Landskrona 1900-2000 – A Comparative Analysis of the Economic and Demographic Development

MARTIN DRIBE, PATRICK SVENSSON

LUND PAPERS IN ECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHY  2019:3
CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHY

The Centre for Economic Demography (CED), established in 2006 as a Linnaeus Centre of Excellence, is a multidisciplinary research centre at Lund University with members from the School of Economics and Management, the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Social Sciences. The mission of CED is to promote research and training in population studies. Researchers at the Centre study demographic issues from different perspectives and in a variety of contexts across time and space. More information at www.ed.lu.
Landskrona 1900-2000 – A Comparative Analysis of the Economic and Demographic Development

Martin Dribe¹,² and Patrick Svensson²,³

¹ Department of Economic History, Lund University (martin.dribe@ekh.lu.se)
² Centre for Economic Demography, Lund University
³ Department of Urban and Rural Development, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) (patrick.svensson@slu.se)

This report is part of the Landskrona Population Study, funded by The Swedish Foundation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (RJ). We thank Karolina Pantazatou for excellent research assistance, and Martin Önnerfors, Jonas Helgertz, Finn Hedefalk, Kirk Scott and Chris Smith for providing data, maps, and tabulations.
1. Landskrona - the industrial city

Industrial cities appeared after the full development of industrial capitalism in the core nation-states of the late 18th-century world system. Their urban cultural role fit well with the capitalist economic order that came to dominate all other social institutions. Capitalism depended on the production of commodities through wage labour in the interests of capital accumulation. The city became a centre of such production processes and the location for the industrial factories in which this production most typically took place. It was also the residence for the other “commodity” necessary to its productivity, wage labourers. Ancillary urban functions—banking, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and communications nodality—grew up to expedite the factory production or the provisioning of the labour force.”

Source: Encyclopedia Britannica: “Urban culture”

Landskrona was founded in 1413 as a mercantile port town with a deep, natural harbor (Jönsson 1993). Later in the sixteenth century it also became an important fortified military town, but soon lost most of that role after Sweden gained control of the province of Scania. In 1700 the population of the town was barely 500, but increased to almost 3,300 in 1800. At this point it was second only to Malmö in terms of population among Scanian towns. From the mid-nineteenth century factories and financial institutions were established (Jönsson 1995). The city was a pioneer in the new (beet) sugar industry. Its development was similar to other cities, exemplified by the emergence of newspapers, schools, a hospital, institutional poor relief and old-age care, a municipal board and governance, and a connection to the railway lines. The port was used for shipping grain from its hinterland, supporting the region’s role as the country’s breadbasket, and the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the founding of mechanical factories and a shipyard, the latter of which would come to play an important role for the economy and also the identity of the town for nearly a century. These developments together transformed Landskrona from a military and agriculturally based town to a modern industrial city. A number of new factories and companies were formed, and the number of industrial workers increased considerably.

In 1863, during the formation of the Swedish municipality system, Landskrona became a separate unit consisting of the town itself (Landskrona stad). This unit remained unchanged until 1959 when the rural municipality of Sankt Ibb (the island of Ven) was incorporated into
the city. The expansion continued by adding parts from surrounding rural municipalities (landskommuner) into the city; in 1967 Annelöv and Saxtorp was incorporated; in 1969 the same happened with Asmundtorp and Tofta; and the last step was taken in 1974 when Härlöv was incorporated. In 1971, the City of Landskrona was formally re-named Landskrona municipality (Landskrona kommun) but from 2009 the two concepts are used interchangeably.

During the early twentieth century the development of the industrial city continued (Jönsson 1997). Investments in infrastructure and services provided an ever-improving quality of life for the city’s inhabitants. In 1900 the municipality obtained the first regular bus line in the country, saw the building of a new county hospital and became a pioneer in sickness insurance when a number of smaller insurance associations joined to form a central association in 1910. Education was supported by the founding of the first municipal high school in Sweden. To secure housing for the wave of new industrial workers large-scale construction plans were laid out by the municipality during the first half of the twentieth century.

Besides the city’s economic transformation, Landskrona also took part in the early foundation of the socialist movement, and in 1894 the local social democratic party (Landskrona arbetarekommun) was formed. The city was ruled by the Social democrats for 72 years from the first democratic election (universal suffrage) in 1919 until 1991, reflecting the strong industrial presence in the city and the strength of the working class movement. As in much of industrial Sweden, the post-World War II period was a period of expansion and progress, witnessing the formation of several new factories. The high demand for labor in the local economy made the city an attractive destination for immigration and also provided women with a path to enter the labor force.

After the recession of the 1970s following the oil crises Landskrona experienced widespread de-industrialization. Some factories rationalized and reduced their workforces, while others closed altogether. Industrial closures not only led to unemployment, but also resulted in out-migration and an oversupply of housing. The earlier influx of labor migrants came to be supplanted by the in-migration of refugees from the Balkan war in the early 1990s. The negative economic and social development following de-industrialization has been difficult to stop and has led to persistently high levels of unemployment, fiscal strain and cuts in public spending as well as social problems having manifested themselves in the years around 2000. The city has also become increasingly segregated along ethnic lines, with negative sentiments towards immigrants in part of the population (Wallengren 2014).

In this report, we analyze the economic and demographic development of Landskrona and compare with the development of ten other Swedish cities of different character: the three
largest cities Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö; other cities of different size and industrialization profiles, Borås, Gävle, Halmstad, Norrköping, Sundsvall, Trelleborg, and Uddevalla.

Map 1. The location of the 11 cities in Sweden.

Source: Map by Finn Hedefalk
2. Population development

In 1900 Landskrona had a population of about 14,000. Over the twentieth century it grew to 45,000 in 2015 (see Figure 1). It grew at a rapid pace up to about 1920 when it reached the 20,000 mark, followed by a decline during the 1920s and then an increase again between 1930 and 1960, reaching almost 30,000. Following administrative changes, the population jumped to 37,000 in just a few years after which followed a long period of stagnation and even decline during the 1970s and 1980s in conjunction with a period of major industrial crisis. Not until the early 2000s did the population start to increase again. This development of the city’s population is a good illustration of the rise and fall of Landskrona as an industrial city.

Figure 1. The mean population of Landskrona, 1910-2017.


Comparing the population development to other Swedish cities (Figure 2) reveal considerable similarities, indicating that Landskrona was not alone in this expansion and then contraction of its population. Most cities grew for much of the period up to 1970, after which followed a period of stagnation, and in some cases considerable decline. Then in the period from the late 1990s a new period of urban growth has taken place.
There are also some exceptional cases. Stockholm, the largest city in Sweden, peaked already around 1960 and then saw a sharp decline in its population until the mid-1970s, after which a new period of expansion began. The decline in the 1960s and 1970s was connected to the expansion of the Stockholm metro area which to a large extent took place in adjacent towns and municipalities who grew at the expense of Stockholm. A similar process of suburbanization took place in Göteborg and Malmö, number two and three in terms of population size, but not to the same extent. In these cities more of the urban construction took place within city limits than was the case in Stockholm.

The population development in Gävle, Sundsvall and Halmstad were also somewhat different from the general picture. In Gävle and Sundsvall the early twentieth century displayed a stagnation in the population development due to problems for the main industries, low fertility and an increasing migration south to Stockholm (SOU 1949: 7). In these towns, the population did not begin to grow substantially until after World War II. Gävle and Halmstad did not experience much of a stagnation in the 1970s and 1980s.

Figure 2. The mean population of the 11 cities, 1911-2017

Note: Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö are plotted on the right-hand scale. 1911-1961, refers to the towns, from 1962 to the municipality (kommun).

Source: See Figure 1.
3. Age- and sex-structure of the population

We now turn to the age structure of the population, which is intimately connected to the development of population growth and its components, mortality, fertility and migration (to which we will return below). A population that is growing at a moderate speed because fertility exceeds mortality (natural growth) will have an age-structure resembling a pyramid because ever more people are added at the base as fertility is higher than mortality. At very high rates of growth (about 3 percent per year) the age structure will start to look more like a Christmas tree. On the other hand, when the population is stagnating the age-structure will become more rectangular.

Table 1 displays the proportion of children (below age 15) in the population. It started at 16 percent in 1910 when the fertility decline was still ongoing. As a comparison the proportion under 15 in Sweden as a whole in 1810 was 32 percent and in 1860 before the fertility transition it was 33.5 percent (Statistics Sweden 1999, Table 1.2). The lower share of young people in Landskrona and other cities is explained by the high proportion of young adults and lower fertility in the cities. Over time the proportion of children further declined to 10 percent in 1945 and then increased rapidly to 21 percent in 1960 before returning to levels around 15 percent in the 1980s. In relation to other cities Landskrona was never extreme but positioned in the middle.

Table 1. Share of the population under 15 years (percent) in the 11 cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borås</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmstad</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landskrona</td>
<td><strong>15.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>18.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trelleborg</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddevalla</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


If we instead look at the proportion over 65 in Table 2, it increased dramatically over the twentieth century, reflecting the general aging process of the Swedish population. Starting at 3 percent in 1910 it increased to 24 percent in the 1990s. From being a rarity in 1910 people over 65 constituted a quarter of the population in 1990. Initially this was due to falling fertility but
from the mid-twentieth century decreasing mortality among elderly was the main factor and the same development took place in other cities, with some variation in the magnitude. Also, when looking at Sweden as a whole the share over 65 increased a lot, from 8 percent in 1910 to 18 percent in 1990 (Statistics Sweden 1999, Table 1.2).

Table 2. Share of the population 65 and older (percent) in the 11 cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borås</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmstad</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landskrona</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trelleborg</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddevalla</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: See Table 1.*

Table 3 shows the sex ratios in the different cities (men/women, all ages). Except for Trelleborg, and in some years Uddevalla and Gävle, Landskrona had a fairly high sex ratio, even though it was lower than for the country as a whole (96 percent in 1910 and 98 percent in 1990).

Table 3. Sex ratios (M/F) in the 11 cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borås</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>88.3</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>95.1</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>93.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmstad</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landskrona</strong></td>
<td><strong>92.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>89.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>95.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>94.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>94.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>93.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>88.3</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>90.4</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>88.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>94.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trelleborg</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>102.2</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddevalla</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>95.2</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: See Table 1.*
4. Industry

A first characteristic of an industrial town is that a substantial share of the working population works in manufacturing. Looking at our sample of eleven cities it is clear that most of them display a growing share of industrial workers during the early twentieth century (except Borås, which already had a very high share by 1900). The highest shares appeared during the golden age of Swedish industry during the 1950s and 1960s and the general trend is that the share increased until the 1960s and then decreased. Landskrona fits the overall pattern but on the high end of the distribution peaking in 1960 and by then having the highest shares among the cities with over 60 percent working in industry. Even going through de-industrialization, as all cities did, Landskrona still had a higher share employed in manufacturing in 2000 than the cities it is compared to.

Figure 3. Share of workers in industry of all workers, 1900-2000 (11 Swedish cities)

Source: See Table 1. For 2000: *Registerbaserad arbetsmarknadsstatistik (RAMS)*

*Note: 1910 is interpolated using the mean of 1900 and 1920.*

Swedish early industrialization was characterized by a relatively high degree of rural industry. A large real wage gap between urban and rural areas was potentially one important factor behind this (Lundh 2012). Even so, at the same time as the wage gap increased, industry was increasingly located in urban areas. This speaks in favor of other factors being more important. Location of industry during late nineteenth century industrialization was dependent
on a number of factors such as human capital, natural resources and geographies of trade and communication. Furthermore, some industrial branches grew rapidly during the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century and constituted an important part of overall industrial production; industries directed towards the domestic market and particularly those within food production and processing (Schön 2000:169).

This implies that in general Swedish industrial production relied on both the traditional industries of the industrial revolution, textiles and iron workshops, and on industries producing foodstuffs and other items directed towards the growing internal demand, from the middle class and from the 1860s also the working class. It also suggests that early industrialization could differ between towns and cities depending on location, communications, and to proximity to natural resources.

In 1910, our cities do indeed show a variety in which industries that dominated. However, as industrialization matured and transportation and communications improved, access to resources and markets became more similar which also reduced the differences between the cities in their industrial structure. By 1990, Borås with its textiles and Trelleborg with its rubber industry, formed outliers in a general structure of metal/machine- and paper/pulp industries dominating.

Figure 4. Industrial structure of the 11 cities (shares of workers per sector)

a. 1910
b. 1960

![Diagram showing industrial distribution for 1960.](image)

**Source:** For 1910 and 1960: *SOS Industri*; for 1990 *Folk- och Bostadsräkningen*, part 5, Table 22.

So how well did Landskrona fit this picture? Since Landskrona was a port town with a natural harbor surrounded by some of the best soils in Sweden we would expect it to be based on its geographical advantages, with food industry and metal industry directed towards agriculture and shipping forming its base, and indeed it was.

In 1850 there were 13 recorded factories in Landskrona. According to the factory statistics, the dominant workplace was the textile factory with 105 employees, which was dependent on a workforce consisting of life-time sentenced inmates of the prison. The second
largest factory was the sugar factory which based its production on sugar beets produced in the surrounding rural areas. It employed 26 workers but had a much higher production value than the textile factory. The rest of the factories had fewer than 10 employees and consisted of a shipyard, a rope-maker, a number of tanning factories, and a dyeing factory all connected to the location at the natural harbor and to the supply of inputs as well as one factory making music instruments (brass instruments) and a clock-making “factory” with two employees. That industrialization was in its early phase is shown by the fact that the number of people engaged in artisan shops was substantially larger than those engaged in the factories.

Twenty years later, a new element in the industrialization of Landskrona was the foundries and mechanical workshops. These workshops melted pig iron and metal scrap to produce iron suited for different specialized purposes. Thus, these can be seen as alternatives to the massive iron foundries found in central Sweden, and these city foundries were often directly linked to a mechanical workshop (Schön 2000:102). In Landskrona these foundries and workshops produced ovens, agricultural tools and machines.

In 1890 the industrial structure of Landskrona relied upon the sugar refinery, the mechanical workshops and a brush factory. Together they employed around 75 percent of the industrial workers in the town. Besides these four factories, there were 18 other factories recorded for this year. They were a coke factory, five chemical-technical factories (producing fertilizers, mineral water, soda, and sulfuric acid), a shipyard, a brick factory, two breweries, a cloth factory, a tobacco plant, and two leather tanneries. The number of workers was small within these industries and except for the leather tanneries, where Landskrona was the second largest producer in Sweden, the production was rather limited in a Swedish perspective.

Thus, from 1850 to 1890, the number of factories had grown from 13 to 22 and the number of workers from 145 to over 900. This period constitutes the early industrialization phase of Landskrona. From then on, the town turned into an industrial city. This is shown by the domination of industry as preoccupation among the inhabitants but also reflects itself in the town structure.

The new series published by Statistics Sweden from 1911 provides the grouping of industries by goods produced. In Landskrona the food industry dominated in 1911 (e.g., sugar and tobacco) followed by textiles, mechanical industry, the leather tanneries and the chemical industry. The number of factories had almost tripled to 57 since 1890. The number of workers had more than doubled and besides the establishment of a new large textile factory with 233 workers and a large number of recently started small industries the industrial structure rested on the same industries that formed the core of the early industrialization. The sugar refinery
was still the largest one with 385 workers, followed by three mechanical workshops (in all 365 workers), two brush factories (100), two tobacco plants (97) and five foundries (94 workers). Artisan shops still existed but their share of the workers were only around 19 percent.

Figure 5. Industrial structure of Landskrona 1910-1990 (shares of workers per sector)

Sources: See Figure 4.

Over time, the metal and machine sector increased and became the dominating sector already from the 1940s. Other sectors that increased their share of the industrial workers in Landskrona were the paper/pulp industry and the chemical industry. These industries then replaced food and textiles as the main employers of industrial workers.

From Figure 5, we can also discern some major changes taking place in the period around 1920, and in the 1970s and 1980s. The first period involved the establishment of the shipyard and its closure in 1922, whereas the second involved a major industrial crisis where the textiles, the shipyard and the largest mechanical workshop all closed down during a period of 15 years. Moreover, the decline of the share employed in the food industry was partly related to the sugar mill closing down in 1960. In the next section we will look at this development more in detail.

Landskrona’s main industrial employers

In 1900, Landskrona was the 12th largest industrial town in Sweden, in terms of the absolute number of industrial workers. Over time it fell down to being 13th in 1920, 15th in 1930, 17th in
1950, and 21st in 1960. Looking at the census years, the number of workers in industry increased continuously from 1910, except for 1930, up until 1980. Thereafter the absolute number of workers in industry declined. The relative and the absolute development of industry was connected to certain large companies and their expansion and demise.

The shipyard industry
The shipyard industry shaped much of the industrial development of Landskrona, particularly from the 1910s and all the way up to the early 1980s. However, since Landskrona was an important port the shipyard industry had a pre-history before the 1910s. Already the 1850 factory registers note that a shipyard with nine people engaged in the business existed. It was clearly stated that the shipyard (Landskrona Warfsaktiebolag) dealt with repairing ships, rather than building them, and the total cost that year amounted to 1,000 riksdaler banko, indicating a very small business.1

The real breakthrough for the shipyard industry came in 1915 with the foundation of the shipyard Öresundsvärvet. The establishment of the shipyard meant that there was an imminent need of labor, and housing for them and their families (Varvshistoriska föreningen i Landskrona). The same year, the shipyard estimated that an immigration to the city of 1,000 to 2,000 workers were needed for the shipyard to fill its production goals. Both in 1920 and 1921 there were repeated concerns over the scarcity of labor, particularly skilled labor. To some extent, immigration of German workers covered some of the needs but far from all of them. In 1920, the shipyard was the largest in the Nordic countries and the total workforce amounted to over 1,100 workers.

The establishment of Öresundsvärvet in Landskrona in the 1910s was part of a general trend of shipyard expansion in Sweden, encompassing also shipyards in cities like Göteborg and Malmö (Schön 2000:311). In opposition to the development of these latter shipyards, who had several new orders coming in during the late 1910s, Öresundsvärvet was hit severely by the early 1920s economic crisis. The crisis started already in 1920 and was most severe in 1921 when GDP fell 5 percent in Sweden and production volumes in industry at around 15 percent. The crises was international and it was due to new capacity being built after the war meeting falling demand (Schön 2000: 287-288). With large outstanding debts caused by investments in

---
1 The company seems to have had a rather fluctuating business: it was not listed in the 1870 registers, in 1875 there were 71 employees and production value of almost 78,000 kronor with 148 ships being repaired, and in 1890 30 workers worked at the shipyard which had repaired 155 ships during the year for a total production value of 55,000 kronor.
the new shipyard, and with no new orders for ships, Öresundsvärvet had started decreasing the number of workers as well as their wages during 1921. In early 1922 after the construction and delivery of a large steamer was completed, lack of new orders meant that the company had to fire all staff and workers and a reconstruction of the company was necessary. A month later, in March, the company went bankrupt.

The bankruptcy of the shipyard was a major setback for the city of Landskrona in its industrial development and also given its large investments in the shipyard area and in the general measures taken to invest in the town’s infrastructure. Furthermore, the unemployment of a large part of the industrial working class had large effects on the city as a whole, resting on supplying food, clothes and housing to them and their families.

Table 4. Number of workers in the shipyard industry in Landskrona 1875-1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>c. 2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>c. 3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>3,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>c. 400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Already in 1923, a new shipyard was established, Nya Varvsaktiebolaget Öresund, but it was significantly smaller than the previous one, employing less than a third of the workforce in 1925 as compared to in 1920. It was renamed Öresundsvärvet in 1935 and from then on it expanded in terms of workers reaching the 1920-level in the early 1950s.

In 1940, Götaverken, a shipyard in Göteborg, took over the ownership of Öresundsvärvet. The 1950s meant a new period of expansion including increasing the area for the plant, building new production facilities, and the establishment of a three-year workshop school for educating skilled people for the shipyard. The highest production at Swedish shipyards came in 1967 and in 1975 Öresundsvärvet employed around 3,500 workers.

Increased international competition during the 1970s led to fewer orders and this together with large interest payments made the situation for Swedish shipyards precarious. The Swedish state took over control of Götaverken, and thereby over Öresundsvärvet in 1976. The state came up with a number of propositions on how to solve the shipyard crises; cuts in the number of
employees, state loans for production costs, and eventually the closing down of at least one of the major shipyards.

In the late 1970s the number of workers at Öresundsværvet were reduced and in 1980 the state-owned company Svenska varv decided to close down the shipyard. Large manifestations against the decision took place in Landskrona and the local factory management were on the same side as the workers. Even though a majority in the Swedish parliament voted against closing down the shipyard, Svenska varv stood firm and the shipyard was eventually closed down in 1983 (Öresundsværvet, https://varv100.se/nedlaeggningen.html).

After the shipyard closed down, attempts to use the premises for similar business were made. Small firms, mainly into repairing ships were located there, e.g. Cityvarvet AB with around 200 workers and Bruces shipyard with approximately the same number of employees.

The sugar industry
In 1850 the sugar industry was the second largest factory in Landskrona, employing 26 laborers. It was based on the production of sugar beets in the surrounding rural areas. Twenty years later, the old sugar factory had been replaced by a new one and had more than 13 times as many employees as in 1850. The production process used eight steam engines and a large part of the workforce was seasonally employed given the natural rhythm of the cropping of the sugar beets. Out of the 341 employees, 205 were seasonal laborers employed during the four months of autumn and early winter.

The combined sugar factory and refinery in Landskrona was destroyed by a fire in 1875 and the refinery was rebuilt close to where the old factory had been located and already in 1877 it was restarted with 164 workers. The sugar refinery was one out of a total of seven in Sweden. In 1883 a new sugar factory was built at Säbyholm, outside the town, where the company already by 1853 had had its sugar beet farm. Thus, from then on there was a refinery inside the town and a sugar factory right outside it.

The company was part of a larger company, Skånska sockerfabriksaktiebolaget, and during this period some industries started to form cartels to prevent competition from new companies. This was most common among industries with large investments in fixed capital where the production was directed towards the domestic market, and in many cases, protected from international competition, among them the sugar industry (Schön, 2000:264f). In 1907, 21 sugar factories and 11 refineries merged into one company, Svenska sockerfabriks AB.

The first half of the twentieth century contained an expansion of the sugar industry, in area devoted to sugar beets, in total sugar production, and in workers employed by the industry.
Still, a large part of the workforce, up to 40 percent, consisted of seasonal labor. Nationally, there was a slight decline during the 1930s but for Landskrona, there was a sustained increase of workers until 1940.

Table 5. Number of workers in the sugar industry in Landskrona 1865-1965.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: For 1865-1910: BiSOS (D) Fabriker och manufakturer. For 1915-1965: SOS Industri.

The sugar industry in Sweden went through a major rationalization after World War II. Between 1948 and 1963, four out of the five existing sugar refineries closed down and 12 out of 19 sugar factories went the same way (Kuuse 1982:192). There were multiple reasons for this rationalization. After the war, prices abroad fell to a level under the Swedish so in order to meet competition from abroad on the rather restricted Swedish market producers had to rationalize. Moreover, Swedish production facilities were under-used in the sense that the beet season was rather short, and to prolong the season fewer facilities were needed. The seasonal aspect was supplemented by the increased use of cars and tractors to transport the sugar beets, making access to railway from producer to facility less important. Finally, the rationalization of the sugar industry was one small part in an overall strategy from the state to rationalize both agriculture and industry in the post-war period. One important reason for this strategy was the need for more labor in high-productivity sectors that faced a shortage of labor (Kuuse 1982: 188-191).

For Landskrona, the rationalization meant that the sugar refinery closed down in 1960 and two years later, the sugar factory in Säbyholm which was the fourth largest in Sweden in 1960, did the same.

The metal industry
The small workshops and foundries played an important role in the early industrialization of Landskrona (see above). Over time, they became fewer and the general development of the sector can be studied by looking at one of the largest firms: AB Landsverk.
In the 1911 statistics, five different firms were engaged in the metal industry. The by far largest was *Landskrona Nya Mekaniska Verkstad* with 317 workers. The firm was founded by two industrialists in 1872 as *Petterson & Ohlsen* but changed name in 1876. Its main business was to construct agricultural tools, ovens and railway coaches. The firm was hit hard by the crisis of the early 1920s and half of the shares were sold to a German company, *GHH*. The German influence became a major factor in the development of the company during the 1920s and 30s. It changed name to *Landsverk* and besides making railway coaches and harbor cranes, it started research on and development of military tanks. This was one way for the German military to sidestep the ban on Germany developing tank technology, introduced after World War I.

After the World War II the German interests were replaced by Swedish ownership and from 1947 *Landsverk* was owned by *Kockums*, a major shipyard and producer of railway coaches in Malmö. *Landsverk* gradually replaced its previous production, now focusing on excavators and dump-trucks. In 1965, the company had 1,300 employees.

The foundry was closed in 1967 and during the 1970s the company, through being owned by *Kockums*, was hit by the shipyard crisis. The state took over the ownership and gradually the number of workers was reduced. In 1991, the new owner, *VME Industries*, decided to close down the factory and laid off the remaining 117 workers.

The textile industry

Landskrona got Sweden’s first clothing industry when *Schlasbergs* factory for men’s clothing was established in 1896 (Jönsson 1995:237). It started with one tailor and a dozen seamstresses working from home but then successively expanded to 250 employees around the time of World War I, and 400 in the 1950s. Its first location in the city center was supplemented by one at the old airplane factory during the expansion. After World War II, the company recruited workers among refugees, but also from Denmark and in 1950, a new factory was built close to the new housing area of *Sandvången* in the east. In the 1970s *Schlasbergs* was one of the leading clothing companies in Sweden.

In the 1920s two other clothing companies were formed (*Carl Emond* and *Emil Emond*) making various clothing items for men and women respectively (suspenders, stockings, dresses etc). They placed their factories in the south industrial district, on the former premises of the airplane factory. Situated next to major chemical plants, the textile production was harmed by the emissions from the factory *Supra*. Also workers were affected and the company and the workers protested against this during the 1950s. *Carl Emond* moved its production to the north
part of the city in the 1950s, whereas *Emil Emond* remained in the south. The two companies expanded from the 1930s; from this time on over 800 workers were employed in the two companies, mostly women.

A fourth company was *Stinson* making bathrobes, braces, etc. The company was smaller than the previous three but expanded its production from its foundation in the 1940s to the 1960s and built their factory in the northwestern part of the city in 1958.

International competition from Eastern Europe and subsequently from Asia became a major challenge to the textile industries in Sweden from the 1950s and onwards. This hit the major textile cities of Borås and Norrköping hard but also severely affected the industry in other cities as well. For Landskrona, all companies closed down one after another during the textile crisis: *Carl Emond* in 1970, *Emil Emond* in 1974 and *Schlasbergs* in 1978 (Jönsson 1997: 403-410), while *Stinson* moved its production elsewhere. This was a third part of the industrial crises of the 1970s affecting Landskrona, and whereas the closing down of the shipyard and the metal industries mainly affected men, the textile crises affected women.

**Other industries**

As we could discern from Figure 4 and Figure 5, the manufacturing industry in Landskrona was, as in other Swedish industrial cities, rather diversified in the early part of the twentieth century and although the previously mentioned industries formed the core, other industries emerged and disappeared during the century.

As for metal workshops, one important industry was *Thulinverken*. Pilot pioneer Enoch Thulin developed the airplane factory, which at its peak had 800 employees and built about 100 planes and 700 engines between 1915-1919. Thulin died in a plane crash over Landskrona in 1919, and in 1920 the company when bankrupt. It was reconstructed to build automobiles but competition was too difficult, both from newly started Volvo and from foreign cars. Instead, the Thulin company started making automobile parts, such as brakes, but also mechanized weaving machines (Jönsson 1997).

Other companies combined metal with electric industry and one such example is *Järnkonst*, which was founded in 1946. It produced electric fittings for lightning and had around 1,000 employees when it was sold to *ASEA* in 1969. The company still exists, now under the name of *CEBE*. Another company within a similar branch is *BESAM*, founded in 1962. It produces automatic doors and as part of *ASSA ABLOY* it has around 300 employees.

Thirdly, the chemical sector was apparent already in the early industrialization with soda and fertilizers as main products. A fertilizer factory was built on the reef *Gråen* outside
Landskrona harbor in the 1880s. The company also built houses for the workers on the premises. The work included handling phosphate and working and living conditions were bad for the workers. Production increased and in the early twentieth century it had over 100 workers and a new factory was built in the southern industrial area, close to the railway. A major fire burnt down the factory in 1924, and the fire also damaged Thulinverken and Öresundsvärvet. The factory was rebuilt and production increased further. In 1931 leading fertilizer companies all over Sweden merged into one company AB Förenade Superfosfatfabriker. The 1950s meant further expansion and the factory became one of the largest in Europe with over 400 workers. In the 1970s it changed name to Supra and in 1981 there were 525 workers in the factory and 175 employed at the head office. The company is now named Yara and moved to Malmö in 2016.

Finally, other companies related to agriculture existed in Landskrona and its outskirts as well, such as Weibull seeds and plant breeding. Landskrona also houses Bergsöe, specialized in re-cycling of lead from car batteries. The company is the only one of its sorts in the Nordic countries.

Men and women in industry
Using the factory statistics, we are able to study the employment of men and women respectively in Landskrona during the early industrialization. In 1870, 15 percent of the factory workers in Landskrona were women. Almost all of them worked in the sugar factory and a few in the tile and chalk factory and in the salt refinery. The largest employer by far of men was the sugar factory but a substantial number also worked in the textile factory, all of them convicts sentenced to life in prison.

Of the 903 factory workers in Landskrona in 1890, 164 (18 percent) were women. The biggest employers of women were the sugar refinery and the brush factory, 92 percent of the women worked in these two factories spread almost evenly between them. Among men, the two largest employers were the foundries and the sugar refinery. Besides the foundries, the coke, the fertilizer, the leather and the brick factory alongside the shipyard and the gasworks had only male workers. For the small textiles and tobacco factories, men and women were employed to almost the same extent.

For 1911, we can compare Landskrona to the other cities in our sample and at that time around 28 percent of the workers in Landskrona were women (Figure 6). This is close to the average for the 11 cities. Three cities have much higher shares and in one, Trelleborg, the share is extremely low. Overall, the textile industry was important for employment of women and an
indication of this is that the share of women workers in industry in 1911 are highest in Borås (54 percent) and Norrköping (50 percent) which both were dominated by textiles. Another industry with a high share of women was the tobacco industry (Eriksson and Stanfors 2015).

In 1990, the share of women employed in industry was very even across the 11 cities including Landskrona, around 30 percent. In Landskrona this was at the same level as 79 years earlier, 29 percent as compared to 28 percent in 1911. The textile cities showed the largest decrease in the share of women employed during this period, following Swedish textiles being outcompeted from the 1950s and onwards. In addition, the outlier Trelleborg had conformed, with around 30 percent of workers being women.

Figure 6. Women as share of total industrial workforce, 11 cities 1911 and 1990.

![Bar chart showing the share of women in the total industrial workforce in 11 cities in 1911 and 1990.]

Source: For 1911: Kommerskollegium, Avdelningen för näringsstatistik, Hiaaa:210; for 1990: SCB, Folk- och bostadsräkningen, part 5, Table 22.

Looking more in detail at Landskrona in 1911, the largest employer of women were Schlasbergs who manufactured clothes, mainly employing seamstresses (in total 179 women), the sugar refinery (72), the brush factory (64) and a cigar and tobacco factory with 58 women employed. In all of the textile factories and in the tobacco producers more women than men were employed. The largest employers of men were Landskrona Nya Mekaniska Verkstad (a

---

2 It is possible that the share of women is under-recorded given that some women performed industrial work at home, particularly in textiles. However, at least for one factory producing gloves, the records explicitly mention that half of the women workforce recorded worked from home.
metal workshop, 317 men employed), the sugar refinery (313), another metal workshop (99), and the fertilizer factory with 94 men employed (BiSOS D).

Eighty years later, in 1990, the largest industrial employer of women in Landskrona were the mechanical workshops with over 55 percent of the total women in industry. In second and third place came the chemical and the pulp industries, showing the same ranking as for men’s employment in the city. This pattern, that large industries for women also were large industries for men in absolute terms, is apparent across the eleven cities.

However, the share of women of the total workforce followed another pattern and was highest in textiles. In eight of the eleven cities (including Landskrona), women constituted more than half of the workforce in this sector. This is also the only sector where women constituted more than 50 percent of the workforce in any city, except for in the wood-sector in Trelleborg. Other sectors with relatively high share of women employed in 1990 were the food sector and the pulp industries.

5. Housing and industrial location

In the late nineteenth century, the city was rather small and most factories were located within the city center. On the map from 1895 (Map 1) we can discern the location of many of the most important factories. Starting at the harbor, the shipyard was strategically located right at the harbor entrance, opposite the harbor- and toll offices. Not far from there, in the inner harbor, the sugar refinery was located with its own quay. In the same block the brush factory was located. Within the very center of the city, we also found the mechanical workshops and a steam mill. Further east, north of the railway line which came into the town from the east and ended right south of the harbor, a concentration of industry was also found. Here the leather factories, a wool spinning factory, and a steam saw was located. South of the railway several blocks, not yet named, were drawn, where a soda factory was located. In general, this shows that during the early industrialization phase of the late nineteenth century, most factories were located right into the old city where people lived.
A few years later, the map of 1918 reveal that the industry had moved out of the city center and was mainly located in the new area south of the railway (Map 2). Here we find the mechanical workshop, the fertilizer factory, the new airplane factory, a rubber factory and an oil factory. Further east, along the south side of the railway track the city has located its gas- and electricity works. South of these newly occupied industrial districts, right by the sea, the new shipyard, Öresundsvarvet had a large area containing among other things a dry dock. Still, some industries remained at their old locations, such as the sugar refinery and the old, smaller shipyard.

The industrial expansion in the early twentieth century led to a shortage of housing, and that many had to live in housing of very poor quality. Already in 1915, the question on housing was brought up in the city council in connection to the establishment of Öresundsvarvet and in 1916 the shipyard started to plan the building of four houses in the Storken block, north of the railway and east of the city center. In 1917 the shipyard asked permission to build housing for workers in the Gripen block nearby and a year later, there was still a demand for more labor and the shipyard had built houses for almost 600 families to attract them. In 1920, the shipyard
built a health insurance fund and six new large houses was to be built in the Tranan block. All housing meant that workers lived in the city close to the industrial part of the town but still had quite a long way to the shipyard at its southwestern location. By then, the shipyard owned houses for 600 workers with construction for another 200 under way. In 1922, when Öresundsvärvet went bankrupt, it owned 68 houses worth over 1.3 million SEK.

Map 2. Landskrona of 1918 with industries marked in blue and housing projects in black.

Source: Karta över Landskrona stad upprättad år 1918 av stadsingenjören, Göteborgs Litografiska AB. Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen, Landskrona stad.
As in most other Swedish cities there were distinct periods of great expansion of construction, in the 1920s, 1940s and 1960s. The 1920s saw, for example, the building of 1-2 family houses for ordinary people in the Own Home movement (*Egnahemsrörelsen*). In this period there was also a severe shortage of small apartments (1-2 rooms), which led the municipality to take an initiative to speed up the building of new apartment housing. Landskrona was together with Nyköping and Västerås pioneers in municipality-led housing construction. In 1917 a renter association (*hyresgästförening*) was formed to safeguard the interests (incl. rent control) of people who rented their apartments. Such associations were later to become an important part of the Social-democratic labor movement.

During the 1920s and 1930s most apartment houses were built in the centrally located parts of town. 1933 the first *HSB* association (a cooperate owner association of apartments) was formed, but ran into problems initially with unsold apartments. Not until 1939 were 32 apartments ready.

During World War II a municipal housing company was formed, *Landskronahem*, which built a large number of houses during the 1950-1970. There was a severe shortage of housing and much housing of very poor quality in the early 1940 which led to the formation of the company.

In the 1950s a new large housing area, *Sandvången*, was built with a total of 810 apartments, central laundry facilities with washing machines, 99 garages, a facility with 68 freezers, among other things (Map 3). There were also local shops and facilities for organizations and hobby projects. There were also other similar, but smaller areas developed during this period. During this period, some of the industries previously located in the industrial district, moved their factories closer to the homes of the workers in the northeastern part of the town, e.g. the textile factories.
Map 3. Landskrona in 1951 with the area Sandvången marked

Source: Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen, Landskrona stad.
In the central parts of the city many old houses were demolished to give room for new constructions, which ultimately led to a resistance towards the movement to rebuild the city. Still, the sugar refinery was located in the city center up until 1960.

The 1960s saw the construction of even larger housing projects during the “million homes program” (miljonprogrammet), through which 1 million new apartments were scheduled in Sweden during the period 1965-1975 to alleviate the housing shortage. In Landskrona there were 2,400 individuals queuing for an apartment in 1965. There were also still problems of cramped housing, with families with five children living in two-room apartments, and families with 2-4 children living in one-room apartments. This was also a period when the industry faced a shortage of labor and promoted immigration and in-migration for the rest of Sweden. During the second half of the 1970s, times had changed and there was now an excess supply of housing leaving many apartments in the newly constructed areas empty. There was also increasing criticism of the new residential areas and the destruction of the old city. Many of these “million program areas” would face increasing segregation and social problems in the period to come, in both Landskrona and elsewhere.

6. Health and mortality

In 1900 a county hospital (Länslasarettet) was opened in Landskrona. There was also a city hospital (sjukhem) which took care of elderly and the chronically ill who could not be cared for in the county hospital. The city hospital had room for 76 patients. The capacity of the county hospital was gradually increased from 60 beds when it opened to about 120 in the late 1920s. In 1900, the county hospital had 6,600 care days with an average stay of 32 days (!). 1910 the number of care days had increased to 18,600, while the average time spend hospitalized had declined to 24.

In 1950, the county hospital had 54,500 care days, with an average hospitalization time of 14 days. (Jönsson 1997: 15). The expansion of the hospital had continued with a maternity ward in the 1930s, a children hospital in the 1940s and further expansion through the 1960s, 70s and 80s. However, in 1972 the maternity ward was closed although the antenatal unit remained for a while, until it too was closed in 1981.

The city was considered healthy by the Swedish authorities, and in 1910 the sickness and burial fund Solidar was founded establishing Landskrona as one of the pioneers in the country in terms of sickness insurance.

The first known water pipe system in the city was made of wood and connected to open freshwater in the city. In 1868 it consisted of 4 km and 131 wells got their water from this
The water was not really suitable for drinking, and drinking water was collected from wells in the outskirts of town. In the 1870s the water system was developed with iron pipes and new wells. Pipes were drawn under all streets of the city and sometimes connected directly to the houses and in other cases to outdoor water pumps. At the beginning Landskrona was the only city in Sweden that exclusively relied on ground water, and the city hence had drinking water of very high quality. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the increased demand for water and lack of pressure in the system required the construction of a water tower, which was ready in 1904. In 1883 a hot bath was built but it was soon deemed of insufficient quality and in the first decade of the twentieth century it was expanded. In 1913 a newly built public bath was opened.

During World War I there was food shortages and rationing in Landskrona as in other Swedish towns at the time. The fact that the town had professional fishermen made access to local food a bit better than in some other places. Still the so called “hunger demonstrations” also came to Landskrona in April 1917, with 3,000-4,000 demonstrators (in a town with a total population of about 17,000).

The mortality development as measured by the crude death rate is rather uniform across the cities (Figure 7). The peak in 1918 was caused by the Spanish flu and is the last epidemic, which can be clearly seen in aggregate mortality statistics. The flu hit Landskrona in August 1918, with a faster spread of the epidemic from September of that year. To stop the spread of the disease it was decided to close cinemas and the theater, as well as to forbid lecture and dance events where people congregated. Later in the fall, it was also decided to close down the schools. The epidemic weakened considerably by the end of October, and in early November the previous restrictions were lifted. In early December it looked as it had completely vanished, only to re-emerge shortly before Christmas of 1918. From early February of 1919 it finally disappeared (Jönsson 1997: 122-124).
Figure 7. Crude death rates (per 1,000 population) in the 11 cities, 1911-2017.

After the disappearance of the Spanish flu total mortality declined until about 1960 when it began to increase again. This increase is a result of the population growing older and not of an increase in age-specific mortality. More specific for Landskrona there was a peak in mortality in the 1930s.

If we look at infant mortality (number of children under age 1 dying divided by the number of births), there is a more or less continuous decline throughout the period 1875-1935 and the pattern is also rather uniform across cities (Figure 8). The series are a bit erratic due to the small number of children dying which creates some random fluctuations in the measure. The series begin already in 1875 when infant mortality in Landskrona was about 15 percent. In the early 1880s it peaked at 25 percent, which was a common figure in the second half of the eighteenth century (Statistics Sweden 1999). In 1935 the figure was down to 3 percent. There is no city-level data after this time, but for the country as a whole infant mortality around 2000 was around 3 or 4 per thousand (Statistics Sweden 1999), a spectacular improvement in life expectancy over the twentieth century.

Source: See Figure 1.
Figure 8. Infant mortality (IMR, per 1,000 births) in the 11 cities, 1875-1935. Landskrona is the red line.


Child mortality (age 1-4) shows a similar improvement from 1875 to 1935 (Figure 9), and also in this case the development is fairly uniform across cities. We also see a reduction in the variability of mortality which in itself is an important sign of improvement in wellbeing of the population. The pattern in Landskrona does not deviate in any noticeable way. The developments for boys and girls in Landskrona are also highly similar, and there is no noticeable difference in the mortality level between the sexes either.
Figure 9. Child mortality (age 1-4, per 1,000 population) in the 11 cities, 1875-1935. Landskrona is the red line.

a. Men

b. Women
c. Men and women in Landskrona

Source: See Figure 8

Figure 10 and 11 show adult and old age mortality for men and women separately for the period 1875 to 1935. For adult men (age 40-59) there is a decline from around 20 per thousand to 10 per thousand over this period. Except for the rather high mortality in Stockholm, the patterns are fairly similar across the cities and Landskrona is positioned in the middle or in the lower half. For women mortality in this age group declines from around 15 to 5-10 per thousand. Looking at the gender differences in mortality in Figures 10c and 11c, male adult mortality is somewhat higher than female for most of the period up until 1935, but after the 1890s the difference is quite small.
Figure 10. Adult mortality (40-59 years, per 1,000 population) in the 11 cities, 1875-1935. Landskrona is the red line.

a. Men

b. Women.
c. Men and women in Landskrona

Source: See Figure 8.

Figure 11. Old-age mortality (40-59 years, per 1,000 population) in the 11 cities, 1875-1935. Landskrona is the red line.
a. Men
b. Women

![Graph of Women's Data]

Source: See Figure 8.

c. Men and women in Landskrona

![Graph of Men and Women Data]

Source: See Figure 8.
7. Family patterns

Looking first at childbearing, the crude birth rate (CBR) gives a summary picture of the number of births in relation to the size of the population. Figure 3 shows CBR for the selected cities. Overall, it is clear that fertility followed a similar development in all cities. From 1910 to about 1930 fertility declines in the final phase of the fertility transition, during which the total fertility of Sweden declined from over 4 before 1880 to under 2 in the 1930s. This development was part of the demographic transition taking place all over the Western world during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Landskrona does not deviate from the general trend, except for a somewhat lower fertility in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the population of the city had grown quite old as a result of the previous population decline, and a somewhat higher fertility in the early 2000s following the recovery. The three biggest cities had a much higher fertility level after 1995 which is connected to the demographic expansion with more younger people moving in and forming families.

Figure 12. Crude birth rates (per 1,000 population) in the 11 cities, 1911-2017.

Source: See Figure 1.

Fertility as measured by the crude birth rate also shows strong short-term variations, which is a well-known phenomenon in Swedish fertility history. Soon after the end of fertility
decline fertility rebounded creating what is commonly known as the baby boom of the 1940s. This boom is also clearly visible in Landskrona with 1945 as the top year. After the boom fertility declined a bit but not back to previously low levels. In the second half of the 1960s there was a new increase, creating a second baby boom before the real baby bust of the 1970s and 1980s. Around 1990 came a new increase in fertility, followed by a decline and historic low levels of fertility in 1999. In the 2000s fertility has been increasing again, more so in Landskrona than in the country as a whole, but it should also be noted that the crude birth rates are sensitive to rapid changes in the population age structure, for example immigration of large numbers in child-bearing ages.

Figure 13 shows the general fertility rate for the census years 1910-1990 (births per 1000 women 15-49 years) which is less sensitive to changes in the age structure of the population. It corroborates the previous picture of a fertility decline until 1930, then an increase up to 1950, a bit of a decline to 1960, then another increase to 1970. Of course, most of the short-term variations are lost when only looking at the census years. It is also clear that Landskrona had quite high fertility until 1950, but since then it has been more average.

Figure 13. General fertility rate (per 1,000 women 14-49 years) in the 11 cities, 1910-1990.

Source: See Table 1.
In 1867 day-care for small children aged 2 to 6 years were established through an institution called Asylen. It was open 14 hours per day on weekdays. Fourteen years later, in 1891, 111 children was cared for there and the care included food. The facility was run by the Landskrona Women’s Organization (Landskronas fruntimmersförening). It was expanded in 1909 and in 1937, and ten years later the municipality took over and the facility is still active today (Jönsson 1997).

In 1918, Annie Weibull opened a school for homemakers (housewives). She was also part of the establishment of Vita Bandets Mjölkdroppe in Landskrona in 1916, aiming to promote breastfeeding and child and maternal health, and in the same year she started a child care facility (barnkrubba) with room for six children at the beginning. In 1943, there were 12 children and an additional 18 in the kindergarten (barnträdgårdsavdelningen).

The higher rate of family formation in the late 1990s and early 2000s in both Landskrona and the three biggest cities is clearly visible in Figure 14 showing the crude marriage rate (number of marriages divided by the mean population). In the period before 1965 Landskrona follows other cities quite closely in terms of nuptiality. Unfortunately, there is no city-level data on marriages between 1965 and 2000. Nonetheless, the increasing marriage propensity during the baby boom is clearly visible in all cities. It is an often-established fact that the baby boom to a large extent was a marriage boom even if marital fertility increased as well (Sandström 2014; Van Bavel and Reher 2013).

Figure 15 displays the proportion married in all ages for both sexes. It clearly shows the increase in the proportion of the population in Landskrona that was married from 1910 to 1970. Between 1940 and 1970, Landskrona was also the city with the highest proportions married.
Figure 14. Crude marriage rates (per 1,000 population) in the 11 cities.

Source: See Figure 1.

Figure 15. Proportion married (percent), men and women all ages.

Source: See Table 1.
8. Poor relief

In 1910 the city of Landskrona had one poor house that could keep up to 180 persons. In addition there was a small poor house for nine people (BiSOS U/Kommunernas fattigvård och finanser, 1910-1914:1). Since 1918 was a troublesome year in terms of food (through a bad harvest in 1917 in combination with the war preventing trade) Öresundsvravet started a small food court, the “root crops restaurant”. In 1920, the town still had one poorhouse for 180 people and one small for 6 people.

In 1910, a total of 1,394 people were on poor relief in the city, constituting 8.7 percent of the total population in Landskrona. The average for 94 Swedish cities were 6.5 percent and among the eleven cities studied here, Norrköping had the highest share with 9.2 percent followed by Halmstad, Sundsvall and Landskrona. We are able to compare the development within the cities also for 1920, 1950 and 1960 (see Table 6). Generally, Landskrona is on the high end until in 1960 when the shares between the cities are rather equal.

Table 6. Share of population subject to poor relief, ten cities as compared to the level in Landskrona, 1910, 1920, 1950 and 1960.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borås</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmstad</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landskrona</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trelleborg</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddevalla</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Landskrona (level %) 8.7 8.1 6.0 4.9


9. Migration

Figure 16 displays net in-migration rates to Landskrona 1910-2016 (in-migrants minus out-migrants divided by the mean population). It shows two periods of distinct positive migration balance, 1930-55 and the 2000s. These were also periods of considerable population growth, while the 1960s and 1970s saw population stagnation, if the artificial increase due to boundary changes are removed (see Figure 1). The peak in 1995 is connected to the flow of refugees from
former Yugoslavia. In Figure 13, net in-migration to Landskrona is compared to the other cities. The expansion periods 1930-1950 and the 2000s can be seen in most of the cities, but to different extents. In the first of these Landskrona is placed in the middle, but both in the 1995 peak and the 2000s it experienced comparatively high rates of in-migration. It is also clear that the stagnation period in the 1960s and 1970s affected Landskrona more than the other cities, showing the highest net-out-migration in this period.

Figure 16. Net in-migration (per 1,000 population) to Landskrona, 1911-2017.

Source: See Figure 1.
Figure 17. Net in-migration (per 1,000 population) to the 11 cities, 1911-2017.

Source: See Figure 1.

Immigration (in-migration of foreign born) to Landskrona began in earnest after World War II, although a number of Jewish refugees came during the war as well. During 1945 about 2,800 refugees, mainly from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania came with “the white busses” (a relief effort organized by the Red Cross under Count Folke Bernadotte, Jönsson 1997). Over the coming years, a large number of refugees entered Sweden in Landskrona, later to be moved to other places. In total 20,000 refugees were housed at the old fortress between 1945 and 1949.

Table 7, panel A, shows the distribution of the foreign-born population 1946-1965 in Landskrona. In the 1940s and early 1950s, immigrants from Denmark dominated together with refugees from World War II from Germany, Poland, and Estonia. The crisis in Hungary 1956 created the next major flow of immigrants, as this was a time of high demand for labor. After the instruction of free movement in the Nordic countries in 1954, immigration from Denmark and Finland increased, and from the mid-1960s the flow of labor migrants from southern Europe (especially Yugoslavia) but also from Finland increased.

Panel B shows the distribution of foreign-born by country groups between 1970 and 2015. In 1970 the Nordic countries dominated the foreign-born population, but has since then
dramatically been reduced. Instead the proportion of immigrants from other parts of Europe has increased, as well as the share coming from outside Europe, especially from Asia but also from Africa. In the mid-1970s Syrians from Turkey and Lebanon came as refugees. The oversupply of housing at the time made it attractive for the municipality to welcome immigrants to fill the empty apartments. Then in the early 1990s the Balkan war in former Yugoslavia produced a great flow of refugees, especially from Bosnia and Kosovo. During 1994 and 1995 2000 refugees arrived in the city. In 1996 the municipality had 4300 foreign citizens, about 2000 from former Yugoslavia, 800 from Denmark, and 200 from Finland. In addition, there were also additional foreign born who had naturalized and got Swedish citizenship (Jönsson 1997).

Table 7. Distribution of foreign-born in Landskrona (percent).

A. 1946-1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>2209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### B. 1970-2015 (country groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU28 excl Nordic countries</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe excl EU28 and Nordic</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordic</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3386</td>
<td>4197</td>
<td>3846</td>
<td>3613</td>
<td>4281</td>
<td>6540</td>
<td>6958</td>
<td>8250</td>
<td>10082</td>
<td>11412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* Panel A based on data from population registers, panel B on data on country of birth (grouped) from Statistics Sweden.

10. Education and earnings

Schools, either privately funded or maintained by the local community, existed in Sweden long before the twentieth century. During the nineteenth century, school organization became regulated by the state but run by the local municipalities, starting with the 1842 act of mandatory primary schools in every parish. This was followed by the establishment of pre-primary småskolor in the 1880s. At the same time secondary education and vocational training was on the rise.

As for primary education, in 1900 Landskrona had four primary schools (folkskolor) and three pre-primary ones (småskolor), with teaching taking place in five schoolhouses. All of the teachers in the pre-primary schools were women whereas teachers in primary schools were both women and men (13 versus 17) (BiSOS P / Undervisningsväsendet. Berättelse om folkskolorna för år 1900).

In 1897 a new middle (secondary) school (realskola/femklassigt läroverk) was built in Landskrona, with five years of study. In the autumn term of 1900, a total of 124 pupils attended the school (80 in the common first three years, and 44 in the final two years). The teachers at the school was one headmaster, 5 adjuncts and 3 other teachers (drawing, music, gymnastics and handicraft) (BiSOS P / Undervisningsväsendet. Berättelse om statens allmänna läroverk för gossar. Läsåret 1900-1901). In 1910 there were 149 students spread relatively evenly across the now 6 years. Since 1880 Landskrona also had a Technical school (crafts and engineering) and from 1900 to 1970 a teacher seminar (post-high school education for elementary school teachers).

In 1900, there were 1,345 pupils in primary schools and 584 in pre-primary schools (7 to 14 years of age). Adding secondary education and vocational schools (249), private schools (43), students outside their district, “schools for abnormal”, and home education there were a total of 2,261 pupils 7-14 years of age. Total number of children recorded in the statistics were 2,319 and the difference was due to 44 having passed the exam, 10 were absent because of disease and 1 for other reason. The 2,319 was 1,181 boys and 1,138 girls (BiSOS P).

In 1907 the first municipal high school (kommunalt gymnasium) in the country opened, and in 1911 the first five (!) students graduated. Four years later, a common schoolhouse for the secondary realskola and the high school was built, in practice forming an equivalent to the state-run high schools (högre allmänt läroverk) present in other cities. At its start, the municipal high school was only open for boys but in 1921 it also accepted girls, the first one graduating in 1923. This extended the opportunities for girls to achieve higher education in relation to the since 1871 present higher school for girls. The latter existed until 1971.
From the early 1930s the municipal high school was transformed into a standard state-run high school (Jönsson 1997: 65-76). As in the rest of the country, the high school education gradually expanded with larger and larger cohorts entering this level. This required successive expansion of schoolhouses and in the early 1970s a completely new high school was opened.

Figure 18 shows the proportion of the population with a minimum of two years post-secondary education (university or professional post-high school) 1970 to 2010. In 1970 this was only the case for about 5 percent of the men and even less for women (individuals born after 1930, aged 20-64). In 2010 this figure was around 20 percent for men in Landskrona for men and 30 percent for women. It is quite clear that the educational level in Landskrona was low compared to other cities.

Figure 18. Proportion of the population 20-64 with at least two years post-secondary education.

a. Men
b. Women


Turing to earnings, Table 8 shows mean income for men in the cities relative to Landskrona in 1920 and 1930. In both years Landskrona was clearly at the bottom together with Borås, Halmstad, Norrköping and Uddevalla. In 1920 average earnings in Stockholm for men was 38 percent higher than in Landskrona, while the corresponding Figure in 1930 was no less than 68 percent. In Göteborg men earned about 30 percent more than in Landskrona and in Malmö 12-19 percent more.
Table 8. Mean income for employed men in the 11 cities in 1920 and 1930. Landskrona=1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borås</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Göteborg</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmstad</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landskrona</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrköping</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trelleborg</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uddevalla</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: SOS Folkräkningen, 1920, 1930.*

From 1970 we can look at income using micro level register data. Figure 19 shows mean income for men (19a) and women (19b) in 1970 constant prices at the municipality level. Throughout the period Landskrona is among the cities with the lowest mean incomes for both men and women.

Figure 19. Mean income (1970-constant prices), 1970-2010.

a. Men
11. Elections and politics

In 1866, the centuries-old Diet of the Four Estates (Ständsriksdagen) was replaced by a two-chamber parliament. The organization of municipalities changed about the same time and in both national and local elections voting was restricted by income; only around 20 percent of all men over 21 had voting rights and women had no right to vote (Nationalencyklopedin: rösträttsrörelsen). Furthermore, the number of votes per person was dependent on income or wealth. During the early twentieth century, reforms made voting less restricted for men, but the law granting one vote per person and voting rights for both men and women was not passed until 1918.

The first election with the new extended franchise took place on city and municipality level in March 1919 and the Social-democratic party made substantial progress. It became the dominant political party in Sweden since then and in all eleven cities there is a common trend, and variation, in the voter share of the social democrats.
In Landskrona the Social democrats got 22 of the 40 seats in the city council in the 1919 election, creating a majority of their own. Overall, the party’s share of votes were the highest among the cities until 1982, reaching a high in the 1930s when they held 75 percent of the seats in the city council. The Social democrats kept a majority of elected seats up until the 1991 election, needing no other party to form the majority.

In 1991, a coalition of the Liberals, the Conservatives (Moderaterna), the Center Party, and the Christian democrats ruled the city but in 1994 the Social democrats regained power with 59 percent of the seats. During the period 1998 to 2002 they formed a coalition with the Left Party to create a political majority. From 2006 and onwards the ruling coalition consists of the Liberals, the Green party, and the Conservatives.
Figure 21. Share of seats in city board for parties reaching representation, Landskrona 1919-2018 (percent).

Sources: See Figure 20.

Recently, the voting patterns in Landskrona have been different than in the other cities through the rise of the Liberal Party during the twenty-first century. In Landskrona, similar to the other cities, a divergence appears in the 2006 election. This is mirrored by a large fall in votes for the conservatives in Landskrona, as compared to in the other cities studied. Another important feature of Landskrona is the rise of the Sweden democrats, a far-right nationalist party, in the 2002 and 2006 elections. This is in accordance with the development in many other Scanian municipalities whereas their emergence and rise came later in the rest of Sweden.
Figure 22. Voter share for the Liberal Party (percent).

The new voting franchise of 1918 not only gave women voting rights but also implied that women could be elected. In the elections of 1919 between 6 and 20 percent of all elected politicians in the eleven cities were women. The share elected increased during the 1940s but it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that the share of women reached over 40 percent. The development was similar across the cities with Stockholm being a forerunner. Landskrona followed the general trend and variations, although in the lower bound from 1991 and onwards. The lower shares for Landskrona and Trelleborg from then on is partly due to the increase of right-wing parties with low level of female representatives.

Sources: See Figure 20.
Voter turnout increased generally in Sweden from 81 percent in 1962 to around 90 percent in the 1970s and early 1980s (municipality elections). From 1985 it dropped to 84 percent reaching a low point in 2002 with 78 percent. Since then it increased again reaching 84 percent in 2018. It is evident that there were considerable variations between the cities studied; some cities had a decreasing relative voter turnout while others were closer to the overall trend. Landskrona belonged to the cities having a lower turnout than average. The decline from the 1998 election is particular and only matched by its southern neighbor of Malmö. Göteborg had the same relative level but the development there started earlier.

Sources: See Figure 20.
Figure 24. Voter turnout in the in 11 cities as compared to average voting turnout in Sweden, municipality elections (deviation in percent).

Sources: See Figure 20.

12. Landskrona 1900-2000, bringing it together

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Landskrona transformed from a small administrative town into an industrial city. Early industrialization rested on the classical components of metal and textiles in combination with specific sectors based on Landskrona’s geographical positions, i.e. food industry based on the fertile agricultural lands surrounding it and the shipyard industries based on its natural harbor.

Around 1910, the population was over 15,000 and the demographic structure of the city was in line with other emerging industrial cities in Sweden. Except for the mortality peak in connection with the Spanish flu in 1918, the demographic and industrial growth continued during the 1910s. Around 1915, industrial development took a leap with the establishment of a new shipyard and an airplane factory supplementing existing textiles, metal industries and fertilizer factories. The early-twentieth century development also included investments in schools, in housing for the in-migrating workers and their families, and in a new area south of the city devoted to industrial location.

The economic crises of the early 1920s hit Landskrona hard, above all through the shipyard going bankrupt. This affected the city in several ways; the in-migration to the town was replaced by an out-migration of considerable size and the city’s population decreased. The 1920s also meant that the Social-Democratic party took political power, which they kept until the early 1990s election.
Industrial expansion and population growth gained speed again after 1930 and kept its pace up until the late 1960s. The industrial expansion rested on the re-established shipyard, new companies in textile manufacturing and old companies within the chemical and metal sector. Besides the sugar mill closing down in 1960 this was a golden age of industry in Landskrona, as in the rest of Sweden. New housing areas were built for the workers and refugees and labor force immigrants supplemented the internal labor force.

From the late 1960s things turned around again. Several industries faced increased competition from abroad and expansion took off. Population growth stagnated and eventually turned into a decline. Net in-migration turned into net-out-migration and in the 1970s the leading textile firms closed down, one after the other. Both the shipyard and the largest metal workshop cut down on staff. The peak of the crises came in the early 1980s when the largest industrial employer, the shipyard, closed down in 1983. The crises had long-term effects on the development (as described in the introduction) and although population is growing again and new firms tried to establish themselves during the 1990s and 2000s social and economic problems are still at hand.

The overall development of Landskrona were in most ways similar to the general development of Swedish industrial cities both in the economic and the demographic sense. Fluctuations in population development within a trend of growth mirrors the expansion and stagnation of employment, particularly in industry. Industrial specialization along natural conditions and location was replaced by the major Swedish industrial branches appearing in many cities and therefore many of them faced the same problems during the 1970s recession. Although Landskrona in this way is a good illustration of Swedish industrial cities it also had its own characteristics, as all the others. It follows the same trends and variations as the other cities, but in some cases at the low end of the distribution, as for example in earnings and education. To understand the development we therefore need knowledge both on the general economic development and the specific contexts.
Sources and references

Sources

Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik (BiSOS)
A) Befolkningsstatistik (1875-1910)
D) Fabriker och manufakturer (1865-1910)
K) Hälso- och sjukvården (1875-1910)
P) Undervisningsväsendet (1900-1910), Folkskolorna
P) Undervisningsväsendet (1900-1910). Allm. Läroverken
U) Kommunernas fattigvård och finanser, 1910-1914:1


Befolkningsrörelsen (1911-2017)
Folkräkningen (1910-1960)
Folk- och bostadsräkningen (1970-1990)
Industri och bergshantering (1911-1968)
Socialtjänst (1918-1996)
Fattigvården (1918-1956)
Socialhjälpen (1957-1960)
Valstatistik (1871-1999)
Kommunala valen (1919-1966)

Statens offentliga utredningar (SOU)


References


