social and political development during the twentieth century (e.g., Magnusson 2007; Olofsson 2007; Stanfors 2007). Below, we characterize the different periods in terms of economic, social, and political development and also look at the national and international developments in relation to Landskrona specifically (see also Chapter 2).

#### 1905–1929

The period 1890–1930 saw rapid economic growth following the real breakthrough of Swedish industrialization. During 1910–1930, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita grew by about 2 percent per year, which was the fastest in the Western world. The new development blocks created around manufacturing, textile, paper, transportation, and mass media (newspapers) were linked to

electricity and electric power. The transformation phase lasted until about 1915 and was followed by structural rationalization and a structural crisis in the early 1930s. The period saw growth in real wages and an expansion of services related to industrialization (e.g., banking), while employment in agriculture declined, from 58 percent in 1890 to 34 percent in 1930 (Schön 2010). This was similar to developments in other industrial economies during this Second Industrial Revolution, when growth and rapid technological change were increasingly connected to electrification and oil (the combustion engine) (Landes 1969), as well as to new organizational forms of the market and businesses (Chandler 1977). This phase of industrialization began in the late nineteenth century and continued well into the next period as well.

In Landskrona, industrial expansion lasted until the early 1920s, when a crisis hit the shipyard, although expansion continued in the other industries. The share of industrial workers increased until 1920, and then declined somewhat between 1920 and 1930. Industrial expansion led to continued urbanization and city growth both in Sweden and elsewhere. In the United States, the share of population in urban areas grew from around 35 percent in 1900 to more than 50 percent in 1930 (Boustan et al. 2018). The investment in urban infrastructures such as water and sewerage culminated in this period (e.g., Helgertz and Önnersfors 2019), but there were still the considerable problems of poverty and poor living conditions among the working class (Elmér 1971). Access to higher education beyond the basic seven years of schooling remained highly selective.

This period saw the establishment of the male breadwinner model, whereby most married women did not participate in the labor force (Stanfors and Goldscheider 2017). As in many other countries in Europe, fertility decline started around 1880 and continued until the early 1930s, when it reached a below-replacement level (Coale and Watkins 1986; for Sweden, see Hofsten and Lundström 1976). Mortality had declined since the late eighteenth century, and, in the early twentieth century, it dropped sharply in the case of infectious diseases following improved knowledge about disease transmission and the development of new vaccines and, subsequently, effective medical drugs (Easterlin 1999). Quite possibly, improved diet and nutrition also contributed to the decline in mortality in this period (see Dribe and Karlsson 2022; Molitoris and Dribe 2016). Emigration to North America was still significant in the first decades of the twentieth century but diminished at the end of the 1920s.

Universal suffrage for men and women was only fully implemented in 1921, after decades of gradual expansion and a raging political conflict around the issue (e.g., Lewin 1989, Chapter 3). This was a period of weak governments and frequently shifting majorities in parliament. The working class was mobilized politically through both the Social Democratic Party, founded in 1889, and the nationwide trade union for blue-collar workers, Landsorganisationen (LO),

founded in 1898. Social policy was also expanded, with reforms in both social insurance and pensions (Elmér 1971; Olsson 1990). In Landskrona, the Social Democrats gained a majority of the city council in 1919, which they maintained until 1991 (see Chapter 2).

### 1930–1949

The 1930s began with an economic crisis (including the “Kreuger Crash” in 1932<sup>1</sup>), a knock-on effect of the international crisis of the Great Depression. The turbulence of the latter had a strong negative impact on the Swedish economy, with a sharp decline in real income, industrial production, employment, and prices. Yet compared to the United States and many other European countries, the recession in Sweden, which brought about minor disruption and failures in the banking sector, was milder and of shorter duration, and this was of importance to the industrial sector and investment in general (Jonung 1981). Until 1950, Swedish economic growth was faster than in other industrial countries: productivity grew by 2.5 percent yearly between 1931 and 1935 and between 1951 and 1955 (Schön 2010). The crisis was followed by a new transformation period, one based on previous innovations related to electricity and the motor vehicle. As in other industrial nations, production was now geared toward standardized mass production and increased specialization (“Fordism”) and toward creating a mass market for consumer products. Meanwhile, in Landskrona, the share of industrial workers in the workforce continued to increase.

Investment in improved housing continued in alignment with functionalism, but the problems of inadequate housing and low living standards in the poorer segments of the population remained. After the culmination of the fertility decline in the early 1930s, marriage and fertility rates increased sharply in the mid-1940s during the baby boom (e.g., Stanfors 2003). This was not a specifically Swedish phenomenon; similar increases in marriage and fertility took place in most Western countries at about the same time (Easterlin 1961; Van Bavel and Reher 2013). The increase in marriage and family building spurred the demand for new housing. The labor market saw a major institutional change in the form of the establishment of the “Swedish Model” through the so-called Saltsjöbaden Agreement. This set a new standard for centralized negotiations between the national blue-collar trade union, LO, and the Swedish Federation of Employers (Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen) in an effort to reduce the level of conflict in the labor market and create favorable conditions for the development of Swedish industry (Lundh 2009). In Landskrona, there was a net in-migration from other parts of Sweden during this period of industrial expansion.

Politically, the 1930s meant the emergence of social democratic hegemony at the national level. The Social Democrats led the governments in power between 1932 and 1976, except for one short spell in 1936. In this period, early family policy was introduced, such as the extension of unpaid maternity leave from 6 weeks to 6 months, an allowance for mothers with small children, and a universal child allowance in 1948 (Stanfors 2003, appx. 2). A new Keynesian economic policy was introduced to address the development and crisis of capitalism. It gave the government a greater role in the economy but without the socialization of private enterprise, and it led to short-term budget deficits, public work programs, and the abandonment of the gold standard (Schön 2010).

As already mentioned, the Social Democrats had governed Landskrona since 1919. Municipal government had the main responsibility for social welfare, childcare, and basic education—areas that also saw the first significant reform activity in this period. Programs targeting young children’s health involved trained health workers who provided information, support, and monitoring through home visits and local clinics, with a particular emphasis on nutrition and sanitation (Bhalotra et al. 2017, 2022). These initiatives were part of a broader international infant welfare movement at the time (Fildes et al. 2013), one fueled by concerns about population decline and exacerbated by World War I (Davis 2011). This period also saw major reforms in primary education. In 1842, the first statute of compulsory education provided a foundation for a thoroughly organized school system whereby every parish had to offer six years of schooling by an approved teacher to all children (Slunga 2000).<sup>2</sup> Yet, in the 1920s, there were large differences across urban and rural areas in terms of school quality and total period of instruction. When benchmarking with other Western European countries, which offered seven or eight years of compulsory education, politicians and teacher organizations were also concerned that Sweden was lagging behind regarding the amount of time children spent in school. As a response, compulsory education was extended by one year and school terms were extended and also harmonized across the country (cf. Fischer et al. 2020, 2021). These different social reforms constituted a significant first step in the development of the modern welfare state.

### 1950–1974

The period after the end of World War II has been labeled the “golden years” of the Swedish economy, a time of stable economic growth with no major downturns. Real wages and living standards improved dramatically—for the working class, too—and this included the introduction of new consumer goods



such as television and various household appliances. A similar development took place throughout the Western world (see, e.g., Crafts and Toniolo 2010; Gordon 2016). Several large investment programs in housing, electric power, and infrastructure were launched with strong government backing. Energy use (oil and electricity) increased sharply, and there was large-scale mechanization and automation of production processes as well as the rationalization of distribution and trade. At the same time, there were early signs of difficulties in the textile and clothing industries in the face of increased competition from abroad. In agriculture, further rationalization led to a drastic fall in employment.

In Landskrona, rationalization of the sugar industry led to the closing of the sugar refinery in 1960, followed by the closure of the sugar factory in 1962. Despite this, manufacturing increased for most of the period, but the textile industry was severely affected by the national crisis and most factories closed either during this period or shortly after 1975. The shipyard grew during the 1950s and 1960s, but the number of employees was reduced during the 1970s. The share of industrial workers increased until 1960, but then declined for the rest of the period (see Chapter 2).

There were, moreover, major investments in housing throughout the period, which culminated in the “million homes program” (*miljonprogrammet*) in 1965–1975. Investment in housing was driven by ongoing urbanization through large-scale in-migration to cities from rural areas, and homes were built using public funding, with the overall goal of combating housing shortages and modernizing the housing stock. Sweden was the only Western country to carry out a public building program on this scale in the post-war period,<sup>3</sup> and, in most cities, including Landskrona, this program resulted in new housing estates being added to the built-up areas on the urban periphery (Andersson et al. 2010). In 1950, for the first time in history, half of the Swedish population lived in urban areas, although many of the places defined as urban were quite small and based on town privileges dating far back. In 1950, only three cities had a population of more than 100,000, with the most densely populated being the capital city of Stockholm with 750,000 residents. Increased labor migration from Finland and southern Europe further contributed to this development. The public sector expanded greatly following investment in education, healthcare, and social provision, an expansion which also meant increased bureaucratization that provided employment in white-collar jobs in this sector. One landmark reform was the introduction of a new and more generous pension system in 1959 (e.g., Elmér 1971; Olofsson 2007). In this period, the traditional male breadwinner model began to erode as a result of the increasing labor force participation of married women in the first phase of the “gender revolution” (Goldscheider et al. 2015; Stanfors and Goldscheider 2017). These developments affected Landskrona, too, in terms of educational expansion, such as the establishment of compulsory

nine-year basic comprehensive schooling in 1962 and the construction of several large new housing areas on the outskirts of the old city.

During this post-war boom, the Social Democrats ruled without interruption and with the same Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, serving between 1946 and 1969. State involvement in the economy increased and social policy expanded. Important reforms where Sweden was clearly a forerunner compared to many other Western countries included paid maternity leave (3 months in 1955, extended to 6 months in 1963), parental leave (1974), and the separate taxation of spouses (1971).

### 1975–1994

The oil crisis of 1973 set off a long period of industrial decline and economic crisis which hit energy, industry, and public finances at the same time and affected the entire industrial world, Sweden included (see, e.g., Crafts and Toniolo 2010; Schön 2010). Despite strong rationalization during the 1960s, the Swedish economy expanded until 1973, when the oil crisis led to higher energy prices. However, even without the oil crisis there would have been a structural crisis followed by a new period of structural transformation. From the second half of the 1970s onward, the transformation of industrial society was connected to electronic technology (the “Third Industrial Revolution”), the rise of the knowledge economy, and the increased importance of skills and education (Schön 2010; see also Goldin and Katz 2010).

The crisis in the steel and shipyard industries continued until the early 1980s, when they were all but closed down. From the mid-1980s, there was an economic boom following economic “liberalization” (removal of regulations and tax reforms) and expansive monetary policy, including several devaluations of the Swedish krona. As in other countries across Europe, productivity growth was slower than before (Crafts and Toniolo 2010), but, over the period as a whole, the Swedish economy grew by 1.8 percent per year (Schön 2010). Due in part to previous deregulations and expansive monetary policies, Sweden was hit by a financial crisis in the early 1990s that spilled over to the economy at large in the form of a crisis in the real estate and housing markets and high unemployment in both construction and other sectors. This crisis had severe effects on the economy and employment in Landskrona, where most of the jobs in textile production and ship manufacturing disappeared. By the end of the period, the deindustrialization of the city was more or less complete, and the share of its industrial workers was in continuous decline.

Economic difficulties and new dominant political ideologies (neo-liberalism) meant that this period also saw the culmination of the expansion of the public

sector and the welfare state. Nationally, the Social Democrats lost power to a center-right coalition in 1976, but there were frequent changes in government until the Social Democrats regained power in 1982 and ruled thereafter until 1991, when a new center-right coalition government was formed which lasted until 1994. Economic policy took a new direction, with a less Keynesian orientation and the deregulation of financial markets and tax cuts. During the financial crisis of the early 1990s, the fixed currency regime was abandoned for a free-floating exchange rate, which in effect led to a further devaluation of the krona. Large-scale government support to industry was terminated in the second half of the 1980s, forcing a restructuring of the economy. In 1995, Sweden joined the European Union, which led to a further convergence of Swedish economic development and economic policy with that in the rest of Europe, as well as to new conditions for the movement of goods, capital, and labor (Schön 2010).

Married women's labor force participation continued to increase, and important family policy reforms were enacted to facilitate the combination of family life and work for both men and women. These reforms concerned both the expansion of parental leave and more affordable and universally available preschool childcare (Stanfors 2003, 2007). Together with the other Nordic countries, Sweden was a forerunner in this development, as well as in changes in family demography that have been labeled "the Second Demographic Transition" (Lesthaeghe 1983, 2010; van de Kaa 1987). This transformation had its roots in the preceding period, and it gained speed and prominence in the 1970s and 1980s (Stanfors and Goldscheider 2017).

## 1995–2015

The crisis of the early 1990s was followed by a new period of economic growth in the industrial world. This development was linked to the increasing importance of services, the increasing demand for higher education, and also to the expansion of lower-grade occupations in services. Technological change involving electronics—especially the computer and the internet—was important in this period, and continued globalization brought with it a more pronounced division of labor between different parts of the world and an increase in trade flows (Crafts and Toniolo 2010; Gordon 2016; Schön 2010).

Landskrona saw some improvement in the early 2000s in terms of labor market and population development. This was especially visible in the transportation and welfare sectors at a time when industrial activity and employment continued to decline. However, the service sector did not expand as much as in several other former industrial cities, thus leaving Landskrona with higher unemployment, a lower education level among its workforce, and lower productivity than in the

rest of Sweden. Migration to the city increased and so did the population, but the problems of segregation and low income, especially among the city's foreign-born inhabitants, remained throughout the period (see Chapter 2).

This period also saw the beginning of the second phase of the gender revolution, in the form of a government subsidy for childcare for families and increasing male involvement in the private sphere. There was an almost full transition to a two-earner model, even though there were still more women with small children in part-time work than there were men (Stanfors and Goldscheider 2017).

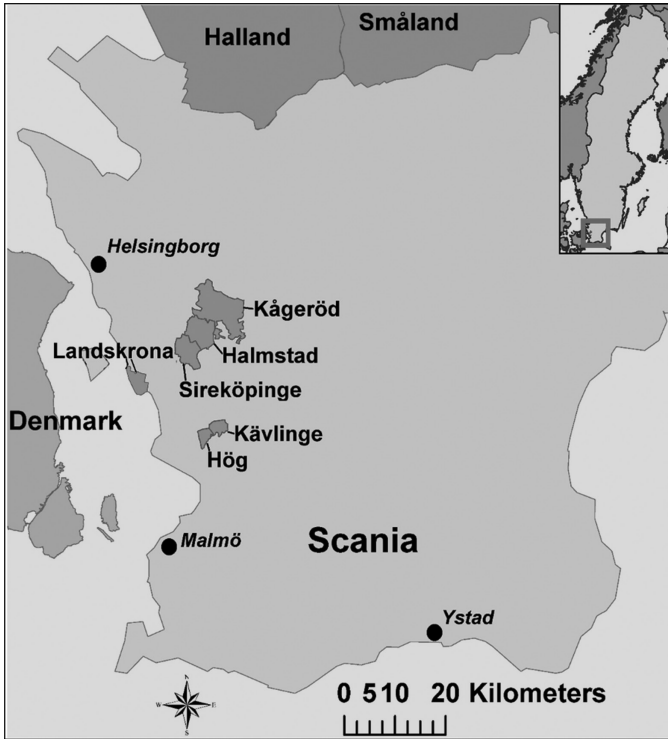
After twelve years of Social Democratic government at the national level, a center-right coalition government came to power in 2006 and remained in office until 2014. The same happened in Landskrona, which has been governed by a Liberal-led coalition since 2006. While there has been expansion in some parts of the welfare sector, such as programs related to family and gender equality, there have been cutbacks in other areas such as pensions and levels of compensation in various social security programs.

### Area, Data, and Methods

The empirical analyses presented in this volume are based on data for an area in western Scania in southern Sweden, consisting of the port town of Landskrona and five rural or semi-urban parishes: Hög, Kävlinge, Halmstad, Sireköpinge, and Kågeröd (see Map 1.1.). The localities are in relative proximity to each other and still show considerable variations in historical landownership, production structure, and geographical conditions.

This study design offers the advantage of examining economic-demographic interactions while minimizing the introduction of confounding factors related to regional or cultural differences. While the population of the study area is not statistically representative of Sweden or Europe as a whole, it is not atypical either, and it shows long-term patterns of economic and demographic development similar to those in other contexts (see, e.g., Bengtsson and Dribe 2021 for a review of previous research on the same area in the context of the more general historical development).

Taken together, the five parishes had a population of about 6,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century, 5,000 mid-century, and 9,000 at the end of the century (Dribe and Quaranta 2020). Over the entire twentieth century, the population declined in the four largely rural parishes while it increased in the semi-urban area of Kävlinge and in Landskrona. In 1900, Kävlinge made up 30 percent of the population of the five parishes, and, in 1990, this was 66 percent. The population of Landskrona increased from 14,000 in 1900 to 45,000 in 2015, but part



**Map 1.1** The study area in western Scania, southern Sweden.

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of that expansion was related to the inclusion of surrounding parishes into the municipality (see Chapter 2).

The main focus of this volume is on the city of Landskrona and a comparison between the city dwellers and those living in Landskrona's rural hinterland. Chapter 2 provides a detailed description of its social, economic, demographic, and political development over the twentieth century and compares this development with that of other cities in Sweden.

The five parishes, located 20–30 kilometers east/southeast of Landskrona, were originally all rural with different geographical conditions and ownership structures. Halmstad, Sireköpinge, and Kågeröd are neighboring parishes located in the transition area between the agricultural plains and more forested areas. They were dominated historically by land owned by the nobility and farmed by noble tenants or agricultural laborers working for the estates. Hög and Kävlinge are neighboring parishes about 20 kilometers south of the other

three parishes. They are located on the plains and were dominated by freeholding peasants and tenants on Crown land (see Bengtsson 2004 and Dribe 2000 for more detailed descriptions of the parishes in the nineteenth century). At the end of the nineteenth century, Kävlinge was transformed into a small town with small industries mostly related to food processing and textiles. This transformation was to a large extent driven by the building of the main railway line between Malmö and Göteborg, one station being Kävlinge, and this was connected to other regional railway lines (Hellborg 2017).

### The Scanian Economic-Demographic Database

The SEDD is a longitudinal data resource including a wide range of variables on demography, occupation, income, landholding, etc. (Bengtsson et al. 2021). It contains data for all individuals who lived in the study area from 1905 to 1967: more than 175,000 individuals. Income is available for each year from 1946 onward, and between 1905 and 1945 for at least every five years, while data on occupation are available on a continuous basis (Dribe and Quaranta 2020, Helgertz et al. 2020). These historical data have been linked to different contemporary national registers from 1968 to 2015.<sup>4</sup> These registers include information on a large number of demographic, health, and socioeconomic variables. The links made were based on unique personal identification numbers which were introduced in 1947 and are available for all individuals present in the historical registers after this date. Individuals originating in the study area and for whom we have their unique personal identification number, as well as their children and grandchildren, were followed in the national registers regardless of place of residence in Sweden. The linked data make it possible to study socioeconomic and demographic outcomes from a full life-course perspective at the individual level between 1905 and 2015. This is a unique feature of the data and hence of the research presented in this volume.

An additional significant contribution is that the longitudinal micro-data have been geocoded at the address level, providing the residential histories of the full population (Hedefalk and Dribe 2020). This allows us to take a long-term perspective of the importance of nearby neighbors as well as employing spatial perspectives and analyses related to economic-demographic change and to life in a city undergoing transformation.

The core data come from the continuous population registers, which have their origin in the nineteenth-century catechetical examination registers (see Dribe 2000, Dribe and Quaranta 2020 for a more detailed description of this source material). Individuals are entered in these registers according to place of residence, indicated either by a housing unit, farm or similar, or with an explicit

address. Nuclear families are grouped together with husband, wife, sons, and daughters declared in the source. Usually, the individuals from different nuclear families living together in one household can also be identified (e.g., servants and lodgers). For all individuals in the registers, there is information on name, date of birth, place of birth, occupation, time of in-migration (including moves within the parish), place of previous residence, date of marriage, date of death, date of out-migration, place of out-migration, and father's occupation at birth of the individual. Data from the population registers have been cross-checked with data from vital event registers (births, deaths, and marriages).

Information on different sources of income as well as occupation has been retrieved from income and taxation registers. For the period 1905–1946, income for husbands and wives is usually merged, meaning that only family income can be calculated. From 1947 onward, income is reported separately for husbands and wives even though there was joint taxation of spouses until 1971 (see Helgertz et al. 2020). The incomes reported in the registers are based on individual tax returns (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed description of the income data).

## Occupation and Social Class

Several chapters of this volume use social class to measure socioeconomic status. These social classes consist of people with similar opportunities in life in terms of economic well-being and social status. We measured social class based on occupation as noted in the sources. Occupations are registered in the vital events registers (births, deaths, and marriages), the population registers, the poll-tax registers, and the income and taxation registers. Information from all these records was used to create a time-varying indicator of social class.

For the period before 1968, information about occupation is available on a regular (and often annual) basis in different sources, meaning that an individual could have more than one occupation registered for the same year, in which case the occupation with the highest status was chosen. For the period after 1967, occupational information is available in the censuses of 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1990. We interpolated occupational status for the years between censuses.<sup>5</sup> From 2001 onward, occupation has been recorded annually in the occupation registers based on information from employers, which means that the unemployed and the self-employed who had no employees are not included.

Occupational notations have been coded in an internationally comparable coding scheme for historical occupations using the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO; Van Leeuwen et al. 2002). HISCO is an adaptation of the 1968 version of ISCO, developed by the

International Labor Organization (ILO). The coding system distinguishes 1,675 different occupational categories and categorizes these using a five-digit hierarchical code, describing sector and more specific tasks. HISCO has been applied to occupational titles from different sources in a large number of countries, spanning the period from the late sixteenth to the twentieth century (Van Leeuwen 2020). In addition to the occupational codes, there are two variables defined on the basis of the occupational titles to reflect status (e.g., noble titles) and relation (e.g., wife, retired).<sup>6</sup>

While occupational notations in SEDD (before 1968) were coded directly into HISCO, data from 1968 onward in the censuses and occupational registers from Statistics Sweden (SCB) were available in two different occupational schemes, the NYK<sup>7</sup> and SSYK.<sup>8</sup> These codes were transcoded using different crosswalks, being converted first into ISCO-88, then into ISCO-68, and finally into HISCO (see Dribe and Helgertz 2016).

These standardized occupations in HISCO have subsequently been coded into the Historical International Social Class Scheme (HISCLASS), a 12-category occupational classification scheme based on skill level, degree of supervision, whether manual or nonmanual, and whether urban or rural (Van Leeuwen and Maas 2011). In our analyses, we mostly used a six-class version of the scheme. It includes the following classes:

- Higher white-collar workers (HISCLASS 1–2)
- Lower white-collar workers (HISCLASS 3–5)
- Skilled workers (HISCLASS 6–7)
- Lower-skilled workers (HISCLASS 9–10)
- Unskilled workers (HISCLASS 11–12)
- Farmers (HISCLASS 8)
- NA

The NA category consists of individuals without a registered occupation, a very heterogeneous group that varied substantially over time. Farmers are also a heterogeneous group, including large-scale farmers, the workers employed on their farms, and also small-scale farmers working on other farms. This is why it is problematic to fit farmers into the class scheme at any time, a problem exacerbated by the dataset encompassing such a long period. Furthermore, this group was already tiny by the 1950s, and it is practically absent in Landskrona.

The remaining five classes, which we focus on, broadly reflect a status hierarchy from lowest (unskilled workers) to highest (higher white-collar workers). HISCLASS is frequently used in historical studies of social stratification and is very similar to other commonly used class schemes in the stratification literature



(e.g., the Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero [EGP] scheme (see Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992).

For married women, their own social class is unlikely to be a valid indicator of their actual social position since the share of those in gainful employment outside the family business was very low well into the twentieth century. Consequently, we sometimes used the highest class within the couple to indicate social class, taking what has sometimes been called a “dominance approach” (Erikson 1984).

Social class was measured at both the individual and family levels (occupation of family head, usually the father/husband). In some analyses, we also used information about the social class of husband and wife. In addition, we used information from all different sources in giving priority to current observations and then choosing the highest social class (lowest HISCLASS) to represent the social class for the observation.

## Statistical Methods

The SEDD is structured according to the Intermediate Data Structure (IDS), developed by George Alter and Kees Mandemakers for historical longitudinal micro-data (Alter and Mandemakers 2014; see Dribe and Quaranta 2020 for a more detailed description of the data structure of the SEDD). The information in the IDS version of SEDD has been used to construct a number of more specific analytical variables (e.g., occupation of family head and number of children in the family; Quaranta 2015) and to produce an extraction of all events and variables which could be transformed into an episode file used for statistical analysis (Quaranta 2016). This episode file contains time spans for each individual, during which the values of all variables are constant. It includes start date, end date, individual ID number (a simple running number to protect the identity of the research person when analyzing the data), birth date, and values of all variables in the data reflecting individual, family, and household contexts. Most of the analyses in this book are based on this data file.

The longitudinal nature of the data makes them highly suitable for event-history analysis, where the likelihood of an event is modeled as a function of a set of explanatory variables. There are several statistical models which can be used, but in this book most chapters use either the continuous-time Cox proportional hazards model or the discrete-time logit model, depending on the nature of the analysis.

In Cox regression, the hazard rate of an event for an individual (e.g., death) is modeled as a function of a set of variables, or covariates, assuming a constant multiplicative (proportional) difference over the duration time of the hazard

rate between individuals with different values on the covariates.<sup>9</sup> Results are presented as hazard ratios, which are the exponentiated parameter estimates. The hazard ratio expresses the hazard rate of an event in the group under consideration relative to the reference category. For example, a hazard ratio of 1.2 means that the hazard rate of an event for the category is 20 percent higher than that for the reference category.

The data in the discrete-time analyses are annualized to include one observation per individual and year. Hence, instead of comparing risks at exact time points, there is only one observation each year for an individual. Results can be presented as odds ratios, which are defined as the exponentiated parameter estimates. They are similar to the hazard ratios in the Cox regressions but indicate the odds<sup>10</sup> of an event in the group under consideration relative to those in the reference category. An odds ratio of 1.2 means that the odds in the category are 20 percent higher than in the reference category. As well as odds ratios, the estimates can be presented as marginal effects and thus indicate the impact of the variable on the probability of the event, evaluated at the means of the other variables in the model.

## Outline of the Volume

This volume is organized into nine substantive chapters, discussing various important aspects of the social, economic, and demographic development of the industrial city over the period 1905–2015.

Chapter 2 provides core insights regarding overall advancements in twentieth-century Sweden and in the study setting of Landskrona. It delves into the question of how generalizable the developments in the city are, and, specifically, it provides a comparative analysis of the economic, demographic, and political development of the city over 100 years compared to ten other cities of a different character in Sweden, and the chapter also provides details regarding the city's economic history.

Chapter 3 analyzes the development of economic inequality and social mobility in the city and makes comparisons with the development in Sweden as a whole, as well as with the more general development of other Western societies in this period.

Chapter 4 focuses on the inflow and outflow of people to and from the city over the course of 100 years, examining migrant heterogeneities as well as the interrelationship between migration, economic growth, and recession, respectively. The chapter also provides descriptive evidence regarding the role of economic conditions as an important factor in internal and international migration.

Chapter 5 examines how residential segregation developed in Landskrona over the twentieth century, with the aim of understanding where certain social classes resided and how residential patterns developed over time and whether the city's present-day segregation emerged during the study period. The analysis in this chapter is based on a detailed geocoding of all individuals living in Landskrona from 1905 to 1967.

Chapter 6 adds a gender frame to the ongoing story of industrialization and family change. It describes trends in family demographic behavior against the backdrop of economic structural change and welfare state expansion, important not least when it comes to gender relations and female independence.

Chapter 7 adopts a long-term perspective in an analysis of the relationship between marital status and health, focusing on differences in adult mortality between never married, currently married, and previously married during a period when marriage patterns underwent substantial changes at the same time as health improved and the welfare state evolved.

Chapter 8 examines the development of maternal and infant health during the twentieth century and how it is interrelated with institutional and medical changes, such as the expansion of hospital facilities, infant care, and the availability of antibiotics.

Chapter 9 provides insights into the socioeconomic health differences across rural and urban areas, adding to recent research on the emergence of the health gradient.

Chapter 10 focuses on the relationship between income, income inequality, and health in the city, with a specific focus on the role of long-term exposure to economic conditions for individual longevity.

Chapter 11 summarizes the findings of the chapters and discusses overall conclusions.

## Notes

1. The Kreuger Crash refers to a financial collapse in the early 1930s, which was tied to the fraudulent activities of Swedish industrialist Ivar Kreuger, known as the "Swedish Match King."
2. Compared to other European countries, the Swedish population was remarkably literate right from the early nineteenth century (Sandberg 1979), as a result of regular home visits made by the local priest to test parishioners on their knowledge of the Bible (Lindmark 2011; Paulsson 1946). However, primary education was only formalized in 1842.
3. Public building programs of comparable size were only implemented in the socialist countries in Eastern Europe where there were no private construction companies.

4. The collection of personal data and linkage to the contemporary registers were both made within the project “Economic Demography in a Multigenerational Perspective,” approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board in Lund (2010/627) in accordance with the EU’s General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the Swedish Law on the Ethical Review of Research on Humans (*Lagen om etikprövning av forskning som avser människor*).
5. For example, the occupational information available in the 1980 census was used for 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, and the same applies to the 1985 census, which was used for 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987.
6. The coding of occupations in SEDD has been harmonized with other historical databases in the Swedish infrastructure project SwedPop ([www.swedpop.se](http://www.swedpop.se)).
7. *Näringslivets yrkesklassifikation*.
8. *Standard för svensk yrkesklassificering*.
9. The hazard rate is the instantaneous probability of an event as the time interval approaches zero. It is used in survival analysis to model the probability of events in a continuous time scale.
10. The odds are defined as  $p_i/(1 - p_i)$ , where  $p_i$  is the probability of the event under consideration.

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