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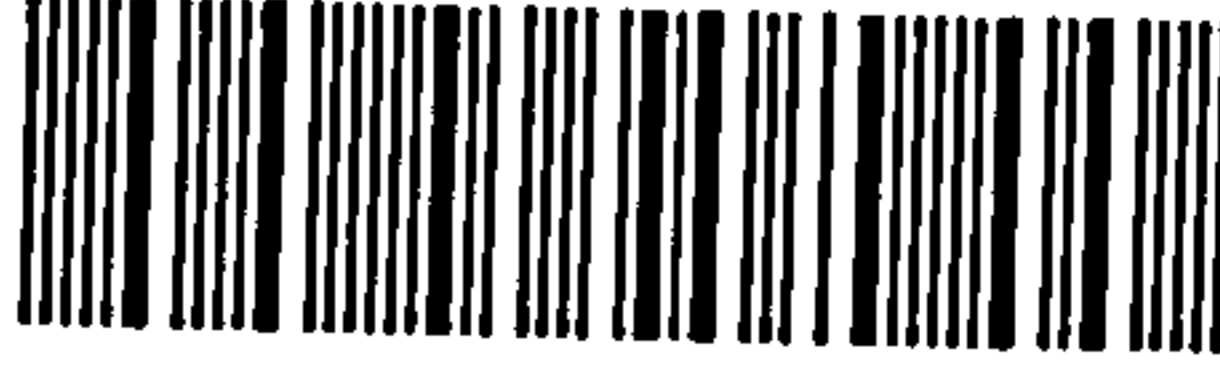
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**EXPLORATIONS IN COMPARATIVE HISTORY:
ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN MALMÖ AND
NEWCASTLE SINCE 1945**

Natasha Therese Vall

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of
Northumbria at Newcastle for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

May 2000

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List of Abbreviations

AEU	Amalgamated Engineering Union
CBI	Confederation of British Industries
CFN	Campaign for the North
CAN	Campaign for a Northern Assembly
FBI	Federation of British Industry
HSB	Swedish National Association of Tenants' Savings and Building Societies
GMBU	General Municipal Boilermakers Union
ILP	Independent Labour Party
IRC	Industrial Re-organisation Corporation
LO	Swedish Union Federation
LRC	Labour Representation Committee
MAB	Malmö Textiles Joint Stock Company
MFF	Malmö Football Association
MKB	Malmö Municipal Housing Company
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MYA	Malmö Wool Factory
NEDA	North East Development Association
NEDB	North East Development Board
NEDC	National Economic Development Council
NEIDA	North East Industrial and Development Association
NEPC	Northern Economic Planning Council
NERAC	North East Regional Airport Committee
NIG	Northern Industrial Group
QUANGO	Quasi Autonomous Non-governmental Organisation
SAF	Swedish Employers' Federation
SAP	Social Democratic Party
SIC	Standard Industrial Classification
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TWUDC	Tyne and Wear Urban Development Corporation

Acknowledgements

This thesis grew out of the burgeoning research relationship between Drs. Billing, Lancaster and Stigendal over a decade ago. I thank all three for the advice and guidance that they have given me since I commenced research for this doctoral programme in 1997. My thesis, as an exercise in international comparative history, has involved much archival work and research in both cities. In Malmö the staff of Malmö Stads Arkiv and Arbetarekommunens Arkiv and the City Library and University of Lund Library, were as helpful as their counterparts at the Tyne and Wear Archives, City Library Local Studies Section and Research Section of the City Council in Newcastle.

My work has benefited greatly as a result of my contact with other Swedish scholars, in particular Katarina Friberg, of the University of Växjö, who read and commented on many of the chapters, and Lars Berggren and Mats Greiff of the University of Lund. In Britain I have benefited from comments and insights from my second supervisor, Dr. Shaw of the University of Northumbria, in addition to participants and convenors of the research seminars at the School of Humanities in the University of Northumbria, where I had the opportunity to present my work. I would also like to thank former students of the University of Northumbria, Peter Chapman, Dawn Docherty and Rachael Swinburn for their contribution to this research. Additionally, I would like to thank members of my family in Sweden for their hospitality and support during my research visits to Malmö and my family in Britain for their support and patience and for reading several draft chapters.

Finally, I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. Lancaster, for his sound advice, constructive criticism, but most importantly for his lively interest in, and intellectual commitment to Anglo-Swedish history.

Abstract

This thesis explores the themes of economy and society in the cities of Newcastle upon Tyne in Britain and Malmö in Sweden after 1945. It is particularly concerned to examine the shared experience of industrial decline since 1970. In this latter concern, this research is distinguished by its attempt to discern the relationship between the international, national and local process of historical change. It also aims to establish the advantages and drawbacks of the comparative approach in historical study. This thesis makes an important contribution to existing research on Malmö and Newcastle, which have not been compared in a scholarly fashion previously. It also aims to make a contribution to historical methodology where, as yet, there exists little concrete analysis of the potential benefits of the comparative historical approach.

This work is wide ranging, extending the analysis of economy and society to include chapters on the experience of local politics, social housing, cultural policy, regional identity and regionalism in both cities since 1945. In addition to comparing local research material, this thesis draws upon existing work at the national level comparing social democracy, labour relations and industrial organisation in Britain and Sweden. Much of this scholarship has utilised comparison to explain the differences between Britain and Sweden. This case study of two cities can be distinguished from national comparisons because the perspective is local, and the most important question concerns the shared experience of industrial contraction. In seeking to understand local similarities, in the context of national Anglo-Swedish differences, this thesis contributes a new understanding both to the history of Malmö and Newcastle, and to the comparative historical approach.

Introduction

This thesis is an exploration in contemporary comparative history. Its subject is the experience of two north European cities since 1945. Newcastle is an old industrial city, in an old industrialised country, whereas Malmö is a relatively recently industrialised city in a country that was late to industrialise. Nevertheless, despite their different starting points, these cities have been severely buffeted by global economic forces since the early 1970s. Malmö and Newcastle in their respective countries, have been perceived as ‘ideal types’ of late industrial decline. Both cities exist at the periphery of their nation-states, and both are generally seen as being representative of a declining industrial milieu. Newcastle and Malmö also figure prominently in their nation’s labour history. In turn, they are distinguished by their strong and growing sense of regional identity, and a sense of separateness from the national heartland.

Newcastle’s experience of industrial decline, is part of a national debate concerning ‘decline’ that has purchase in a variety of intellectual settings in British historiography. Whilst the explanation of British economic decline after 1880, remains a leading problem amongst historians of modern Britain, decline has also been applied variously to describe the condition of British morals, culture, military and imperial power, and democracy.¹ Given that a unifying theme in these perspectives has been concerned to explain the declining significance of Britain as an international power in the twentieth century, they have limited relevance in a comparison, which concentrates upon Anglo-Swedish themes; compared to Britain, Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries were established as ‘Small Powers in the Shadow of Great Empires’ after 1864.²

Malmö’s experience between 1870 and 1960, confirms Sweden’s economic historians’ emphasis upon growth in that period. Before 1960, only Japan surpassed

Swedish yearly growth averages.³ But like many other Western European countries, including Britain, Sweden also suffered diminished demand for its manufactured goods during the 1970s, followed by the rise of unemployment to unprecedented levels in the next ten years. This provided Swedish Keynesian orthodoxy with its first serious challenge since 1932.⁴ National differences need to be taken into account, but the perspective offered here is local, and need not be overly constrained by the problems that the national historiographies throw up. Nevertheless the question of different periodisation is not evaded entirely in the local perspective; the more protracted experience of ‘decline’, which the significant British historiography attests to, clearly made Newcastle a very different industrial city to Malmö. Therefore, the need to formulate questions, which are applicable to both cases and also take into account their particular development, is a central concern in this research.

The method utilised in this thesis is that of comparative social and economic history. The relative merits and drawbacks of this method as they relate to these two cities, will be dealt with at length in chapter seven, but it is worth noting some of the defining characteristics of this approach now. As John Breuilly states appositely, comparative history differs from normal history because it aims to study more than one particular. Sensitivity to the choice of themes addressed is therefore intrinsic to the comparative method, which requires greater selectivity than the ‘full historical narrative’.⁵ Apart from Breuilly, however, historians have been characteristically implicit about their use of comparative approach. In a recent guide to under-graduate study, J. Black and D. M. MacRail, maintain that comparison “allows us to understand both the *essential* and the *particular*”, which can surely only mean that all history is really comparative history.⁶ This rather diffuse definition, characterises the historical literature and can be dismissed easily by practitioners of comparative social science, as merely another attempt to introduce implicit social science theory into comparisons masquerading as straightforward empirical accounts.⁷ It follows that the social scientific disciplines, have been more explicit in their use of the comparative method, and have readily categorised themselves into separate ‘schools’ of comparison. Broadly speaking Weberian, Marxist and Durkheimian variants can be discerned, which give rise to comparisons that emphasise differences and similarities respectively. In other words, these approaches can be divided into those who favour either the *essential* or the *particular*. The comparison of Malmö and Newcastle takes

Black and MacRail's point as given, and as such does not premise the search for similarities over differences or vice versa. Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge of merely smuggling implicit theory into a straightforward historical narrative, this thesis also seeks to take further the questions raised by Breuilly, by exploring explicitly, how the study of two particulars rather than one, can generate an understanding of both the *essential* and the *particular*. In short as well as using comparative history to address questions about the experience of industrial decline in Malmö and Newcastle, this thesis also uses the cases of Malmö and Newcastle to explore the theme of comparison in history.

Having established the methodological concerns that underpin this research, the thematic areas covered by this thesis similarly need to be clarified. The first half of the 1970s is now recognised as a watershed in the development of Western capitalist economies.⁸ The experience of spiralling unemployment in countries and regions with a concentration of heavy industry, reflecting resource and inflationary pressure at the macro-level, is not an exclusive Malmö/Newcastle phenomenon. Clearly, this local comparison needs to be located in the burgeoning literature examining international recession in this period.⁹ At the national level, the current reappraisal of Keynesianism evident in Swedish scholarship, will be relevant to the local comparison, particularly since this thesis engages extensively with the work of Drs. Billing and Stigendal that offers a local perspective of the 'Swedish model', through an examination of Malmö in the twentieth century.¹⁰ Their jointly authored doctoral thesis also functions as a vital single-case account, from which comparative questions can be generated. Whilst this research might appear to lean excessively upon the findings of one case study, this has been a necessity, particularly for the preliminary enquiries of a comparison such as this, primarily because the contemporary historiography is not substantial for either city. Malmö and Newcastle also need to be located in the context of British historiography dealing with British economic decline. Specifically relevant given the focus upon Keynesianism in Sweden, are the perspectives that attribute Britain's 'slow growth' after 1950, variously to the quality and quantity of British investment.¹¹

Many of the causes of recession in these local settings, transcend local particularity and as such it needs to be emphasised from the outset that this thesis does not

represent an attempt to use Malmö and Newcastle to generate a new explanation of this international development. Instead, this comparison takes the contraction of manufacture in both cities as a point of departure, from which to view the themes of economy and society in Malmö and Newcastle after 1945, in order to provide a comparative perspective the post 1945 experience. In some instances, it will be necessary to refer to the first half of the twentieth century, in order to take Newcastle's earlier industrial growth into account, but the majority of the research refers to the period after 1945. This thesis is structured thematically, with each chapter exploring a separate area of interest after 1945 as opposed to constituting a discreet stage of chronology.

The first chapter provides an historical overview of Malmö and Newcastle, in order to demonstrate their suitability as subjects for comparison. The second chapter examines the contraction of the manufacturing base in both cases, taking into account the relationship between national and local circumstances. The local and national contexts are also crucial to the third chapter, which explores the relationship between social housing and local 'social democracy' in both cases. Chapter four provides a social survey of both cities, concentrating upon the significantly different demographic development after 1945. Chapter five and six complement each other. The former examines the rise of the 'cultural sector' in both cities in the last two decades, with special emphasis on the use of 'cultural identity' as a tool for economic regeneration by local government. The sixth chapter expands on the identity theme, by examining how the relationship between city, region and nation-state has impacted upon the instances of regionalism in both cases after 1945. The seventh and final chapter returns to explore in greater depth the usefulness of comparative history in examining 'decline' in Malmö and Newcastle.

This is a work of contemporary history in which the problems of subjectivity are ever present, particularly with regard to the themes explored after 1970. Nonetheless this is compensated for by the plethora of source material available for this period. In both Britain and Sweden the increasing bureaucratisation of both personal and public services after 1945 has endowed contemporary historians with a vast array of official documentation from which to construct historical narratives. The source material

utilised in this thesis is primarily local and derived from a variety of archival services in both cities. In Malmö, most sources relating to local government, such as council and sub-committee minutes and reports, were derived from the city archive service, (Malmö Stadsarkiv), but the municipality's own archives, particularly the statistical and planning department, (Malmö kommun statistik och planeringsavdelningen), was an important resource for local social and economic statistics. Material relating to local and national social democratic politics and to the local labour movement, such as minutes of meetings, letters and circulars and analysis of local elections, has been obtained from the Labour Movement archives in Malmö (Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv I Malmö). In addition much of the material for chapter three, in particular minutes from the meetings of Malmö's housing companies and co-operatives, is derived from Peter Billing and Mikael Stigendal's archive at Möllevångens Samhällsanalys.

In Newcastle, local government publications relating to socio-economic trends in the city and the analysis of census returns have been obtained from the Research Section and from the Tyne and Wear County-Wide Research and Information Unit at Newcastle City Council. In addition Newcastle City Library Local Studies and Tyne and Wear Archive Services have been the main source for material relating to the history of local government in this period, in particular the minutes of the city council, council committees and sub-committees. Material relating to the region's labour movement, particularly reports on the contraction of Tyneside's principle manufacturing companies, was obtained from the Trade Union Studies and Information Unit in Gateshead, (TUISUI).

The local and national press has been a vital source of documentation for this research. The British Library's Newspaper Library at Colindale was used for both the local and national press in Britain, although Newcastle City Library's extensive collection of the regional press was always the first port of call. Back issues of the regionalist press were obtained from David Russel's archive of the Campaign for the North (CFN). Malmö Stads Bibliotek microfiche collection of local and national newspapers, was the most important source of access to the Swedish press, although certain special issues, were derived from the offices of the local press in the city. In addition Lund University Library Newspaper Section and Special Collection were utilised to obtain back issues of Skåne's regionalist newspapers.

¹ A. Gamble 'Theories and Explanations of British Decline' in R. English & M. Kenny (eds.) *Rethinking British Decline* (1999) pp 1-23

² T.D. Kerry *A History of Scandinavia* (1979) ch. 11 passim

³ L. Jörberg, 'Några tillväxtfaktorer in 1800 talets Svenska industriella utveckling' in R. Lundström (ed.) *Kring Industrialismens Genombrott I Sverige* (1966) p. 35

⁴ L. Magnusson *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia* (1997) p. 396 It could also be argued that this challenge to Keynesian orthodoxy mirrored a degree of national self doubt. Indeed certain parallels can be drawn between Britain's extensive 'decline' debate and the numerous works, which have appeared since the 1980s, narrating the decline of the 'Swedish model'. For instance, the theme of Sweden's collective self doubt is explored by K. Orfali in 'The decline of the Swedish Model', in B. Aries & G. Duby, (eds.) *A History of Private Lives* (1991). The 'Swedish model', will be explored at length in subsequent chapters.

⁵ J. Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Europe: Essays in Comparative History* (1994) p 16

⁶ J. Black and D. M. MacRail *Study in History* (1997) p. 103

⁷ T. Skocpol and M. Somers 'The Uses of Comparative History in Macro-causal Enquiry' *Comparative Studies of History and Society* (1986) p. 192

⁸ D. Aldcroft *The European Economy 1914-1990* (1991) p. 195

⁹ Such as P. Hirst & Q. Thompson *Globalisation in Question* (1996)

¹⁰ P. Billing & M. Stigendal *Hegemonins Decennier Lärdomar från Malmö om den Svenska Modellen* (1992)

¹¹ Such as W. Beckerman (ed.) *Slow Growth in Britain Causes and Consequences* (1979) and C. Barnett *The Audit of War The Illusion & Reality of Britain as a Great Nation* (1986)

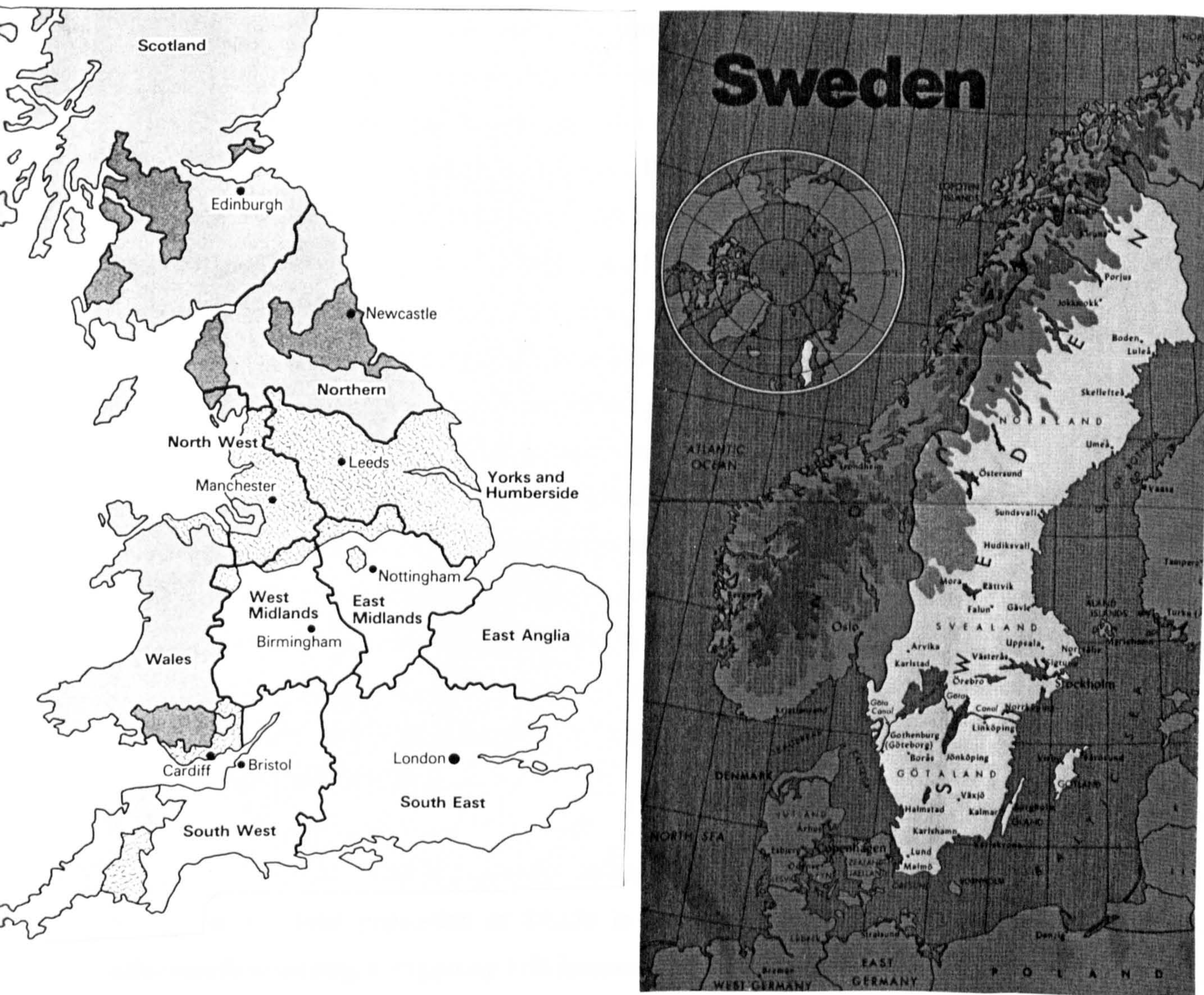
Malmö and Newcastle: local similarities in Anglo-Swedish differences

This chapter provides an historical outline of Malmö and Newcastle in the twentieth century, in order to establish their suitability for comparison after 1945. This methodological criterion, which requires significant similarities and differences to be identified from the outset, also provides an introduction to the themes, which will be explored in greater depth in subsequent chapters.¹ Having stated in the introduction, that a local comparison should avoid being dictated to by national concerns, there is room for some qualification here, at least as far as Sweden is concerned. This work does not operate in an established field of Anglo-Swedish comparative history, partly because in British historiography, there is as yet modest interest in Sweden per se.² Whilst British scholarship continues to perpetuate a tradition of European comparative history, in which Nordic countries such as Sweden are often assumed to have little to contribute to an understanding of Britain, historians such as Mauricio Rojas point to the draw-backs of this imbalance in Sweden. Sweden's late agrarian development means that it fits awkwardly into the big themes of European modernity, particularly urbanisation and industrialisation. Its peculiar development is ill served, Rojas suggests, by comparative debates on Sweden, dominated by 'misleading' European concepts that compel Swedish scholars to; "become consumed by explaining to non-Swedish colleagues why this or that European trait does not feature in Sweden."³ In part this is a reflection of the fact that the acknowledged 'grand themes' of European modernity, are derived primarily from comparisons of the larger European countries, but particularly Britain, France and Germany. In providing some Swedish background here, I hope to avoid the imposition of British historical questions onto the Swedish context in an anachronistic way, nevertheless, the details that are selected must also be guided by what is of interest to a comparison with Britain and Malmö and Newcastle.

Malmö and Newcastle are both port cities of similar sizes. Malmö is located on the southwesterly tip of Sweden's most southern region Skåne, whilst Newcastle is England's

most northern city. It is situated ten miles inland from the mouth of the River Tyne and is the regional capital of the north east. Currently Malmö has approximately 250,000 inhabitants, which makes it Sweden's third largest city, whilst with its 260,000 inhabitants, Newcastle is a relatively small British city.

Figure 1.1



Malmö and Newcastle in Britain and Sweden

Source: R. J., Johnston & V. Gardiner *The Changing Geography of the UK* (1991)
 K. Misgeld, K. Molin, & K. Åmark, (eds) *Creating Social Democracy* (1988)

Clearly this difference needs to be located in the context of the scale and timing of urbanisation in both countries. Urban life did not grow significantly in the major Swedish cities before the nineteenth century. In fourteenth century Stockholm, for instance, the dominance of German merchants on the town council meant that it was necessary to stipulate that at least half the members were indigenous Swedes.⁴ The under-representation of indigenous Swedes highlights more than the Hanseatic influence that the Swedish domestic urban population grew modestly in the period when urban life in the larger European countries was burgeoning. This theme of Sweden's history formed an interesting aspect of the British Marxist historian, Perry Anderson's comparative survey of the nature and development of absolutism in Europe. For Anderson, Swedish towns were rather nugatory places, where in the absence of a formidable urban bourgeoisie, the newly established and highly centralised Vasa State subjugated them with ease. Swedish absolutism is 'peculiar' for Anderson because of its unique combination of free peasantry and nugatory towns. Subjugated towns in Eastern Absolutism, always, Anderson suggests, combined with servile peasantry.⁵ Whilst Anderson's attempt to derive Swedish historical uniqueness, out of Marxist generalisations, will be dealt with subsequently, his work does bring into sharp focus an important local and national difference. Early in the nineteenth century, only 5% of the Swedish population lived in cities and the entire population of the country's urban centres only amounted to 10% of Sweden's total inhabitants.⁶ Whilst Malmö emerged as an important trade centre for the Öresund region, complete with its German merchants during the first half of the fourteenth century, as late as 1860, Malmö still had only 20,000 inhabitants.

Newcastle's population had grown most rapidly during the middle of the nineteenth century, with a total population of 87,156 in 1851 rising to 150,252 in 1881 and subsequently witnessing a staggering 31% increase to nearly 200,000 inhabitants by 1891.⁷ This early development in Newcastle, reflects the more mature history of urbanisation and industrialisation generally in Britain; the census of 1851 recorded that more than half the British population lived in towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants. This was also a great turning point for British industrialism, because the rate of employment in manufacture,

exceeded for the first time, that of agriculture.⁸ At the beginning of the nineteenth century 90% of the Swedish population was occupied in agriculture or mining. In 1870 73% of the Swedish population was still employed exclusively in agriculture and by 1900, 80% of the Swedish population lived on farms or rural villages.⁹ National distinctions such as these, also need to be seen in the context of Newcastle's relationship with its surrounding region. The north east region is taken by most commentators on industrial development, to represent the old administrative counties of Durham and Northumberland.¹⁰ Within this area, though primarily in County Durham, the coal mining industry provided the platform for a distinctive level of economic and social unity from the late medieval period. The early connectedness of urban and regional economy is a resonant feature of the north east; Newcastle quickly consolidated its status as the centre for shipment of regional coal to London and abroad, and in addition a variety of industries that depended on coal supplies emerged early in the city. The growth of the coal industry after the fourteenth century, also shaped the dynamics of the region's class divisions from an early stage, in which a characteristically globally orientated paternalist elite and large working class, testifies, it is suggested, to the north east's 'unique industrial status'.¹¹

Medieval Skåne is distinguished by a Danish history, which predates its incorporation into Sweden in 1658. In the subsequent Swedish period of development, the region did not develop a distinctive regional economic development similar to that taking place in the north east. After 1658, Malmö retained its status as a centre for trade for the rich regional agricultural hinterland. Parallel to developments throughout Sweden, intense agricultural production, characterised the nineteenth century in Skåne and whilst the region was endowed with exceptionally fertile soil, which lent itself primarily to arable and pasture uses as opposed to wood pulp, the scale of development was not distinguishable from the rest of Sweden. Particular industrial development was the premise of Malmö in the twentieth century. The historical significance of the different relationships between city and region in each case, is explored at length in chapter six.

The image of Sweden as a peasant society with a small domestic population, living since time immemorial in 'subjugated' towns on the periphery of Europe, is difficult to reconcile with another feature of Sweden's early history; that is wealth. Sweden is Europe's fifth largest country and it is also endowed with prolific natural resources, particularly minerals, and other natural energy supplies, not least of which are its ubiquitous forests.¹² As indicated in the introduction, Sweden's industrial advance after 1870 was rapid, particularly given its late development, relative to Britain during the earlier nineteenth century. This chapter can not provide an adequate explanation of this particular combination of 'backwardness' and 'advance', nonetheless, late urbanisation and industrialisation aside, it is worth highlighting some of the Swedish features that distinguish it from Britain. For example, there was a less remarkable liberal intellectual tradition in Sweden during the nineteenth century, particularly in economic thought. When Eli Heckscher published his work on Swedish economic history in the 1950s, he berated the fact that compared to Denmark, where a complete translation had appeared only three or four years after the English edition, the country still had no full translation of *Wealth of Nations*.¹³ Whilst there had been some liberalisation of commercial policy in Sweden during the eighteenth century, tariff protection and the prohibition of imports continued to be the mark of Swedish trade policies throughout the nineteenth century. A favourite example of this period of import prohibition, are the merchant's homes in the coastal towns close to Malmö, that concealed huge caves for contraband.¹⁴

Although Britain had little impact upon Swedish economic thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were a major outlet for Swedish exports. The north east, in particular was a major importer Swedish iron during the eighteenth century. Indeed Michael Flynn and more recently Chris Evans, have both illustrated that as much of Tyneside's industrial revolution was based on Swedish iron bars, for steam engines, railway lines and locomotives as it was on Tyneside coal.¹⁵ This trade between Britain and Sweden provides an insight into the parallels between Malmö and Newcastle. Malmö's shared status with Newcastle as a significant industrial port, was established during the nineteenth century. Such was the level of shipping trade between the north east of

England and southern Sweden that Newcastle's Quayside, boasted its own 'Malmö Wharf' at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁶ It is Malmö and Newcastle's shared development as significant industrial ports at the beginning of the twentieth century that endow them with enough similarities to warrant comparison, despite their location in the very different regions of Skåne and the north east.

By 1910, Malmö was regarded as one of the nation's three leading industrial cities, responsible for over 10,000 employees in 326 factories. Malmö's early industrial economy was dominated by the textile companies, associated particularly with the wool factory Malmö Yllefabriks Aktiebolag (MYA) established in 1867. By 1912 the company occupied large premises in central Malmö, and had a work force of 1600, a significant achievement by national standards.¹⁷ The engineering works, Kockums Mekaniska Verkstad, was founded in 1840 by F.H Kockum and was equally vital to the development of Malmö's early industrial economy. Initially a boiler making plant for the construction of farm machinery, the shipyard was established in 1870.¹⁸ This company will provide the focus for a comparison with Newcastle's principal manufacturers in chapter two. Newcastle's status as an industrial city is surprisingly less straightforward than the Swedish city's, despite its location in an overwhelmingly industrialised region. In over-emphasising the city's equivalence with the economy of the 'Great Northern Coalfield', there exists a danger of underestimating the importance of the city's retail and commercial institutions that have been resilient even in the second half of the twentieth century. The establishment of Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge's store, behind the Grainger Market in 1837, signified the birth of the department store in the region and confirmed Newcastle as a vital centre for commerce and retailing in the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Newcastle does also have an indigenous industrial past, where parallels can be discerned with Malmö's development as a centre for heavy engineering. Whilst coal was mined almost exclusively outside the city, adjunct to the coal industry was shipping, which precipitated the emergence of major engineering works during the middle of the nineteenth century. The engineering plant started by W.G Armstrong and Co. at Elswick was just such a local development. In the years before the First World War, the company grew rapidly,

expanding to build a new shipyard at Elswick responsible for the construction of a warship from 'raw material to finished product'.²⁰ With a workforce of 20,000 the contribution to the city's economy should not be underestimated. It is this manufacturing company, which provides a case study for the comparison with Malmö's most important manufacturing companies after 1945.

In both cities, there exists a relationship between the expansion of these companies, and the growth of the labour movement and the prevalence of social democratic allegiances in local politics at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unlike Malmö, however, the early influence of the Liberal Party on such developments in Newcastle was significant. In Newcastle's western riverside districts, where the Armstrong family's industrial empire was located, the growth of a working class movement occurred before the Labour Representation Committee was formed and 'independent' socialist activity, was represented initially by Liberal interests.²¹ The first major institutional gains of the Labour Party in Newcastle but also in the wider Tyneside conurbation, mirrored national Labour Party success in 1919 and 1920.²² Malmö was much more central to the evolution of national social democracy, than Newcastle appears to have been. The first ever 'Swedish Workers Association', was formed in Malmö in 1886, and prominent local social democrats constituted the first 'Folkets Park' (People's Park), and Folkets Hus (People's Home) in Malmö.²³ Such developments, which were initiated in the local setting, subsequently provided a blueprint for the Swedish Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson, when he introduced his famous conception of Swedish state and society as a 'People's Home', in 1928.²⁴

Sweden's particular brand of social democracy, emerged before trade unionism, it is important to note. Prominent social democrats in Malmö also formed the first Metal Workers Union in Malmö and Stockholm in the 1890s, and were subsequently to influence the direction of the union movement significantly.²⁵ This can be contrasted to Newcastle and the north east, where early subjugation by the Labour Party to the somewhat proprietorial unions, in particular the General Municipal and Boilermakers Union

(GMBU), has, it is suggested, been an enduring characteristic of the twentieth century.²⁶ This point can be related to the acknowledged distinctions between trade union sectionalism and non-independent labour politics in Britain and the more general trade unionism closely allied to the early development of independent politics in Germany.²⁷ The point here is not to engage further with this theme, rather to suggest that the politics of local social democracy in both cities after 1945 is a suitable subject for comparison, because there exists a similarity in overarching political affiliation, but at the same time, both traditions of the 'left', differ significantly.

Both cities also share large working class populations that are related to the manufacturing and labour movement legacies outlined so far. In both cases, it is also frequently asserted that this heritage represented the dominance of male over female official spheres of interest. In Malmö, social democratic institutions such as the 'People's Park', were the vanguard of male working class respectability in the early years of the twentieth century, it is suggested, the counterpart of which was the Swedish housewife.²⁸ In Newcastle and the north east, it is similarly stressed that it was a predominantly male manufacturing workforce whose interests were represented in the regional labour movement institutions.²⁹ An important qualification needs to be added here. Malmö's prodigious textiles industry meant that the city also sustained a large female work force from an early stage. Indeed, before 1945 it was these female workers in this part of Malmö's manufacturing sector, rather than the shipyard, that under-pinned Malmö's economic development.³⁰ The themes of economy and society in both cities after 1945 will necessarily bear this important qualification in mind.

An assessment of the economic, political and social development of both cities after 1945, will need be located against the background of the evolution of national British and Swedish Keynesian strategies in that period. In turn, this theme needs to be addressed with some insight into the socio-economic development of both cities during the 1930s. Malmö and Skåne cannot be said to have suffered the exigencies of the inter-war depression with

the same severity that culminated in the Jarrow March of the unemployed from the north east to London in 1936.³¹ Whilst it was undoubtedly the national economic depressions of the early 1920s followed by a recession again between 1930-33, which motivated the Social Democrats to embrace Keynesian policy so wholeheartedly after 1932, in Malmö this was a period of mixed fortunes. There are many evocative images of deprivation associated with the 1930s in Malmö, particularly the early photographs of workers queuing for assistance from the city's People's House, but for others this was undoubtedly a period of relative prosperity. For instance, the number of employees at Kockums increased from 1,530 in 1920 to 2,700 in 1939.³² In Britain the Special Areas Commission was established in 1934 to aid the declining staple industries in Tyneside, South Wales, the North West and parts of industrial Scotland, and promote industrial diversification. It is generally acknowledged that for the north east, this was a period of unambiguous recession, at least compared to other British regions that were benefiting from the expansion of 'new industries'. Nevertheless, Newcastle was excluded from the initial recommendations on account of sustaining less unemployment than regional levels, which reinforces the need to distinguish Newcastle's circumstances from regional development.³³ But the kind of growth, which the Ministry of Labour sought to foster in Britain's declining industrial regions, was nevertheless evolving without such strenuous national efforts in the city of Malmö. Indeed, Malmö's industrialists had been looking to America since the beginning of the twentieth century, for inspiration as to the best ways in which to rationalise the city's manufacturing sector. The early implementation, of for instance, elements of 'Taylorist' management in the city's leading textiles companies was, it has been suggested, a precursor for the spread of such ideas throughout Sweden during the 1930 and 1940s.³⁴ The different ways, in which the respective manufacturing companies, pursued strategies for industrial modernisation after 1945, will similarly be re-examined in the second chapter.

To return to the theme of national Keynesian strategy, in Sweden the Social Democratic budget of 1932, incorporated long-term plans for economic growth that have been called, "the first conscious implementation of Keynesian policy in the world".³⁵ Whilst this budget

was undoubtedly motivated by the ongoing recession, Sweden's long-standing commitment to interventionist economics has made its economic historians anxious to emphasise the indigenous nature of their Keynesianism.³⁶ The principles of a planned economy, be they domestic or externally derived certainly represented a continuity in the post war period. Parallels can be drawn the British Labour government's commitment to full employment after 1945. Indeed the plans for a 'mixed economy', devised by Gaitskell as shadow chancellor and the Conservative chancellor Butler, known collectively as 'Butskellism', also later became known as 'the Swedish way'.³⁷ Two important distinctions need to be noted at this stage. Firstly, the pursuit of the 'Swedish way' in Sweden did not witness the level of nationalisation, which took place in Britain between 1947 and 1951, secondly, although the Social Democrats governed in coalition with the Agrarian Party between 1951-57, on the whole, the period between 1945-82, represents a degree of continuity in the evolution of social democracy and macro Keynesianism absent from Britain.³⁸ The former disparity is relevant to the comparison because in Britain, the nationalisation of coal in this period had a direct impact upon the local economy in Tyneside, whereas before the state owned shipbuilding company, Svenska Varv, called for state subsidies for Kockums during the turbulent 1980s, Malmö's industrial development was largely without such direct state intervention.³⁹ On the other hand, the continuity of macro-economic planning in the Swedish setting can be discerned most clearly at the local level in the evolution of social housing after 1945.

The politics of social housing is one of the dominant themes of both cities' development after 1945. In both cities, radical slum clearance programs took place during the 1960s, and in both cities, the period between 1960-75, has come to be synonymous with ambitious, sometimes radical, sometimes ill-fated schemes of social housing, both to rehouse the existing population, but also to expand the housing stock to meet the demands of a quickly growing population.⁴⁰ In Newcastle some of the most radical programs for re-housing are associated with the leader of the Labour council and chairman of the Housing Committee during the early 1960s, Mr. T. Dan Smith. This charismatic local politician portrayed himself as a Labour moderniser in the north east, the representative of

Anthony Wedgewood Benn and Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson.⁴¹ Paradoxically, this 'modernising' phase of local government was initiated by the 'Keynesian' policies, pursued during the Conservative administration and associated with Lord Hailsham's appointment as Minister with special responsibility for the north east in 1963.⁴² But part of Smith's ambition, particularly in the sphere of housing, was also to distance himself and the local Labour Party, from the cut-backs made in social housing quality, by the very same Conservative administration following their election victory in 1951.⁴³ This phase of local government will be of particular interest to the comparison with Malmö because in seeking to ensure that his party represented a departure from previous policy, Smith was both interested in and influenced by developments in Scandinavia, particularly in the spheres of housing, planning and architecture.⁴⁴

In Malmö, the 1950-70 era is known locally as the 'record years' of expansion. By 1950, Kockums was the ninth largest shipyard in the world.⁴⁵ During this period, the manufacturing sector as a whole sustained near full employment in the city. One of the companies that expanded most rapidly in the city after 1945, was the Skanska Group, (a construction company and supplier of building materials). The history of this company will be dealt with in more detail in the second chapter, but it is worth noting here, that after 1945, the group pioneered the 'all concrete' method of pre-fabricated housing, which was central to the national social democratic ambition to build one million dwellings during the 1960s, in addition to boosting local employment and the national construction industry. During the late 1960s, half the new houses built in Malmö, utilised pre-fabricated materials supplied by these companies.⁴⁶ It will be essential for the comparison to establish to what extent the provision of social housing in both cities after 1945 reflected, or possibly even acted as a catalyst for, the changing fortunes of local social democracy.

As regards social development after 1945, it will be important to bear in mind that the 'golden years' in Malmö also saw a rapid demographic expansion in the city, with the resident population increasing from just over 150,000 in 1940, to nearly 230,000 in 1960. It is in this period that Malmö's status as one of Sweden's most multi-cultural cities was

established.⁴⁷ Over 20% of Malmö's inhabitants currently have 'non-Swedish' citizenship and this has no direct equivalent in Newcastle, which has not sustained a large ethnic minority population in the post war period, relative to other British cities.⁴⁸ In contrast, one of the most important social and economic developments shared by both cities during the post war period was the growth of the 'service sector', broadly defined, bringing new and increased work opportunities for women.⁴⁹ The important qualitative differences within this overarching similarity will be explored in both chapters 2 and 4. This preliminary introduction to changes in the composition of the population in both cities after 1945, nevertheless indicates that the impact of a contracting economy was felt much earlier in the British city. Evidence for this contraction can be found in the fact that at the very time that Malmö was witnessing a rapid demographic expansion, Newcastle was beginning to lose substantial proportions of its population due to outward migration.⁵⁰

Both cities experienced intensified recession following the oil crisis in 1973, particularly in the manufacturing sector. This can be related to national developments, particularly within shipbuilding; in 1957, the Swedish shipbuilding industry employed, 30,800, falling to 23, 700 in 1975 and to 8, 000 in 1982. In Britain the 294, 000 employed in 1957 declined to 78, 400 in 1975 and further to 60, 000 in 1982.⁵¹ In Malmö and Newcastle, the rise of unemployment to unprecedented levels, was a clear symptom of a similar contraction in the local setting. Subsequent chapters will further establish how this experience has manifested itself, which sections of the population it has affected, and with what consequences. The comparison of recession at the local level, will nevertheless need to bear in mind that whilst the Swedish Prime Minister, Carl Bildt, headed up a 'Conservative' coalition government committed to a neo-liberal strategy labeled 'the only way' in 1991, this did not represent the radical departure from Keynesianism that the post 1979 era has implied for Britain.⁵² The extent to which 'decline', is really an appropriate definition of this phase of economic development in both cities will be addressed in chapter two, and again in chapter seven.

Following the severe contraction of the manufacturing sectors after 1970, both cities' social democratic and labour councils sought various ways in which to ameliorate the stigma of industrial decline. In both cases, there was an attempt to utilise the 'cultural sector' to undermine this stigma and redefine city 'identity'. It is not appropriate at this stage to embark upon a discussion of the nature of 'identities', cultural or other. But in an introduction to the overarching parallels between Malmö and Newcastle, the existence of a 'distinctive', sometimes self-consciously 'peripheral' local, situated in regional, 'identity' can be discerned. In part this parallel can be attributed to the fact that Malmö and Newcastle are capitals of regions that have an ambiguous territorial relationship with their respective nation-states. In the civic embellishment, which preceded the completion of the Öresund fixed link between Malmö and Copenhagen, local commentators on the Swedish side, were keen to emphasise that the eight hundred years Malmö and Skåne belonged to Denmark, have contributed to a contemporary identity which is as much 'continental', as it is Swedish.⁵³ Similarly, the flourish of cultural and political regionalism in the north east during the last two decades, has often sought to locate north eastern identity far from the geographical heartland of 'English' identity. Indeed, in the debate, which the question of northern devolution has stimulated, prominent commentators in the north east have repeatedly suggested that the kind of society, which Scandinavian social democracy fosters, would suit the north east, both for political and cultural reasons.⁵⁴ Whilst this outward looking gesture is undoubtedly well founded in the north east, it is suggestive of a somewhat uncritical understanding of the histories of Scandinavian societies, which much British scholarship perpetuates. The familiar emphasis on egalitarianism, a predilection for collectivism, simplicity and sobriety and decentralised effective democracy is not groundless, but tends to impose enforced unity upon the nations, which make up Scandinavia, (a term that strictly speaking should refer only to the geographic peninsula that straddles Norway and Sweden). Variations between the different Scandinavian countries or nuances below the level of the nation-state are all too easily over-looked by such sweeping generalisations. Such generalisations are in turn ill equipped to address the questions that, for instance, the willingness in Malmö and Skåne, to emphasise their non-Swedish heritage generate. This point demonstrates the value of the local historical

comparison, which can transcend the boundaries of the nation-state and is also able to indicate when a local case diverges from given national stereotypes or generalisations.

These cities are regional capitals. The resilience of the vernacular dialect, Geordie in Newcastle and an indigenous Malmö version of Skånska in the Swedish city continue to reflect their connectedness with their regions.⁵⁵ In turn, both cities have been the enduring location for important regional cultural institutions. For instance, both Malmö and Newcastle are home to football clubs, whose teams, Malmö Football Association's 'Di Blae' (The Blue Ones), and Newcastle United Football Club's 'Magpies' have achieved international acclaim during the second half of the twentieth century. In the critique of a socio-economic understanding of modernity, it has become difficult to make a connection between 'culture' and 'work', or 'class'. But this sport is interesting because in both cases it is supposed to be the point at which 'working class' and 'regional' identities have met. Malmö Football Association (MFF) was established first in 1910 and was closely related to many other aspects of working class associational life. In Peter Billing and Mikael Stigendal's work covering this period, MFF's games, played at the city's old sports fields (Malmö Idrottsplats), are depicted almost as though the experience for the spectator, was equivalent to a visit to the city's other ubiquitous working class meeting place, the People's Park.⁵⁶ Similarly in Newcastle, regional sporting heroes such as Jackie Milburn, were also working class men, who characterised the suffusion of working and regional identities in this cultural sphere.⁵⁷ It will be important for this thesis to ascertain the extent to which this similarity reflects deeper parallels, or divergences in the sphere of associational life. But equally, it is crucial to establish how these areas have been affected, be it reinforced or undermined, by the structural economic changes that have taken place in the second half of the twentieth century. Similarly the municipalities' shared emphasis on 'city culture' and 'identity' as a means of ameliorating the stigma of industrial decline, raises some interesting questions regarding pre-existing cultural heritages. The areas which local authorities have focussed upon in their drive for renewal can illustrate how cultural spheres have been affected by structural change; conversely areas which were not included in the re-definition of official city identity also provide an

essential commentary on cultural change. For instance, since the late 1980s in Newcastle, the local state has been eager to capitalise upon the city's vibrant consumer culture, or more particularly, the 'night-life' economy, in pursuit of urban regeneration.⁵⁸ This post-industrial strategy appears to fit neatly into certain elements of post-modern theory; a vibrant consumer, particularly 'nightlife' culture representing the breaking down of 'modern' forms of social regulation that facilitates the emergence of an 'aesthetic' paradigm, where a diverse range of interests can be represented in temporary 'emotional' communities, converging with a municipality eager to promote a leisure economy.⁵⁹ But, it has also been argued cogently that these dimensions of consumer culture in Newcastle are neither new, nor non-specific but have a longer history associated to regional identification.⁶⁰ B. Lancaster's essay in *Geordies* therefore addresses a question that is central to this comparison of Malmö and Newcastle: what makes cities in regions regional capitals? This question can be addressed in the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle, because since the 1970s, both cities have been closely associated with movements of political and or cultural regionalism.

In seeking to establish how the emergence of regionalism in recent years, has affected Malmö and Newcastle's status as regional capitals, the comparison needs to be located in the sphere of the burgeoning interest in regional history.⁶¹ Nevertheless, much of this interest, particularly within the social sciences, but also amongst historians, has concentrated upon the relationship between regions and their respective nation states in the twentieth century. In addition this focus tends to be derived from very specific examples of nation-region relationships, such as the case of North Rhine Westphalia in Germany.⁶² Whilst this case provides an insight into the political and constitutional history of West Germany since the end of the Second World War, it is less useful for analysing the often ambiguous relationship, between region and nation state, in countries that have not experienced the absolute political discontinuities of Germany. Once again, this highlights the need for more comparative work, which is local, which incorporates the 'smaller' nation-states in a European perspective and which provides sufficient detail to be able to penetrate the surface of 'national characteristics'. In assessing the significance of

regionalism in both cases, the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle can redress the balance of previous scholarship, by providing a much-needed insight into the relationships within regions, specifically the dynamics of the city-region relationship.

This chapter sought to establish that Malmö and Newcastle are suitable subjects for comparison because they fulfill the initial criterion that “there is no point in studying events that have nothing in common, nor is there any point in studying events, which do not differ significantly”.⁶³ Based upon the historical outline provided here, it is possible to conclude by demonstrating that Malmö and Newcastle do indeed meet this requirement. Both cities have retained significant manufacturing economies during the second half of twentieth century, but this is a similarity that needs to be related to the different periodisation, or rather Britain’s earlier industrial development, which contributes significantly to a more developed industrial structure in Newcastle after 1945. In both cities there is a discernible prevalence of social democracy in local politics, which needs to be related to the very different national contexts, in which it emerged and subsequently operated, and to the national institutional differences, particularly in the organisation of capital and labour. These national differences also need to be taken into account when looking at the shared emphasis in both cities on the provision of social housing after 1945, particularly the desire in Newcastle, to follow Scandinavian developments. As regards social developments, although these cities are similar in size by the end of the twentieth century, this surface parallel can be used to draw out the nuances of each city’s social and demographic development after 1945. An example of just such a nuance has already been provided by the difference, which the rapid growth of an immigrant population in Malmö constitutes. Finally whilst both cities share elements of ‘popular’ culture that also have regional resonance, particularly their two football teams, it remains to be seen how far these parallels represent a continuity in the post war period, and to what extent they reflect deeper parallels, or underlying distinctions in the sphere of associational life.

Between 1975 and 1995 Malmö and Newcastle both experienced sustained periods of exceptionally high levels of unemployment. It is hoped that the comparative analysis of

economy and society in both cities after 1945 will be able to bring a new dimension to the understanding of this experience, absent from existing single case accounts in either case. This comparative dimension will also be able to indicate the extent to which national explanations of severe industrial contraction and the experience of high levels of unemployment are applicable to these particular cases. This is a valid exercise per se, but it also contains important methodological concern. The criterion for comparative choice set out by Breuilly, needs some qualification from the outset. Stating only that cases can be compared readily if they share certain significant characteristics and also contain marked differences fails to address the extent to which notions of 'difference' and 'similarity' are plausible in a comparison of two cities. If they are to be relevant then surely some comparative standards against which to ascertain with assurance difference and similarity must be a preliminary requirement.⁶⁴ This methodological question will be addressed again in chapter seven, but it needs to be established from the outset that this comparison does not perceive the absence of an 'ideal typical' industrial city against which to measure similarity and difference in Malmö and Newcastle with absolute accuracy as an intractable problem. This is because rather than seeking to establish if Malmö and Newcastle are either fundamentally different, or basically similar, this thesis is concerned to demonstrate that where both cities share apparently similar characteristics, these can be related to underlying particularities and equally that within divergence, there is often a similar starting point, or even outcome. Therefore the methodological dimension of this thesis will focus upon the significance of eliciting the relationship between the shared, or 'general' characteristic and its particular manifestation in each case.

¹ J. Breuilly op.cit p. 16

² The more contemporary themes of social democracy, industrial decline and industrial relations, have nevertheless generated substantial comparative work, such as B. Strath, *The Politics of De-industrialisation. The Contraction of the West European Shipbuilding Industry* (1987), and more recently J. Fulcher, *Labour Movements, Employers and the State, Conflict and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden* (1991), but the same cannot be said for the nineteenth century. It needs to be added that there are currently two doctorates in progress at the University of Northumbria examining Anglo-Scandinavian themes, which will help to redress this imbalance.

³ M. Rojas, 'The "Swedish Model" in Historical Perspective' *Scandinavia Economic History Review* (1991) p. 65

⁴ T. K. Derry op.cit p. 66

⁵ P. Anderson *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (1977) p. 180

⁶ F. D. Scott *Sweden, The Nation's History* (1977) p. 338

⁷ M. Calcott & M. Barke 'Municipal Intervention in Housing: Constraints and Developments in Newcastle upon Tyne 1835-1914' in B. Lancaster (ed.) *Working Class Housing on Tyneside 1850-1939* (1994) table 1 p. 10

⁸ P. J. Waller *City Town and Nation 1850-1914* (1983) ch 1 passim

⁹ F. D Scott op.cit. p. 338

¹⁰ See for instance, Colls & Lancaster (1992) op.cit, N. McCord *North East England, The Regions Development 1760-1960* (1979) and D. Rowe 'The North East' in F M L Thompson (ed.) *The New Cambridge Social History Volume I The Regions* (1990)

¹¹ D. Byrne *Beyond the Inner City* (1989) p. 40

¹² M. Rojas op.cit p. 66

¹³ E. Heckscher *An Economic History of Sweden* (1957) p. 204

¹⁴ E. Heckscher op.cit p. 236

¹⁵ M. Flinn *Men of Iron* (1962), and C. Evans & A. Eklund, 'Baltic Iron and the Origins of the British Iron Market in the 18th Century', unpublished paper presented to the *Economic History Society's Annual Conference* 26-28 March, 1999

¹⁶ *Newcastle upon Tyne Official Industrial and Commercial Guide 1961* It needs to be added that this is testimony to the export of regional dairy and agricultural produce from southern Sweden and Denmark to Britain at this stage, as opposed to the growth of Malmö's own export industry, which did not really expand before the 1920s

¹⁷ P. Billing and M. Stigendal, op.cit p. 92

¹⁸ L Berggren, *Angvislans och Brickornas Varld* (1991) p. 426

¹⁹ B. Lancaster, (1992) op.cit p.56

²⁰ *The Making of a Ruling Class* BCDP Sixth series p. 25

²¹ *The Making of a Ruling Class*, op.cit p.39

²² Ian Hunter, 'Labour in Local Government on Tyneside 1883-1921', in M. Calcott & R. Challinor (ed.), *Working Class Politics in North East England* p. 35

²³ P. Billing, R. Ohlsson, M. Stigendal, 'Local Politics in Social Democracy', in Misgeld, Molin & Åmark (eds.) op.cit p. 272

²⁴ T. Tilton 'The Role of Ideology in Social Democratic Politics', in Misgeld Molin & Åmark (eds.) op.cit p. 411

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- ²⁵ B. Stråth, *Varvsarbetare i två Varvstäder. En Historisk Studie av Verkstadsclubbarna vid Varven i Göteborg och Malmö* (1982) p. 339
- ²⁶ F. Robinson (ed.) *Post-industrial Tyneside* (1988) p. 204
- ²⁷ J. Breuilly op.cit p. 18
- ²⁸ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit. p. 130-137
- ²⁹ R. Colls 'What is Community and How do we get it', *Northern Review* Volume 1(1994) p. 13
- ³⁰ M. Weibull *Generalplan for Malmö Del I 1948-52*
- ³¹ E. Wilkinson *The Town That Was Murdered* (1939)
- ³² L. Berggren & M. Greiff *Fran sillamarknad till SAAB-Fabrik* (1992) p. 45
- ³³ Ministry of Labour *Reports of the Investigations into the Industrial conditions of Certain Depressed Areas* HMSO 1934, Cmnd 4728
- ³⁴ G. Hårleman *Malmö. En skildring i ord och bild av stadens utveckling och nuvarande tillstånd* (1914)
- ³⁵ V. Bergström 'Party Program and Economic Policy' in Misgeld Molin & Åmark (eds.) op.cit. p. 143
- ³⁶ L. Magnusson (1997) op.cit p. 396
- ³⁷ F. Bedarida *A Social History of England 1851-1990* (1979) p. 198
- ³⁸ G. Therborn 'A Unique Chapter in the History of Social Democracy: the Social Democrats in Sweden' in Misgeld, Molin & Åmark (eds.) op.cit. pp 1-35
- ³⁹ L. Berggren 'The Effects of the Shipyard Crisis in Malmö Southern Sweden', unpublished paper courtesy of author presented to the Labour History Research Seminar at Lund (1999) p. 10
- ⁴⁰ M. Stigendal *Varför Finns Malmö? Krisen i ett Historiskt Perspektiv* (1997) p. 13
- ⁴¹ J. Ardagh *A Tale of Five Cities* (1979) p. 215
- ⁴² Cmnd 2206 op.cit
- ⁴³ Benwell Community Development Project (CDP) *Slums on the Drawing Board: Benwell CDP Final Report, No 4* (1978)
- ⁴⁴ During the early 1960s, the Danish architect Professor Arne Jacobsen, along with Sir Basil Spence and Sir Robert Mathew, was invited to design three major building projects in the city. J. Holliday (ed.) *City Centre Redevelopment* (1973) p. 213
- ⁴⁵ R. Ohlsson op.cit p. 105
- ⁴⁶ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit p. 98
- ⁴⁷ *Malmö Statistik Årsbok* (1966)
- ⁴⁸ M. Stigendal *Levnadsundersökning av Malmö* (1998) p. 6
- ⁴⁹ For Newcastle and the north east see D. Byrne, 'What Sort of Future?' in R. Colls, & B. Lancaster (eds.), *Geordies* (1992), p. 39, for Malmö see, M. Greiff *Kontoristen-fran chefens hogra hand till proletar. Proletarisering, feminisering och facklig organisation bland svenska industritjansteman* (1992), ch. 1 passim
- ⁵⁰ Northern Regional Planning Committee *Mobility and the North. Report of a Population Migration Research Project* Volume II (1967)
- ⁵¹ B. Stråth *The Politics of Deindustrialisation* (1987) Tables 1.3 1.4 & 1.5 p. 8
- ⁵² M. Stigendal 'The Swedish Model: Renewal or Retrenchment' *Renewal* 3 (1995) pp 15-23
- ⁵³ A. Teorell 'The New Link to Europe', *Special Survey Sweden International* (1991) p. 46
- ⁵⁴ D. Byrne, (1992) op.cit, p. 50 & R. Colls, (1994) op.cit, p. 24
- ⁵⁵ For a recent contribution to the history of the north east dialect see B. Griffiths *North East Dialect: Survey and Word List* (1999) and for Skåne see I. Ejskaer 'Sydskandinaviske sprog: graens oeverskridelser' *Oresundsforbindelsen Integration Kobenhavn Malmö Lund* (1998)
- ⁵⁶ P. Billing, T. Peterson, M. Stigendal, 'Idrott och Samhalle i Malmo under 100 ar', *Malmo Stads Historia Del 6* p. 433
- ⁵⁷ H. Taylor 'Sporting Heroes' in R. Colls & B. Lancaster op.cit p. 129
- ⁵⁸ K. Shaw, 'The Development of a New Urban Corporation: the politics of urban regeneration in North East England' *Regional Studies* Volume 27, (1991) pp. 251-286
- ⁵⁹ M. Featherstone *Consumer Culture and Post Modernism* (1989) p. 101
- ⁶⁰ B. Lancaster, 'Newcastle-Capital of What?' in R. Colls & B. Lancaster op. cit. p. 56
- ⁶¹ E. Royle (ed.) *Issues in Regional Identity* (1998), introduction by E. Royle, passim

⁶² See for example P. Anderson 'The Invention of a Region 1945-1990', European Working Paper EUF N. 94/2

⁶³ J. Breuilly op.cit p. 16

⁶⁴ A useful introduction to these methodological concerns is provided by M. Fairburn *Social History Problems, Strategies and Methods* (1999) ch. 5 passim

Chapter Two

Malmö and Newcastle: an economic survey

This chapter examines the contraction of Malmö and Newcastle's manufacturing economies and the experience of high levels of unemployment in the period 1960-95. Recent economic decline in Sweden has prompted a re-assessment, in political and economic debate, of social democratic adherence to Keynesian policy after 1945.¹ Periodic contraction has been a feature of Newcastle's industrial economy since 1918 and the 'slowing down in the growth of employment', was noted in official documentation by 1930.² Economic decline is a major theme in British historiography, and the management of economic decline has dominated British politics throughout the twentieth century.³ The differences in periodisation imply that an assessment of the implications of industrial contraction in each community needs to recognise that whereas in Sweden industrial capital emerged as dominant at the end of the nineteenth century in a principally rural country, in Britain industrial capital has an established urban history of competition with and some would argue, subordination to, finance.⁴ In locating Malmö and Newcastle in their national contexts, an awareness of these differences between Swedish and British industrial capitalism is fundamental but the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle is principally local and thematic and the choice themes addressed is guided chiefly by their comparative importance in that perspective.⁵ Nevertheless, in order to take into account the relationship between local and national circumstances of economic decline, this chapter begins with a survey of both cities' industrial growth.

Early economic development in Malmö grew from trade and military activity across the Sound and was complemented by the existence of natural resources, such as the deep layers of limestone under Limhamn. After 1658 antagonism between the Swedish and the Danish, led to a certain amount of stagnation in Malmö's development, as it underwent the transition from a central Danish, to a peripheral Swedish city. When Franz Suell came from Lübeck to Malmö in the eighteenth century he acquired the chalkworks established

in Limhamn, and started a tobacco factory in the city.⁶ The Suell properties in Limhamn and the city, were inherited by Frans Henrik Kockum in the nineteenth century. Expansion into engineering was facilitated by the growth of these companies and in 1840 the engineering works Kockums Mekaniska Verkstad (Kockums), was established. In 1873 he secured the right to develop a shipyard in the West section of the harbour.⁷ Kockum had been aided in this process by financial support from the regional bank Skånes Enskilda Bank, which had moved from Ystad to Malmö in 1873.⁸ Kockums shipyard employed 750 people by 1900, and by 1910 had launched its first vessel Tage Sylvan when with a 1000 strong work force the company dominated heavy engineering in the city.⁹

Sweden began importing cement following industrial growth in the second half of the nineteenth century. The domestic production of cement that followed is associated with the emergence of the companies Skanska Cement AB and Skånska Cement Gjuteriet (The Skanska Group), in Malmö.¹⁰ In Malmö prominent industrial capitalists like Kockum, were quick to realise Skåne's potential for the production of cement. In 1871 he was key to founding Skanska Cement AB to which the Kockum properties in Limhamn were subsequently sold. Conveniently, orders for new equipment and machinery for the cement factory, were taken at Kockums yard.¹¹ In 1873 Skanska Cement employed RF Berg, who then established the cement factory, Skanska Cement Gjuteriet in Malmö which is now Skanska, Sweden's foremost manufacturer of building materials.¹²

The relationship between rapid economic growth in Malmö and developments at Kockums and the Skanska Group will be emphasised between 1950-1970. In each company, the introduction of new methods of production stimulated employment growth in the city. The companies' experiences also reflect important developments in national economic policy after 1945. Kockums' status as one of the largest ship yards in the world after 1950, was an expression of the emphasis the national Social Democrats placed on the export sector in that phase of their economic planning.¹³ The Skanska Group's expansion in the sixties has been also been identified with a specific stage in Swedish social housing policy and the consolidation of a Keynesian economy.¹⁴ However, when Martin Weibull

completed the first economic inventory of the city in 1952, it transpired that more than half the city's population employed in manufacture were employed in the textile, clothing, and food producing branches.¹⁵ In terms of the city's economic structure, specifically in the context of subsequent macro economic policy decisions, and for the comparison with Newcastle's early economic structure, the growth of the these sectors of the economy, particularly the textiles industry are an important theme.

Two sugar factories had been established in Malmö by 1770, and in 1869 a sugar refinery was opened in Arlöv. By 1900 the sugar works had 900 employees. In 1907 the sugar producers of Skåne collaborated to form the joint stock company, Svenska Sockerfabriks AB, which subsequently established its headquarters in Malmö. This development preceded the establishment of the Mazetti chocolate factory in Malmö, an important employer in the city until the 1970s.¹⁶ The textile industry emerged as an important feature of Swedish industry following the importation of the sewing machine from Britain in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ In 1800 Frans Suell started a textiles factory in the city and by 1855 Malmö's leading industrial capitalists had collaborated to form Malmö's first textiles group Manufakturaktiebolaget (MAB), and Sweden's first joint stock company.¹⁸ By 1910 this company had 700 employees and although nearly equivalent to Kockums' labour market dominance, unlike the city's leading heavy engineering firm the textile factories were a large source of employment for women. In 1910 women represented 47% of the city's industrial workforce.¹⁹ Malmö's first wool factory, Malmö Yllefabrik Aktiebolaget (MYA) was established opposite the MAB cotton spinnery on Stora Nygatan in 1867 and by 1900 was recognised as Scandinavia's foremost wool producer.²⁰ Prior to the Second World War, increasing the concentration of ownership through company mergers facilitated further expansion. Between 1920 and 1930, MAB purchased various smaller companies such as the sock factory, Malmö Tricot Fabrik, thereby facilitating the production of socks, weaving and spinning in the same premises.²¹

Between 1950-70, Malmö entered a phase of exceptional expansion which surpassed national trends in the percentage employed in the manufacturing sector.²² Near full

employment was an expression of significant growth in the mechanical engineering and building industries. In part it is this period of growth in Malmö, which has allowed the city to be analysed in terms of the evolution of the ‘Swedish Model’.²³ During the Second World War, Kockums experimented with new methods of production by introducing a form of welding which facilitated pre-fabrication and in 1940, the company launched ‘Braconda’ the world’s first fully welded ship.²⁴ This statement by Kockums management in 1946 is indicative of the concerted effort to improve productivity through labour process rationalisation after 1945:

“No effort should be spared in purchasing new machinery and through increased mechanisation limit the need for skilled labour. We ought to ensure that those tasks that can be carried out by unskilled labourers, are not undertaken by skilled labourers.”²⁵

Plate 2.1



Kockums Shipyard and Crane in Malmö

This crane was constructed in 1976, but never used to launch a ship

Source: Malmö Council, *From Crisis to Growth?* 1999

Kockums' expansion resulted in an increase of 1,300 employees between 1939-51. The firm's significant growth was recognised nationally in 1957, when the Swedish King Karl Gustav VI Adolf visited the Kockums director Birger Öhman to open Kockums Engineering College, which was also Sweden's largest and most advanced technical institution.²⁶ By 1960 Kockums was the world's ninth largest shipyard in terms of tonnage launched.²⁷ The combination of growing international competition and the beginning of an age in which world-shipping capacity began to outstrip demand, was met by Kockums management through continuous labour process rationalisation. Workers' accounts of the company repeatedly described how various skill groups, specifically riveters became obsolete during the course of the sixties as the process of constructing a vessel increasingly came to resemble assembly line production.²⁸

In Sweden Keynesian economic management had been accepted by organised capital in 1932 following the historic Cow Deal in which Swedish farmers consented to support social democratic Keynesian policy, in exchange for guaranteed agricultural tariffs. The thirties budget incorporated plans for long-term state wealth, which have been acknowledged as the first conscious implementation of Keynesian policy in the world.²⁹ Having succeeded in implementing a policy for stabilising the economy, the post 1945 plan incorporated a programme for full employment to which the Social Democrats have since remained loyal. The fifties reflected an adaptation of economic management, which sought to extend the application of demand management beyond the budget. The trade union economists Gösta Rehn and Rudolf Meidner devised the solidaristic wage system in the fifties based on the notion (first advocated in the 1941 *Trade Union Movement and Industry* report) that economic modernisation could be maximised if labour was guaranteed full employment and an egalitarian wage distribution. This model constituted a concerted effort to solve the classic stabilisation policy dilemma of combining full employment with rapid growth and price stability.³⁰ This model gave the Swedish confederation of blue-collar unions, (LO) a central position in the sphere of economic policy making. The LO's contribution is widely recognised as being in the implementation of an active labour market policy under the guidance of the Labour Market Council where

business and labour were represented equally.³¹ Nevertheless, this policy also implied that in expansive companies like Kockums, where demand for labour was high, workers could not push wages up to inflationary levels, at the same time, companies that could not afford to pay the solidaristic wage risked closure. This calculated risk was central to the Rehn-Meidner strategy, and it has been suggested, facilitated expansion and technical change in certain Swedish manufacturing industries after 1945.³²

The acquisition of new machinery and extensive labour process rationalisations were also significant in the expansion of Malmö's larger textile firms. At the MAB Group, increased productivity was reflected in the emergence of semi-skilled assembly line production. Likewise after the Second World War, Karl Ahmström the director of Malmö's Hosiery (Malmö Strumpfabrik) invested substantially in new machinery and experimented with new methods of production. By 1939, the 550 employees were producing 2500 stockings daily.³³ Furthermore the principally female work force were organised according to the 'Bedeaux System' which implied specific monitoring of time and task allocation.³⁴ It has been argued that in comparison with Britain, Sweden rapidly adopted new production and labour organisation techniques borrowed from America.³⁵ Developments in Malmö's first industrial companies, particularly the textiles factories but subsequently the building industry are seen not merely as an expression of this tendency, but rather as a specifically local and pioneering example what was to become a distinctive national development.³⁶ By the mid 1940s MAB and MYA had 2000 employees. Nonetheless, in 1957, a year prior to the royal inauguration of Kockums Engineering College, the MAB closed with 700 redundancies. The call from the unions for state subsidies was rejected by the Social Democratic Prime Minister, Tage Ehrlander, on the grounds that Sweden was now going to channel its resources into building ships.³⁷ Meanwhile Kockums' expansion continued unabated in the fifteen years after the Second World War. In Malmö, the social democratic vision of combining individual employment security with industrial modernisation and extensive economic growth came to fruition in Kockums expansion, but at the expense of the city's textile factories. In the sixties the proportion of the population employed in this branch of manufacture halved, which contributed to the

emergence of an increasingly uneven structure of employment and basis for economic growth in the city.³⁸

The building industry was one of Sweden's largest areas of growth after 1945. In 1936, Ernst Wehtje a descendent of one of Malmö's most prominent capitalist families, became director of Skanska Cement Aktiebolaget. Following the acquisition of new equipment the company expanded its productive capacity and by 1950 came to dominate national cement production.³⁹ The Skanska Group was able to capitalise on conditions, which favoured expansion principally because they monopolised cement production, but they also pioneered the move to serial built housing in Sweden.⁴⁰ Concrete had replaced wood and bricks as the most important building material in the post war period. The Skanska Group's creation of a team to investigate the possibilities for concrete construction reflected their commitment to developing new building methods. Under the directorship of Nils Kjelström, the team pioneered the pre-fabricated method and subsequently they were able to assemble concrete walls and parts of houses known as 'heart units' entirely before arrival at the construction site. Sweden's first fully pre-fabricated housing estate was built in Malmö between 1950-53.⁴¹ Although not as extensively dominated by skilled labour as heavy engineering, the building industry had incorporated a range of different skill groups. The most prominent were the Bricklayers who in turn were represented by the most powerful union. After initial opposition to assembly line production the Bricklayers relinquished their independence and joined the new Central Building Workers Union in 1960.⁴² By 1966, Skanska Cement Gjuteriet had 20,000 employees nationally. Whilst the construction company's local work force never exceeded five thousand the impact upon the city's economy, via the construction and subsequent consumption of housing was significant. In 1968 the company was responsible for all pre-fabricated construction in the city, which amounted to half of all the houses constructed in Malmö that year.

Between 1952 and 73 developments at Kockums shipyard and within the Skanska Group characterise the nature of economic growth in the years prior to industrial decline in Malmö, and reflect the evolution of central aspects of national social democratic economic

policy. The pursuit of fordist principles in the construction industry was an outcome of a close relationship between the Social Democratic government and the Skanska Group. A ready supply of labour combined with support from the government for serial built housing, meant that Skanska directors could afford to be inspired by the social democratic vision, which required a commitment to sustained wage increases from the company. Meanwhile government loans for equipment and building work undertaken by Skanska, aggregated private investment and stimulated domestic demand for the Social Democrats.⁴³ As a manufacturing system alone, fordism refers simply to the mass production of manufactured goods, nevertheless, this term has been extended to refer also to the economic and social welfare developments of the post 1945 period, which are often seen to be complementing, if not underscoring this type of manufacturing system. As a manufacturing system, it is suggested, fordism requires regulation to ensure profitability, it has therefore been suggested that the Keynesian welfare state, by maintaining full employment can avoid severe fluctuations in consumer 'purchasing power', that are potentially damaging to the fordist manufacturing system.⁴⁴ The implications of Skanska's growth in Malmo in the sixties, transcends structural economic dominance. The Billing and Stigendal thesis has examined Skanska's growth in terms of the wider definition of fordist growth in Malmö, extending the analysis to the political, social and cultural implications of this development. National Keynesian regulation of mass-produced standardised goods and the growth of mass consumer demand, particularly for houses, complemented Malmö's most important manufacturing companies it is suggested. In Britain, it has often been argued, that the absence of centrally established institutions necessary for sufficient Keynesian macro economic management, militated against the evolution of a manufacturing system which could be defined as fordist in the wider sense.⁴⁵ However, the comparison with Newcastle highlights important parallel themes otherwise obscured by national variations.

Since Newcastle's economic base was significantly fragmented by 1960, the exploration of comparative structural features is best deciphered by recourse to earlier development. Industrialisation on Tyneside is not consistent with much of the British historiography on

origins of the industrial revolution, as the importance of coal mining in the region is dated to the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ The economic importance of coal in Newcastle, is associated with the commercial role the city achieved through the control the Newcastle Corporation exerted over world coal prices. This commercial aspect of the coal trade in Newcastle was consolidated as mining technology improved and the instance of mining activity within the city decreased.⁴⁷ The economics of the coal trade are mentioned here to acknowledge the impetus provided to the emergence of Newcastle's shipbuilding and engineering empires that serve to illustrate the structural similarities and differences compared to aspects of Malmö's industrial economy outlined so far.

The stimulus provided by the trade in coal to the railway, engineering and shipbuilding industries is well known. The needs of the expanding coal trade brought railways, locomotives and ships to Newcastle half a century before the rest of Britain.⁴⁸ Coal as a cheap supply of fuel also stimulated the emergence of glass, pottery and copper making in Newcastle prior to the nineteenth century. By 1800 there were ten sizeable potteries in Newcastle, and in 1850 C.T Malings was the largest manufacturer of pottery in the country. The work was dominated by the mass production of coarse wares of various kinds, which provided an important source of employment for women in the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ The north east coal mining economy was a central asset to the development of Britain's imperial 'free trade' economy during the middle of the nineteenth century, and it is with this phase of economic history that Newcastle's growth as a commercial and industrial regional capital need to be identified. Despite the continuing reliance upon the coal trade, an important change in the structure of the city's economy nevertheless took place during the second half of the nineteenth century, because earlier growth of smaller enterprises was superseded by the large-scale manufacture of engineered goods on the Tyne. 1850-1920, is recognised as a period of exceptional expansion in Newcastle and the North East principally since by 1900 more than half the world's shipping tonnage was built in Britain, of which half was constructed in shipyards in the North East.⁵⁰

In 1847, William George Armstrong, son of a Newcastle coal merchant, bought a factory site in Elswick for the construction of the hydraulic machinery he had invented. The previous year the Newcastle Corporation had decided to apply it to the working cranes in the Quayside area.⁵¹ Initial financial impetus for this company was provided by local business men, many of whom were coal merchants.⁵² Following the growth of the Elswick factory, Armstrong diversified into the manufacture of bridges, but owing to the unreliability of some of his hydraulic machinery channelled his resources into the manufacture of arms. During the Crimean War service orders at the factory reached in excess of one million pounds.⁵³ Stimulated by imperial rivalry, British military spending began to increase after 1881 and, it is argued, was characterised by a naval bias, which sought to reinforce the image of British victory at sea.⁵⁴ In 1868 G. W. Mitchell's yard had built a gunboat to Armstrong's requirements. In 1882 the two companies merged to open a naval yard at Elswick, which facilitated the production of warships and guns on the same premises.⁵⁵ The merged companies first head and chief advisor on design was Sir William White, Chief constructor to the Royal Navy.⁵⁶ In the debate that the outcome of military economies has precipitated, Armstrong's merger with Mitchell is seen to represent the realisation amongst nineteenth century arms manufacturers, that the most lucrative production of military equipment was warships.⁵⁷ The consequences of this trend were significant in terms of the structural distribution of Newcastle's economy in this period. Armstrong dominated the production of warships in Newcastle, and therefore was the yard that undertook the most intense fostering of overseas contracts.⁵⁸ However, naval shipbuilding was a costly area of production in which only a minority of firms could compete. Whilst mergers like the Armstrong/Mitchell case complemented large scale production and exceptional rates of growth in shipbuilding between 1870-1920, they also forced smaller diverse local firms such as the Benwell Fishery and the Elswick Copperas works out of existence at an early stage.⁵⁹ Having lost the American market, turnover also slumped considerably at Malings Pottery works after 1920, which contributed to the diminished opportunities for female industrial employment in the city before the Second World War.⁶⁰

In Malmö the expansion of productive capacity at Kockums came to be synonymous with a degree of labour process standardisation which reflected the technical advance of the vessels produced. Initially in Newcastle's yards growing demand had facilitated the move from wooden to iron shipbuilding, but in the later nineteenth century, through to the twentieth century, large scale production of ships, warships in particular, has been identified with technical flamboyance rather than modernity.⁶¹ However, as in Malmö the scale of production required a large workforce. When Armstrong died in 1902, the Elswick site occupied 230 acres and employed 25,000 men.⁶² It needs to be added that Armstrong was a significantly larger employer than Kockums, also Malmö's largest employer in the twentieth century. In 1949, for instance, a period of great expansion at the Swedish shipyard, with 4000 employees Kockums still had less than a fifth of the work force at Armstrong's.⁶³ At the Armstrong yard, expansion prior to 1914 was stimulated by Anglo-German military rivalry, which required a warship that would reflect the military advance of the British nation. Paradoxically military advance came to be represented by ships that were increasingly large, but technically incumbent. The prevalence of skilled labour is a recognised feature of Newcastle's shipyards in this period and the high wages commanded by workers at yards like Elswick are said to reflect the dependence on skilled labour.⁶⁴

Henry Mess observed these trends in Tyneside in the twenties. According to his calculation of the Census of Northumberland data, there were 34,000 men employed on the northern banks of the Tyne in 1921.⁶⁵ Given that there were over 20,000 employed at Armstrongs alone, economic growth as presided over by a small number of dominant companies is striking. Although the largest category of employment in Northumberland was metal manufacture, responsible for one in five occupied males in 1921, turbine and electrical engineering were also prominent in Newcastle in this period. Charles Parson's works were established in Newcastle in 1880, where turbine development was used for ship propulsion and for generating electricity.⁶⁶ Here there was also an emphasis on technical specialism. The 1921 Census also indicated that production in the consumer goods sector in Newcastle was limited. The notable exception in Newcastle was beer. In

1875, Vaux and Sons had opened a new brewery in the city, following which the Gateshead based firms Barrow and Co. Brewers moved their premises to Newcastle in 1884. Newcastle Breweries was formed in 1890, after a merger with four rivals.⁶⁷ The expansion of retail facilities was also an important feature of developments in Newcastle in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁸ An important contrast to Malmö's early manufacturing economy need to be emphasised here. Firstly, Malmö's export sector developed much later than Newcastle's, in part a reflection of the fact that domestic production of textiles was responsible for the city's industrial development during the late 1800's, but also because the city's principal exporter (Kockums), did not witness expansion commensurate with Newcastle's yards, before the 1930s. Nevertheless a resilient similarity in this development is the extent to which both manufacturing sectors, derived their initial financial impetus from wealth generated by the early exploitation of indigenous natural resources, coal in the case of Newcastle, and chalk and limestone in Malmö.

In the structural distribution of Newcastle's economy it was the manufacture of large-scale secondary non consumer goods which came to dominate economic activity in the city before 1918. Mess observed this tendency towards uneven structural development and suggested that an economy 'dependent to such an extent on the demand of foreign countries, which might begin to supply themselves....and due to the race in armaments, that could not continue indefinitely', was precarious.⁶⁹ Although activity at the Armstrong yard probably dominated developments on the Tyne, this period also saw the expansion of several other shipbuilding companies such as Hawthorn Leslie. Having been famous previously for building locomotives, they became better known for marine achievements by 1914, having built machinery for almost every class of naval vessel. The growth of the Swan Hunter Group, was also a prominent feature of Newcastle's economy by 1900. In the course of two world wars Swan Hunter and Wigham Richardson built 180 ships, 55 of which were constructed between 1914-18.⁷⁰

Mess described the process of constructing a vessel, listing the main crafts as; "platers, drillers, riveters, caulkers, shipwrights, joiners, plumbers, painters, blacksmiths, fitters,

electricians and riggers and upholsterers”, and referred to a division between ‘royals’ who enjoyed a relatively privileged status in the shipyards and ‘temporary labourers’ whose livelihood was considered to be precarious.⁷¹ The prevalence of skill, and its association with social and economic differentiation confirms that British industrialists were comparatively late in adopting the forms of labour organisation which prevailed in the US in the twenties.⁷² Post war economic historians such as Landes, commenting on British economic stagnation, saw the continuation of social hierarchy evident within the British staple industries as an expression of the technological conservatism characteristic of British industrialists, which contributed to poor British productivity growth after the Second World War.⁷³ For others the dictates of nineteenth century growth precipitated a process whereby industries dependent on an imperial situation precluded investment by the British government in domestic socio-economic infrastructure. Subsequently, the technological advance necessary to meet growing international competition in shipbuilding, was opposed by British workers who feared the loss of jobs, which only extensive investment in domestic infrastructure could have secured.⁷⁴

Mess noted that opportunities for female employment in Tyneside as a whole were limited, confirming that by the twenties the smaller more diverse manufacturing companies which had provided some employment for women, had been superseded by the large engineering and shipbuilding firms. He also indicated that there was a distinct paucity of work for women within the branches of industry dominated by the large manufacturing companies.⁷⁵ Contemporary studies of major shipbuilding companies in the North East, examining the relationship between the absence of female labour in shipbuilding and employer and union attitudes to the mobilisation of women during the Second World War has added a dimension to Mess’ observation. Swan Hunter and Wigham Richardson built one hundred and twenty five ships between 1939 and 1945, in addition to which the dry docks department repaired numerous warships, as well as launching two million tons of merchant shipping.⁷⁶ As war stimulated demand at the same time as it reduced the size of the male work force, it provided an opportunity for women to enter these industries. The difficulty experienced by the Ministry of Labour in convincing union leaders and employers in these

companies to utilise a female workforce is instructive. Union resistance to the use of female labour suggests that the prospect of 'de-skilling' did engender a degree of worker vulnerability.⁷⁷ Moreover, unlike Kockums management, employer complacency regarding hierarchy and skill divisions amongst workers in shipyards in the North East suggests that in the circumstances particular to British shipbuilding it was not economic to undertake extensive labour process rationalisations.⁷⁸ Whilst Malmö and Newcastle have both been significant centres for shipbuilding, a comparison of the two reveals that apparent similarities can be related to distinct circumstances in each case. In Malmö, shipbuilding came to signify sustained growth where the move to standardised methods of production was complemented by a regulated labour market, whereas shipbuilding in Newcastle was stimulated first by an imperial situation and subsequently by war, it neither represented a controlled form of growth or labour market stability.

The growth of unemployment in Newcastle after 1920 was noted by the Special Areas investigations in the thirties. The extent to which regional policy amounted to government commitment to long-term economic management is unclear. During the twenties unemployment remained high, whilst prevailing government diffidence towards the implementation of the mechanisms necessary for central economic control contributed instead to a continuation of deflation and high interest rates during a period of falling prices.⁷⁹ After 1945, the political climate fostered greater benevolence towards state intervention and Stafford Cripps' proposals for post war economic planning included the use of demand management.⁸⁰ However, the extent to which it is possible to discern a commitment to Keynesian policy in the British government, equivalent to the social democratic programme for full employment in Sweden is debatable. Newcastle was denied aid from the 1934 Special Areas Assistance Act, which provided neighbouring areas with tax investments to private companies and a scheme of labour transference from the area, on the grounds that unemployment in the city was slightly lower than in surrounding areas. It was, nevertheless, incorporated into post war regional legislation following the 1958 Distribution of Industry Act, under the new 'development area' status.⁸¹

Whilst the Armstrong yards prospered greatly up to the First World War, the company suffered following the depression. A speculative venture in building a papermill in Newfoundland precipitated near bankruptcy from which the company was saved by an injection of £2.5 million from the Bank of England and the Admiralty, and a forced merger with Vickers.⁸² Because orders from the Admiralty continued through the inter-war period, it was not before the end of the sixties that the Board of Directors recognised the need for restructuring.⁸³ In the interim the outbreak of the Korean War, re-enforced Vickers directors' tendencies to eschew investment in 'filler in' commercial products, and concentrate instead on tank manufacture. The manufacture of tractors and combine harvesters, which had been developed after 1945, was abruptly stopped when the Korean War broke out.⁸⁴ Although the Second World War required a more advanced form of military equipment, Vickers continued to produce custom-built tanks and ships. Like Skanska, Vickers benefited from a close relationship with the national government, which ensured a guaranteed monopoly of the goods it produced through the operation of the 'cost plus principle'.⁸⁵ However, rather than complementing industrial modernisation, for Armstrong/Vickers this relationship implied a continuation of traditional methods of production. Since all products were priced according to the 'cost plus principle', investment which modernisation required, would have necessitated increased company profits that would undermine the contract. It has also been suggested that by the Second World War, it was primarily management who opposed the dilution of skilled labour at Armstrong/Vickers, which suggests that there was a thoroughgoing vested economic interest in custom built products. However, by the 1950s, the company had also begun to experiment with a degree of mechanisation, which permitted some prefabrication, particularly when flame-cutting tables were replaced by shearing machines in the 1950s. Crucially, however, such developments rarely translated into productivity gains.⁸⁶

These national differences, which the case of Newcastle reflects, also need to be related to the labour process debate a little further. In Malmö, Matts Greiff suggests that the rise of the female office worker within the city's principal manufacturing companies after 1945 should be seen as a corollary of diminished demand for skilled labour.⁸⁷ His study draws

upon Braverman's attempt to show how 'scientific management', during the twentieth century contributed to a division of labour, which undermined the demand for skill. Greiff acknowledges Braverman's critics, but suggests that in Malmö the preponderance of female office workers and the consonant disappearance of skilled work at Kockums, reflect the process of deskilling, suggested by Braverman's assessment of 'scientific management'. The developments in the textiles factories described earlier, particularly the appropriation of the 'Bedeaux system' appear to lend weight to this hypothesis. This argument could further be endorsed by certain variants of the 'institutionalist' approach to Anglo-Swedish comparisons, in which Sweden supposedly developed institutions which suited labour market regulation because it industrialised late and developed a small domestic market, as contrasted to early industrialisation in a large domestic market in Britain.⁸⁸ Modernisation in Malmö's industries can then be attributed to what Walter Korpi termed the 'historic compromise', whereby the state and the economy emerged in a reciprocal relationship in which mutual regulation promoted large scale capitalism that did not contradict the emergence of a strong stance from the labour movement.⁸⁹ In the macro-scale Anglo-Swedish comparison this is relevant, and has been used to examine British capital/labour hostility.⁹⁰ In Malmö and Newcastle, the differences in British capital/labour relations are relevant, but should not be allowed to obscure the local perspective. Skanska, Kockums and Armstrong/Vickers were chosen because they are essential examples of national differences, but also because they reflect important local structural similarities. In both cases these companies came to dominate economic expansion at the expense of a previously more diverse economic structure. Although women were more prominent in the early labour market structure in Malmö, in both cities the firms which had been an important source of female employment, declined in the face of large scale growth of the dominant companies. Moreover, Newcastle did not profit from the diversification into the new industries which the Midlands gained in the twenties and thirties. Similarly, although Skanska and Kockums' expansion put Malmö at the fore of economic growth in the sixties in Sweden, high technology industries which were a feature of national economic growth after 1950, were an underrepresented feature of Malmö's economic structure.⁹¹

In addition, although it would be tempting to suggest that the comparison with Newcastle provides an unambiguous challenge to the Braverman thesis, a closer look suggests that the evidence is not straightforward. In their *Development Plan Review 1963*, the City Council concluded that in relation to the wider Tyneside conurbation, Newcastle had suffered disproportionately since 1952 in the decline of primary sector industries. Since the percentage of the population employed in the primary sector in 1952, was 4.2%, the fall to 2.9% in 1963, was not deemed to be as serious as region wide losses. Despite the reduction recorded in manufacturing, specifically in shipbuilding and engineering, the dominant theme since 1952, was service sector expansion. The expansion of 13,554 employees in the service industries between 1952 and 1963 amounted to a 13.3% growth in this sector, (the aggregated service sector in this source includes all the occupational categories not incorporated by manufacturing).⁹² Since a recognised intention of the City Council leaders by 1960, was to raise Newcastle's profile as the commercial capital of the North East they attributed service sector expansion to this role, and emphasised this as the most effective means by which to tackle growing unemployment in the city.⁹³ Post war service sector growth in Newcastle, is synonymous with increased employment prospects for women. By 1960, 76% of all working women were employed in this sector.⁹⁴ Developments in manufacturing also reflect the growing importance of the female wage earner in Newcastle after 1950. Despite a net reduction of employment in the traditional and dominant engineering and shipbuilding firms, the immediate post war years were characterised by a degree of industrial restructuring, specifically expansion in the food, drink, tobacco and clothing branches of manufacture. A certain amount of 'deskilling' can certainly be detected in some of these areas. The Imperial Group opened their new Wills' factory in Newcastle in 1950.⁹⁵ In 1956 Rowntree Mackintosh opened a factory plant in Fawdon.⁹⁶

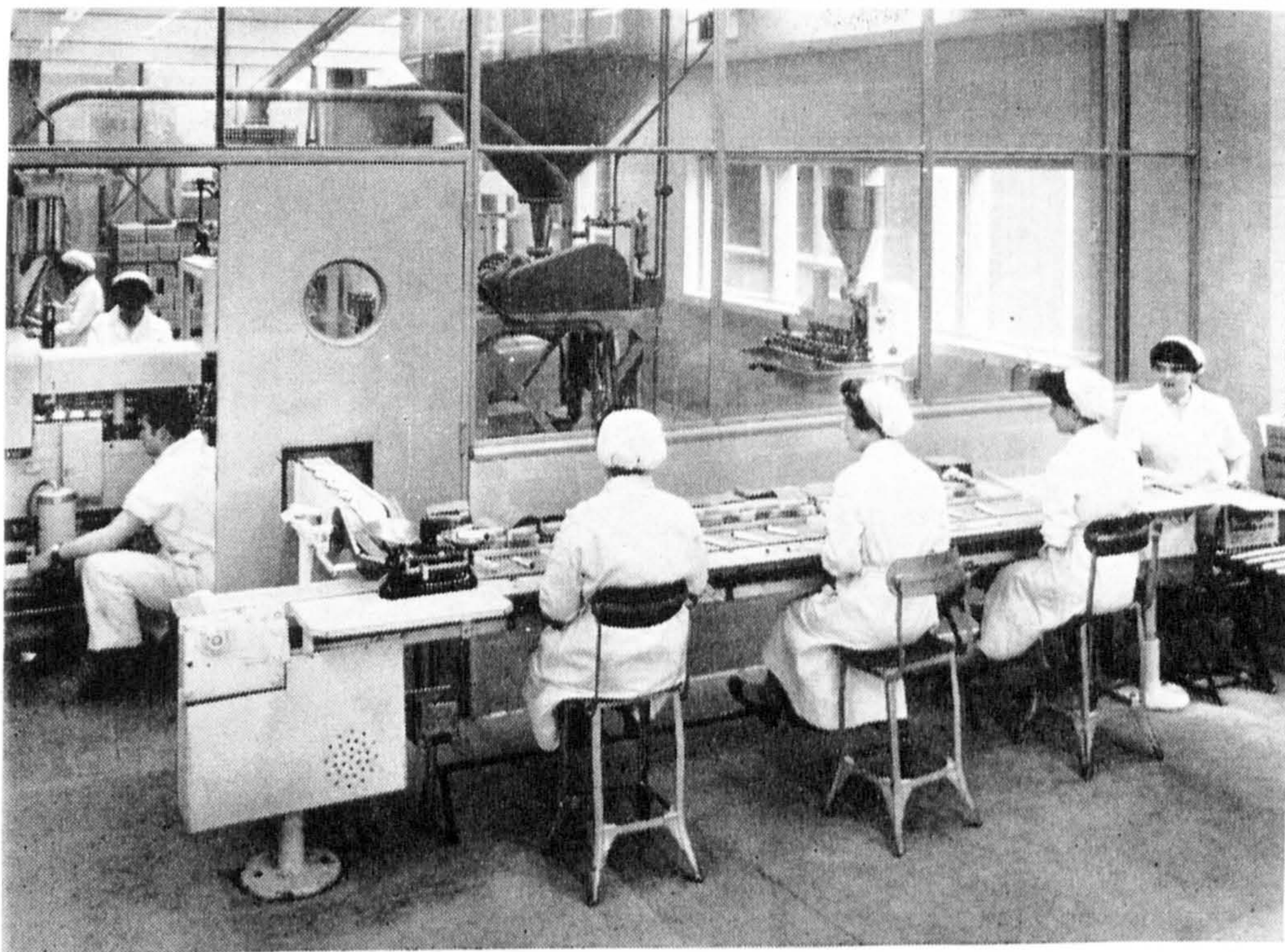


Plate 2.2
Toothpaste packers at the Winthrop Laboratory in Fawdon

Source: *Newcastle Official Industrial and Commercial Guide* 1961

Whilst developments in the chemical industry tended to be concentrated in Teesside during this period, the manufacture of toothpaste and liver salts at the Fawdon Winthrop Laboratories Ltd., was a source of civic pride during the early 1960s as a fine example of:

“How a modern integrated factory can be a successful commercial enterprise, making an important contribution to the export drive yet serve the needs of humanity by supplying vital drugs, which may not always be a paying proposition”⁹⁷

These branches of lighter manufacturing, characterised by a degree of labour process standardisation absent in the staple industries, which have been identified with a spatial re-organisation of capital in Britain, were a new source of employment for women in Newcastle. Between 1951 and 61, 70 to 75% of manufacturing employment for women in Newcastle, was classified as unskilled.⁹⁸

But the absence of serious modernisation in Newcastle’s staple industries does continue to pose a series of questions, particularly when the aims of the regional policy legislation of the early 1960s, are taken into account. In 1963 Lord Hailsham was appointed minister with special responsibility for the North East by the Conservative Government and prepared his *White Paper on the North East* the following autumn.⁹⁹ The beginning of a new regional policy phase in 1963, has been identified as a mix of ‘one nation’ Conservatism, and Keynesian social policy.¹⁰⁰ In the north east the White Paper was intended to defend the criticism that former regional policy measures had failed to view the development of the region as a whole. According to Macmillan, “..one of the reasons for the mounting unemployment in the North, is the decline of the basic industries, as well as the trade recession” and accordingly he assigned Hailsham the task of recovering full employment by “ getting industry in the North going again and providing those sorely needed jobs.”¹⁰¹ The desire to revive the basic industries in the North East, was underpinned by a plan for increased spending in the public sector, particularly on roads and industrial estates. In Newcastle the plan included a programme for city re-development.¹⁰² To aid Hailsham in this process, an inter-departmental group was established to co-ordinate the activities of the Board of Trade, Ministry of Housing, the

Treasury, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Transport. In 1963 the City Council launched their *Development Plan*, and in 1965 a 27 member regional planning council, under the chairmanship of councillor T.Dan Smith, intended to provide local expertise in planning in the North East, established its headquarters in Newcastle.¹⁰³

Despite the underlying desire to ameliorate earlier regional policy, the years 1963-74 also represented a continuation of previous legislative measures, notably the provision of building grants and regionally differentiated investments for plants and machinery. Such investments, initially given in the form of tax allowances, but increasingly in the form of investment grants, were designed to encourage lucrative firms in the South to invest in the North.¹⁰⁴ In Newcastle these policy measures reflected the physical expansion of the firms; Wills, Rowntrees and the Winthrop Laboratories which provided some employment growth for women in this period. Nonetheless, it was the commitment to reviving the staple industries in the North, with a clear emphasis on the importance of new technology which underpinned the policy direction of the Wilson administration after 1964. The Minister for Economic Affairs, George Brown, summarised the government's position in his statement to the House of Commons as to the intended function of the newly formed Industrial Re-organisation Corporation (IRC) which was to "promote rationalisation schemes which can yield substantial benefits to the national economy, especially in terms of increased exports and more technological advance."¹⁰⁵ As a government merchant bank with £150 million capital, the IRC was intended to enact Wilson's plan for the modernisation of British industry.

In February 1963, the largest ever vessel built in Europe, and Britain's first ever 100,000 ton tanker, was built for the British Admiralty by Vickers/Armstrongs.¹⁰⁶ The following year it was noted that "...among the North East's heavy engineering firms, none has witnessed more complete turnaround than Vickers/Armstrongs. Last year work at Elswick and Scotswood reached its lowest level for many years, but thanks to renewed tank orders, the works should be operating near full capacity for the next two years."¹⁰⁷ Similarly the North East's jobless total was reported to fall following an upsurge of

industrial activity. The news that large companies such as Parsons in Newcastle, had secured an export order from South Africa worth £400,000 in 1965 was central to this upsurge.¹⁰⁸ Despite the sporadic growth in Newcastle's larger manufacturing companies, the extent to which an increase in export orders, reflected a manifestation of the government's commitment to technological advance is unclear. Armstrong/Vickers' intermittent success continued to depend on their ability to secure external defence contracts, and in real terms exports were stagnant. Moreover during the sixties Elswick tanks were only sold to countries which were technologically under-developed.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, increased export orders at Parsons reflected growth later found to be tenuously sustained. Two years after the South Africa contract, company accounts at Parsons detailed cuts in pre-tax profits of £790,000 for 1967.¹¹⁰ Although rationalisations were a feature of Parsons during the sixties, in 1970 the Heaton works still employed primarily men and a series of interviews conducted with the employees in the same year revealed that, in principle, the men employed lived near to their place of employment and were the only wage earning member of the family.¹¹¹ Expansion at Kockums provides an indication of what British regional policy measures were unable to achieve in Newcastle's staple industries. Kockums continued to expand productive capacity during the sixties. In 1970 the company launched in excess of 1 million tons, which was the largest order stock to date. In addition, the employee register for 1969 cites 29 different nationalities and notes that Kockums employed many women.¹¹²

Regional policy's failure to modernise British industry during the sixties, has been attributed to the emergence of a new spatial organisation of capital in Britain in which the contraction of the pre-fordist industries in the North, was compounded by the growth of branch plant companies in peripheral regions. Regional policy was in part responsible for this trend through the implementation of tax allowances and building grant schemes designed to attract inward investment. If the underlying intention of such schemes had been to reverse uneven development in peripheral regions, it was undermined, as the location of ownership in branch plants was concentrated largely in the South. The diminished proximity between power and production exacerbated the North/South divide

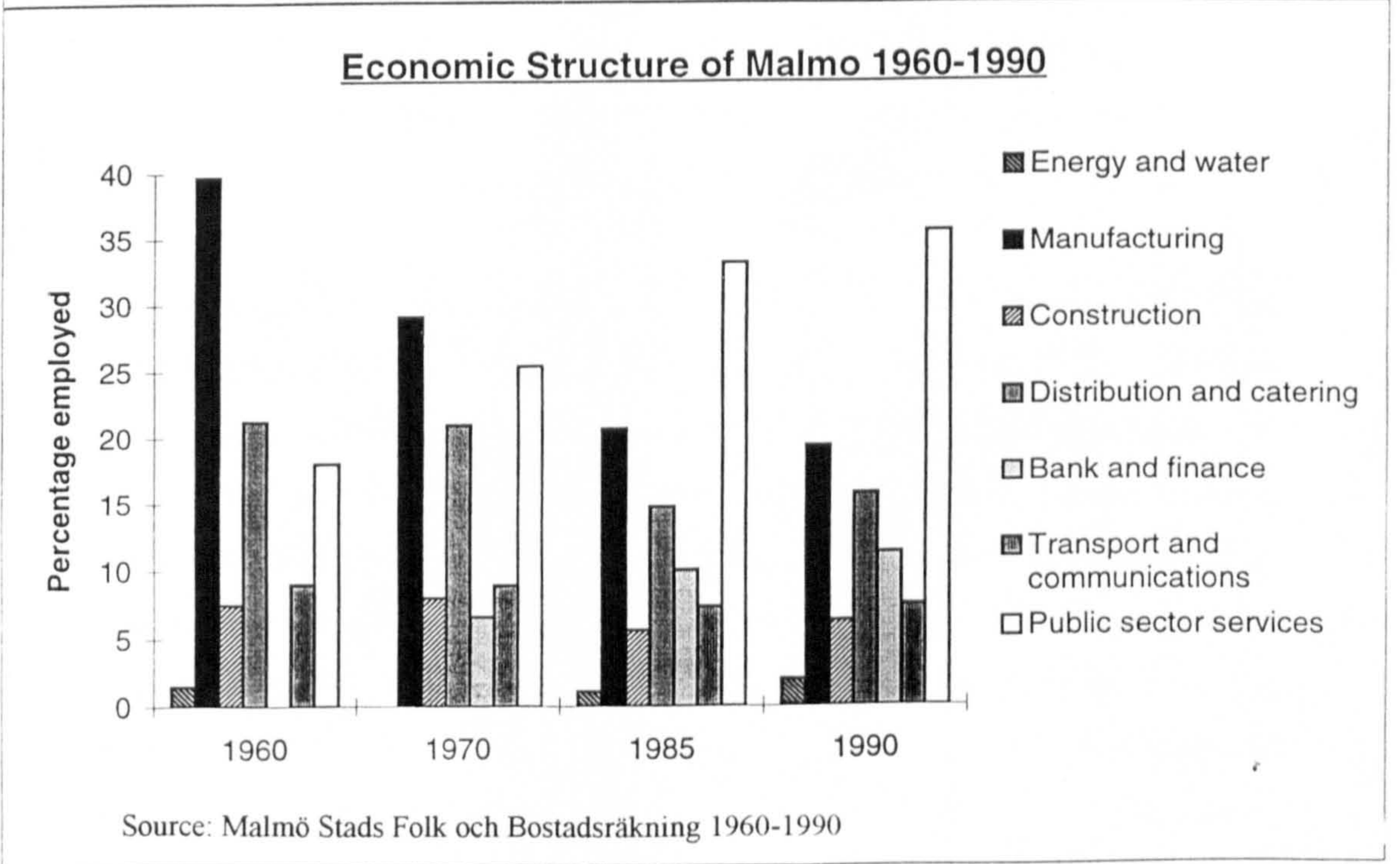
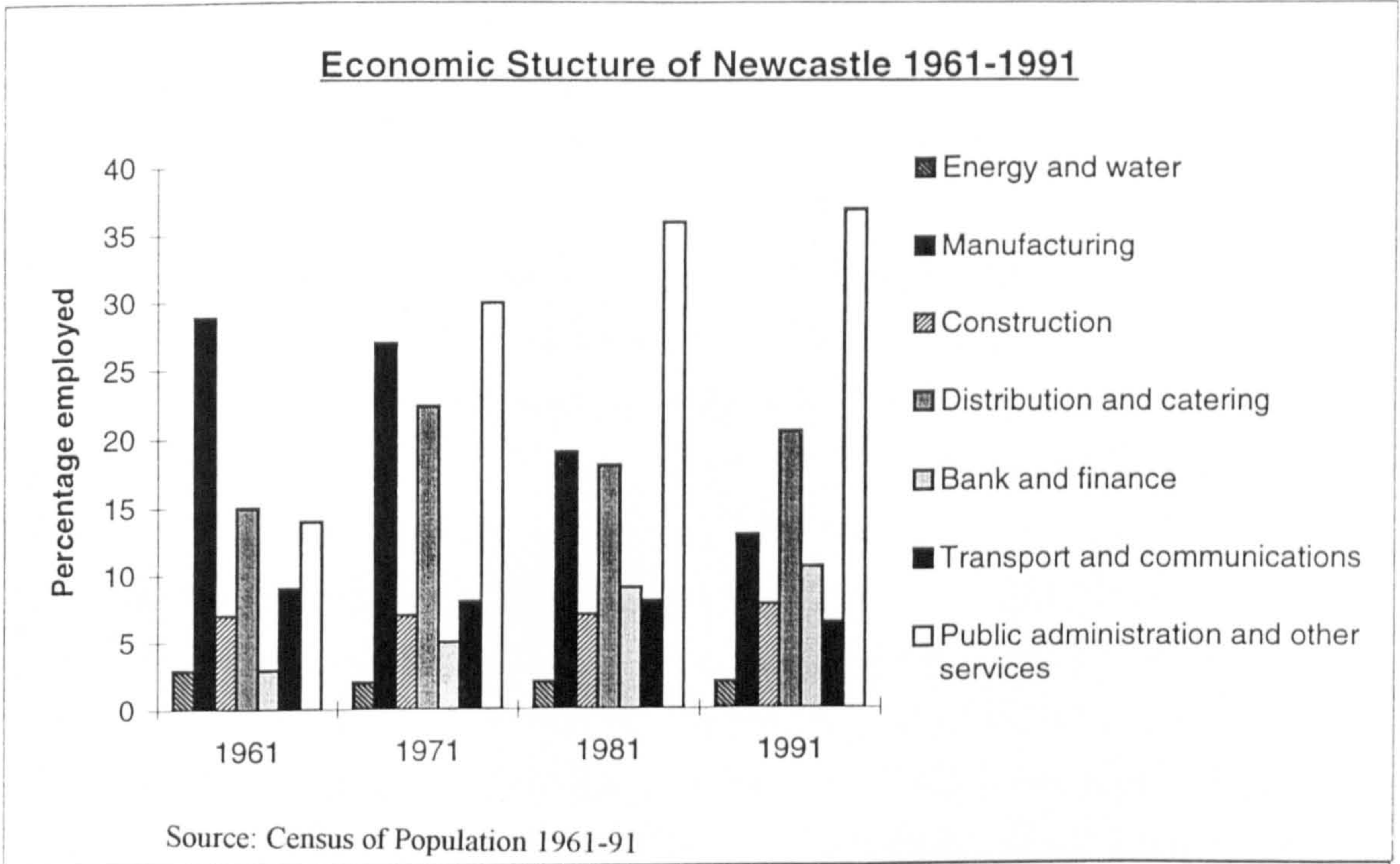
since the accumulation of wealth profited areas far from the place of production.¹¹³ Accompanying this trend was the penetration of multi-national capital into regions with weak local ownership structure. In Newcastle, the problems associated with the decentralisation of British capital have perhaps been allowed to obscure the link between the consequences of the patterns of growth inherent in the local staple industries, and the predilection for the penetration of multi-national capital. What is more, the notion that regional policy failed because it had the unintended effect of undermining local ownership does not address the failure to modernise which Malmö highlights.

In Newcastle, the assumption that it was decentralised capital which undermined regional policy's intentions, does not either explain adequately why, by 1976, 43% of economically active males in the city were classified as 'skilled manuals'.¹¹⁴ This figure is noteworthy since it suggests that whilst intermittent decline had been a feature of the staple industries in Newcastle since 1918, the dictates of nineteenth century growth prevailed after 1945. By the end of the seventies the proportion of men to women employed in the city's newer multi-national firms where the labour process was principally semi-skilled or unskilled had increased.¹¹⁵ Whilst later contraction of branch plant developments such as the Wills factory may have compounded rising unemployment during a period of industrial recession, in the comparison with Malmö, it is the continued presence of skill in the labour force which is striking. It reinforces the absence of fordism in Newcastle as a significant point of divergence for the comparison and emphasises the significance of the national variations. The success of Sweden's plan for post war economic growth was underpinned by a degree of mediation between the state, unions and employers all committed to promoting growth and dividing up the national product through central and extra parliamentary bargains.¹¹⁶ Skanska's growth in this period is characteristic of a country which, it is argued, rapidly adopted new production techniques borrowed from abroad.¹¹⁷ Anglo-Swedish comparisons have stressed the importance of parallel themes in respective post-war political economic management, often with the aim of confirming with the Swedish experience, the inadequacy of British institutions.¹¹⁸ Clearly the absence of an established equivalent of the SAF in Britain before the sixties created difficulties for the

newly established national and regional extra parliamentary bodies, such as the Northern Economic Planning Council (NEPC), in their attempt to co-ordinate the interests of capital and labour. Similarly the British Labour government's need to define themselves in terms of establishing a special relationship with the labour movement was an issue resolved by the Social Democrats in the thirties. If however, the inability to co-ordinate the interests of capital and labour in Newcastle in the way that the Social Democrats had in Malmö, questions the emphasis given to the development of a spatially impaired economy in the explaining the weaknesses of regional policy, then the comparison also highlights the problems presented by giving extensive weight to the differences in respective capital labour relations. In 1960 40% of the working population in Malmö were employed in the manufacturing sector, as compared to 20% in Newcastle. Regional policy was ineffectual in modernising industry in Newcastle, because it was unable to co-ordinate the interests of capital and labour but also because the industrial economy had experienced decline since 1918, and as highlighted in the 1963 *Development Plan Review*, a shift of resources to the service sector had already occurred.

Both graphs refer to the period 1960-95. This does not represent an attempt to establish two sets of independent variables, since the aim is still to compare thematically. Although decline has been a feature of Newcastle's industrial economy since 1918, the frequent changes to the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) render cross year comparisons prior to 1960 inadvisable. Since 1960 the categories for Malmö have remained fixed, therefore Newcastle data is derived from the 1980 SIC and has been aggregated into the seven categories presented as this best corresponds to the data in Malmö. Despite the technical problems presented by the data, and the difference in periodisation, the similarity in economic development between 1960 and 95 is striking. Although Malmö's relatively stronger manufacturing sector contrasts to continuous growth in the distribution and catering sector in Newcastle, in both cities the service sector represents the largest category of growth. Before examining the individual implications of this shared countervailing growth tendency, the theme of post 73' industrial recession requires some elaboration.

Figure
2.1



In Malmö, the 40% employed in the manufacturing sector in 1960 reflects the implementation of a successful strategy for managed growth, but the subsequent decline to 20% by 1985 exposes a comparative theme, previously obscured by expansion. Despite a continuation of an early trend towards industrial decline in Newcastle, both communities experienced intense contraction in manufacturing following the industrial recession precipitated by the rise in world oil prices in 1973. By 1974 the Kockums order stock was severely depleted. In 1986, and heavily dependent on state subsidies Kockums launched their last ship. Subsequently, and under the name Kockums Marine AB, the company diversified into marine technology.¹¹⁹ During the 1970s, the remaining textiles and food companies in the city were subject to a series of multi-national take-overs. In 1971, the *Eiser* group bought Malmö Hosiery and in 1973 *Fazers* bought the Mazetti factory.¹²⁰ Although the Skanska Group continued to expand during the seventies, by the eighties, company reports indicated that the directors had begun to express concern as to the growing imbalance between the requirement for real wage increases, and company profits. Subsequently a shift in the direction of investment, from new technology and research and development activities, to financial speculation has been identified.¹²¹ Simultaneously the balance of Sweden's international export sector shifted from ships, to chemicals and electronics which were still underrepresented aspects of Malmö's economic structure.¹²²

In Newcastle the ongoing industrial contraction intensified after 1973. Between 1978 and 87, there was a particularly high instance of manufacturing redundancies. In 1980 there were 189, 000 jobs in Newcastle, providing 38% of the city's male population with employment, of which 80% were found in 28 manufacturing firms.¹²³ By the seventies both Parsons works in Heaton and Vickers/Armstrongs had become entirely dependent on government orders for their traditional products. Following the cut in government subsidies to these industries, the company's Scotswood road factory announced 750 redundancies in 1979.¹²⁴ The following year Parsons works in Heaton announced 450 redundancies. Vickers' Elswick factory closed in 1981, with a total of 620 job cuts.¹²⁵

The companies in the branches of lighter manufacturing also suffered decline in this period. Wills cigarette factory closed in 1985 with a reported 600 redundancies. In Newcastle the decline in manufacture was reflected by a sharp increase in unemployment, specifically between 1979 and 1982 when the annual average unemployment rates rose from 8-18%.¹²⁶

The onset of industrial decline in Malmö, and the intensification of this trend in Newcastle, places both communities in the sphere of the debate concerning financial and political internationalisation. Whilst internationalisation, rather than 'globalisation' is probably a more appropriate term to describe the circumstances in which both cities experienced intensified recession, certain elements of the debate concerning 'globalisation' are relevant here. In particular, the suggestion that the shift in economic relations from the national to the international, precipitated in part by the technological transformation of work processes and the ascendance of the finance sector in management, contributed to the consolidation of a new global economy from where not only the national but also the world economy could be managed and serviced, is relevant to the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle since 1970.¹²⁷ The combined political impact of the assumption that global economic relations contradict the existence of large nationally based manufacturing companies and undermine the feasibility of national macro-economic management which provides the primary focus. In Britain the recession of the 1970s, was compounded by the process identified as 'deindustrialisation', defined both as the absence of a manufacturing sector able to pay for the nations import requirements, and a shift of resources from manufacture to the services.¹²⁸ The notion of 'deindustrialisation', was central to the incoming Conservative government's move to privatise and de-regulate both industry and public services, because it had been asserted that the onset of 'de-industrialisation' in conjunction with recession, undermined the Keynesian notion that increased 'non-market' sector spending could stimulate demand and production.¹²⁹ In Newcastle, the impact of the assumption that public sector expansion had caused slow productivity growth was reflected by the reversal of previous employment expansion in public administration after 1978.¹³⁰

In Malmö, the public sector was the city's largest area of sustained employment growth between 1960-95. In 1966 Malmö City Council had 16,700 employees and was the city's largest employer.¹³¹ In the same year Skanska commenced building for the 'Million Dwellings Programme' and Kockums was still witnessing rapid expansion. By 1970, public sector occupations represented 33% of the employed population in Malmö, which constituted a 40% increase since 1965. It has been estimated that approximately two thirds of the new employment opportunities provided work for women, primarily in health, social services and education.¹³² Whilst public sector expansion did become politically problematic in Sweden, in Malmö this occurred following the decline of the city's larger manufacturing companies, it therefore fails to confirm that public sector growth procured economic stagnation. What is more, unlike Newcastle during the 1970s, industrial decline in Malmö was not followed by a sharp increase in levels of unemployment.¹³³ The ability to offset unemployment during a period of intense industrial contraction, is central to the comparison. Whilst the pattern of economic growth which Malmö and Newcastle shared, despite national variations, rendered both economies vulnerable to the impact of internationalisation, in the respective management of industrial Malmö illustrates that mass unemployment was not an immediate outcome of industrial decline. Whilst changing international economic conditions may have rendered extensive macro-economic management less feasible, the case of Malmö suggests that in some instances, national and local governments have been equipped to compensate for the combined effects of internationalisation and the volatility of financial markets.¹³⁴ In Malmö, the impact of global economic relations on technical top down macro-economic management is reflected in post 1973 industrial decline, but the experience of the labour force during the 1980s suggests that the pursuit of labour market regulation was a viable strategy.

Prior to 1978, service sector growth had been synonymous with public sector expansion in Newcastle. The years 1961-71 witnessed a 70% increase in employment in public administration in the city followed by a 25% increase between 71 and 78.¹³⁵ Although a primary aim of the 1963-74 regional policy phase had been to revive the basic industries in

the North East, a recognition that an equal balance of industry, trade and commerce was needed to sustain growth was reflected in the extension of eligibility to non-industrial concerns for assistance under the local Employment Acts. From the outset, eligibility depended on the ability locally, to produce evidence that assistance would be translated into significant increases in employment.¹³⁶ Subsequently, criticism of post war regional policy legislation focused on the failure to stimulate business growth outside the large manufacturing sector, in particular the discrimination suffered by the small business sector.¹³⁷ After 1979, service sector growth in Newcastle was marked by the expansion of employment opportunities in the private services. Whilst male unemployment rose sharply between 1978 and 82 a less significant increase in female unemployment was attributed to the growing preponderance of administrative, clerical and sales related occupations in the private services.¹³⁸ It needs to be emphasised that overwhelmingly, female work in these occupations was classified as part time, whilst opportunities for female full time occupation remained limited.¹³⁹

In Newcastle, there existed a discernible tendency amongst local labour politicians and trade union officials to view service sector growth as compensating numerically for jobs lost in manufacture, which suggests that the quantitative increase in service sector employment, did not assuage the qualitative loss caused by the contraction of work the heavy engineering and shipbuilding.¹⁴⁰ This view was compounded after 1979 by the national Conservative government's use of part time employment growth in the service sector to disguise otherwise worse performance in overall employment.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the growth of female part time employment was not welcomed because it was associated with the emergence of a low wage economy in the North East. Although specific figures for Newcastle are not available, the New Earnings Survey published in 1985 confirms that at a time when unemployment was growing steadily in Newcastle, wages in Tyne and Wear rose less than the national average.¹⁴² The notion that there is a link between low wages and persistent unemployment is nevertheless challenged by the neo-classical perspective in which they are seen to be a prerequisite for recovery in depressed areas, in order to attract new firms from high-waged areas and thereby erode the regional

unemployment differentials. Moreover, the emergence of a supply of low wage jobs in large cities notably in the consumer services corresponds, it is argued, to the internationalisation of the economic base of such cities.¹⁴³ In Malmö, women also dominated part time work, but in this case, unemployment, the influence of global economic relations and the increase of female part time work, have not come to be associated with a low wage economy.¹⁴⁴

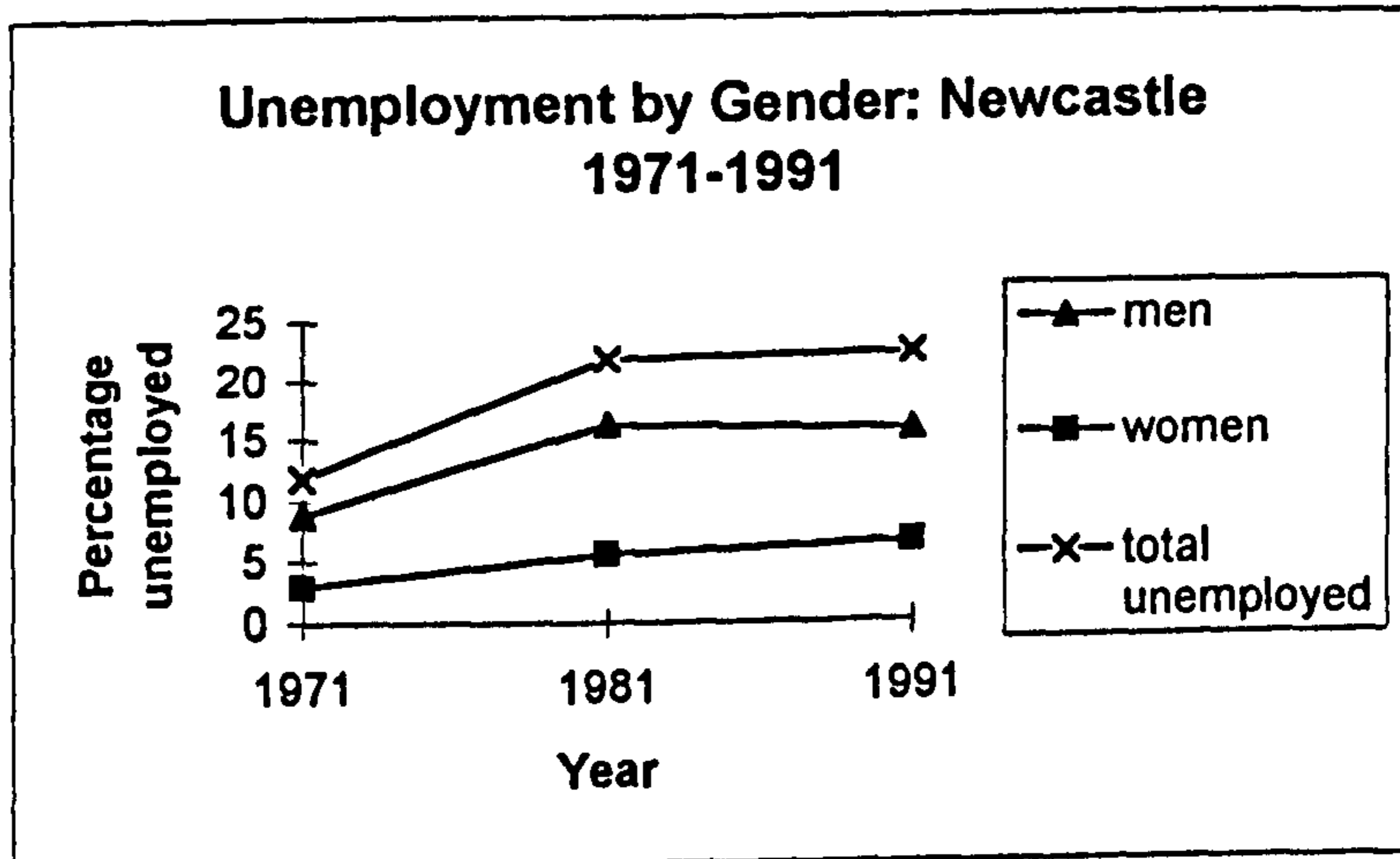
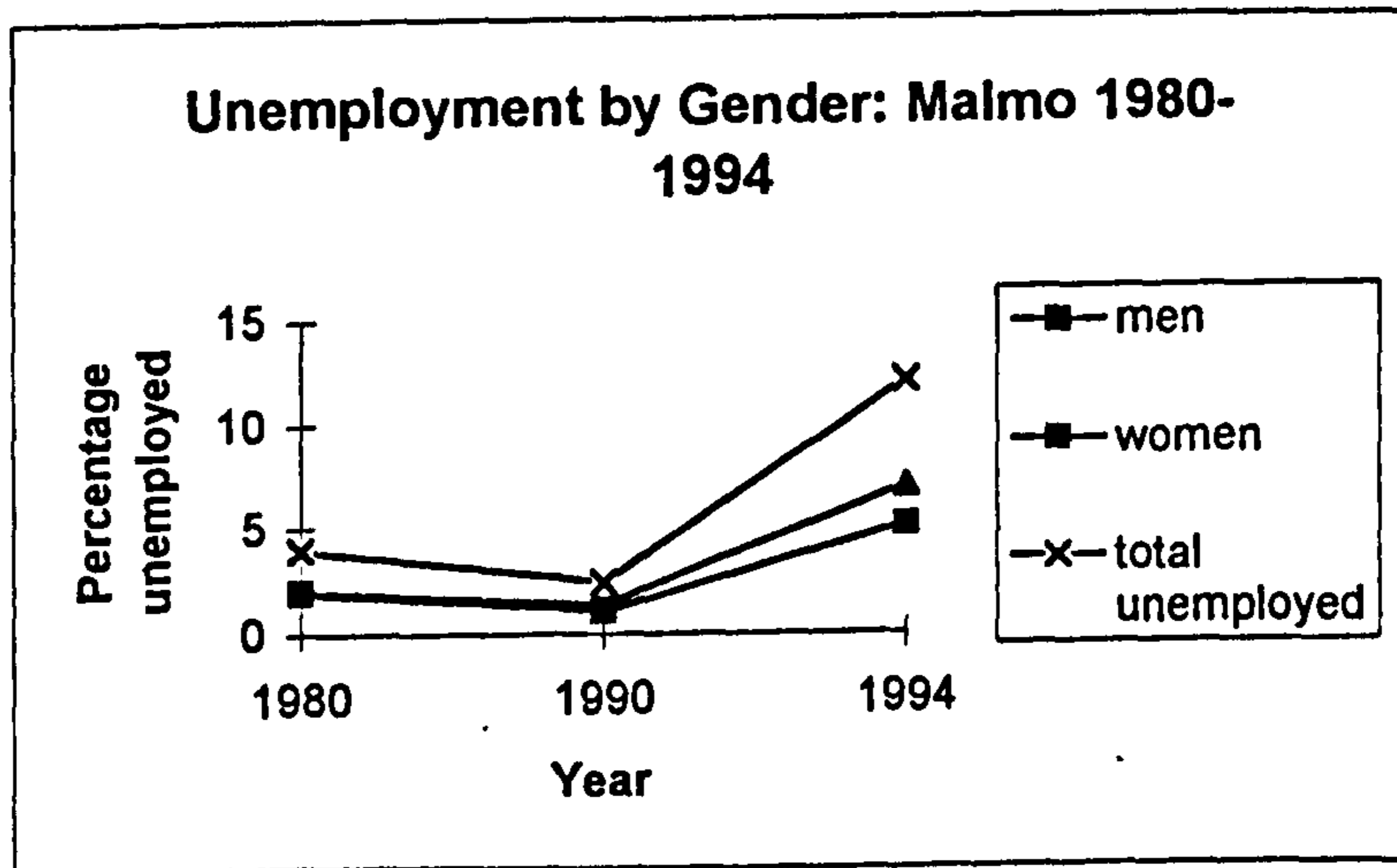
The experience of the labour force in Malmö illustrates that adherence to the Keynesian approach did compensate for the impact of volatile economic circumstances. Nevertheless, the notion that financial globalisation has been equipped to undermine the feasibility of the large nationally based corporations as a viable means of growth, does have some purchase relative to the economic problems experienced in Malmö after 1973. Earlier it was suggested that the dominant economic structure in both cities precluded diversification into the 'new' post war growth industries. In Britain the impact of the 1978 to 1982 recession was not confined to the staple industries but also saw rising rates of unemployment in regions dominated by the vehicle, electrical engineering and chemical industries.¹⁴⁵ In Malmö, compensation for the pending closure of Kockums as a ship yard was found in public sector expansion. This occurred in conjunction with the increasing dominance of large companies in the city. By 1975, 73% of the employed population in Malmö were located in companies with more than fifty employees, and by 1985 this figure had risen to 85%.¹⁴⁶ In order to compensate for the closure of Kockums, SAAB, with the help of state subsidies, established its new factory premises near the shipyard in 1980. This project met with limited success, and closed in 1991. Explanation for the inability of the SAAB factory to generate growth has been sought in the hostility between SAAB and the new major share holders, General Motors, regarding the implementation of new labour processes.¹⁴⁷ Whilst the intention here is not to underestimate the impact of that particular closure, the experience of the SAAB project, also re-enforces the short-comings of state subsidised manufacturing plants as an effective strategy for the city's recovery from industrial decline. By 1990 the combined precariousness of the absence of a small business sector, and the inability of large scale industrial strategies to offset decline in

Malmö, were complicated by the national bourgeois four-party coalition's economic strategy which included public sector cut-backs and a unprecedented attempt at labour market de-regulation.¹⁴⁸ Between 1990 and 1993 the annual average rates of unemployment in Malmö increased from 2.4% to 12.4%.¹⁴⁹

Figure

2.2

	1980	1990	1994
men	2.01	1.36	7
women	1.99	1.04	5.1
total unem	4	2.4	12.1
	1971	1981	1991
men	8.8	16.2	15.8
women	3	5.6	6.6
total unem	11.8	21.8	22.4



Source. Malmö SFBS 1970-1990, Newcastle Census Reports 1960-1990

The revival of private business was pivotal to the British post 79' strategy for renewed economic growth in cities. In 1986, Newcastle City Council approved plans for the £36 million redevelopment of the former Vickers site in Elswick. When completed the Armstrong Centre, a combined business facility, provided work for 1,800 individuals.¹⁵⁰ Similar projects included the Central and East Quayside Developments. Initially, the Armstrong Centre received substantial support from the new Development Corporation.¹⁵¹ The regionalist criticism of these industrially mixed, or 'retail led' developments has focussed upon the absence of an appropriate industrial strategy for the North East.¹⁵² But retailing is also an area of growth, which has been central to the city, but in contemporary Newcastle it has still received little scholarly focus. In 1965 the City Council launched a strategic plan, which apart from extensive plans for infrastructural expansion included the redevelopment of the Eldon Square shopping complex.¹⁵³ In the seventies this centre was the most advanced shopping complex in the country and established Newcastle's status as a regional shopping centre. Moreover the expansion of smaller retail outlets which followed, provided an important source of replacement employment for women particularly once the factories which had opened in fifties underwent a series of closures.¹⁵⁴ In 1984 the *Management Horizons Survey* placed Newcastle second in the five largest shopping centres in Britain. Similarly the recent emphasis on the leisure industry, reflects the continuation of a trend which in Newcastle predates 1979.¹⁵⁵ Since the eighties this area of growth has received attention primarily in conjunction with the critique of the government's use of appointed agencies such as the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation to achieve central goals in urban regeneration. In part, regional dissatisfaction with the emphasis on private 'retail-led' and other businesses reflected concern regarding the diminished role of locally elected government in economic development.¹⁵⁶ Public accountability remains central, particularly as regards non-elected bodies in health, education and training.¹⁵⁷ However, the implications of some criticism levelled at the strategies for urban regeneration leave open the question of what the politics of an effective strategy for growth should be. The notion that the TWUDC 'has a classic corporatist form but cannot fulfil progressive corporatist objectives' is

problematic.¹⁵⁸ The comparison with Malmö has illustrated that whilst the implementation of policies of macro scale state intervention designed to maintain full employment, and represent the interests of labour, were an effective strategy for managing economic growth, they did not prevent decline or facilitate sustainable economic recovery.

In conclusion it needs to be emphasised that the most striking feature, which the comparison of these two economies highlights, is the similarities in the economic structure, particularly the dominance of large manufacturing companies and the absence of a small vibrant 'business' sector. This feature developed in very different historical circumstances it has been suggested, so different that they could be described as local similarities, within Anglo-Swedish differences. In the previous chapter, it was suggested that this thesis should be concerned more with the relationship between certain shared characteristics, and their particular manifestation, than with establishing absolute similarities or differences. This chapter demonstrates that this concern is justified. Sweden and Britain's industrial development are clearly the product of distinct histories; it could even be argued that Swedish modernity, with its characteristic American inspiration, has no real counterpart in Britain. In the period covered by this research, it is also possible to see Britain and Sweden as occupying polar positions in a European hierarchy of economic systems; Britain's Anglo-Saxon predilections making it hostile to the increased regulation, which greater European economic integration would imply, whilst in Sweden, a continued derigist stance has, until recently, produced reticence towards the further European integration for the opposite reasons. In order to establish how significant the economic structure that Malmö and Newcastle share has been to the manifestation and subsequent management of industrial decline, it is necessary to examine several other areas of these cities' post war history.

This chapter concludes with a brief overview of some of the areas, which the municipality in Malmö has sought the means for economic regeneration in the last decade. These areas provide an insight into some of the themes addressed in subsequent chapters. Since the nineties the region has been emphasised as a viable unit for economic growth in Malmö

and Newcastle. In Malmö the Öresund Bridge Project, is associated with a desire to remove from the city, the stigma of national industrial decline. Initially reservations that the business led large-scale project, lacked an effective strategy for local economic growth were compounded by the persistence of high levels of unemployment in Malmö. In 1994 the Social Democrats returned to power at the national level, committed to reducing unemployment and stimulating growth whilst defending the welfare state. In Malmö though, the establishment of the new university is a definitive break with previous experience of social democratic economic policy. Active labour market policy in contemporary Malmö now aims to use education to stimulate the growth of small and medium sized enterprises. Likewise the embellishment of the city's business profile, which the Öresund project has implied, is now more acceptable since combined with the university, it is argued that this now represents a coherent strategy for growth. There can be little doubt that the 1990s witnessed the most dramatic structural changes of the twentieth century for Malmö. The concentration of employees in large companies, which had increased consistently after 1945, diminished dramatically after 1991. In 1998 54% of Malmö's employees were located in companies with more than fifty employees, representing a 30% reduction since 1985. It is therefore primarily smaller companies that are responsible for employment creation in the city.¹⁵⁹

In Newcastle the post 1979 emphasis on a more diverse economic structure was not a decisive break with the past, rather a reflection of the Conservative government's ability to capitalise on the city's long-standing propensity for tertiary sector growth. Nevertheless the social legacy of rapid economic restructuring without a clear commitment to even distribution, continues to raise the question of how to ensure that the local community is a recipient of renewed economic growth. In Newcastle centre/periphery antagonism has contributed to the view that the regional economy, would be best governed by a regionally elected assembly. Sweden is often cited as an exemplary model of decentralised governance with strong traditions of local self-government. Given that Malmö was the city in which social democracy first emerged in Sweden, it is well placed to furnish a comparison of the mechanisms, and draw backs of local democracy. Moreover the call for

a regional assembly in the North East, requires a greater understanding of what the relationship between the state and the region have implied for the desire for local autonomy. The comparative political processes of local social democracy are examined in the next chapter, whilst chapter six addresses the questions pertaining to the call for a regional assembly in the north east.

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- ¹ B. Burkitt and P. Whyman 'The Evolution of a Keynesian Political Economy in Sweden', *Renewal* Vol . 3 N 1 Jan 1995
- ² Ministry of Labour, *Reports of the Investigations into the Industrial Conditions in Certain Depressed Areas*. HMSO 1934, Cmnd 4728 (although Newcastle was excluded from the initial recommendations, on the grounds that the city did not have the required 40% unemployed, this was later criticised as levels of unemployment in the city were only slightly lower. See G. McCrone *Regional Policy in Britain*, Ch 11 (1969)
- ³ M. Dintenfass, *The Decline of Industrial Britain* p 2
- ⁴ G. Therborn *Klasstrukturen I Sverige 1930-1980* (1981)
- ⁵ For an emphasis upon the impact which dominant British commercial and financial interests had upon the fortunes of industrial capitalism see P.J Cain and A.G Hopkins *British Imperialism: Volume 2, Crisis and Deconstruction 1914-1990* (1993). The role played by the City of London in exacting the dissonance between the financial and industrial sectors in British capitalism is explored in G. Ingham *Capitalism Divided? The City and Industry in British Social Development* (1984). For a critique of this perspective the work of R.C Michie *The London and New York Stock Exchanges 1850-1914* (1987) and more recently W.D Rubinstein *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain 1750-1990* (1993) is instructive.
- ⁶ L. Berggren & M. Greiff, *Från Sillamarknad till SAAB Fabrik* p 12
- ⁷ L. Berggren & M. Greiff. op cit p 15
- ⁸ P. Billing & M. Stigendal *Hegemonins Decennier* p 91
- ⁹ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit p 93
- ¹⁰ Skånska Cement Gjuteriet AB *Verksamhetsberättelser*
- ¹¹ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit p 238
- ¹² Malmö Kommun, *Näringslivet I Malmö* p 24
- ¹³ Kockums AB (1983) p 11
- ¹⁴ C. Hellstrom, *Skanska Cement Gjuteriet Skanska 1937-1987 II* p 19
- ¹⁵ *Generalplan för Malmö Del I 1948-52*
- ¹⁶ *Malmö Stads Historia Del 4* p 364
- ¹⁷ L. Berggren & M. Greiff, op cit. p 16
- ¹⁸ *ibid.* p 17
- ¹⁹ C. Carlsson-Wetteberg 'Kvinnor arbete o aldrande. Textilarbeterskor i Malmö 1870-1918.', *Scania* 1988.2 p 242
- ²⁰ L. Berggren & M. Greiff op cit p. 18
- ²¹ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit p 96
- ²² Cited in *Malmö Stads Historia* op.cit p 52
- ²³ The Billing & Stigendal thesis defines the 'Swedish Model' as a fordist form of growth, which combined two 'historic compromises', between capital and labour, and the sexes. Malmö's significance in the political and gender specific debates that the 'Swedish Model' encompasses will be addressed in subsequent chapters.
- ²⁴ R. Ohlsson, 'I Kranens Tidevarv' *Malmö Stads Historia Del 7*. pp 100-118
- ²⁵ T. Svensson *Fran ackord till manadslon. En studie av lonpolitiken, fackforeningarna, och rationalisering inom Svensk varvindustri* (1983) p. 287
- ²⁶ Kockums AB (1983) p. 12
- ²⁷ *Ibid* p.12
- ²⁸ Kockumsknogaren p 135-36 cited in R. Ohlsson. op cit . pp 100-118
- ²⁹ V. Bergström 'Party Program and Economic Policy' in Misgeld, Molin and Amark (eds.). op cit p. 143
- ³⁰ L. Magnusson (1997) op.cit p. 451
- ³¹ J. Fulcher, *Labour Movements Employers and the State, Conflict and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden* (1991), p. 141
- ³² *Ibid* p. 203
- ³³ C. Nilsson, *Malmö Strumpfabriks historia -en återblick* (1971) p 46

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- ³⁴ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit. p 95 For details of the 'Bedeaux System' See. Craig Littler, 'Deskilling and the Changing Structures of Control' in Stephen Wood ed. *The Degradation of Work?* pp 139-144 (The implications of the implementation of neo-Taylorite schemes will be addressed subsequently, in relation to Newcastle)
- ³⁵ J. Kuuse. *Strukturömvandling och arbetsmarknadens organisering* (1986) p. 83
- ³⁶ P. Billing & M. Stigendal. op.cit ch. 2 passim
- ³⁷ Cited in P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit p 98
- ³⁸ *Malmö Statistik Arsbok* 1950-60
- ³⁹ A. Åberg, *Cement I Hundra År : En Krönika om Skanska Cement Aktiebolaget AB I Malmö.* (1972)
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit p 107
- ⁴² Ibid p 109
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion of fordism see B. Jessop (ed.) *The Politics of Flexibility* (1991)
- ⁴⁵ C. Littler op.cit pp 139-144
- ⁴⁶ D. Levine & K. Wrightson *The Making of Industrial Society. Whickham 1560-1765* (1991)
- ⁴⁷ I. Ayris, 'Elemore Colliery' *Industrial Archeological Review*, Winter 1979-80, Vol IV N.I p 7
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Labour politics and social housing in Malmö and Newcastle

This chapter examines the relationship between political processes and developments in municipal housing in both cities since 1945. Arguably one of the most important features of both Malmö and Newcastle after 1945, was in the provision of municipal housing. Whilst this overarching development can be discerned in both cities, the individual local authority responses to housing questions, also provide a platform for highlighting the political particularities of Malmö and Newcastle after 1945.

After 1945 the Social Democrats in Malmö were noted for innovation in housing provision. Following the emergence of a national social housing policy after the Second World War, one of the first municipal housing companies in the country, had been established in Malmö in 1948. Parallel to political developments, increased industrial productivity provided the stimulus necessary for 'mass' production in housing. This development has also become associated with the Malmö based building company Skånska Cement Gjuteriet, also one of Sweden's most expansive companies in the post war era.¹ Between 1950-53 the company in Malmö pioneered the 'all concrete' method of construction that helped abate the growing national housing shortage. The mass production of houses in Malmö became most memorably associated with the construction of the Rosengård housing scheme between 1967-74. The British born architect Ralph Erskine, responsible for the construction of Newcastle's renowned community architecture program in Byker, which will be addressed at the end of this chapter, was an early proponent of this now controversial building method.²

In Britain after 1945, following national concern regarding both the quality of housing and the challenge posed by severe overcrowding in cities like Newcastle, local councils

were encouraged to draw upon the expertise of the Scandinavian countries in both housing policy and construction. The Labour councilor and chairman of Newcastle's Housing Committee during the early 1960s, Mr. T. Dan Smith, expressed an interest in housing developments in Sweden. Under Smith's direction the Housing Committee in Newcastle was assigned the task of investigating the potential of, "speeding up production and consequent economies by greater use of prefabricated method."³ As part of an organised visit to Scandinavia in 1963, selected representatives from Newcastle's Housing Committee visited Skånska Cement Gjuteriet in Malmö.⁴ Subsequent critique of local government in Newcastle maintained that Smith's housing and physical planning measures were unnecessarily interventionist, indeed, the 'T. Dan Smith' era of local government has also been regarded as symptomatic of the tendency towards intrusive centralisation, which characterised national and local politics in Britain since the thirties.⁵ In contrast, the Scandinavian countries are still regarded as exemplary de-centralised democracies partly because after 1945, the constitutional right of local government in Sweden, as compared to the British system, allowed local authorities to assume freely tasks other than those mandated by central legislation.⁶ It seems Malmö could provide a useful site for the exploration of the mechanisms of effective local social democracy. It was after all in Malmö that the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP) was established and the city was dominated by heavy industry in the twenty years following the Second World War.⁷ Despite the contraction of the city's industrial base, there appears to be a continued commitment to a system of governance, which retains political accountability in the management of renewed growth.⁸ This can be contrasted to Newcastle, where the politics of economic regeneration have it is often suggested, increasingly by-passed local democracy.⁹

Nonetheless, in the context of Malmö and Newcastle, the use of the centralisation versus decentralisation dichotomy to describe relations between local and central government after 1945 is not straightforward. Whilst Sweden retains its traditions of strong local self governance after 1945, this period has been defined as a move away from the local

'autonomy' of the nineteenth century, in which clear boundaries between local and central levels of governance could be discerned, and towards social democratic integration, or the 'municipalisation' of the welfare state.¹⁰ Moreover, in the wider context it has been suggested that an enquiry, which appears to suggest what the politics of a given community ought to have been, is not appropriate for historical comparison. Whilst the study of politics in Malmö and Newcastle primarily seeks to avoid such enquiry because it inhibits the comparative methodology certain criticism of modern moral philosophy, particularly pertaining to the perils of both dogmatic judgement and relativism, highlights the value of the comparative historical approach. Whilst rejecting the existence of any universal set of principles, MacIntyre emphasises that investigating the characteristics of the positions advanced by rival moral traditions, can reveal hitherto unnoticed features of one's own.¹¹ Similarly, attempting to designate what the politics of either Malmö or Newcastle should have been, undermines the essence of the comparative approach, which can allow each community to act as a commentary on the other.¹²

The comparison does require a conceptual framework, which in this instance is provided by posing common questions of each community from the outset. For instance: how do housing developments in each community reflect respective political processes after 1945? A frequent criticism of the historical comparison is that such a requirement amounts to complicity with what it seeks to oppose since starting with general thematic questions 'smuggles' implicit theoretical explanations into individual case accounts.¹³ In the previous chapter, it was possible to move from the general conceptual framework, (economic contraction and levels of high unemployment), to the particularity of each case without articulating at length the basis for the initial assumption.¹⁴ In this instance there is greater conceptual complexity since the overarching similarities are not as readily defined. It is only since 1973 that the Labour Party has achieved sustained electoral dominance in Newcastle, whereas in Malmö, the Social Democratic Party dominated both the period of industrial growth and decline.¹⁵ The Labour Party's tenuous hold over the council in Newcastle, as juxtaposed to the Social Democrats' sustained electoral victories in Malmö,

is crucial to understanding political developments in both communities since 1945, but does not lend itself to detailed analysis of the Conservative council dominance in Newcastle. As highlighted previously, comparative history is necessarily selective, and the years of Conservative local government in Newcastle, should not be compared directly to social democratic politics in Malmö, since they do not contain the necessary parallels.¹⁶ Similarly, whilst an awareness that since 1945 both cities have been dominated by different national political parties is necessary, the two can not be compared directly. Despite the obvious conceptual difficulties, the fruitful exercise is the comparison of the politics of the Labour and Social Democratic parties in their local and national settings, since there exists an overarching similarity in political association, but also because both traditions of the 'left' differ significantly.

Having established the methodological concerns, which underpin this chapter, the choice of themes can be better understood. This chapter begins with a comparison of the defining characteristics of the national Labour Party in Britain and the Social Democratic Labour Party in Sweden. This exercise provides the necessary context in which to locate the Labour and Social Democratic Parties of the two cities. In ascertaining the defining characteristics of both the national and local parties, it is necessary to refer to the first half of the twentieth century. An understanding of the most important similarities and underlying differences of the two national and local parties is intended to inform the theme of social housing in both cities, which is examined primarily after 1945. In Newcastle, the Labour council's slum-clearance and re-housing programmes of the early 1960s are compared to Malmö's first municipal housing schemes after 1945. Finally this chapter examines the political processes that underpinned the construction of a community architecture programme in Byker in Newcastle during the 1970s, and the construction of the Rosengård estate in Malmö a few years earlier.

Following the Second World War, Britain and Sweden both elected Labour and Social Democratic parties to government. In Sweden the 1944 party programme diverged from

previous social democratic programmes in its emphasis on a planned economy.¹⁷ Similarly the Labour Party elected to government in 1945 was committed to state planning, primarily in the areas of state welfare legislation and nationalisation.¹⁸ Within the context of planning however, these parties diverged concerning the ownership of production. In Sweden, ineffective production and similar inefficiency which could result in unemployment was to be avoided “whether the economy is based on individual ownership rights or different forms of collective ownership.”¹⁹ Whereas this represented a move away from the ‘mechanical’ ideas of nationalisation which prevailed in Sweden during the 1920s, Attlee’s commitment to nationalising major British industries reflected, it is argued, a practical application of Sidney Webb’s ‘Clause 4’ which hitherto had been absent from party policy.²⁰

In Britain the Labour government of 1945, has been described as ‘a child of its origins’.²¹ Attlee had joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in 1908 and Hugh Dalton was similarly involved with the Fabian Society whilst an undergraduate at Cambridge in the early 1900s. Subsequently though, the ‘Attlee years’ have come to represent faction within the party. Viewed from the Bennite left this was a revolutionary watershed in British socialism, whilst for David Owen and the British Social Democratic Party the post 1945 administration represented a sensible Keynesian consensus, the antithesis of the former.²² The Labour Representation Committee (LRC), was set up as initially a committee of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in 1900, which became the Labour Party in 1906.²³ The many themes associated with the pursuit of independent working class political representation in Britain after 1880; disaffection with Liberal leadership, increased class conflict and the ‘Great Depression’, religious developments, ‘new unionism’, Fabian social reformism and the arrival of Marxism, all lend themselves to comparison. Indeed comparison has been central to much scholarship concerning the rise of and subsequent characteristics of the Labour Party.²⁴ The end of the nineteenth century was seminal for the emergence of working class political parties throughout Europe. But given Britain’s early industrialisation and urbanisation, and particularly in comparison with Sweden, the

working class is characterised as late to achieve political representation. Moreover, once the Labour Party was formally established, it did not sustain unwavering working class electoral support.²⁵

The Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP), was also established at the end of the nineteenth century in Sweden but in contrast to the Labour Party, was and has continued to be a major recipient of the manual working class vote.²⁶ In the twentieth century, the continued support for ‘class based’ politics in what has come to be viewed as one of Europe’s most egalitarian societies, is a paradox which has been addressed in leading Swedish scholarship. For Therborn, the collective experience by an exceptionally homogenous agrarian population of rapid industrial growth at the end of the nineteenth century, accounted for the emergence of a ‘class situation’, and the mobilisation of the working class.²⁷ Subsequently the emergence of a strong centralised state combined with the relative absence of any established movements/parties, (religious, labour movement, political), capable of competing for working class support prior to the emergence of the SAP, undermined the need for alternative forms of collective action.²⁸ Though not explicit, this point is clearly comparative and has been used elsewhere to explain the differences between the British Labour Party and the SAP, particularly the exceptionalism of the latter.²⁹ Despite chronological synchronism between working class experience of rapid industrialisation, and the emergence of class-based politics in Sweden, a comparison with Britain raises questions regarding the underlying assumption that working class political life in Sweden has as its foundations a similar experience of the relations of conflict between capital and labour.

Most accounts of the origins of Swedish socialism refer to August Palm. In 1881, this socialist tailor from Skåne, returned from exile in Germany, to deliver Sweden’s first socialist speech in Malmö.³⁰ “Hvad Vilja Socialisterna?” (“What do the Socialists want?”) created a stir in contemporary press, but because of Palm’s emphasis on improving existing society with socialism, this speech has been represented in Swedish

historiography, as an important source for the evidence of Lasallean ideas in Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century³¹ The influence of Lasallean socialism on party strategy is also reflected in the political activities of certain individuals in the formative stages. In particular J. M. Engström, who became chairman of the Social Democratic Organisation in 1886, lobbied heavily for the formation of the Workers Co-operative, which derived ideas directly from the Lasallean programme of state assisted producer co-operation.³² Equally important in a comparative assessment of the defining characteristics of the SAP, is the apparent support for policies, which did not conflict with the interest of private business. Diverging from the assumption that abrupt industrial upheaval in an agrarian society accounts for working class mobilisation in Sweden, Pontusson suggests that the specifics of the Swedish agrarian class endowed them with politically influential farmers, responsible for negotiating the 1932 agreement with the SAP. Such developments have been used to explain how a Party of the 'left' came to use state regulation to ensure forthwith that the private interests of business were protected.³³ Furthermore, although official obeisance to Marxist ideas can be detected before the First World War, in the course of the twenties the SAP effectively abandoned its commitment to large scale nationalisation as a primary and immediate objective of majority government. Through the thirties the SAP developed the planning policies that conceived the post war programme, as part of a broader strategy to achieve greater industrial productivity via planning and state intervention.³⁴

In contrast, the post 1945 Labour administration in Britain pledged continued adherence to state intervention which emphasised the use of public ownership to prevent unemployment, redistribute wealth, ameliorate union relations and modernise industry.³⁵ Suggestive of subsequent party political faction, historical interpretation of the post 1945 Labour government is similarly ambivalent regarding the question of whether this development represented a fundamental shift in the power structure of British society, or whether the nationalisation acts merely crystallised policies initiated by previous governments.³⁶ This question can not be addressed adequately by Anglo-Swedish

comparison due to the absence of longstanding Conservative or Liberal majority government in Sweden. Regardless of origins, however, these parties' divergence concerning nationalisation in this period does demonstrate important national variations, which relate to Malmö and Newcastle.

Seminal to most comparative studies of the Anglo-Swedish 'left' this century, is the relationship between party and labour movement. In Sweden, the significance of the early arrival of socialism in relation to the emergence of the first unions is central to understanding the electoral strength of the SAP. Prominent social democrats formed the first Metal Workers Union in Malmö and Stockholm in the 1890's and as such were able to influence their direction significantly.³⁷ This can be contrasted to the British experience where the emergence of an independent trade union movement, occurred prior to established political representation. Since union support for the Labour Party was dependent on what the former conceived to ensure the sanctity of their industrial relations, The TUC established a more proprietorial relationship over the Labour Party, than was the case in Sweden.³⁸ The extent to which either the absence of socialist strategy, or the Labour Party's relative electoral weakness, can be explained singularly in terms of the influence of a self interested and defensive British Labour movement can not be addressed adequately here. Yet these questions do highlight a theme significant in the comparative context. The willingness of the TUC to recommend union affiliation to the Labour Representation Committee LRC increased significantly following the 1901 Taff Vale judgment. Subsequently through the course of confrontations resulting from the 1926 General Strike, this position was re-enforced.³⁹ In Sweden the SAP also derived support from the trade union movement, but this did not occur in reaction to an employer offensive. Indeed in Sweden the emergence of the first established unions was followed by a central federation of employers (SAF) established in 1902. By 1906, the SAF had negotiated a central bargain with the trade unions.⁴⁰

The relative harmony characteristic of industrial relations in Sweden after 1945 can be contrasted to the union related difficulties experienced by successive British governments in this period.⁴¹ This theme has prompted an emphasis in key Anglo-Swedish scholarship, on the significance of decentralised versus centralised organisation of capital and labour for the respective parties.⁴² This national variation has also been used to provide an insight into the different manifestations of 'corporatism' in Britain and Sweden.⁴³ Such a comparison is apparently fruitful since it engages with many of the various interpretations of the concept and its implications. The significance of the decentralised character of British capital for instance, is confirmed by Middlemas' interpretation of the 'corporate bias' of British interest organisations.⁴⁴ The Anglo Swedish comparison similarly engages with key Scandinavian scholarship which seeks to emphasise the importance of high trade union affiliation in countries with traditions of effective corporatist bargaining.⁴⁵ When defined empirically 'corporatism' is usually taken to refer to a form of social organisation in which corporate groups and the state make key economic, political and social decisions jointly. Following the adoption of a tripartite form of corporatism by many Western democracies since 1945, the mediation of interest between capital and labour has been examined almost singularly in the context of the relationship between the national employer association and trade union movement. In a comparison of two cities after 1945, whose respective national governments have both been identified with the pursuit of corporatist planning, it is not in the sphere of industrial relations alone that the different manifestations of the mediation of interest between capital and labour can be illustrated. Moreover, Malmö and Newcastle are not ideal case studies to examine the question of national divergences in industrial relations. Central attempts to reconstruct British industrial relations during the seventies do not adequately represent developments in Newcastle, which means that Malmö's characteristically Swedish, low strike rate before 1970 is of less interest to the comparison.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, this does not preclude an examination of the mediation of interest between capital and labour after 1945 outside the sphere of industrial relations. It is therefore the major social housing developments of each community, which provide an arena for examining this theme in the local political

processes. Nevertheless, having established the different ways in which both national Social Democratic and Labour parties emerged, apparent in the different relationship to capital, the labour movement and the different periodisation, the bearing these distinctions have on the local setting, need to be taken into account.

In Malmö the social democrats were elected to the council in 1919 and retained the majority until 1985. Sweden's first Union of Workers was formed in Malmö in 1882, and the first Socialist Women's Association was formed in the city. Furthermore, Axel Daniellson author of the first party programme lived and worked in Malmö. Unlike many other Swedish cities in this period, Danielsson was operating in an environment free of established Liberal opposition. He advocated socialism, which combined an espousal of 'self help strategies' with social reformism, but was also able to introduce an 'ideological motive' to the emergent Swedish Consumer Co-operation, (KF Solidar), in Malmö using Marxist social analysis.⁴⁷ In the course of the 1920s, however, social democrats Nils Person and Emil Olsson, were influential in undermining the initial Marxist impetus of the 'self help' strategy as increasingly, “ the party confined itself to improving the living conditions of the population within the framework of capitalism.”⁴⁸ The political activities of leading industrialists in Malmö have also been held responsible for the emergence of a local social democratic party lacking in genuine socialist commitment. In particular, individuals such as R. F. Berg, the director of Skånska Cement Factory, engaged in the negotiations between the employer federation and the confederation of blue-collar unions, which contributed to the 1906 central accord (December Compromise), an agreement that has been used to explain subsequently the national Social Democrats' tendency to eschew socialist strategies. Yet a centrally negotiated agreement was also clear testimony to the high degree of industrial unionisation in Malmö. In 1900 80% of the ship workers employed in Malmö were unionised. After a comprehensive strike in 1897, ship workers at Kockums had achieved wage leveling with full support of the Swedish Metal Workers Union. In the same year, a collectively negotiated agreement, accepted by management, was peculiar to Malmö because the individual 'patron-client'

system still prevailed elsewhere in the country. According to Stråth the agreement 'legitimised' union activity at Kockums, but also undermined their combative ambitions and subsequently facilitated increased productivity.⁴⁹ The same processes characterised the council's early intervention in housing, it is suggested. Prior to the expansion of social housing after 1945, local social democrats supported the existing co-operative movement in the city, in its provision of 'cost-rental housing'. The emphasis upon 'self-help', which support of the co-operative sector entailed, is also seen to be characteristic of the limited and restricted socialist ambitions of Malmö's early labour movement and Social Democratic Party.⁵⁰

In Newcastle the emergence of working class political representation is often seen relative to large scale industrial growth on the one hand and pre-existing political organisation on the other. Whilst the growth of labour movement associations in Newcastle's heavily industrialised West End, were a response to the predominance of industrial capitalists like Armstrong, they were not operating in the political vacuum available to their counterparts in Malmö. Prior to the emergence of an established Labour Party in Britain the working class in Newcastle, channeled their socialist/radical interests through the existing Liberal institutions⁵¹ The first man to pursue working class political representation in Newcastle was James Laird. A former leading member of the Manhood Suffrage Northern Political Union and President of Newcastle Trades Council, Laird was elected councilor for Elswick at a by-election in 1883. Early independent political progress though, is often perceived in terms of the concessions made by the Liberal elite.⁵² In the trade union movement, the resounding influence of the 'Lib/Lab alliance', is also seen as constraining the development of independent socialist political strategy. A conference of the national Labour Representation Committee was held in Newcastle in 1903. Of the 243 delegates, 199 were trade union representatives. The local delegate of the Shipwrights Union, Alexander Wilkie, also a member of the LRC Executive Committee, reflected the union attitude to independent socialist activity when speaking at the Newcastle conference, when he had apparently referred to the LRC as a 'special' offshoot of a general movement.⁵³ The

assertion suggests that unlike the Social Democratic Party in Malmö or Sweden, the trade union movement in Britain, both expressed and exercised propriety over a party they had established as a committee for their representation. The Labour Party in Newcastle, made substantial gains in the 1918 elections. Subsequently the growth and consolidation of independent working class 'socialism' in the city has been associated with the early politics of housing, specifically the debates over the prospective provision of social housing in working class areas such as Walker after 1919. D. Adams, then head of the Labour controlled council, campaigned with the support of important local working class organisations in favour of a municipal development, at the same time, however, Adams argued strongly against co-operative involvement.⁵⁴ Repeatedly the Labour Party in Newcastle appeared only to be making discernable progress when distancing itself markedly from existing alternatives. The local Labour Party's early appropriation of housing as both a political concern and means for defending the interests of the working classes, ensured that the provision of 'social' housing in the city, also became associated with the 'defensive' Labourist stance, which characterised both the national and local parties' early development.

In both Malmö and Newcastle, working class political representation is associated with the growth of large-scale industry. In subsequent scholarship both emergent local Social Democratic and Labour Parties are characterised by an absence of independent socialist strategy.⁵⁵ However it needs to be pointed out that the historic absence of genuine socialist strategy in main stream Labour politics in Newcastle, is attributed to the original influence of dominant Liberal interests, whilst in Malmö, it is the absence of Liberal influence, which is said to have diminished the need for a socialist counter offensive.⁵⁶ Since the focus of this chapter is in the post 1945 era, the purpose here is to move from this overarching similarity, provided by the relative absence of genuine socialist strategy (albeit for very different reasons), to a straightforward divergence. In Newcastle, the Labour Party rose to ascendance at the same time as the city's economic base began to falter, whereas in Malmö the Social Democrats presided over continuous growth for half a

century. In addition, Malmö played a definitive part in shaping national politics in the first half, of the twentieth century, but also after 1945. Many notable politicians, such as the future Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson, and Gustav Möller, Minister for Social Affairs during Hansson's administration, began their careers in Malmö. In the first half of the twentieth century in Newcastle, Arthur Henderson, councilor for a ward in Newcastle's 'West End', subsequently became leader of the national Labour Party.⁵⁷ The only local politician to achieve national acclaim since, was the leader of the council during the 1960s, Mr. T. Dan Smith.

Moreover, whilst the Labour Party's early advances in Newcastle can be compared to the Social Democrats' growth in Malmö prior to the Second World War, this was not sustained after 1945. In the post war period, the Labour party in Newcastle retreated from their initial gains. They lost their electoral majority in 1949, and were unable to regain control of the council until 1958. Although this can be seen as a particularity, when compared to the Social Democratic Party's consistent gains in Malmö, this was not unusual in a British context where many 'working class' strongholds for Labour, such as Coventry and Birmingham, did not sustain majority Labour councils until after 1945. In Newcastle this can be attributed to traditions of working-class conservative voting in wards such as Heaton, and to the existence of a sizeable middle class, relative to Malmö, but also to some resilience of Liberal loyalties, which had no counterpart in Malmö. After 1958 however, the Labour Party in Newcastle retained the electoral majority, but in 1967 they lost the municipal election and did not gain control of the council again before 1973.⁵⁸ Whilst there exists a continuity in the local Labour Party's concern for social housing in Newcastle, the intermittent electoral majorities have meant that this concern has rarely been translated into the realisation of long-term housing policy.

Table 3.1 Malmö Municipal Election Results 1942-62

Year	% poll	Social Democrats	Right	Liberals	Centre	Communist
1942	72.6	64.1	25.7	5.6		4.6
1946	79.2	52.9	26.7	10.7		9.6
1950	86.8	58.4	21.8	16.2	0.7	2.8
1954	86.7	53.3	27.6	16	0.2	2.9
1958	85.5	52.6	34.1	9.4	2.1	1.8
1962	85.3	57.8	26.9	10.3	3.2	1.8

Source: *Malmö Statistisk Årsbok 1942-62*

Table 3.2 Newcastle City Council Election Results 1950-67

Year	%voted	Soc./Labour	Conservative	Prog/Liberal	Independent	Communist
1950	33.3	47.21	51.24			
1952	-	47.49	44.5	6.0		
1958	39	52.7	31.5	15.8		
1961	40.3	49.59	47.07		2.58	0.93
1965	-	49	48.2			
1967	43	39	58	3		

Key: Soc/Lab= Socialists and Labour, Prog/Lib= Progressives and Liberals,

Source: *Newcastle Journal Local Election Digest 1950-67*

Combined with the Social Democrats' era of sustained electoral dominance after 1942, in the comparison with Newcastle, the polling percentages are noteworthy. In Newcastle the comparatively low levels of participation in municipal elections after 1945 requires attention to the growth of 'political dislocation' in the city, a theme that can also be addressed by establishing what the high rates of participation have meant in Malmö.⁵⁹

In the immediate post-war decades, the tendency towards consensus discernible in the nascent party in Malmö complemented the national Social Democrats' desire to coordinate increased productivity with extensive welfare commitments.⁶⁰ Seminal to this phase was the development of a comprehensive social housing policy stepped up after 1945, following the housing shortage produced by the scarcity of building materials during the Second World War and the rapid urbanisation that followed. In the light of the now discredited ambitions of large-scale macro-economic strategies, however, an important aspect of Swedish history in this period can be easily overlooked. In conjunction with state led planning, this was also an era in which local government was increasingly given the responsibility for the implementation of state programmes, particularly in housing.⁶¹ In many ways, the experience of the Social Democratic Party in Malmö between 1946 and 62 reflects the combined impact of these two developments.

In 1930, the Social Democratic Party in Malmö began publishing the electoral magazine *Malmö Vår Stad*, (Malmö Our City).⁶² Between 1942-62, the local authority's position concerning housing policy was frequently emphasised, particularly after 1950. In 1952, S.A Johansson, then Chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Malmö, summed up the direction of the party's policy by encouraging prospective voters to see Malmö as "a city, but also your home and your workplace".⁶³ S. A Johansson was a Social Democratic Party councilor in Malmö from 1940, but was local party Chairman between 1950 and 1962. Born in Kristianstad in 1892, his early political interests were established through his membership in the trade union, Handelsförbundet, which had its headquarters in Malmö. In 1925, in recognition of his extraordinary organising abilities, he was appointed

union ombudsman, and in 1946 became the union's chairman. After having served as a councilor since 1940, Handelsförbundet encouraged Johansson to stand for election as leader of the council, in the hope that he could promote labour movement interests in the party.⁶⁴

Johansson became leader of the council in 1952, but the ambitions of the union were thwarted, it seems, as once elected he effectively moved to relinquish his labour movement associations.⁶⁵ Symbolic of this move, it is argued, is the speech given by Johansson on the royal visit of Gustav VI Adolf to Malmö in 1952. In the notable suppression of his dialect, and the failure to emphasise Malmö's important position in the history of the Swedish labour movement, a desire to promote national interests over regional and local particularity has been detected.⁶⁶ Johansson's desire to see Malmö as a 'city, work place and a home' can therefore be viewed as a local endorsement of the national Social Democrats' 'People's Home' strategy, which was central to social democratic policy in the immediate post war decades.⁶⁷ The themes pertaining to regional dialect will be addressed subsequently but voting patterns in this period certainly suggest that the electorate were not experiencing any cultural or political centre periphery antagonism. What is more, given that many of the political developments indigenous to Malmö at the beginning of the twentieth century, later served as a blue print for the development of the national SAP, this local-national relationship is by no means a clear cut history of local subjugation to national interests. When Johansson retired in 1962, he received a letter from the leader of the opposition, celebrating his many contributions to the city. Nilsson applauded the development of a Planning Department and the subsequent publication of a strategic plan for the city (*Generalplan för Malmö*). The inauguration of Bulltofta Airport, the establishment of a centralised system for heating the city, the development of the teacher training college, social housing programmes and extensive slum clearance were also amongst his most notable achievements.⁶⁸

A parallel local political agenda can be detected in Newcastle's *Development Plan Review* published by the Town Planning Committee in 1963. The scope of the infrastructural changes the Development Plan pledged to carry out, suggest a similar emphasis on planning and also on the provision of social, recreational and cultural amenities that Johansson's chairmanship was synonymous with in Malmö. In Newcastle, these measures were nevertheless also part of an ongoing national attempt to reverse the uneven economic development since the emergence of regional policy during the 1930s. Perhaps the most important ambition of the *Development Plan* in Newcastle was the desire to reduce the proportion of slum housing in the city. In the words of the leader of the council at the time, this costly and formidable task was required to, "put right the legacy of Victorian prosperity".⁶⁹ In Malmö the shift in the local Social Democrats' political agenda away from predominantly industrial and labour movement issues, occurred in advance of the decline of the industrial base. Indeed much of the infrastructural investment, particularly in housing, was designed to pave the way for further economic expansion in the city.

If voting participation generally in Malmö was high in this period, a spatial analysis has revealed that concentrated support for the social democrats was associated with specific areas, and more precisely, areas that were examples of recent developments in housing. For instance in the municipal election in 1954, 94% of the largely working class electorate housed in the newly built Augustenborg voted overwhelmingly supporting the Social Democratic Party.⁷⁰ Given that Augustenborg was the first housing complex built by the new municipal housing company Malmö Kommunala Bostadsbolag (MKB) formed in 1948, the circumstances in which it was developed should fairly indicate what such high polling percentages in the city implied. Nonetheless, both MKB and Augustenborg should be related to national developments in social housing after the Second World War.

In the combined circumstances of a national housing shortage and completion of the Social Democrats' first decade in office, they developed the social housing policy, which provided a framework for the post war era.⁷¹ In 1942 the Swedish Parliament (Riksdag)

decided upon a supplementary loan system which would subsidise increased building whilst allowing the government to control tenure. Public housing companies including co-operatives were eligible for more than 95% in loans and subsidies for actual building costs, whilst owner occupiers had to provide at least 10 % of their own capital to be eligible. Local authorities were intended to initiate measures for increasing the proportion of 'cost rental' housing by ensuring that municipal firms were party to the same economic advantages as co-operatives.⁷² It needs to be recognised that whilst the first municipal housing schemes were initiated in Sweden after 1945, the other major provider of 'cost-rental' housing pre-dates the emergence of municipal companies. Sweden's largest housing co-operative HSB, (National Association of Tenants and Building Societies), was formed in 1923. HSB operated as a savings bank and as a central house planning and financing office, with affiliated local branches that were formed independently. Usually prospective tenants were required to buy shares from HSB, in excess of 5%.⁷³ Between 1924-1959, HSB built 150,000 flats in Sweden. For the comparison it is therefore crucial to note that HSB had already established a monopoly on the provision of 'cost rental' housing by the time municipalities such as Malmö established their own housing companies. Moreover, by the 1940s the central housing co-operative had established close ties with the national Social Democratic Party.⁷⁴ Whilst 'socialising' the housing market was also a focal point for the Swedish Social Democrats after 1945, in Sweden this development is not directly comparable the growing importance of state housing for the Labour Party in Britain, due in part to the absence of similar British developments in co-operative tenure.⁷⁵

Given the Social Democratic Party's historic orientation towards 'self help' in Malmö, it was well placed to profit from the direction of state led initiatives. Indeed prior to the formal establishment of the MKB, the local authority had been actively involved in developing a co-operative social housing policy, particularly during the 1930s and 1940s when the need to accommodate for the rising number of large families in the city increased significantly.⁷⁶ The council collaborated with private building companies to initiate the formation of independent local housing associations and co-operatives in this period. For

instance, following the completion of new flats in Svenstorp and Sofielund (just to the north of the central district of Innerstaden), in 1945 the council subsidised the initial 'tenant's ownership' (bostadsrätt) deposit, which paid for a substantial part of the construction costs. Tenants repaid the deposit over a period of fifteen years, after which direct involvement on the part of the council ceased, which created a housing association that less prosperous families in the city could afford without financing the initial capital outlay.⁷⁷ The development of the 'tenant's ownership', during the first half of the twentieth century, has become a widespread form of tenure in Sweden in the second half of the twentieth century, both in the form of housing associations affiliated to HSB, and individually established associations.⁷⁸

The benefits of creating a formal local authority housing company, based on similar principles, was first espoused by the social democratic councilor Axel. E. Svensson. Svensson argued that an official council housing company was needed to ensure that the city's housing market, "remained regulated against the force of the private sector".⁷⁹ Svensson's concern over the housing question was primarily to ensure that the private sector was prevented from impinging upon the standards of housing available to the less prosperous.⁸⁰ MKB was established with Svensson as its first director in 1948. The formation of MKB in Malmö, needs to be seen in the context of flourishing municipal socialism in the city, as the Billing and Stigendal thesis makes clear, but in the comparison with Newcastle it is also important to note that MKB was established as new building legislation was passed in 1948, which decentralised extensive house planning to the local authority.⁸¹ Whilst landowners retained the right of construction, in Malmö this did not pose severe problems because unlike Newcastle, the municipality had access to ample spare land. In Newcastle prominent local councilors of the post-1945 period, were later to lament the fact that the Labour government's Town and Planning Act of 1947 failed to provide local authorities with access to sufficient land on which to meet the increasing demands for new housing.⁸²

The construction of Augustenborg in Malmö began in 1948, and by 1954, the city's first municipally owned housing estate was completed. It was built to rehouse tenants previously housed in the privately rented sector situated in inner city areas, which had been subject to increased overcrowding since the 1930s. Given the aims of the national housing strategy Augustenborg provided both the local and national Social Democrats with an example of the successful deployment of state infrastructural resources. The new flats had modern amenities, absent from the older privately rented properties.⁸³ Moreover the principles advocated by Svensson ensured that tenants were paying cost-rental prices, which also confirmed the government's aim to keep rent at 1942 levels. The national intention to increase infrastructural investment was combined with an explicit desire to ensure that such investment could procure innovation in its local manifestation.⁸⁴ The high level of support the SDP received from the inhabitants in Augustenborg does suggest a successful mediation of national interest in the local environment.

Plate

3.1



Augustenborg Housing Estate in Malmö

Source: Malmö Stads Historia Del 7

During the sixties, the greatest expansion in housing tenure in Sweden occurred in the co-operative sector.⁸⁵ In Malmö, co-operatively built housing had witnessed significant expansion since the thirties. The relationship between the co-operative and the city's labour movement institutions was crucial in securing the dominance of the HSB as housing provider in this period. The co-operative was particularly well supported by the Metalworkers Union in Malmö following its decision to build flats for the Kockums workers during the post war housing shortage. The local branch of HSB negotiated an agreement with the company and the union in 1954, which committed Kockums to subsidising the initial deposit for employees willing to live in co-operative flats.⁸⁶ Such developments however, militated against the desire for a complete socialisation of the housing market expressed by the 'municipal socialists', who had established MKB. The government's stance had been confirmed by the 1953 decision to increase the quota of building work carried out by HSB rather than municipal companies. Svensson resigned as director of the local authority housing company the same year.⁸⁷ This was a crucial moment in the relationship between local politics and the housing questions in Malmö, particularly in comparison with Newcastle. The municipal socialists in Malmö did not share such a pronounced burden of 'putting right the legacy of Victorian prosperity' in housing, characteristic of their counterparts in Newcastle. Nonetheless, they were operating in an environment in which they had to compete with a centrally organised, state supported co-operative housing organisation, for the building quota in the arena of social housing. It is also interesting to note that the indigenous analysis of the conflict between the municipal socialists and co-operative leaders, assumes that the latter are representative of 'private interests'. This understanding of 'private' represents the very different circumstances, which pertain to the development of social housing in both cities after 1945.

The relationship between the Labour controlled council and important developments in social housing after 1945 in Newcastle, can similarly be placed in the context of the infrastructural intentions of the national Labour government elected in Britain in 1945. Whilst the post 1945 era was a watershed in the development of a comprehensive social housing programme in Britain, the first point of divergence, in an Anglo-Swedish context is the nineteenth century legacy of the overcrowding and the role played by the British private landlord. This legacy has been seen as seminal to understanding the relations between central and local government with regard to housing policy after 1945.⁸⁸ Aneurin Bevan the Labour government's minister responsible for housing, who saw the speculative builder as antipathetic to the concept of planning, held instead that local authorities could be used as instruments of state led programmes.⁸⁹ Unlike Swedish local authorities in this period, the involvement of local authorities in planning was largely an extension of central control.⁹⁰ Key studies of this period have confirmed that for certain local authorities the Labour administration's welfare program was implemented at the cost of a previously more innovative culture in local government.⁹¹

In Newcastle, the Labour government's centrally administered infrastructural plans and the implementation of regional policy have subsequently become synonymous with the infamous 'T.Dan Smith' era of local government. Mr. T. Dan Smith was born the son of a miner in Wallsend in 1915 and became a councillor in 1950.⁹² After the 1958 municipal election when Labour regained control of the council, he was elected leader of the council and Chairman of the Housing Committee. One of Smith's overriding aims was to undertake a comprehensive programme of slum clearance in some of the city's most derelict areas, specifically in the West End. Slum clearance in Newcastle, however, was not initiated by the Labour Party during the sixties, but should also be seen as a response to previous Conservative local authority measures. Slum clearance had commenced in Newcastle after the First World War, but was confined to the city centre. After 1945 the issue of slum clearance and municipal housing returned to the political agenda, following the proposal by the Labour controlled council to build 15,000 new council flats. Only

8,000 had been completed when the Progressives, (the Conservative dominated Conservative/Liberal alliance), returned to power in the council in 1949.⁹³ In 1951, the national Conservative administration encouraged local authorities to abandon minimum standards in public housing to facilitate cost effective expansion. 250,000 council houses were to be built nationally by 1953. In 1952, 458 people in Newcastle presented a petition to the city council expressing dissatisfaction with the quality of their housing. Between 1956-60 the Conservative council cleared the slums on Noble Street in the city's West End and built a new estate. The quality of the new Noble Street houses became a focal point for debate in local politics soon after completion. The estate comprised nineteen blocks of 3-5 storeys at Norwich Place in the Armstrong ward of the city's West End. The blocks were crowded together on the site and built on an east-west axis. As a result a deep shadow was cast between the rows of blocks and north-facing entrances were always in semi darkness.⁹⁴

Surveys carried out by the Noble Street Tenant Liason Committee and Community Campaign subsequently reflected tenant dissatisfaction with many aspects of the houses.⁹⁵ In 1960, however, Mr. Hepple, Labour councillor for the Armstrong ward, commented that at a recent meeting with tenants of the Noble Street Estate he had received, "extensive complaints about the exterior of the housing, but regarding the interiors there were no major complaints, just cleaning windows, draughty doors that sort of thing".⁹⁶ This re-enforces the enormity of the housing problems facing policy makers in Newcastle. In the year that tenants moved into the Noble Street estate, Mr. Collins the representative for the St Lawrence ward, indicated that there were at least 100 families in a ward of 2000 residents without an internal supply of water.⁹⁷ The buildings that the new Noble Street flats replaced were allegedly the worst slums the current Public Health Inspector in Newcastle had witnessed.⁹⁸ In the course of the sixties, the housing debate in Newcastle increasingly became a forum for local party political struggles. Shortly after becoming leader of the council, Smith asserted that the new Noble Street houses were so abhorrent that they constituted, "a blot on the name of any Corporation". These 1960's dwellings

were rapidly referred to as slums and were not the sort of image the Labour council intended for its own housing estates. Rather and by the means of the houses they were building and buying, Mr. T. Dan Smith and his party would ensure that a breath of fresh air would sweep through Newcastle's estates. It was to Scandinavia, that Smith was to turn for this breath of fresh air.⁹⁹

During the early 1960s considerable interest was being shown both in central and local government circles in the scope, which existed for the introducing the methods of industrialised housing to Britain, that had developed more rapidly in central Europe. This interest was also expressed in Newcastle, where "the association's Housing Committee are particularly interested in the extent to which speeding up of production and consequent economies can be achieved by the greater use of prefabricated methods of building and standardisation". Based upon the reports which the Housing Association's Committee had commissioned it was decided that the housing development which had taken place in Denmark and Sweden was more suitable for Newcastle's requirements, than that of the continent. Subsequently, the Newcastle Housing Committee proposed a visit to Stockholm, Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Malmö and with the help of authorities in Scandinavia arranged an itinerary for such a visit. The visit to Malmö was planned for the afternoon of the 18th of April 1963, which was to be devoted to viewing the construction of 'Heart Units' at Skånska Cement Gjuteriet. In the discussion of the Housing Committee that took place following the visit to Scandinavia, it is interesting to note, particularly in the light of his subsequent corruption charges that Mr. T. Dan Smith "declared an interest" and did not participate further.¹⁰⁰ Instead, Councillor J. Johnston referred to the visit and commented specifically on the unit of accommodation viewed at Skånska Cement Gjuteriet in Malmö. This unit had particularly impressed the Housing Committee, because it could be used to form the heart of any type of development. In May 1963 it was suggested that Skanska Cement Gjuteriet be asked, "to ship a complete unit of housing accommodation to Newcastle for erection within the city", and that they also be asked to furnish the cost.¹⁰¹

Two years earlier the city embarked on a building programme, which resulted in the construction of several blocks of high-rise municipal flats throughout the city. The local Member of Parliament and future government minister Edward Short opened the flats on April 28 1961. These flats were system built. They represented a radical departure from previous building in the city and were the first physical manifestation of Mr. T. Dan Smith's modern vision for Newcastle as the 'Brasilia of the North'. The highest concentration of flats were built in Cruddas Park, north of the Scotswood road, where some of the most thoroughgoing slum clearance programmes had taken place. The Cruddas Park flats were opened along with much fan-fare by Hugh Gaitskell in 1962, and the occasion was marked by the unveiling of a piece of 'avant garde' sculpture, ten feet high and made of concrete and steel. Similar flats were then planned for several other areas in the city such as Spital Tongues, in the north west of the city, High Heaton in the east and at the Montague Estate in the West.



Cruddas Park high rise flats in Newcastle

Source: W. Burns, *A Study of Re-planning at Newcastle* 1962

The decision to build had been taken in March 1961 at a meeting of the city's housing committee. According to the minutes, eight building firms were invited to tender. At a meeting on September 7 1961, from which Smith was absent, three additional firms, including the Scottish construction company Crudens, were also invited to tender for two of the three sites. Despite the misgivings expressed by members of the housing committee regarding the quality of the company's work, the entire contract was awarded to Crudens. Subsequently it transpired that Smith had an undeclared interest in the company as a result of recently undertaken public relations work. In 1962, councilor Tom Collins previously vice chairman of the Housing Committee resigned, which according to Smith was due to pressure of work. Collins, however, revealed later that he had felt under undue pressure from Smith to accept the Crudens tender.¹⁰² In 1969, Smith was brought to trial in Leeds accused of having collaborated with the GMBU boss and prominent Tyneside councillor Andy Cunningham to award building grants to big national firms from whom they received large sums of money in commission.¹⁰³

Corruption in local politics is not the focus of this chapter since it does not address adequately the relationship between politics and housing in the city. Smith's political ambitions were not problematic simply because of corruption, but also highlighted the difficulties involved in reducing overcrowding in Newcastle. Regional policy anticipated that local authorities would be responsible for radical infrastructural improvements, which could only be administered nationally. Whilst Malmö's perspective suggests that it was the dominance of co-operative interests, which undermined their nascent experiments in municipal socialism, in Newcastle, Mr. T. Dan Smith's attempt to breathe fresh Scandinavian air into Newcastle's social housing, was undermined in part, by the absence of an alternative provider of 'cost rental' housing. As regards reducing overcrowding and replacing slums, in Newcastle the only choice available to a Labour council during the 1960s, was to build municipally.

The relationship between the local authority and the local co-operative provider in Malmö was brought into sharper focus in 1950 when the director of HSB in the city, Oscar Stenberg, was elected leader of the council. Like his predecessor, Stenberg was keen to ensure the harmonious combination of traditional social democratic interests with policy, which would profit economic progress. In the social democratic electoral pamphlet for 1966 Stenberg emphasised that purchasing land for industrial development and housing, was a reflection of the municipality's support for the city. Stenberg stressed that in the circumstances of the rapidly growing resources, produced by the close collaboration of 'economic' and 'social' interests, the role of the local authority was to provide increased security for all, primarily through the provision of houses.¹⁰⁴ The conservative opposition at the time argued that spending vast resources buying land in an attempt to control market speculation the city would deplete resources necessary for social security.¹⁰⁵ Although the Social Democrats did not lose an election before 1985 in 1966 the social democratic majority was nearly equalled by the conservative inspired alliance 'Samling i Malmö' who gained 42.1% of the vote. But in 1966 the city's own disposable income increased to a record 1 billion 6.6 million Swedish crowns, therefore the majority party still had no reason to doubt the buoyant prognosis given that the city was still in a sound financial position, largely because it could levy its own taxes.¹⁰⁶

Subsequently, and particularly following the contraction of the city's industrial base, the divisions which were beginning to emerge at the end of the sixties were heightened and the political accord that characterised the early years, gave way to distinctly polarised political positions, particularly as regards housing.¹⁰⁷ During the mid 1960s however, Stenberg, as director of HSB and leader of the city council in Malmö, had successfully combined the 'social' and the 'economic', without seeming to undermine social democratic principles, since social housing had never been associated exclusively with municipal ownership. In Newcastle the framework in which local government implemented municipal housing was also complicated by a severe land shortage. All new houses built following slum clearance had to use existing sites.¹⁰⁸ However, Smith's flirtation with prefabrication, more

importantly the fact that he was actually employed by the company, which underpinned the development of a fordist economy in Malmö is significant to the comparison. On the face of it, the local and national political and economic circumstances in which both cities developed social housing are quite distinct and therefore it is quite possible to provide many plausible explanations for why prefabrication was not as extensively and successfully pursued in the construction of social housing in Newcastle. That Smith looked abroad to pioneers in Malmö, confirms that by the 1960s, the British construction industry still tended to be made up of small local enterprises, which had been criticized already in the early 1940s for not being efficient and productive enough to meet the demand for extensive re-housing that followed slum clearance.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the related political ambition, which underpinned the rationalization of the construction industry in Malmö, which was to undermine speculative builders, was never as politicized as the British Labour Party's struggle with the private land-lord. In addition, the Swedish Social Democrats were endowed with HSB as a blueprint for how to undermine speculative builders, in a manner that was not overtly political. Moreover they were aided a less historic slum problem and possessed an integrated Keynesian economy by this stage. The latter contributed to a degree of continuity in housing construction, which Newcastle's officials were bereft of, both at the local and national level.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, the fact that Mr. T. Dan Smith attempted to import elements of the 'Swedish model' for prefabricated social housing to Newcastle suggests that the developments in this period are not entirely distinct.

In Malmö, the successful mediation of the interests of capital and labour in the arena of social housing compared to the political difficulties, which the provision of social housing produced in Newcastle, are clarified by the case study, which the construction of Rosengård provides. Paradoxically, it is also Rosengård that brings to light the shortcomings of this strategy in Malmö. Rosengård was built between 1967-74 and is still Malmö's youngest suburb because unlike Augustenborg it was built on new land, north of the city's most northern suburbs.¹¹¹ The 1960s are now recognised as something of a

watershed for Sweden's construction industry, primarily because of the stimulus provided by the Social Democratic Party's 'Million Dwellings' programme. The proposal to build a million dwellings in ten years meant that system building in large series was prioritised and special emphasis was assigned to the provision of family flats.¹¹² Between 1968-79, Malmö built 12,604 flats and planned to build a total of 21,858 by 1970.¹¹³ When completed, Rosengård provided flats for over 20,000 individuals. It was built collaboratively by MKB and HSB and the private builder's corporation, Malmö Byggmästares Gemensamma Bygg (BGB).

The area is situated either side of Amiralsgatan, which is the main road from central Malmö. In the middle of the estate, straddling Amiralsgatan, Rosengård Center, was built. This complex comprised shops, community centers, social welfare offices, a church, youth clubs and a gymnasium. Rosengård Center also contained indoor and outdoor swimming pools, an athletics field and a junior school. Elsewhere in the estate, the primarily family flats combined 3,6 and 9 storey buildings, grouped in four subsections each with their own pre-school, daycare centre and children's playground. The houses were built using a combination of traditional brick and prefabricated methods. Rosengård Center and the schools were wholly prefabricated buildings.¹¹⁴

Rosengård can be characterised as the pinnacle of Swedish modernity, as it manifested itself in the city of Malmö. The architectural style, dominated by straight poured concrete lines and prefabricated high-rise, was testimony at the local level to the ability to carry through part of the ambitious national desire to build a 'Million Dwellings', in ten years. This was also clearly evidence of Skanska's own work in pioneering the 'all concrete method'. The open collaboration between MKB, HSB, and BGB, in turn provides evidence of the relations between capital and labour that did not underpin the provision of social housing in Newcastle. At the outset of the construction process, Oscar Stenberg, confidently assured the city that the municipality had purchased enough land to facilitate a continuous supply of housing until 1980.¹¹⁵ This would attend to the city's 'social' needs

by controlling rent increases and market speculation, whilst simultaneously securing economic growth by stimulating demand for the city's construction companies.

If Rosengård was intended to be a catalyst in realising a social democratic ambition in housing and economy, it came rapidly to represent the very shortcomings of this agenda. Despite the Planning Department's insistence that Rosengård combined 'thorough' planning, with careful consideration of tenant's needs, a survey carried out already in 1974, indicated that many of the new tenants had been dissatisfied from the outset.¹¹⁶ Tenants expressed dislike of the monotonous architectural style, specifically the preponderance of straight lines and high rise. Similarly the concentration of all the services in the Rosengård Centre was singled out for criticism as it left the rest of the estate lacking sufficient meeting points. Whilst planners viewed Amiralsgatan as a distinguishing feature, which provided easy access to the city, here to tenants expressed dislike of the way in which the main road divided the estate into two halves.^{117 118}

Soon after it was completed Rosengård was also singled out for criticism in the local academic debate.¹¹⁹ Much of the criticism was leveled at extent to which planners and architects were left to operate independently, without adequate accountability either to prospective tenants or to local government. It has been suggested that whilst Rosengård was incorporated into the 1956-60 strategic plan for the city, with elected city planners officially responsible for its development, in reality MKB, HSB and BGB controlled the planning process quite independently. In the subsequent diatribe against the quality of the houses built in Rosengård, the dominance of the private building corporation over the construction process has been singled out, particularly since Skanska was the major builder for BGB.¹²⁰ Others argued that Rosengård represented misguided attempt by the Social Democratic government, to control the economy through housing politics.¹²¹ The belief that the city's historic political accord could be sustained by increasing housing supply was undeniably challenged following the construction of Rosengård. Throughout the seventies the question of how to manage the growing problem of 'difficult to let' MKB

flats in the estate, was central to the municipal debate.¹²² In November 1973, there were 1,163 empty flats in Rosengård.¹²³ Prominent politicians conceded that empty flats reflected a trend towards migration from the city, and that social democratic attempts to 'build away the housing crisis had ultimately emphasised quantity at the expense of the physical environment in Malmö'.¹²⁴



Plate 3.3
Rosengård Estate in Malmö

Source: Natasha Vall, personal collection

Rosengård therefore represents an important point of departure for social democracy in Malmö. During the seventies the social democrats began to suffer electoral losses both in Malmö and nationally. Following more than fifty years of unquestioned dominance, the Social Democratic Party in Malmö was notably bewildered by the changing political climate. Party officials attributed low levels of political participation in areas like Rosengård to the growth of anonymity and isolation in the city. Electoral losses in older areas, such as Möllevången, which had been crucial to the party's early strength, were less easy to account for.¹²⁵ In 1985, the success of the populist Skåne Party in the municipal elections in Malmö helped to pull the Social Democratic Party out of power in Malmö after 66 years.¹²⁶ The rise of the regionalist Skåne Party will be explored in the comparison with north east regionalism in chapter six.

Table 3.3: Municipal Elections in Malmö 1966-85

Year	% voted	SDP	Mod.	Folk Parti	Center Parti	VPK Komm	Sam. i Malmo	Mitten	Skåne Partiet
1966	86.4	49.1	-	-	-	4.5	42.7	3.6	
1970	88.7	51.5	16.4	16.8	11.5	2.8			
1973	90.4	49.4	19.6	7.7	18.6	3.5			
1976	89.3	47.8	22.9	11.2	12.8	3.5			
1979	87.5	47.2	27.6	10.7	7.3	4.2			1.5
1982	88	49.2	30.7	5.2	6.2	4.3			1.6
1985	86.4	41.9	29.1	10.9	3.3	4			7.2

Source *Malmö Statistik Årsbok: 1966-85*

Key: SDP=Social Democrats, Folk Partiet = Liberals, Centre = Centre, (previously Agrarian Party), VPK = Vanster Partiet Kommunisterna, The Left Party Communists, Samling I Malmö = Conservative Alliance, Mitten = Liberal



Plate 3.4
Rosengård Estate in Malmö
Source: Natasha Vall, personal collection

Table 3.4: Newcastle City Council Elections 1970-87

Year	% Polling	Labour	Con.	Lib.	Other
1970	32.7				
1973	29.3	52.1	41.0	2.8	4.1
1976	37.6	42.9	42.9	13.0	2.1
1979	69.8	50.2	39.1	9.3	1.4
1982	38.6	37.3	30.5	30.7	1.6
1984	39.7	45.5	28.8	24.6	1.1
1987	45.8	46.1	26.1	27.0	0.8

Source: *Newcastle Journal Elections Digest 1970*

1973-85 Statistical Digest of Local Elections in the UK Rally & Woodward 1993

The absence of an equally long period of electoral dominance in Newcastle should not be allowed to obscure the significance of the election loss suffered by the local Labour Party in 1967. The 1967 municipal elections need to be seen in the context of the re-development of Byker, in Newcastle's East end, which commenced when Mr. T. Dan Smith was still leader of the Labour controlled council. Following the submission of the report of the Chief Sanitary Inspector to the Insanitary Property Subcommittee on the 13th April 1953, a new programme of slum clearance was planned for Newcastle. 9,7000 buildings were to be cleared, of which 1,175 were situated in Parker Street in the Byker ward in the east of the city.¹²⁷ In 1960 the Ministry of Housing and local Government requested that local authorities were to prepare clearance plans for the period following the expiry of their current programmes.

Byker was built originally in the late nineteenth century, to house the area's large working class population. It was incorporated into Newcastle's boundaries in 1835 with Heaton,

Elswick and Westgate. Originally it was laid out in a grid iron pattern which ignored topography and provided no open spaces, in order to accommodate a dense population.¹²⁸ The standard of houses was characteristic of the small vernacular Tyneside flat.¹²⁹ At the time of the survey carried out by Peter Malpass for the city council during the 1960s, some original households still possessed no internal supply of hot water.¹³⁰ One of the striking features detected by the report was that in the sixties the area had retained a 'close knit community', in which a spirit of 'mutual help' still prevailed.¹³¹ According to Malpass, local Labour politics and planning in this period, dominated by Mr. T. Dan Smith's 'explicit interventionism', failed to realise the significance of this sense of 'community' in Byker. Whilst national slum clearance plans were characteristically cautious, the election of Mr. T Dan Smith as leader of the City council had resulted in the implementation of radical measures for redevelopment, which were unpopular amongst many of the residents of 'old' Byker.¹³² Most disconcerting in an area like Byker, were proposals to reduce population density. Byker had previously comprised an area of 264.5 acres housing approximately 25,000 residents. The 1961 proposals for Byker intended to reduce the plot to 223 acres and crucially entailed a reduction to just over 17,000 residents.¹³³ This implied that a large proportion of the population of 'old' Byker, were to be re-housed elsewhere. In 1966 the Planning Department produced a document called *Byker Neighbourhood: Guidelines for Redevelopment*. In this document priority was given firmly to the redevelopment of larger houses and flats. Indeed, in accordance overall policy, it was stipulated that 76% of the re-developed houses were to have four or more habitable rooms. What this neglected to appreciate was that Byker, like much of Newcastle, had a large proportion of small households containing few people by the 1960s.¹³⁴ Whilst the public rationale behind the plans to build larger flats reflected the perception that an excess of small units had been a significant cause of Newcastle's housing problems, these proposals implied that houses in Byker were being re-developed without the existing population in mind.

A year after the initial report for the re-development of Byker had been submitted, the council in Newcastle had become Conservative.¹³⁵ Moreover, the Conservatives had caused some consternation by gaining a seat in Byker, which had been a traditional stronghold of the local Labour Party vote.¹³⁶ In 1968 the Planning Officer and Housing Architect of the Conservative council submitted a joint report to the Housing and Town Planning Committees. The 1968 report emphasised the need to incorporate 'community spirit' in Byker's re-development.¹³⁷ The conservative candidate for Byker ward was Alan Page, former Chairman of Newcastle Central Young Conservatives. He had been educated at Heaton Grammar School and Durham University and was about to embark on a teaching career when he won the seat in Byker.¹³⁸

" Byker has never had a Conservative Councillor and on Thursday May 9th you have a chance to change that. We all want to live in an area free of slums, free from vast stretches of wasteland that are unfit to live in. We want good housing and pleasant surroundings, modern school buildings for our children and new community facilities. The community spirit, which existed in Byker for over a century, should not be broken. Houses to be built in the area should be for people in Byker who want to continue their lives in the area in which they were born and not scattered to Longbenton and other new housing estates.¹³⁹

Page was able to use the absence of a previous Conservative victory in Byker to capitalise upon local dissatisfaction with Labour's plans for re-development. This represented a departure from previous Conservative housing policy, which since 1951 was formulated to prioritise home ownership, by reducing standards in municipal housing. However, dissatisfaction with previous Labour re-development in Newcastle, produced an uncharacteristic emphasis on new municipal developments amongst the local Conservative Party, represented by Page in Byker. The victory committed the Conservative council both to allowing those residents wishing to remain in Byker to do so, but also to ameliorate the previous redevelopment plans.

During the summer of 1968 the leader of the Conservative council, Alderman Arthur Grey had been introduced to the English architect Ralph Erskine, who had been living and practicing in Sweden since before the Second World War.¹⁴⁰ Grey was very positive to Erskine's style of architecture, primarily because it could be contrasted to the monotony of so much previous municipal housing. In the spring of 1969 Erskine was appointed as the architect responsible for designing the houses for Byker.¹⁴¹ An important principle underpinning Erskine's style of architecture was that designing buildings should, where possible, incorporate public and prospective resident participation. According to Charles Jencks, this made the redevelopment of Byker the "most humane public housing in the world." Apparently, the participatory process allowed the architect to, "get closer to the meanings and codes of the inhabitants".¹⁴² This conclusion is a little ironic, given that many tenants subsequently expressed dissatisfaction with the front doors, which, like Swedish doors, were designed to open outwards. The numerous doors that were subsequently replaced for the inward opening variety, reflect some areas, in which the architect was clearly not able to decipher the 'the meanings and codes' of the prospective inhabitants, from this participatory process.¹⁴³

By 1969, there was urgent desire in Byker to see evidence of some progress. Given the protracted political struggles regarding the housing, tenants expressed a desire to be rehoused as quickly as possible. Moreover a clearance policy, as opposed to modernisation, had been accepted by this stage. In recognition of this aspect of local opinion, Erskine had given an assurance that houses would be under construction by the end of 1970.¹⁴⁴ In Byker, the perimeter block, known locally as the Wall, reflects both the challenges posed by redeveloping the area, and the subsequent achievements. The site enjoys a south facing aspect and utilises an interesting formation of low and medium rise units, which also incorporate brightly painted wood and plastic materials, "breaking down a Modernist slab block into a more domestic scale".¹⁴⁵ The estate was also revolutionary in its use of plants

and shrubs. These aspects have contributed to the national acclaim and media attention Byker has received.¹⁴⁶ They also represent an attempt to incorporate ambitious architectural features into large-scale housing programmes, which in turn implies costly maintenance. In recent years, and largely due to central government cut backs in local government resources, Byker has not been adequately maintained and flats have also become 'difficult to let'.



Source: Northumbria University Slide Library



Community Architecture in Newcastle
Source: Northumbria University Slide Library

In conclusion of this chapter, it needs to be emphasised that the cases of Byker and Rosengård crystallise the political processes, which the provision of social housing reflects in both cities. Innovation in local social housing in Newcastle, was complicated by several features, which the Labour Party's counterparts in social democratic Malmö were not faced with. Perhaps most striking, is the combination of a more thoroughgoing need for slum clearance in the British city and a highly politicised land shortage problem, which the comparison brings to light. Byker is paradoxical because this experiment in community architecture was not the product of political accord, or a degree of continuity in the evolution of social housing, rather it reflected the extent to which in Newcastle, even positive developments in social housing, tended to emerge out of reactionary politics. Rosengård is similarly interesting, because whilst the period 1945-65 illustrates that Malmö had the political means with which to combine consistent electoral success with the expansion of the housing supply, Rosengård demonstrated that this political accord, could subsequently not be retained by simply expanding the housing supply. Nevertheless, what this chapter has not taken into account, is how changes in population structure have impacted upon local political and economic circumstances and it is this theme, which chapter four is concerned with.

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- ¹ N. Vall op.cit p. 64
- ² C. Hellström *Skånska Cement Gjuteriet Skånska 1937-1987* (1987) p. 21
- ³ Report of the Committee as to the visit of the municipal corporation's Housing Committee to Scandinavia Newcastle City Council Minutes March 20th 1963 p. 1099
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ D. Byrne 'The North East: What sort of Future?' in R.Colls & B Lancaster (eds.) op.cit p. 39 & 50
- ⁶ K. Hansen 'The Municipality between Central State and Local self-government: Towards a New Municipality'. *Local Government Studies* Vol. 23. No 4 (1997) pp 44-69
- ⁷ P. Billing, M. Stigendal & L.Olsson, "Malmö Our Town": Local Politics in Social Democracy' in Misgeld, Molin & Amark (eds.) op.cit pp 271-307
- ⁸ Following the election victory, both nationally and in Malmö, of the Social Democrats in 1994, Malmö City Council devolved local government further by establishing ten autonomous departments within the Council, aiming to increase the proximity between political decision making and the community. M. Stigendal *Sociala värden I olika sociala världar, delrapport 4.* (1997) p.10
- ⁹ K. Shaw 'The Politics of Public v Private Partnerships in Tyne and Wear', *Northern Economic Review*, vol. 19, 1991 p.3
- ¹⁰ F. Kjellberg 'Local Government Reorganisation and the Development of the Welfare State' *Journal of Public Policy* vol.5, no.2 (1985) pp. 40-42
- ¹¹ A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue. A Study of Moral Theory* (1981) pp. 274-6
- ¹² C. Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (1971) p. 4 This methodological issue will be explored further in chapter seven
- ¹³ Theda Skocpol & Margaret Somers (1980), op.cit p. 193
- ¹⁴ The shared contraction of the respective industrial bases, and higher than national levels of unemployment are not difficult to discern.
- ¹⁵ See Tables 3.1,3.2,3.3 & 3.4.
- ¹⁶ For this aspect of comparative historical methodology see J. Breuilly op. cit. pp 1-26
- ¹⁷ V. Bergström, 'Party Program and Economic Policy' in Misgeld, Molin & Amark (eds.) op. cit. p. 145
- ¹⁸ C. Wrigley *The British Trade Unions 1945-1995* (1997) p. 2
- ¹⁹ SAP Conference Minutes 1944 p. 35. cited V. Bergstrom op.cit. cit. p. 146
- ²⁰ V. Bergstrom ibid, K. Morgan *Labour in Power 1945-1951* (1987). p 146
- ²¹ K. Morgan op. cit. p 8
- ²² K. Morgan op cit. p. 146
- ²³ H. Pelling *The Origins of the Labour Party* (1954) p.192-228
- ²⁴ British Labour History particularly was dominated for some time by successive attempts to explain the absence of an independent working class political movement following the decline of Chartism. In particular Anderson and Nairn argued that the British working class were subject to 'ideological containment', which aside from being a comparative statement on the influence of non-conformism on the early Labour Party, has also been identified as an implicit attack of the political compromise associated with the Wilson administration. See J. Breuilly op cit. pp 135-6 for methodological critique of this argument.
- ²⁵ The substantial proportion of the British manual working class that have voted Conservative during the twentieth century, has prompted numerous works on the nature of 'working class conservatism', most notably R. McKenzie *Angels in marble: working class Conservatives in urban England* (1968) in addition M. Pugh *The Making of Modern British Politics 1867-1939* (1982) p. 83 & pp 86-7
- ²⁶ The SAP was formally established in 1889. For a more detailed account of the early history of the Swedish Social Democrats, see R. Karlbom *Revolution eller reformer: studier I SAPs historia* (1985)

- ²⁷ G. Therborn 'A Unique Chapter in the History of Social Democracy: The Social Democrats in Sweden' in Misgeld Molin & Åmark (eds.) op cit. pp 6-7. G. Therborn defines a class situation as the separation of capitalistic wage labour from personal services, which provides the stimulus for collective forms of action.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ See particularly J. Fulcher (1994) op.cit and J. Pontusson *Swedish Social Democracy and British Labour: Essays on the Nature and Condition of Swedish Social Democratic Hegemony* (1988). p 17
- ³⁰ P. Billing, L. Olsson & M. Stigendal, op cit. pp 271-307
- ³¹ R. Nodin *Tiden* (1980) p. 90
- ³² R. Nodin op cit. p 106
- ³³ J. Pontusson, 'Radicalisation and Retreat in Swedish Social Democracy' *New Left Review* (1987) p 8
- ³⁴ Ibid
- ³⁵ D. Childs, *Britain since 1945: a Political History* (1992) pp 24-29
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ J. Fulcher op cit. p 50
- ³⁸ H. Pelling op.cit p. 237
- ³⁹ Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society, England Since 1880* (1989) pp 213-215
- ⁴⁰ In their thesis P. Billing and M. Stigendal argue that the 1906 'December Compromise' provided a platform for the spread of Fordism in Sweden which was the basis of the 'real wage capitalist' phase of exceptional growth during the fifties and sixties in Malmö.
- ⁴¹ It needs to be added that whilst Britain was more strike prone than Sweden in this period, the country did not lose anywhere near as many days through strikes as countries such as Italy, France and Ireland after 1945, and whilst the 1970s were worse, this decade also saw a significant increase in the strike rate in Sweden. C. Wrigley op. cit p. 25, tables 1,2 & 3
- ⁴² G. Ingham *Strikes and Industrial Conflict: Britain and Scandinavia* (1974) pp 21-23, Ingham contrasted the extraordinary strength of the Swedish Employer Federation, which dominates and determines employer policy on labour relations, with the absence of equivalent bargaining powers in the CBI. The assumption though, that Sweden's industrial infrastructure determines the degree of employer unity has been subject to criticism. P. Jackson and K. Sissom 'Employers confederations in Sweden and the UK and the significance of industrial infrastructure' *British Journal of Industrial Relations* (1976) 14 pp 306-23 argue that Ingham does not pay sufficient attention to the impact, which repressive legislation by the British state has had on the comparative evolution of employers confederations in both countries
- ⁴³ J. Fulcher (1994) op.cit
- ⁴⁴ K. Middlemas, *Politics in Industrial Society: The British Experience since 1911* (1979) ch 13 passim. Middlemas argues that British interest organisations were inherently biased against institutionalised bargaining and preferred informal negotiations
- ⁴⁵ J. Pontusson op cit. (1988) p. 17
- ⁴⁶ Following the Second World War the politics of production in Newcastle have been dominated primarily by unemployment
- ⁴⁷ I. Millbourn. *Rätt till Maktlighet. Om den Svenska Socialdemokratins Lärprocess 1855-1902* (1990)
- ⁴⁸ P. Billing, L. Olsson & M. Stigendal op.cit p 284, Gunnar Oloffson also makes this point in G. Oloffson *Mellan Klass och Stat. Om Arbetarrörelse, Reformism och Social Demokrati.* (1979) p. 156, in which he argues that individuals such as Nils Persson are key to understanding the nature of the Swedish Labour movement. Under his leadership in Malmö, the unions lost their Marxist affiliation since he placed them between 'class and state', which instead caused the re-emergence of dominant agrarian and temperance influences.
- ⁴⁹ B. Stråth, *Varvsarbetare I två Varvstäder. Svensk Varvindustri under 100 år* (1982), p. 339.
- ⁵⁰ P. Billing, L. Olsson & M. Stigendal, op cit. p. 288
- ⁵¹ BCDP *The Making of the Ruling Class* op.cit p.39
- ⁵² I. Hunter, 'Labour in Local Government on Tyneside 1883-1921', in M. Calcott (ed.) *Working Class Politics in the North East* (1983) p. 32
- ⁵³ T. Barrow, 'The Labour Representation Committee Conference at Newcastle upon Tyne 1903' in M. Calcott & R. Challinor (eds.) op.cit p. 40
- ⁵⁴ I. Hunter, in M. Calcott & R. Challinor (eds.) op.cit p. 35

- ⁵⁵ Although as Ian Hunter argues, support for the ILP on Tyneside mirrors the national development, specifically with the support drawn from railway workers, neither the ILP, nor the Labour Party had widespread support on Tyneside before 1918
- ⁵⁶ P. Billing & M. Stigendal & L. Ohlsson, op cit. p 277
- ⁵⁷ C. Wrigley, *Arthur Henderson* (1990)
- ⁵⁸ See Figure 3.3
- ⁵⁹ It is also worth pointing out that the different national electoral systems clearly have an impact upon local democracy. In Sweden, which has proportional representation, each individual vote carries more significance than is the case under the current British 'first past the post system'. Moreover, in Sweden, local elections are always held on the same day as national elections. This was not the case in Newcastle or other British local authorities, where until recently local elections were held in November and national elections in May. When local elections have been held on the same day as national elections, as in 1979 and in 1997, participation rates in local elections have been significantly higher. See figures for 1979 in table 3.4
- ⁶⁰ P. Billing & M. Stigendal argue that the specifics of the local social democrats furnished the party in Malmö with the aptitude to capitalise extensively on national corporatist planning, which accounts for the rapid growth between 1950-70.
- ⁶¹ A. Gustavsson op.cit, although Gustavsson indicates that issues of employment and labour market, were increasingly transferred from the local to the national after 1940, this should not be allowed to obscure the consistent trend, particularly in contrast to Britain, towards decentralisation from the state to the regional and municipal level. p 19
- ⁶² *Malmö Var Stad 1930-62*
- ⁶³ S. A. Johansson, *Malmö Var Stad 1952*.
- ⁶⁴ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit. p 270
- ⁶⁵ A list of the political decisions taken by Johansson 1950-62 is provided in P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit. p. 270
- ⁶⁶ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op cit. p. 271, the evidence for the suppression of his dialect is taken from an official recording of Johansson's speech in 1952.
- ⁶⁷ 'The People's Home' was the political slogan launched by the Social Democrats by Per. Albin Hansson in 1928 which in terms of the direction of Social Democratic strategy has since been described as promoting welfare, particularly housing and employment but ensuring that expansion would not inhibit capitalist growth. See G. Esping Andersen *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1989) pp 11-31
- ⁶⁸ S.A Johansson's Roda Box, fran C. A Nilsson 1962
- ⁶⁹ City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne *Development Plan Review 1963* p. 24
- ⁷⁰ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op. cit. appendix 3.2
- ⁷¹ J. Kemeny *The Myth of Home Ownership: Private Versus Public Choices in Housing Tenure* (1980) p. 95
- ⁷² SOU 1945:63 p. 174-75
- ⁷³ P. Wendt *Housing Policy: the Search for Solutions. A comparison of the United Kingdom, Germany and Sweden* (1962) p. 88
- ⁷⁴ T. Strömberg, 'The politicisation of the Housing Market' in Misgeld Molin & Amark (eds.) op cit. p. 254, Sven Wallander, the director of HSB during the forties, was influential in negotiating the post 1942 loan legislations.
- ⁷⁵ The historic division between the dominance of owner occupation in the Conservative Party and state housing in the Labour Party is said to have precluded the emergence of co-operative tenure since, "The communitarian philosophy at the heart of the cooperative ideal has not appealed to the poles of individualism or municipal collectivism". B. Lund *Housing Problems and Housing Policy* (1990) p. 91
- ⁷⁶ *Arbetet* Tuesday February 27 1945
- ⁷⁷ *Arbetet* Tuesday February 27 1945
- ⁷⁸ HSB *Bostad I Samverkan* (1989) p. 7
- ⁷⁹ A. E. Svensson, Letter to the Leader of the City Council 1945.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.

- ⁸¹ T. Kalbro *Urban Land and Property Markets in Sweden* (1995) ch 1 passim
- ⁸² Mr. T. Dan Smith 'Thatcherism is legalised Poulsonism' *The Guardian* Saturday November the 22nd 1986 p. 11
- ⁸³ Plans for Augustenborg and other housing developments in Malmö during the forties drew inspiration from Lewis Mumford's ideas about neighbourhood communities in city planning. P. Billing & M. Stigendal, op cit. p. 198
- ⁸⁴ *Aktiv Kommunal Politik. Fakta och Debatt Skriftelse fran Sveriges Social Demokratiska Arbetarparti och Tidsforlag 1952*
- ⁸⁵ J. Kemeny, op cit. p 54
- ⁸⁶ P. Billing & M. Stigendal, op cit. p 267
- ⁸⁷ P. Billing & M. Stigendal, ibid
- ⁸⁸ Although much of Malmö's housing developments in the sixties also emphasised the clearance of derelict housing in the city, there exists a more mature history of overcrowding in Newcastle. See W. Lancaster. (ed.) *Working class Housing on Tyneside* pp 1-5
- ⁸⁹ Donnison & Ugerson, *Housing Policy* p 142
- ⁹⁰ B. Lund, (1991) op.cit, Lund argues that this was characteristic of the Fabian approach in which welfare provision was never intended to be synonymous with the recipient's involvement in that provision. p. 7
- ⁹¹ S. Goss in the study of the Labour dominated Southwark, aims to show that local government there lost many of its previous functions in the immediate post war period and more importantly became increasingly reliant on state funding. *Local Labour in Local Government. A Study of the changing interests, politics and Policy in Southwark 1919-1982* (1988) p. 171
- ⁹² Smith himself was not a miner, but the owner of a very lucrative painting and decorating company, called 'Smiths Decorators'. *Newcastle upon tyne Official Industrial and Commercial Guide 1961*, p. 202
- ⁹³ BCDP Final Report Series N. 4 *Slums on the Drawing Board* p. 4
- ⁹⁴ BCDP Final Report Series N. 4 *Slums on the Drawing Board* p. 4
- ⁹⁵ *Slums on the Drawing Board* op.cit. p.21
- ⁹⁶ Mr. Hepple Newcastle City Council Minutes March 15th 1961 pp. 1031-1050
- ⁹⁷ Mr. Collins Newcastle City Council Minutes March 15th 1961 pp. 1031-1050
- ⁹⁸ *Slums on the Drawing Board* op cit. p. 6
- ⁹⁹ Mr.T. Dan Smith. Newcastle City Council Proceedings. Nov. 16th 1960.
- ¹⁰⁰ Newcastle Housing Committee Minute Book Volume 14 MD/NC/106 14 May 1963 Point 16
- ¹⁰¹ Newcastle Housing Committee Minute Book Volume 14 op.cit
- ¹⁰² City Library, excerpts from the Newcastle Journal 1962-9 in *Local Government Corruption Volume I*
- ¹⁰³ ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴ Oscar Stenberg *Malmö Din Stad 1966 Valbroschyr*
- ¹⁰⁵ A critique in *Arbetet* 12.6. 66 by the 'right inspired' Samling i Malmö Program.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Arbetet* Sunday 26.11.1967
- ¹⁰⁷ B. Malmsten, 'Den Kommunala forvaltningen i Malmö' *Malmö Stads Historia 1939-90* p. 237
- ¹⁰⁸ Mr. T Dan Smith, Newcastle City Council Minutes 1961 p.1053
- ¹⁰⁹ P. Wendt, op.cit p. 87
- ¹¹⁰ It could also be argued that one of the factors, which undermined the kind of continuity in housing construction achieved in Sweden after 1945 taking place in Britain, was the overwhelming bias towards securing the balance of payments in economic policy, which made it less feasible for British manufacturers to provide long-term investment. This argument has been applied to explain Britain's poor productivity relative to countries like Germany but also the Scandinavian countries between 1950-70, by economic historians such as S. Pollard *The Wasting of the British Economy: British Economic Policy 1945 to present.* (1982) It is certainly an argument that would appear to complement comparative studies of the construction process. For instance, B. Finnimore in *Houses from the Factory. System Building and the Welfare State* (1989) argues that this kind of construction was successful in Sweden, largely due to the existence of a monopolised and vertically integrated construction industry.
- ¹¹¹ The land for Rosengård was purchased from members of the Kockum family by Malmö city in 1950
- ¹¹² C. Hellström, op.cit p 21

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- ¹¹³ C. Flemström & A. Ronnby, *Fallet Rosengård. En Studie i Svensk Planerings och Bostadspolitik* (1972) p. 8
- ¹¹⁴ Stadsingörsavdelningen Planavdelning 25. 6. 1968
- ¹¹⁵ Oscar Stenberg *Malmö Din Stad 1966*
- ¹¹⁶ D. Juhlin, A. Ronnby V. Urwitz Malmö Socialförvaltning Tredje Socialbyran. Rosengård. 1.9.1974
- ¹¹⁷ Guide I Rosengård Broschyren utgiven av AB Rosengårds Centrum. p. 8
- ¹¹⁸ D. Juhlin A. Ronnby & V. Urwitz, op cit.
- ¹¹⁹ C. Flemstrom & A. Ronnby op.cit p. 172
- ¹²⁰ *ibid.* p. 172
- ¹²¹ K. Zetterberg *Bostadspolitik på förändrade villkor. En Studie I den Bostadspolitiska Debatten I dagpress och tidskrifter 1945-1960* (1978)
- ¹²² Hans Rode. Stadfullmäktige Protokoll med Bihang 4:3:1974
- ¹²³ D. Juhlin, A. Ronnby, & V. Urwitz, op cit. p 12
- ¹²⁴ Folke Carlsson, Stadfullmäktige Protokoll med Bihang 4:3:1974
- ¹²⁵ 1979 *Valutgangen Samfatande Analys* av Malmö Arbetarekommun.
- ¹²⁶ T. Peterson, M. Stigendal, B. Fryklund. *Skånepartiet. Om folkligt missnöje i Malmö.*(1988)
- ¹²⁷ P. Malpass. *The Building of Byker: Twenty Years of Hard Labour.*(1976) p. 24
- ¹²⁸ P. Malpass op.cit. p. 9
- ¹²⁹ For a recent discussion of this local housing phenomena see K. Pearce 'Newcastle's Tyneside Flats 1830-1900' in B. Lancaster (ed.) (1994) op.cit pp 39-86
- ¹³⁰ P. Malpass op.cit. p. 10
- ¹³¹ *ibid.*
- ¹³² P. Maspas op.cit. p.26
- ¹³³ P. Malpass op.cit. p. 32
- ¹³⁴ The 1966 Sample Census indicated that 49.8% of the households in the city contained only 1 or 2 people.
- ¹³⁵ Table 3.4, p. 97
- ¹³⁶ Newcastle Journal May 10 1967
- ¹³⁷ P. Malpass op cit. p. 36
- ¹³⁸ May 1968 Election Pamphlet, 'Alan Page-Your Conservative candidate.'
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid*
- ¹⁴⁰ P. Malpass op cit. p. 38
- ¹⁴¹ P. Malpass op.cit . p 61
- ¹⁴² C. Jencks *Modern Movements in Architecture* (1985) p. 377
- ¹⁴³ Newcastle City Libraries, 'Housing' Newspaper Cuttings Volume 1970-1980
- ¹⁴⁴ Northern Echo 1969
- ¹⁴⁵ C. Jencks op.cit p. 377
- ¹⁴⁶ Such a the children's television series 'Byker Grove', and Sirikka Liisa Konttinen's film *Byker* (1983)

Chapter Four

Social Change in Malmö and Newcastle

This chapter examines the broad processes of social change, manifest in both cities after 1945. A comparison of the composition of the population, however, is complicated by the significant disparity, provided by the rapid growth of an immigrant population in Malmö. Over 20% of Malmö's inhabitants currently have 'non-Swedish' citizenship, making this Sweden's third most multi-cultural cultural city.¹ There is no such parallel in Newcastle, indeed relative to other British cities, and more importantly compared to Malmö, the growth of an immigrant population of scale is much less discernible in Newcastle. Once this difference is taken into account, a social survey of Malmö and Newcastle since 1945, confirms the recognised changes and continuities in the demographic and social structure of most Western European cities this century. A continuity of declining fertility is evident between 1945 and 1995, but in both Malmö and Newcastle, there are fluctuations before 1965. Similarly, the proportion of female labour market participation increased significantly after 1945. In both cities, the population continued to age in this period, and at the same time, there has also been a trend towards outward migration, with resultant decreases in resident urban population, parallel to economic stagnation. This chapter is intended as a point of reference for the whole thesis, rather than as a discrete essay in comparative demographics. The difference, which Malmö's multicultural development implies, constitutes too great a disparity to warrant coherent comparison with Newcastle.²

This chapter begins with an analysis of the changes in birth rate after 1945, viewed against concurrent changes in female occupational structure in this period. This theme leads to an analysis of the relationship between the growth of female employment and changes in occupational and socio-economic status, with an emphasis on the changes in male class structure. Female occupation and fertility is also related to the provision of welfare in both cities; no account of social change in the post war period, is

complete without an understanding of its relationship with social policy. Following on from welfare, the health of both cities is examined, wherein the significance of an ageing population is incorporated. This in turn leads to a discussion of outward migration and the problems posed by the growth of a non-working residential population combined with a working non-residential population after 1970. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the experience of social exclusion in Malmö and Newcastle.

Before assessing the population in the post war period however, the respective experience of overcrowding that is associated with industrial growth needs to be taken into account. In 1800, Malmö had a total population of 5,400, which in 1920 exceeded 110,000. A dramatic increase in population in Malmö occurred at the end of the nineteenth century when the number of inhabitants increased from 18,919 in 1860, to 113,553 in 1920.³ Migration from the surrounding agricultural communities was largely responsible for rapid population growth in Malmö at the turn of the century.⁴ Inward migration mirrored rapid industrialisation in Malmö at the end of the nineteenth century, which also characterised national developments in this period.⁵ In Malmö though, fertility rates were high in relation to national levels and the years of highest population growth, reflected an excess of birth over death rates.⁶ Moreover, the city diverges from national trends since high fertility rates coincided with a preponderance of single female migrants who came to work in rapidly expanding companies such as MAB and MYA.⁷ In Malmö the housing requirements exacerbated by rapid expansion, exceeded local building supply and overcrowding and associated health problems prevailed in the industrialised quarters.⁸

A study of overcrowding in Newcastle needs to acknowledge the contribution made by Henry Mess in 1928. *Industrial Tyneside* highlighted the extent to which overcrowding afflicted the conurbation. Whilst Mess's conclusions were not exclusive to Newcastle the emphasis on the relationship between population patterns and industrial structure is significant. The high proportion of Scottish and Irish in the population at the turn of the century suggests that the relationship between inward migration and industrial growth was also important in Newcastle. Recently, it has further been suggested that over 20% of present day Tynesiders are of Irish descent.⁹

Combined population and industrial growth also contributed to instances of unacceptable overcrowding, intensified by the inadequate quality of the existing houses. Perhaps most important is the suggestion that Tynesiders, “class for class, *live in homes smaller by 30% than those in which most Englishmen live.*”¹⁰ The resonant conclusion illustrates a deviation from national trends, which also has no parallel in Malmö, where overcrowding did not prompt a similar national concern.

Table 4.1

Newcastle and Malmö Population 1920-91

Year	1920	1940	1960	1980	1991
Malmö	113553	155506	229248	233803	234796
Newcastle	275009	256000	269678	277826 ¹¹	259541

Source:

Newcastle Census of Population 1921-1991

Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1960-1990

Overcrowding was also prevalent in Malmö, but undeniably it reflected a less protracted experience of industrial growth, than the circumstances highlighted by Mess on Tyneside. Indeed, an essential comparative point is that overcrowding in Malmö and Newcastle reflects radically different national demographics. What is more, in Newcastle, this period did not reflect an increase in female employment relative to the levels sustained in Malmö.¹² Mess also notes that by 1912, the balance of migration to Tyneside had reversed signifying the point at which population growth had outstripped demand for industrial labour.¹³ In Malmö, significant migration from the city was not evident before the 1970's and whilst outward migration constitutes a theme to be addressed at the end of this chapter, it is important to note that this was not a new phenomenon after 1945 in Newcastle.

Whereas female labour market participation of scale coexisted with industrial growth in Malmö, the expansion of large-scale female labour market participation in Newcastle was largely synonymous with the period after 1945. The relationship between labour

levels.¹⁵ This implies that 'families' have progressively become more expensive, but it also suggests that the 1945-60 departure from the downward trend in fertility also reflect changes in the family economy. This is interesting, when related to female occupation rates in Malmö.

market participation and birth rates after 1945, therefore needs to take this earlier distinction into account.

Table 4.2

Birth rates in Malmö 1946-60

	Average yearly		Year				
	1946-50	1951-	1956-	1956	1957	1958	1959
		55	60				
Live births	3295	3028	3180	3113	3145	3190	3302
Legitimate	2949	2719	2817	2802	2786	2776	2943
Illegitimate	346	309	363	311	359	414	359
Stillbirths	67	51	51	50	54	58	49
Illegitimate	7	6	7	7	7	7	9
Total	3362	3079	3231	3163	3199	3248	3351
Births							
Legitimate	3009	2764	2861	2845	2833	2827	2983
Illegitimate	353	315	370	318	366	421	368

Source: *Malmö Statistik Årsbok* 1965

In R. Ohlsson's assessment of social change in Malmö since 1910, the period 1945-60 represents a departure from an overall trend towards declining birth rates. According to Ohlsson's calculations, women in Malmö had an average of six children 1910, as compared to two in 1983. If, according to Ohlsson, a static 1910 measure of age and proportion of women having children was applied in 1983, the average number of children per woman would only have declined to four.¹⁴ In his analysis "a rational economic engagement on the part of the family, reflecting the economic implications of bringing children into the world", is responsible for the remaining decline from 1910

Table 4.3

Female Occupation in Malmö 1945

	Farm Worker	Industry	Communic ations	Trade	General Services	Unstated
Total	212	12,155	984	9340	4796	239
%	0.76	43.84	3.5	33.69	17.05	0.86
%married	42.3	36.3	30.7	26.4	25.0	17.7

Source: *Generalplan for Malmö 1945*

Female Occupation by Industry of work in Malmö 1960-1980

Year	1960	1980
Farm workers	1.0%	0.5%
Industrial workers	33.2%	15.7%
Trade Communications	28.9%	22.8%
Public sector	21.3%	49.4%
Other	15.6%	11.7%

Source: *Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1988*

Table 4. 4

Rates of employment for married women with children under 7 in Malmö**1960**

Age	Working with no children	Not working with no children	Working with one child	Not working with one child	Working with 2 or more	Not working with 2 or more
-24	1007	204	621	986	95	482
25-34	2907	1284	1643	3573	463	2126
35-44	4753	5322	813	2654	125	679
45-54	4813	7437	112	354	11	19
55-64	1727	5935	10	60	5	6
65-	111	454	-	8	-	1
total	15318	24636	3199	7635	699	3313

Source: *Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1965* Table 26 p. 24

Clearly, the high proportion of female industrial occupation prevalent early in the century was sustained until 1960. Initially, the growth in the birth rate after 1945 combined with continued labour market participation suggests that women who had children were not excluded from employment. However, two thirds of the women employed in the city's largest sector in 1945 were not married. Similarly, illegitimacy rates were low. Moreover, it is clear from figure 4.4 that a significant proportion of married women with children did not work. If single women dominated industrial employment and married women were responsible for the increase in the birth rates by 1960 then this represents both a point of departure and a degree of continuity. The prevalence of single employed women represents the continuity of a long-term trend in Malmö. The lower proportion of illegitimacy and employment rates for married women suggests that between 1945 and 60, there were incentives for 'families', which may not have existed in 1910. Since the real cost of having children cannot have diminished, other factors affecting the economic implications of families require explanation.

Before assessing themes that relate to the increase in fertility in Malmö, such as male employment and welfare provision, it is necessary to establish the comparative context.

Table 4.5

Newcastle Birth Rates 1945-70

Year	1945	1950	1955	1961	1965	1970
Estimated Population	265990	294,800	281,000	267230	257460	236730
Total live Births	4761	5101	4720	4827	4449	3336
Legitimate Boys	2254	2489	2267		2096	1519
Legitimate Girls	2130	2385	2222		1934	1417
Illegitimate Boys	200	113	119		212	215
Illegitimate Girls	177	114	112		207	185
Crude rate per 1000	17.9	17.3	16.8	18.1	17.3	14.1

Source: *The Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales. Part I Medical. 1945-70*

Apart from fluctuations around 1960, there was a steady decline in the birth rate from the peak in 1945 to 1970. Between 1964 and 1977 there was a fall of 30-35 %.¹⁶ Between 1970 and 1990, the fertility rate in Newcastle was 58% per 1000 women, as compared to 63% per 1000 throughout England.¹⁷ Nevertheless in Newcastle, the overall decline in fertility and the fluctuations in the early sixties reflect national trends, which also engage with scholarly debate concerning the European post war 'baby boom'.¹⁸

Newcastle's data supports the notion that the war was a short-term aberration from the growth in family limitation discernible from the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, given Sweden's very different experience of the Second World War, the increase in fertility discerned in Malmö further challenges the notion that there is a direct connection between demographic changes and 'the war'. In Newcastle, the figure for 1961 remains interesting given that the significant decline in the estimated population is combined with a divergent increase of 1.5 % in the crude fertility rate. What needs to be highlighted in comparison to Malmö, is that in Newcastle the growth of the city population from 1945- 1955 and the decline following 1961, is not as dramatic as the rise and decline experienced in Malmö. After 1945 Malmö's total population increased from 113, 553 to 265, 505 in 1970. Fertility rise and decline is analogous to population rise and decline in Malmö but not in Newcastle due to Newcastle's earlier history of rapid growth. Nonetheless, the experience of increased fertility relative to population contraction in 1961 raises a series of questions, particularly in relation to female labour market participation.

Table 4.6

Economic activity and marital status of women in Newcastle 1961-71

	1961	1971
Total Population over 15	10973	9101
Economically inactive	6801 (61.99%)	5226 (60.72%)
Economically active	4172 (38%)	3835 (42.14%)
Economically active married	1952 (17.7%)	2216 (24.35%)
Economically active married part time	713 (36.5%)	
In employment	4052 (36.93%)	3617 (39.74%)

Source: *Census County Economic Activity Tables Northumberland 1961*

Table 4.7

Industry of Occupation and marital status of women in Newcastle 1961-71

Year	1961	%	1971	%	%married
	no.		no.		
Mill workers					
Electrical and electronic	1		9	0.23	44.4
Textile workers	0	0	4	0.11	50
Furnace Foundry and Forge "	4	0.1	3	0.08	100
Farmers	5	0.12	2	0.05	-
Glass and ceramics makers	6	0.15	2	0.05	-
Woodworkers	6	0.15	-		-
Leather workers	8	0.2	1	0.03	-
Administrative and managers	9	0.2	36	1	47.2
Gas coke and chemical workers	13	0.32	12	0.33	83.3
Food drink and Tobacco	60	1.5	55	1.52	49
Labourers	59	1.5	84	2.32	73
Paper and Printing	65	1.6	34	0.94	41.18
Engineering and allied trades	68	1.7	26	0.71	61.54
Transport	83	2	72	2	44.4
Clothing workers	127	3.13	114	3.21	50
Warehouse packers	187	4.6	132	3.64	56
Professional technical	436	10.7	415	11.5	45
Sales	661	16.3	512	14.2	65.4
Service sport and recreation	1051	25.9	1096	30.3	75.5
Clerical	1210	29.8	1044	28.9	45.4

Source: *Census Northumberland County Economic Activity Leaflet 1961-71*

In broad terms, the distribution of occupation for women in Newcastle between 1961-71 can be related to the economic developments after 1945. The dominant service sector occupation reflects the expansion generally of this sector in the post war period. The significant minority employed in engineering in 1961 followed by a contraction in 1971 reflects the rise of female participation in war generated manufacturing employment. Similarly, the minority employed in lighter manufacturing reflects the employment opportunities provided for women by the growth of companies such as Wills & Co that were associated with regional political strategy. The contrasts to Malmö's figures are striking. The manufacturing industries employed half the proportion of women employed in Malmö in 1960. Nonetheless, 23% of the total employed women represented a significant increase from 1921.¹⁹ The most noteworthy feature of the post 1960 data is the high proportion of married women in occupation in Newcastle. The increase between 1961-71, of married female labour market activity is significant, particularly in comparison with Malmö. The distinction between unmarried women working on the one hand and married women having children on the other diminishes in Newcastle after 1960. This suggests that the factors relating to the economic implications of having children in Malmö and Newcastle also contain important differences in this period.

After 1945, both the Labour administration in Britain and the Social Democrats in Sweden implemented comprehensive welfare reforms, but as Esping Andersen has suggested, in two overarching developments polar models of western welfare capitalism can be discerned. Initially developments in Sweden were slow. In 1900, women were allowed four weeks leave following the birth of a child, though normally unpaid. Following intense concern about the fall in birth rate, the period was extended to six weeks in 1912. Action to support mothers tended to be local and charitable, although in 1913, the Swedish farmers' lobbied successfully for the implementation of a tax financed pension scheme.²⁰ In Sweden, the reforms that subsequently inaugurated the Social Democratic Welfare State are attributed to Gustav Möller, Minister for Social Affairs during Per Albin Hansson's administration. Therefore as Esping Andersen argues the concept of a "welfare state", often associated with William Beveridge, is present in Swedish election manifesto already in 1928.²¹ Nevertheless, the comparison with Beveridge is pursued because Möller's early reforms, carried out

during the thirties and forties were essentially rudimentary and signalled no significant departure from the earlier liberal tradition.²² The initial reforms, such as employment creation and the labour market commission (AMS), created between 1933 and 1948, the new 'People's Pension' in place by 1936, unemployment insurance in 1934 and 41, preventive health and social services between 1937 and 1943, family allowances between 1935 and 1947, and rent subsidies by 1948, were often subject to income testing.²³ This earlier phase of similarity with British welfare reforms allows the particularity of the Swedish welfare model after the 1950s, to be emphasised. In Britain, a welfare concept that had been evolving since the Edwardian era, first made specific claims of provision for the majority when the Beveridge Report was published in 1942. The Attlee government building on the expectations generated by the war was responsible for implementing the most important reforms after 1945. Most notably, the Butler Education Act, National Insurance, National Health Service in 1946, the Town and County Planning act of 1947 and the Children Act and National Assistance Act in 1948. After 1979, the hostility towards welfare augmentation, which characterised the Tory administration, led to comprehensive reappraisal of the immediate post war era.²⁴ From the left, the limits of Beveridge's socialist outlook were highlighted. The report had inspired both grass roots socialists and the working class to vote overwhelmingly for the Labour Party, but the subsequent reforms were designed to ensure maintained political and social stability rather than provide a serious challenge to capital.²⁵ The political developments of the fifties provide Esping Andersen with evidence that the Swedish Social Democrats diverged from the British model because they were able to ameliorate the institutions of the welfare state, which in Britain continued to be residual. The key to these developments in Sweden was the ATP pension reform; a new second tier earnings related pension scheme designed to win support from the new and independently unionised middle classes.²⁶ For Esping-Andersen, the combined post 1979 welfare retrenchment and the original conservatism of the post 1945 legislation, confirm an Anglo-Saxon predilection for a less comprehensive welfare model. The fact that an important segment of the British intellectual and subsequently political tradition, saw in the reforms instigated after 1942, misguided statism that precipitated British economic ruin, only lends weight to the assertion, that Anglo-Saxon welfare reform was not able to woo the 'new middle classes', from the market to the state as was the case in Sweden.²⁷

No discussion of the Anglo-Swedish welfare models would be complete without a mention of the pioneers of 'family policy' in Sweden. Modern social policy in Sweden owes as much to Gunnar and Alva Myrdhal's 'family policy', as it does to Per Albin 'People's Home Strategy'. The Myrdhals formulated their policies in response to fears generated by Sweden's remarkably low birth rate during the first half of the twentieth century. The basis of family policy was undeniably motivated by certain eugenic considerations in encouraging more people to have children, in order to benefit both 'nation and family'. In Sweden, this phase of social policy development has received notable attention from scholars such as Yvonne Hirdman. Hirdman suggests that the 1930s represented a realignment in social democratic politics, from an earlier emphasis upon the relations of capital and labour, to a new interest in the dynamics of labour and 'the home'. In the latter sphere, the intention of this social engineering project, was to ensure that the well being of the majority could be facilitated. The social policy measures, intended to realise this rather utopian vision of a planned society, were manifest particularly in the housing provision of this period. The spacious kitchens, and ample washing facilities, were not simply a benign reflection of improvements in the construction process, but they were also planned as part of encouraging increased personal and social hygiene.²⁸ Hirdman's work has undeniably provided a point of departure for subsequent criticism of what is now taken to be an overly authoritarian welfare state.²⁹

Alva Myrdal has also become associated with her emphasis on women's sequential roles, first as mothers and secondly as workers.³⁰ In feminist scholarship, the view of Sweden as a model of egalitarian democracy, which Esping Andersen's work reiterates, obscures the fact that legislation prompted by the Myrdals' investigations, reinforced an already extremely patriarchal model of social democracy, in which the burden of the historic 'compromise' was borne out primarily by women.³¹ Once the gender compromise of family policy is recognised, however, the most striking difference between the two countries' welfare legislation after 1945 still exists in the fact that in Sweden, the state was prepared to be instrumental in the sphere of family relations to a much greater extent than was the case in Britain. After 1945, an earlier interest in the provision of family allowances was overshadowed by the evolution of the pension

system in Britain.³² In addition, although Women's Groups campaigned extensively for nursery provision during the 1950s, in Malmö and Newcastle the disparities between respective municipal provision of child-care facilities after 1945 are striking.

In Newcastle the thirteen war time nurseries established to allow women to participate in the domestic war effort were reduced to eight once the Second World War had ended, paradoxically since this was the point at which the level of 'welfare provision' supposedly began in earnest.³³ These nurseries, moreover, were not intended to facilitate mothers' sequential roles, but simply provide a safety net in cases where domestic care was judged as inadequate. Therefore, such facilities were intended exclusively for, "unmarried mothers, widows, mothers separated or divorced from their husbands/mothers ill or having a baby, and when the mother *had to work because the father was on a very low income*".³⁴ In other words, this service was not intended to offer choice. The figures in table 4.7, nevertheless demonstrate that by the early 1960s, married women with children were increasingly working, notwithstanding the absence of sufficient day-care provision.

This can be contrasted to the situation in Malmö, where the municipal provision of day care facilities augmented significantly after 1945. Whilst Malmö also had nurseries, such as Malmö Kindergarten, which opened in 1916, the scale and official character of provision expanded rapidly after 1945. The development of municipal day-centres after 1945 reflects the influence of social engineering in social policy, which was highly critical of the earlier informal pedagogy, which prevailed in the 'Swedish Kindergarten' system.³⁵ By 1970, Malmö had 37 municipal day-centres with over 2000 places, which had risen to 53 by 1974 with over 3000 places.³⁶ Similarly in Malmö, the building of larger houses, which anticipated large families, particularly in areas like Augustenborg also reflected the increase in public space set aside for children. Apart from reiterating the prevalence and the extent to which social engineering prevailed in physical planning, this difference also reflects a specific moment in the development of social housing in Malmö, which reinforces many of the distinctions highlighted in chapter three. By 1967, the city had initiated a programme of regeneration for the city's park spaces, the prime objective being to ensure that there were amenities suitable for children, and new city architects were appointed to attend explicitly to this matter.³⁷

Taken in conjunction with the steady increase in the number of municipal day-centres in Malmö, it is clear that the ramifications of 'family policy' were thoroughgoing and characterised by a level of integration that was absent from Newcastle, where ad hoc provision of childcare by the local state after 1945 reflects the absence of an equally thoroughgoing concept of 'family policy' at the national level.

In Malmö, the proportion of married mothers not working in the early sixties, could be seen to confirm the feminist critique of Swedish welfarism in its support for the nuclear family. However, the steady rise of day care provision also reflected demand in this period, because overall, women participated more not less in the labour market after 1945. Therefore, if women with children were absent from the labour market during the early 1960s, this must be seen, in conjunction with the rise in fertility, as a short-term deviation from the generality of declining fertility and increasing labour market participation, which characterises the period after 1945. Moreover, married women, as an indication of female labour market participation became an unreliable measure after 1970, because marriage rates also declined significantly. In the comparison with Newcastle, Malmö's experience suggests that state intervention did not work to keep women at home in the immediate post war period, but meant that they could afford not to work. This can be contrasted to Newcastle, where day care facilities were only intended to aid women, forced to work because of their husband's inadequate income. The fact that married women increased their share of labour market participation substantially during the 1960s confirms that public attitudes to female work remained entrenched, despite the prevailing economic circumstances. Bearing in mind the distinctly different circumstances in which women in Malmö and Newcastle participated in both work and family life, the post war period saw their position strengthened numerically in the labour market, albeit with important qualitative differences discussed at some length in chapter 2.³⁸ This overarching similarity needs to be related to changes in occupational status in the same period, particularly amongst men.

Both cities have an important working class history, associated closely with the manufacturing economies, which Malmö and Newcastle sustained. It has been argued cogently, that this history also reflected the dominance of male over female official

spheres of interest. In Malmö institutions such as the People's Park symbolised male working class respectability it is suggested, the counterpart of which was the Swedish housewife.³⁹ Similarly in Newcastle, the representation of working class interests in the labour movement institutions of the region, reflected a dominant male sphere of work.⁴⁰ It is not the intention here, to assess the extent to which postured gender divisions originating in the nineteenth century are an accurate reflection of lived experience in both cities, no doubt a more in depth study of this period, would lead to a certain amount of qualification. Rather this study of the post 1945 period takes as given the fact that notwithstanding female employment in the textiles industry in Malmö, men in both cities dominated shipbuilding and heavy engineering employment. The question that the period after 1945 therefore poses, is what has the growth of female labour market participation implied for that particular male working class heritage in both cities?

In Malmö, the post war period saw the numerical dominance of the manual working class diminish. Billing and Stigendal's analysis suggests that the proportion of skilled operatives declined significantly during the 1970s. In Malmö, the most striking gender demarcation in the post war period also exists in the division between men and women in non-service sector and service sector employment respectively. In 1985, one in three women were employed in the service sector in Malmö, as compared to only 11% of men.⁴¹ Whilst a degree of social mobility was afforded to women through the growth of the independent service sector economy, in Malmö women continued to dominate the 'unskilled' social categories. Newcastle's figures are particularly interesting because the 1960s are synonymous with an increase in the percentage of males classified as 'skilled manuals', at the same time as there exists an overall increase in the proportion to non-manual occupations. As such, whilst the long term decline in demand for manual labour is discernible the short term increase in skilled manuals suggests that the technological underdevelopment manifest in the manufacturing sector, did have a real impact on the labour market. It also points to the fact that whilst this adherence to skilled labour appears misguided with the benefit of hindsight, skilled labour was clearly perceived to be a valued asset in the economic circumstances of Newcastle during the 1960s.

Table 4.8

Summary of Occupations for men in Newcastle 1960-75

	1961	1971	1975
Professional Managerial	13.1	14.6	18.8
Other Non Manual	20	20.0	21.4
All Non Manual	32.6	34.6	40.2
Skilled Manual	37.8	36.7	40.1
Semi-skilled and unskilled manual	23.6	23.1	16.8
Others	5.9	5.3	2.8
All Manual	67.3	65.1	59.8

Source *Urban Trends 1975*

Therefore, although the balance of employment shifted from manual occupations in the period after 1945 in both cities, in conjunction with the steady rise in female labour market participation, there can be little doubt that the impact, which this development had was shaped by the profoundly different male-working class legacies of each case. In contrast to Newcastle, developments in Malmö during this period, are characterised by a greater degree of labour process change. Clearly, female occupation was qualitatively different after 1945 and clearly, the demand for male skilled labour diminished in these circumstances, but that was also the case for female manufacturing employment in the Swedish city. Moreover, in Malmö the decline in demand for skilled labour occurred as part of the development of a fordist economy, therefore relative to Newcastle, this does not represent 'decline' as such, rather the evolution of a different phase of manufacturing employment in the Swedish city. This disparity therefore helps to explain, why the discernible perception, which saw female service sector employment as potentially undermining traditional male employment opportunities, was more prevalent in Newcastle.⁴² In the British city, this sentiment was not simply a reflection of the fact that service sector employment tended to be low-waged, but also of the different impact, which the absence of a symbiotic combination of industrial

modernisation and female employment in the 'service sector' precipitated. Fluctuations in occupational structure are nevertheless not always attributable to structural economic change, but also need to be viewed against the growth or decline in the resident population in this period.

Both Malmö and Newcastle experienced considerable demographic contraction after 1945. In Malmö however, this was a relatively new development. Malmö's population continued to expand from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1970. Indeed during the 1960s, the growth was particularly rapid, with the resident population increasing by 16% in ten years, which compared to an average of 6% in most other Swedish cities between 1960-70.⁴³ This decade also signified the point at which Malmö's immigrant population increased markedly for the first time. Newcastle's resident population grew rapidly until 1911 and subsequently remained relatively static for the first half of the century. As a result of significant movement from the city to surrounding areas such as Newburn, Castle ward and rural districts such as Morpeth after 1950 there followed a substantial decline in Newcastle's resident population. The city lost 5% of its resident population between 1971 and 1975. In the table for Newcastle's population utilised here, this contraction is masked by the increase, which the incorporation of the urban district of Gosforth to the north of the city provided in 1974. Nevertheless in 1971 Newcastle was the only district in Tyne and Wear whose population was smaller than it had been in 1951. This population decline continued during the 1980s, when the city lost a further 3% of its inhabitants.⁴⁴

It is worth examining in detail the dynamics of both the resident population and those who moved in order to ascertain the significance of this period, in relation to Malmö's rapid population expansion during the 1960s. An important feature of Newcastle's population after 1945 was that the proportion of elderly residents was increasing steadily. Research carried out by the health authority, attributed this to the low birth rate recorded after 1964, which manifested itself directly in a reduction in the number of 15-44 year olds living in the city by the 1980-90 period.⁴⁵ When the dynamics of the migrating population are taken into account, however, it is also clear that this increase in the proportion of elderly residents was exacerbated by the fact that it was primarily 15-44 year olds that dominated movement from the city. Outward migration was similarly prevalent amongst economically active residents of the higher groups.

Table 4.9**Age and socio-economic status of emigrants from Newcastle in 1966**

Group	Proportion of emigrants in %
Men aged 15-44	32
Women aged 15-44	25
Economically Active	55
Professional and Management (SEG 1,2,3,4,13)	28
Other Non Manual (5,6,7)	28
Skilled Manual (8,9)	27
Rest-own account workers, agric., and armed forces	7

Source: 1966 Sample Census data, derived by Newcastle City Planning Department

Related to this general movement from Newcastle, were the important changes that were taking place in the spatial distribution of the population within the boundaries of the city. By the 1960s, Newcastle's riverside wards, home to the manufacturing companies examined in chapter 2, were experiencing the most dramatic population losses.

Table 4.10

Wards with significant loss or increase of population in Newcastle between 1960-75

	1961 res. pop	1971 res.pop.	1975 res.pop.
East City	18,795	6548	4244
West City	17,418	10,835	9620
Elswick	12,155	9172	10156
Westerhope	5,443	10,155	12,708
Denton	6549	12,123	12,629
Gosforth 1	14,782	13,501	12,007
Gosforth 2	11385	12,645	12, 414
Scotswood	14,360	12,455	11,953

Source: 1961, 1971 & 1981 National Censuses

The concentrated loss of population from wards such as East City and West City in this period, can in part be attributed to the slum clearance programmes underway in areas such as Cruddas Park by the 1960s and Byker by the early 1970s, which reduced the number of available dwellings in those areas dramatically. However, these areas continued to lose population once the slum clearance programmes were complete, whilst the city's northern suburbs have grown consistently since the 1960s.

Malmö's demographic growth continued during the inter-war period and the city experienced particularly intensified growth after 1945, which was followed by a rapid phase of housing construction. During the 1950s and 1960s, the city was also able to ameliorate the expanding population, by extending the boundaries of the city through a series of incorporations of surrounding municipalities. The growth of the immediate post war years need to be seen against the background of expansion manifest in the city's manufacturing sector, specifically at the city's shipyard. Despite continuous inward migration from Skåne, Kockums was experiencing problematic labour

shortages by the 1940s. Subsequently the company embarked on a programme of international labour recruitment, which contributed considerably to the size of the city's immigrant population during the 1950s and 1960s. Many of the company's recruits came from central and southern Europe, and by 1960 Kockums engineering school had developed courses devoted exclusively to the training of international recruits in Swedish shipbuilding techniques.⁴⁶

Although the 1960s are recognised as seminal for the growth of the city's immigrant population, Malmö had been established as a significant multicultural centre already at the end of the nineteenth century due to its early status as southern Sweden's most important port. Nevertheless, this status altered both in terms of scale and in the composition of the population during the second half of the twentieth century. Northern European, particularly Danish and German migrants had been dominant at the end of the nineteenth century. During the Second World War, over 2000 Danish refugees arrived in Malmö. Similarly, numerous Polish Jews rescued from Germany during the now infamous 'Bernadotte action' came to Malmö during the 1940s.⁴⁷ Between 1940 and 46 the number of families and households that were members of Jewish congregations increased from 408 to 863. Many of the early immigrants to Malmö, integrated quickly it is suggested, because work was abundant, but also because the northern European refugees were often part of the social democratic movement and therefore received practical and psychological support from prominent members of the social democratic party in Malmö.⁴⁸

Certain parallels can be drawn between Malmö's early history of immigration and Newcastle's development during the late nineteenth century. Just as Henry Mess attributed the growth of Scottish and Irish communities to the strength of Tyneside's industry, Newcastle's related status as a trading port and regional commercial centre was confirmed by the expanding Jewish population by the beginning of the twentieth century. By 1900 there were several Jewish Working Men's Clubs in the city. Although the Aliens Act of 1905 and 1920 severely restricted entrance to Britain, the Home Office looked favourably upon refugees with firm plans to establish factories. Indeed during the 1930s, legislation was passed that granted status to those who established business in Special Areas, which explains the consolidation of Jewish

communities in the north east in that period.⁴⁹ Newcastle's Jewish population grew rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century, with massive emigration from Eastern Europe and a significant proportion of the Jewish population settled in the city's Western suburbs. By 1930 the city had a resident Jewish population of 3000, but by 1950, this declined to 2,500 and by 1970, the city had lost a further 500 of its Jewish residents, which then constituted 0.8 % of the population.⁵⁰ Although the western areas retained a significant minority of Jewish residents, that had become private landlords, the spatial distribution of the Jewish community mirrors that of Newcastle as a whole in this period.

Table 4.11

Distribution of Jewish Community in Newcastle 1948-83

	Gosforth/Kenton	Jesmond	West End	Other
1948	26%	29%	35%	10%
1973	47%	26%	11%	16%
1983	58%	21%	6%	15%

Source L. Olsover, *The Size and Structure of the Jewish Community in Newcastle upon Tyne* Table 4

Compared to many other British cities, Newcastle's immigrant population remained insignificant after 1945. Traditional groups such as Irish and Scottish born residents represented 0.5% of the city's population by 1970 as compared to 1.3% nationally.⁵¹ Additional testimony to the contraction of the Tyneside economy, is provided by the relatively low proportion of residents from the 'new commonwealth' countries, which amounted to 0.8% of the population in the same year, as compared to a national figure of 2.4%. In 1974, 2.4% of Newcastle's population was born outside Britain.⁵²

In striking contrast Malmö saw significant changes in the scale and geography of immigration to the city during the 1960s. It needs to be added however, that immigrants as a total proportion of Malmö's population constituted 6.2% in 1970,

which had increased to 10.8% by 1994, therefore the largest increase to 20%, has taken place in the last six years.⁵³

Table 4.12.

Citizens born outside Sweden resident in Malmö 1910 to 1980

	1910	1950	1960	1970	1980
Nordic	44%	50%	48%	37%	28%
West Eur.	35%	19%	24%	13%	8%
South Eur.	2%	3%	8%	38%	41%
East Eur	19%	27%	19%	9%	10%
Others		1%	1%	3%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source *Malmö Stads Historia* Figure 13 p. 44

Immigrants from southern Europe replaced the earlier northern European concentration during the 1960s. Moreover, the increase in southern European workers was paralleled by a decrease in refugees from Eastern Europe in the same period. In 1961 the Greek headmaster Emmanuel Morfiadisk came to Malmö with his family. He experienced no difficulty in finding employment during Malmö's 'record years' but noted that there were frequent conflicts in the work place, where Swedish workers were fearful that immigrants would destroy the balance of the Swedish 'labour accord'.

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What is crucial to the comparison is that during the 1960s, and early 1970s, when the characteristics of occupational status of men changed in Malmö, due to the decrease in the proportion of skilled manuals, this can be attributed in part to the arrival of a new population, recruited specifically to facilitate this change. Indeed it has been suggested recently that immigrant workers, were crucial to the evolution of the phase of Keynesianism, that was dependent upon 'mass production', to finance augmentation in

the level of social provision, which took place during the 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁵ Conversely in Newcastle, the level of continuity, which the apparent peculiarity of an increase in skilled operatives within an overall decline in manual classifications constitutes, is related to the unusually high levels of continuity in social structure, due in part to the combined impact of the outward migration of the young and socially mobile and the absence of similar immigration from abroad.

Despite the constant demographic expansion during the twentieth century, Malmö lost 5% of its population between 1971-1983. Ohlsson's assessment of this period reveals that it was primarily individuals who were born during Malmö's 1940s 'baby-boom', who moved out of the city after 1970. In 1970, the city had an over-representation of individuals aged between 20 and 29. However by 1980, 30% of this group had moved from the city, amounting to 12,000 people in absolute terms.⁵⁶ Ohlsson postulates that this was motivated in the first instance by a shortage of housing stock in the city attractive to these people, many of whom had young families. Whilst Malmö built no small houses within the city between 1966-74, there was a rapid increase taking place in the number of detached and semi-detached houses, built by smaller authorities throughout Skåne. Given that this movement from the city was not synonymous with rising unemployment in the first instance, the early 1970s were also characterised by a rapid increase in the levels of commuting.⁵⁷ This development had a negative impact upon Malmö city's finances given that the commuting section of the population had been responsible for a significant proportion of the city's fiscal revenue. This fiscal loss coincided with the city's commitment to financing the construction of large-scale flatted developments and inner city slum clearance programmes.

Before embarking on the final theme addressed by this chapter, it is necessary to provide a summary of what the analysis of social change in Malmö and Newcastle between 1945-1970 has established. In terms of population structure it is difficult to look beyond the difference, provided by Malmö's young demographic history and population changes after 1945. Clearly, this could be compared thematically to the end of the nineteenth century in Newcastle, when a flourishing regional economy made the city attractive to immigrants, primarily from Scotland and Ireland but also from abroad. Moreover, in Newcastle of the late nineteenth century and Malmö after the Second

World War, it has similarly been suggested that immigrant assimilation was relatively unproblematic.⁵⁸ However, when comparing both cities after 1945, this represents very different phases of both economic and social development, which raises the question: is a comparison of social change possible between these two cities? Or rather- are the distinctions too radical to allow the necessary parallel themes to be discerned? The striking similarities, such as the declining birth and mortality rates, can be discerned in most of the western world in the same period. Whilst it is important to note their equivalents in these cities, they do not reveal significant comparative developments. Nevertheless, whilst the parallels identified, can be related to developments, which transcend case particularity and the differences to different stages of development, this problem can be turned into an advantage for the comparative approach. In this case, the manifest differences in the resident population allow the question to be raised: do these differences account for the ways in which both cities have responded to the challenges of the post 1970 era?

After 1970 Malmö and Newcastle both experienced a continued movement from the cities and subsequent decline in the resident population. This coincided, at least in Newcastle, with population loss from specific areas that were experiencing the problems resulting from structural economic change. In particular Newcastle's 'West End' increasingly provided the focus for investigations into the combined problems of joblessness, benefit dependency and general material deprivation by the 1980s. This attempt to describe the concentration of 'social problems' and their association with specific areas in both cities lacks clarity and definition because this is an ambiguous area, where scholarly consensus is rare. Moreover, these themes concern intimately the subjective dimensions of lived experience, which consistently elide objective analysis. This comparison, which is essentially a work of synthesis, is by no means equipped to offer an adequate perspective of such a complex area. Nevertheless, the comparative account does have the advantage of being able to highlight themes, which do, or do not transcend national boundaries. It is therefore important to note that the Anglo-Swedish historiographical traditions differ in their approaches to these questions. In Britain, urban or social 'problems', are inevitably associated with the long focus in British historiography upon urban poverty.⁵⁹ This early focus upon poverty in an urban setting does not have a counterpart in Swedish historiography, partly due to the

relatively late development of urban society. But Therborn suggests that this absence of an equivalent focus upon poverty, can also be attributed to the cultural differences, which manifest themselves in the lexicon of distribution and welfare in a country like Sweden:

“In the Netherlands and also in Belgium, Austria and Germany, the main focus of distributive discourse has not centred on poverty, but rather on ‘justice’ (rechtvaardigheid), security of existence (bestaan zekerheid) or, translated into professional English, income maintenance, on solidarity versus exclusion. Swedish, and to a lesser extent, Nordic distributive discourses has since the late 1960s centred on equality. A few years after the Johnson administration had declared the America ‘War on Poverty’, and the British ‘poverty lobby’, began their action against ‘child poverty’, the Swedish labour movement and Social Democratic government issued the slogan ‘More Equality’.”⁶⁰

Therborn attributes this emphasis on equality in the Swedish discourse to the ‘radicalisation -cum-political success of Swedish Social Democracy’, but he also speculates that it may have its ‘ancestral base in a free peasant society’.⁶¹ Interestingly he omits the contribution the Myrdhals made to the debate about welfare provision in Sweden. This is surprising given their influence on the bedrock of Swedish welfarism, the ‘People’s Home’, but also their European significance, particularly their influence on prominent sociologists such as Karl Mannheim, and the evolution of pan-European concepts of welfare during the 1940s.⁶² Indeed if comparisons are to be drawn between Beveridge and Sweden, then the ideas concerning welfare that developed during the 1940s, which preceded the radical 1960s need to be incorporated. The social scientific perspective, which the Myrdals contributed to is also relevant here because the positivism which influenced the eugenicists of the mid century, is currently being critically appraised.⁶³ This appraisal also highlights that more recent scholarship on ‘inequality’ in Sweden is similarly characterised by a degree of positivism, which undermines the subjective dimensions of lived experience.⁶⁴

During the twentieth century poverty in Sweden has not been as severe as that experienced in Britain, nevertheless, since 1945, Swedish scholars and commentators, have been concerned about the quality of life in Sweden’s major cities. During the

1960s, the emergence of 'inner city slums', contributed to the government's concerted effort to ameliorate a pending housing crisis by building a million houses in ten years. Critics suggest that this development only exacerbated the tendency towards social divisions in Swedish cities because these new housing developments ensured that despite the increase in material living standards, social divisions were increasingly spatialised through the creation of isolated and architecturally uninspiring housing estates on the outskirts of cities.⁶⁵ By the mid 1960s, it was segregation, rather than deprivation or poverty, which generated most interest in social research. In the late 1960s, the social democratic prime minister Olof Palme made his own contribution to the debate when he visited Malmö and gave a famous speech in which he warned that despite Malmö's obvious prosperity, this city exhibited the potential for segregation, both along socio-economic, ethnic and spatial lines.⁶⁶ By the late 1980s, universal concern about the relative decline in voting participation, combined with fear about the growth of urban problems, which characterised British cities by this stage, continued to fuel the debate about segregation in Swedish cities. Stigendal is highly critical of what he sees as the inherent positivism in much of the contemporary research in which a one dimensional approach has uncritically attributed joblessness, difference, (more often that not based upon ethnicity), to 'urban problems'.⁶⁷

The concern in Sweden over the emergence of problems, which characterised Britain by the 1980s, was exacerbated by the international media attention given to the series of riots, which took place in several British cities during the 1980s and early 1990s. Indeed work such as that of Beatrix Campbell, contributed to these fears by explicitly associating areas of high unemployment with danger, and in particular male danger.⁶⁸ The growing awareness of the social unrest in British cities, which Campbell's work reflected, also mirrored rising concern over growing divisions at the national level, or more specifically between the affluent south and 'relatively', impoverished north.⁶⁹ Whilst Sweden may have shared an ongoing concern for the quality of life in its major cities, this was not located in the broader context of concern about regional changes equivalent to the postured 'north-south' divide in British society. Indeed once it is conceded that national differences in the language of poverty, can be influenced by cultural differences, which contribute to the development of a different lexicon of welfare and distribution, by the 1980s international comparisons of living standards,

covering several trends such as per capita income, consumption patterns, welfare provision and demographic trends, consistently ranked Sweden significantly higher than Britain.⁷⁰ In order to ascertain the significance of the shared experience of urban 'problems' in both cities, in the context of such different urban histories and different national developments in both the ideology and practice of welfare and distribution, this chapter concludes with a comparison of specific areas in both cities, which have been singled out for extensive attention in both local and national scholarship, in addition to receiving significant media coverage since the 1980s.

Rosengård and Malmö's central districts of Södra Innerstaden are compared to Newcastle's riverside areas, but particularly the Scotswood, Elswick, Benwell and West City wards, known collectively as Newcastle's West End. Rosengård, which has already provided the focus for the examination of local politics and housing provision in the previous chapter, clearly has a very different history from Newcastle's riverside districts; it was built between 1967-72 and is Malmö's youngest suburb. The concentration of flatted development therefore makes the parallels with Byker more viable, nevertheless, a significant proportion of the West End was cleared during the 1960s and replaced by high-rise. Areas like Cruddas Park in West City, which also featured in the previous chapter, were built to house at least 2000 residents exclusively in public sector high-rise blocks of flats after 1961. Moreover, like Rosengård, Newcastle's West End has been subject to a certain amount of stigmatisation, both by the local press and the popular perception of the general undesirability of such areas. This has been compounded in the case of the West End by the steady rise in abandoned property, reflecting the problems with letting experienced by both private and public sector landlords. Rosengård contains Malmö's highest concentration of ethnic minorities: the latest research findings suggest that 74% of its inhabitants currently have a 'non-Swedish background'.⁷¹ Whilst the ethnic minority population of the West End wards does not exceed 15%, compared to a city average of 7%, this nevertheless makes it the most 'multi-cultural' area of Newcastle.⁷² Both areas similarly sustain amongst the highest unemployment rates recorded in these cities.

Given that the history of the West End is closely associated with industrialism in the city, and in particular to the 'rise and decline' of the Armstrong empire outlined in

chapter two, it seems apposite to draw some comparisons with areas in Malmö, which unlike Rosengård, do have a similar historical legacy. Södra Innerstaden in Malmö has a long history as the home of the city's labour movement. The first Swedish People's Park was constituted in a part of this area, called Möllevången, which was built around 1904. Similarly the consumer co-operative Solidar was founded in Möllevången and Axel Ebbe's monumental public sculpture 'Labour's Honour' still bears witness to the labour movement legacy. It is an area, which like Newcastle's West End had a significant industrial working class population and similar older housing stock. There are however also significant differences between these two areas.⁷³



Plate 4.1
Axel Ebbe's Statue in Malmö

Source: Natasha Vall, personal collection

Unemployment is clearly not a product of the last twenty years in the case of Newcastle's riverside districts. Indeed the West End demonstrates the need for critical awareness in utilising terms such as 'social exclusion', particularly when by implication a previous era is taken to be socially inclusive and unproblematic simply due to the existence of industrial employment. Industrialism clearly produced its share of social but particularly health-related problems in Newcastle's West End, which the work of

Henry Mess, amongst others testified to at the beginning of the twentieth century. The West End suffered from severe overcrowding in the late nineteenth century, particularly when Armstrong's empire grew most rapidly. In the early 1890s, the parishes of Benwell and Elswick housed nearly half of Newcastle's population and by 1905 had 25,000 inhabitants. Concern for the health of children in Newcastle's poorer districts, including the riverside wards, motivated a series of official enquiries during the inter-war period, which concluded that 36% of children from the city's poorer districts were both unhealthy and undernourished.⁷⁴ After the Second World War, the correlation between poverty, poor health and unemployment in this area increasingly provided the focus for social research.⁷⁵ Indeed, Benwell was selected in the late 1960s along with other inner city areas, to be studied by social scientists working for the Home Office Community Development Programme. The Benwell Community Development Programme's publication, *The Making of the Ruling Class*, received national publicity and acclaim.⁷⁶

The tendency towards severe unemployment in Newcastle's western riverside wards was acknowledged by the City Council already by the early sixties. In an otherwise buoyant prognosis of economic developments in city centre service sector, the council conceded in the 1963 Development Plan, that "the Western parts, north of Scotswood road, are almost devoid of employment".⁷⁷ By the early 1970s, conservative estimates of the census returns indicated that in some parts of the West End, one in two men were unemployed and 1 in 16 men out of work due to ill-health, a figure three times the national average.⁷⁸ It is crucial to note that these areas of Newcastle, which have been most synonymous with unemployment after 1945, have also been continually singled out for attention due to ill health. The West City ward in Newcastle was identified as one of the worst areas for the whole northern region, in an analysis of the convergence of poor health and material deprivation during the 1980s.⁷⁹ During the 1960s, Södra Innerstaden similarly became associated with a level of material deprivation, which prompted concern in local social research. According to the findings of a prominent social geographer, some parts of Mollevangen, combined the worst physical environment, with the highest levels of criminality and lowest incomes recorded in Malmö by the 1960s.⁸⁰ Unlike Newcastle's riverside districts however, the correlation between material deprivation and ill health has not been so striking. In

addition Södra Innerstaden has not witnessed such dramatic depopulation, indeed according to tenant surveys undertaken in 1970, the majority of inhabitants indicated that they wanted to remain living in the area. Again, slum clearance in the West End explains much of the initial depopulation, but does not account for the steady flow of population from this area, which has characterised the last thirty years. Moreover, that Södra Innerstaden has not been subject to such radical slum clearance programmes, is explained partly by the differences in the politics of housing examined in the previous chapter, but does also suggest that levels of poverty in the Swedish city's 'slum areas' were less severe.⁸¹ 54% of the present housing stock in Södra Innerstaden was built before the Second World War and only 14% was constructed when slum clearance was carried out during the 1960s and 1970s.⁸² Stigendal's own comparison of these two areas concludes that despite the shared industrial heritage, the differences of the second half of the twentieth century are overwhelming. Whilst Södra Innerstaden sustains relatively high levels of unemployment, the area retains a degree of positive identification with its old labour movement heritage, perpetuated through the vibrancy of areas such as Möllevången. Perhaps most importantly the levels of criminality relative to Newcastle's West End are insignificant.

Rosengård also sustains Malmö's highest levels of unemployment, which official statistics put at a conservative 10%, whereas *Levnadsundersökningen* produced a figure nearer 50%. This discrepancy is due to the fact that many of the newest immigrants do not qualify to be registered at the employment office, nevertheless the 'official' economic activity rates confirm *Levnadsundersökningens* findings. In Rosengård, 32% of the population between the ages of 20-64 are economically active, as compared to a 63% city average.⁸³ In the proportion of unemployed, it is possible to draw parallels with the West End, although exact comparisons are precluded by the different methods of measurement. West City, for instance, ranked highest in 1991 with 40% of its residents unemployed. In addition, the analysis of the 1991 Census returns concluded that whilst long-term male unemployment had been a feature of this part of the city since the early 1960s, by 1991 West City also had a female unemployment rate of over 28%.⁸⁴ Clearly, the growth in opportunities for female service sector employment elsewhere in the city, overlooked women in the West End. Long-term unemployment was clearly less evident amongst Rosengård's unemployed

population constituting 6% compared to 16%, that is to say, on in six inhabitants in Newcastle's West End.

Unlike Rosengård, Newcastle's western districts have also received significant media attention for the rise in levels of criminality. Scotswood together with the Meadowell estate in South Tyneside, was famously demonised by Beatrix Campbell after the riots broke out in 1991, as one of Britain's most 'dangerous places'. The extent to which the rise in criminal activity in this part of the city, was such an exclusively male phenomenon has been seriously challenged.⁸⁵ The point here is not to engage with a similar debate, but to highlight that whilst crime has been a major problem specifically in Newcastle western riverside wards, such high levels of criminal activity have not been a feature of Malmö's areas that sustain high unemployment.⁸⁶ Levels of burglary during the early 1990s were considerably higher in Newcastle's West End than elsewhere in the city, prompting the council to install Close Circuit Television throughout many of these districts before such surveillance prevailed throughout the city.⁸⁷ According to a report commissioned by the City Council the dramatic increase in criminality in such areas by the mid nineties, was largely attributable to Newcastle's best known criminal families, who had developed a strong profile in these areas, "Some local people are of the view that these criminals have developed a 'stranglehold' on the area and that they control several areas which are developing into 'no go' areas."⁸⁸ In 1997, the District Manager of Newcastle's Benefits Agency, similarly confirmed the existence of a recognised criminal fraternity, that exerted a degree of control over much of this part of the city, by 1997, "Most of the stabbing and shootings and so on, will happen in the West End. The police certainly know who they are."⁸⁹ During the mid 1990s, Jonathan Blackey, the director of the regeneration project City Challenge, purchased a car for the local police in order assist their attempts to curtail the criminal fraternity because according to Dick Sedgewick of the Benefits Agency:

"The kids used to think it was hilarious that they'd be chased around in little fiestas and wot not so they bought the police a proper car, so they could actually chase them (criminals) properly. It's that kind of respect you see that you have to earn."⁹⁰

The notion that one or more districts of a city, could become entirely dominated by a seemingly very powerful criminal fraternity, “with their own ‘society’ and their own rules”, is clearly quite alien to Swedish onlookers. The Projects Manager of Newcastle Benefits Agency provided the following example of the ramifications of this alternative society evident in the West End in 1997:

“ It’s different culture, their parents didn’t work, so they don’t understand the work ethic, they don’t understand that it is a natural thing to do. There are children of 15-16 in the West End, who have never been out of the West End, they live on an island of maybe 5-6 streets, they’ve never been to Northumberland Street or places like that, I find this incredible, that there are fifteen and sixteen year olds, they have no idea there is another world out there”.⁹¹

In Stigendal’s concluding pages of his comparison of the West End and Malmö’s ‘equivalent’ areas, he offers a warning remark to future policy makers in the Swedish city. He suggests that whilst the social consequences of unemployment have not been as severe in Malmö, this could simply be a matter of time.⁹² Given the differences outlined in this chapter in relation to the social structure of both cities, such a prediction is difficult to sustain. Indeed in terms of population structure, it is difficult to understate the difference, which Malmö’s younger demography and more radical changes of the second half of the twentieth century constitute. Moreover, the experience of Södra Innerstaden has already demonstrated that the loss of manufacturing employment has not precipitated an increase in the levels of social distress evident in some of Newcastle’s poorer districts.

The striking difference between Newcastle’s West End and both Södra Innerstaden and Rosengård taken together is that social distress has manifested itself in much higher levels of dissatisfaction with housing in the British city. In Newcastle, there are currently large swathes of public and private sector housing, which can be neither let nor sold. The City Council’s current strategy for urban regeneration in the West End, which includes demolishing all abandoned property, is striking given the level of resources directed towards the refurbishment of much of this area during the 1980s and early 1990s.⁹³



Plate 4.2
Abandoned Properties in Newcastle
Source: Natasha Vall, personal collection

In part the scale of the problem in the West End, reflects the differences in the tenure system discussed in the previous chapter. 48% of the property in Newcastle's West End was council owned in 1991, which can be contrasted to 10% in Södra Innerstaden. In both Södra Innerstaden and Rosengård, co-operative housing and housing associations form the majority form of tenure, whilst owner occupation is minimal, constituting only 1% in Södra Innerstaden. It is impossible to establish a causal relationship between the levels of criminality and the homogeneity of the tenure system in Newcastle. Nevertheless, the municipality's own desire to see a mix of tenure developed in these areas suggests that a second visit of the Housing Committee to the Swedish city should not be ruled out.

The comparison of Western districts of Newcastle and Södra Innerstaden indicates that there are elements of the Swedish local state that have mediated their own structural economic crisis, with greater aptitude than was the case in Newcastle. At the outset of chapter three, it was suggested that a judgement of 'success', in the context of an historical comparison, was inherently problematic, due to the level of moral judgement implied. However, what is being articulated here, is not that Newcastle failed, but rather that Malmö developed the mechanisms, in the form of a more effective local infrastructure, which have been equipped to mediate certain aspects of large scale change. As Breuilly confirms, this conclusion is in fact quite legitimate provided that the relationship between the general and the particular is made clear in both cases.⁹⁴ Finally, the very current concern regarding the problems experienced in Rosengård is still too contemporary to allow adequate historical summary. Nevertheless the concern surrounding the integration of substantial numbers of political immigrants and refugees, that have been pushed for political reasons, rather than drawn to an expanding economy in Malmö, is largely absent from Newcastle, where the number of political immigrants remains insignificant by comparison. This reiterates the extent to which a seemingly similar experience of economic decline has manifested itself in radically different circumstances.

Whilst it fell to this chapter to examine the relationship between economic decline and social change in both cities, the next chapter takes the differences in social structure into consideration, when examining the ways in which both cities have attempted to capitalise on 'city identity', in order to promote economic, but also cultural regeneration.

STADSDELAR DELOMRÅDEN

— STADSDELSGRÄNS
 = DELOMRÅDESGRÄNS

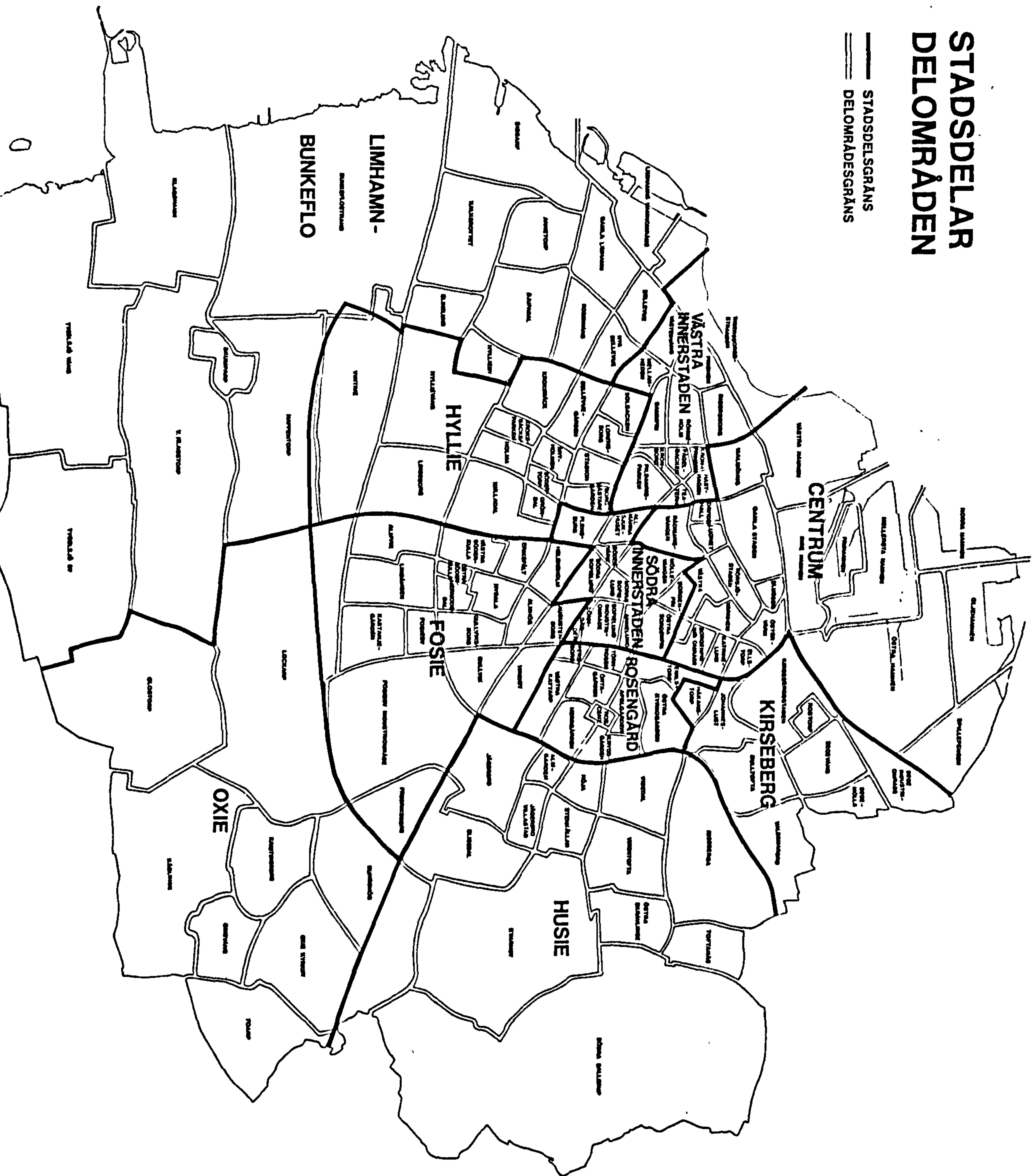


Figure 4.1
Ward Map of Malmö

Source: *Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1994*

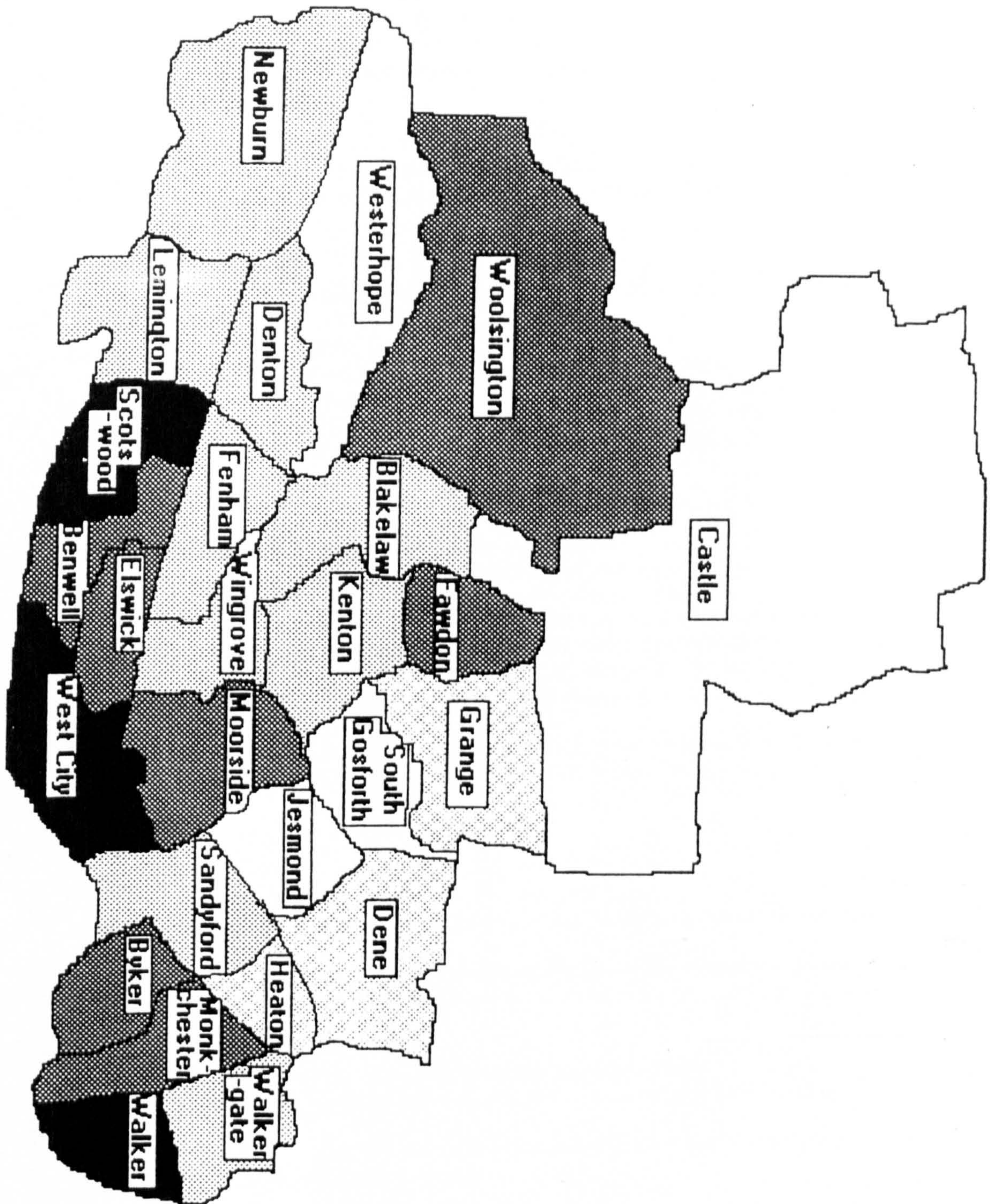


Figure 4.2
Ward Map of Newcastle

Source: *Newcastle City Profiles 1991*

- ¹ M. Stigendal *Levnadsundersökningen av Malmö* op.cit. p. 6
- ² This is not to say that questions about why Newcastle is not one of Britain's most ethnically diverse cities in the post war period are not important, but this question is better addressed via comparison with other British cities, given that the rapid increase in foreign inward migration to Malmö is as much a comment on the particularities of Swedish immigration policy as it is of Malmö's particular development.
- ³ *Malmö Statistik Årsbok* 1988
- ⁴ L. Berggren & M. Greiff op.cit p.24
- ⁵ F.D Scott op.cit, argues that rapid industrial growth in Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century was in part based on a superabundant population searching for means to support its growth. p. 438
- ⁶ L. Berggren & M. Greiff op.cit p.25
- ⁷ Ibid
- ⁸ Ibid p.58
- ⁹ D. Byrne, 'Immigrants and the Formation of the North East Industrial Working Class', *North East Labour History* 30, 1996
- ¹⁰ H.Mess op.cit p.166 (emphasis added)
- ¹¹ As of the 1971 Local Government act, Newcastle's boundaries included, Gosforth UP, Newburn UD, Castle Ward, Brunswick CP, Dinnington CP, Hazelrig, Woolsington, Moot Hall and precincts
- ¹² In Malmö, women comprised 40% of the total industrially occupied by the 1920's. This can be contrasted to Newcastle where the 1921 Census recorded 4% industrially occupied women.
- ¹³ H.Mess op.cit p. 28
- ¹⁴ R. Ohlsson, op.cit p. 22
- ¹⁵ Ibid, p. 25
- ¹⁶ *Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health Newcastle upon Tyne 1994*
- ¹⁷ Newcastle Health Authority 1990 *First Report of the Director of Public Health*
- ¹⁸ That there was a clear upsurge post 1940, and that a sharp decline after 1964, led J. Winter to conclude that : " the war is not a new phase in demographic history, rather a temporary deviation from a trend toward family limitation set in the 1870's and likely to continue for the foreseeable future". J. Winter, "The Demographic Consequences of the War" in Harold L. Smith ed. *War and Social Change British Society in the Second World War* (1986) pp.151-78
- ¹⁹ Census 1929-61
- ²⁰ P. Baldwin *The Politics of Social Solidarity: class basis of the European Welfare State* (1990) p. 64
- ²¹ G. Esping Andersen, 'The Making of a Social Democratic Welfare State' in Misgeld Molin and Åmark (ed.) op cit. p. 45
- ²² Ibid
- ²³ Ibid
- ²⁴ The Times 9/2/84
- ²⁵ Such a view is espoused by J. Ross, in *Thatcher and Friends* 1983 (Pluto)
- ²⁶ TCO the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees and SACO the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations.
- ²⁷ A notable exponent of the view that British welfare expenditure after 1945, undermined overall economic performance, is C. Barnett *The Audit of War, The Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation* (1986)
- ²⁸ Y. Hirdman *Att lägga livet tillrätta* (1990) p.10
- ²⁹ Such as, K. Orfali 'The Rise and Fall of the Swedish Model' op.cit pp 417-451
- ³⁰ *Woman's Two Roles* is the English title of this book that was co-authored with Viola Klein and published in 1957.
- ³¹ J. Jenson & R. Mahon 'Representing Solidarity: Class Gender and Crisis in Social Democratic Sweden' in *New Left Review* Sept-Oct 1993 pp 76-100
- ³² P. Hall (et. al) *Social Policy, Choice, Conflict and Progress* (1977) p. 229
- ³³ Newcastle City Council Minutes 1967-68 p. 263
- ³⁴ Ibid (emphasis added)
- ³⁵ R. Ohlsson op.cit p. 37
- ³⁶ *Malmö Statistik Årsbok* 1975 Tabel 134

- ³⁷ Protokoll fort vid Arsmöte med Malmö Arbetarrekommuns Representskap. Thursday 16 March 1967 at the Amiralen.
- ³⁸ Chapter 2 p. 19-20
- ³⁹ P. Billing and M. Stigendal, *Hegemonins Decennier* p. 159
- ⁴⁰ R. Colls, (1994) op.cit p.13
- ⁴¹ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit pp 130-137
- ⁴² N. Vall *Explorations in Comparative History* op.cit Ch. 2. Footnote 136
- ⁴³ R. Ohlsson op.cit p. 52
- ⁴⁴ *Newcastle City Profiles 1991*
- ⁴⁵ *First Report of the Director of Public Health Newcastle Health Authority 1990*
- ⁴⁶ Malmö Stads Historia op.cit p. 44 , p. 350
- ⁴⁷ See L. Olsson *On the Threshold of the People's Home of Europe* (1997) for a specific discussion of the evolution of a Swedish refugee labour policy. p. 17
- ⁴⁸ Ibid
- ⁴⁹ L. Olsson *Jewish Communities in North East England 1755-1980* (1980) p. 165
- ⁵⁰ L. Olsson op.cit. p. 165
- ⁵¹ Newcastle Corporation Social Services Department *Social Characteristics of Newcastle upon Tyne 1974*
- ⁵² *Social Characteristics of Newcastle upon Tyne 1974* op.cit
- ⁵³ *Malmö Statistik Arsbok 1994* p. 40
- ⁵⁴ G. Jonsson and V. Antossan, *I Motvind och Medvind. Facket I Forandringens tid. En bok om LO sectionen i Malmö* (1988) ch. 4 passim
- ⁵⁵ L. Ohlsson op.cit p. 77
- ⁵⁶ R. Ohlsson op.cit. pp. 77-78
- ⁵⁷ Ibid
- ⁵⁸ In Newcastle, it has been suggested that radical politics diffused potential tension between the new and pre-existing population. J. Hugman, *Joseph Cowan of Newcastle and Radical Liberalism*, PhD thesis, (1993), ch 4, 'The Irish Dimension of Tyneside Politics', passim
- ⁵⁹ Most notably C. Booth *Life and Labour of the People of London* (1902) and B.S Rowntree *Poverty: a study of town life* (1902)
- ⁶⁰ G. Therborn *European Modernity and Beyond* (1990) p. 151
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² A. Myrdhal, *Nation and Family The Swedish Experiment in Democratic and Population Policy* from the *International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction* Dr. Karl Mannheim (ed.) (1945)
- ⁶³ Wiklund, M., *Sluted på folkhemsstrategin inför en repetition av sista akten* (unpublished paper, Department of History, Lund University, 1998)
- ⁶⁴ M. Stigendal *Sociala värden I olika sociala världar* p. 31
- ⁶⁵ M. Stigendal *Sociala värden I olika sociala världar* p. 31
- ⁶⁶ Cited in P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit p. 314
- ⁶⁷ M. Stigendal (1999) op.cit. p. 32
- ⁶⁸ B. Campbell *Goliath, Britain's Dangerous Places* (1992)
- ⁶⁹ See for instance J. Lewis & A. Townsend eds. *The North South Divide: Regional Change in Britain in the 1980s*, (1989), which amongst other things, confirmed Townsend, Philimore and Beatie's conclusions regarding the causal relationship between material deprivation and inequalities in health in the northern region, 'The Geography of ill health and health care' S. Curtis and J. Mohan p. 190. See also D. Massey ed. *Uneven Re-Development* op.cit for an example of the argument for the spatial dimensions of social change at work in British society since 1970.
- ⁷⁰ See for instance the survey carried out for *The Economist* in December 1983
- ⁷¹ M. Stigendal (1999) op.cit p. 228
- ⁷² Interview with M. Martin Inner City Officer for the Unemployment Service in Newcastle May 1997
- ⁷³ This comparison of Rosengård the West End and Södra Innerstaden, draws heavily upon work undertaken by Dr. Stigendal for M. Stigendal (1999) op.cit..
- ⁷⁴ C. Webster 'Healthy or Hungry Thirties?' *History Workshop Journal* Issue 13 Spring 1982 p. 120
- ⁷⁵ S. Gatzanis *The Newcastle Thousand Family Study. The Influence of Social and Environmental factors from 2 Earlier Generations on the Development and Formation of a Subsequent Third Generation of School Aged Children.* (1985) p. 39

⁷⁶ *The Making of the Ruling Class* op.cit

⁷⁷ *Newcastle Development Plan* 1963

⁷⁸ Journal 17.10.1973 p. 8

⁷⁹ P. Townsend, P. Philimore & A. Beattie *Health and Deprivation. Inequality and the Nation* (1988), p. 44 Table 4.1

⁸⁰ D. Davis *A Factorial Ecology of Malmö 1965. An Essay on the Social Geography of the City.* (1971) Cited in Billing & Stigendal op.cit. (1992) p. 194

⁸¹ The politics of this difference exist in the fact that the most radical slum clearance of the West End, which the building of Cruddas Park high rise characterised, was a political statement of intent, a statement that sought to distance a Labour council, in terms of housing ambition, from previous Conservative housing record. N.Vall *Explorations in Comparative History* op.cit ch 3 passim

⁸² M. Stigendal (1999) op.cit p. 226

⁸³ M. Stigendal (1999) op.cit

⁸⁴ *Newcastle upon Tyne City Profiles Results from the 1991 Census* p. 54

⁸⁵ D. Byrne 'Dangerous Places? A Response' *North East Labour History Society Bulletin* No.27 1993 pp 75-82

⁸⁶ M. Stigendal (1998) op.cit. p.235

⁸⁷ West City Strategy (Study commissioned by Newcastle City Council's Community and Leisure Services Department in December 1995)

⁸⁸ West City Strategy (1995) op.cit

⁸⁹ Interview with Newcastle Benefits Agency staff April 1997

⁹⁰ Interview with Newcastle Benefits Agency staff April 1997

⁹¹ Interview with Benefits Agency Staff April 1997

⁹² M. Stigendal (1998) op.cit p. 235

⁹³ *Annual Report of the North Benwell Partnership 1995/6* p. 29 figure 2, gives a clear indication of the disproportionate regeneration spend upon improving the housing stock in these areas.

⁹⁴ J. Breuilly op.cit p. 278

Chapter five

The Rise of the Cultural Sector in Malmö and Newcastle

An emphasis on culture as a force against economic adversity is a common theme in many previously industrialised cities in Western Europe. Since it opened in 1997, Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao has turned a run down Spanish industrial town into one of Europe's premier tourist destinations. In Britain Glasgow's programme of urban regeneration in 1990 won it the distinction of being nominated European City of Culture. This theme can also be discerned in Malmö and Newcastle. In 1990, the local Social Democrats identified culture as one of the strong sectors in Malmö, endowed with the potential to provide a new identity for the city.¹ Three years later an organisation called 'Arts Business Ltd' was commissioned to make an assessment of Newcastle's cultural strengths. The authors concluded that Newcastle's potential for 'Creative Capital' should not be underestimated, since it was endowed with the dual qualities of a distinctive cultural identity and a series of fine cultural institutions, namely Europe's best chamber orchestra, an unequalled theatre and major regional drama companies.²

The undeniably disparate definitions, which the word culture generates, are evident here. In Malmö culture was assigned the task of generating new identity, whilst in Newcastle *Creative Capital* acknowledges an inherited cultural identity. Both nevertheless assume a coherence of 'culture' and 'identity'. Paradoxically 'culture' refers in both cases almost exclusively to 'culture as the arts', more specifically, the civic theatre, and municipal art galleries genre of visual arts. Conversely, 'distinctive identity' or 'old identity', are not defined by either cultural protagonist, though it is probably safe to assume an implicit reference to industrial/working class identities. These cloudy distinctions between culture and identity nevertheless reflect scholarly ambiguity. In his most recent work, Göran Therborn confirms that the 'identity' concept, though rich in potential for sociology, remains the unacknowledged charlatan of most contemporary theory.³ The concept of culture has evolved further, but still

requires clarification. Essential ambiguities are nevertheless incorporated by the similarities in the shared emphasis on culture in Malmö and Newcastle. Why is 'distinctive' cultural identity seen as separate from cultural institutions in Newcastle? Why is culture assigned the task of creating new identity in Malmö? Does this mean that Malmö's old identity was somehow not cultural? Similarly, the perceived poles of popular and elite culture or an emphasis on culture as a force for social change are essential, if implicit themes in most scholarly discourses.

The emphasis on culture as a mechanism for social change is most frequently associated with British Cultural Studies. Amongst others, E.P Thompson was influential in providing a platform for the emancipatory stance in the study of culture after 1962. The overarching aim, to bring the culture of everyday life into the scholarly discourse and vice versa, is not contested here. Rather, the definition of culture, as derived from the notion that consciousness is realised first in cultural and social spheres provides the challenge for the comparative historian. Although Thompson combined empirical selection with an enduring commitment to the individual's experience in history for his definition of culture, it was adjusted according to a Marxian perspective of social change. For the comparative historian, case particularity is lost in this approach, which confines culture to a delimited causal relationship. Likewise, the rigours of that causal relationship are not alleviated by Althusserian variants, which exchange causal determinacy for structural causality. An attempt to depart from the legacy of nineteenth century theory in the twentieth century can be found amongst the new cultural historians. For its protagonists, culture is synonymous with difference or particularity. Particularity is in turn used to reject its positioning within the overarching framework of historical change. In the work of Clifford Geertz for instance, the 'difference' manifests itself in the 'thick description' of culture as texts. Similarly Roger Chartier's symbolic world represents a critique of the *Annalists'* attempt to quantify 'mentalité'. Nonetheless as their critics point out, once the idiographic surface of their work is bypassed rarely do the differences studied escape at least qualified responses to modernity.⁴ On reading Geertz thick description of the Balinese cockfight, William Rosebury notes that the textual references to the

conflict between Bali and Java, which Geertz sees as symbolised by cock-fighting, should not be seen as unrelated to profound overarching issues of state formation and imperialism, in short historical change.⁵ This suggests that the ‘islands of culture’ approach is also limited for the comparative historian, whose study presumes the relatedness of overarching themes to individual cases. Geertz’s own work, particularly regarding his methodology indicates that ‘thick description’ is not necessarily synonymous with the cultural relativism seized upon so readily by his critics.⁶

The relationship between the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle, and the methodologies expounded by relevant cultural theorists, will be given greater attention in chapter seven. At this stage, it is enough to indicate that this chapter proceeds with a definition of culture, which is furnished to take into account the parallels and distinctions of both cases. Beneath this definition, the thematic areas covered can be articulated. Three themes underscore this chapter, representing three distinct types of cultural activity in both cities after 1945. The first concerns what might be called ‘high culture’, but is referred to as ‘official culture’ throughout this chapter and is concerned to examine the role of the local authorities in supporting or promoting official cultural activity after 1945. The second theme concerns popular culture, a term which refers to the experience of working class associational life after 1945, but which concerns primarily the history of both cities’ football clubs in that period. Thirdly, what could be termed ‘radical culture’, is also examined, with particular emphasis on the shared instances of cultural conflict during the 1960s. These three themes provide the background for a greater understanding of the shared use of culture as a tool for promoting economic regeneration in both cities since 1980.

Malmö Stadsteater (Malmö City Theatre) opened in September 1944. The theatre represents an important juncture in the social history of Malmö. 1944 similarly was the beginning of a period of intense economic and significant urban growth in Malmö and the theatre’s built proportions reflected the burgeoning sense of expansion in the city. Measuring 60,000 square metres, consisting of 1.5000 tons of iron and 56.000 bags of cement it also complemented the vertically integrated local construction industry.⁷

Moreover, utilising pioneering building techniques and incorporating radical architectural features, the theatre was more 'modern' than anything witnessed in Europe to date, apart from similar German theatres destroyed during the war. It also raised Malmö's profile in the international cultural arena. Mr Gordon Young from the Daily Express in London attended the official launch in 1944. He subsequently offended the local press by publishing two contradictory accounts of the evening. The piece for Malmö's *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, enthused about an evening that would surely secure Malmö's status on the international cultural circuit for posterity. In London the Express ran with the less convivial headline "Danes glimpse orchids and diamonds in Sweden on the fringe of the war".⁸ Whilst there was naturally less focus on that European dimension in domestic coverage, Malmö's new asset was nevertheless cause for some consternation elsewhere in Sweden. Vilhelm Moberg saw this provincial development threatening Stockholm's cultural superiority. Malmö's new theatre had a larger audience capacity than the sum total of the capital's historic theatres. Similarly, on visiting the theatre after it was opened a former director of the capital's Dramaten had to pinch himself as a reminder that he was indeed in a provincial Swedish city.⁹ Evidence of a sustained attempt in Malmö to compete with the capital cannot be ascertained with satisfaction here. It is possible to demonstrate instead that many aspects of this development were designed for and particular to Malmö. In Gothenburg, the arts correspondent of *Handel och Sjöfartstidningen* (Trade and Shipping newspaper) asserted that whilst a city like Malmö would naturally have a big and beautiful theatre, this also implied the added dimension of 'folk' theatre in the city. Members of Föreningen Malmö Stadsteater (Malmö City Theatre Association) were originally responsible for levying support for a public theatre in Malmö. The association was established in 1924. It favoured a municipal theatre because previously theatrical performances had been brought to Malmö by touring theatre groups whose expense implied that theatre had not been available to the majority of Malmö's population. In the theatre association's opinion, Malmö required its own premises to eschew the emergence of a cultural elite in the city.¹⁰

Notwithstanding Newcastle's historic theatrical traditions, with its Theatre Royal established already at the end of the eighteenth century, the immediate post 1945 years similarly reflected a new interest in official city culture. In Newcastle, however, the impetus for focussing on the city's cultural infrastructure was derived directly from the Arts Council of Great Britain. On May the 17th 1946, the Arts Council of Great Britain issued the *Report of the First North Regional Conference of the Arts Council*. The opening reception, was held at the Royal Station Hotel in Newcastle, and was attended by some 180 people from throughout the Northern Region.¹¹ The conference focussed upon the scope of activities a regional art council could undertake. Central to the discussion, was the question of how to bring art to 'The Man in the Back Street'.¹²

"THE MAN IN THE BACK STREET came up for discussion throughout the conference. It was the fact that he had been open to the propaganda of the worst types of commercial entertainment manager. He had not much been affected by the revival in the arts and was not likely to take out the trouble to seek out new and comparatively expensive form of entertainment in some centre miles from his home. A brilliant metropolitan development in the arts would eventually have its effect on every corner of the country, but the immediate problem was to bring the arts to every man's doorstep at a price he could pay."¹³

The conference concluded rather ambivalently that whilst it was every man's right to enjoy his own choice, "those who wanted a better type of art must induce the Man on the Back Street also to want something better".¹⁴ Despite the ambiguities, Newcastle City Council responded to the potential for cultural inward investment by establishing a Special Committee for Cultural Activity in 1954. Newcastle upon Tyne Bach Choir Society, the Photographic Society and the Newcastle Philharmonic Society were amongst the organisations granted assistance from the Committee in 1955.¹⁵ In 1960, the same committee held a meeting at Mansion House in the city to explore the potential for founding an organisation for cultural activities throughout the north east region along the lines proposed by the arts council in 1946. Subsequently North East Association for the Arts was established.¹⁶ Mrs Gladys Robson, Chairman of the Cultural Activities Committee recommended that Newcastle Council become a member of Northern Arts at its inception and a sum of £5,125 was set aside as a contribution from the council in the first year.¹⁷ Subsidy was approved for Newcastle's

first civic theatre, The Playhouse in 1966 for which Arts Council provided half the subsidy and Northern Arts were partners in guaranteeing any loss. Alderman Robson was especially pleased that the Arts Council and Northern Arts were co-operating on the matter of a new civic theatre for Newcastle upon Tyne.¹⁸ Ultimately the work undertaken by the Cultural Activities Committee was subsumed by Northern Arts. Although its chief priority was to support the larger institutions, provision for 'local artists' was also a stated ambition. The new interest in arts infrastructure after 1945 in Malmö nevertheless stimulated debate concerning cultural democracy in the city, which was absent from Newcastle. What is more 'the arts' in Malmö also provide a bridge to the theme of 'working class associational life': in comparison with Malmö it is clear that a similar thematic alliance is less plausible in Newcastle.

Sandro Malmqvist, the first director of the new theatre in Malmö was determined to ensure that civic theatre in Malmö would be synonymous with 'folk' (people's) theatre in the first instance. A specific notion of 'salon democracy' was incorporated in the structure of the building. Departing from the baroque tradition of theatre design with high ramps and rows, (designed allegedly to ensure social distinction), this new folk theatre had elastic walls and a thrusting stage that combined audience and actors in one mysterious entity.¹⁹ Combined with a commitment to keep ticket prices low the new theatre provides evidence of an attempt to provide the citizens of Malmö with a democratic cultural service. Similar features associated with an earlier 'socialist theatre movement' are discernible in Newcastle. In 1911, the Newcastle branch of the British Socialist Party had its headquarters in rooms situated in Leazes Park Road. The premises were also leased to the Clarion Dramatic Society to help subsidise the party. When the Party moved to Percy Street the Clarion Society continued with regular performances of Ibsen and Shaw.²⁰ During the twenties the Clarion Society departed from its original purpose of subsidising the party to actively propagating socialism. In the spring of 1921 George Bernard Shaw visited the Theatre Company and subsequently the Clarion Dramatic Society changed its name to 'The People's Theatre'. It moved to its present premises in Heaton with the help of Lord and Lady Trevelyan after the Second World War.²¹

The city council's renewed interest in cultural provision in the city, did not generate a significant debate about art and socialism, or art and democracy in Newcastle. In part the Conservative majority in the council explains the absence of financial support for the People's Theatre before 1958. Nevertheless when it was included in the cultural debate, it was primarily the theatre's commercial success, rather than its democratic virtues, which prompted recognition. The newly established Northern Arts acknowledged the People's Theatre as a success in 1963 and conceded that in comparison with the £130,000 raised by the company, its own contribution of £2,5000 to an 'enterprising amateur body' was minimal.²²

Malmö's new theatre was conversely central to the wider programme of social democratic undertaking in this period. In both cities there was new emphasis on large cultural organisations after 1945. In Malmö, the theatre was established as a result of interest generated by an indigenous theatre association, in response to the specifically local needs of Malmö both as a growing industrial city and as Sweden's foremost example of social democracy. Interest in large cultural organisations in Newcastle was conversely prompted by initiatives from the newly established Northern Arts. The nature of this institution meant that local needs were determined externally. What is more, in Newcastle this also inaugurated an era of regional cultural administration. In Malmö cultural administration was as yet not integrated regionally.

According to recent scholarship, the British Art Centre Movement, which established the regional art councils after the Second World War, failed to generate interest in the arts at a mass level because the wartime audiences for the arts declined significantly after 1945. Rising affluence and an increase in consumer choice combined, it is suggested, to ensure that this choice was not to visit art galleries.²³ The attitude of the movement's prominent forefathers, such as John Maynard Keynes, is nevertheless of more interest to the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle. Keynes, it seems, was opposed in principle to participatory folk traditions in the arts.²⁴ The dual particularities of the British case, which on the one hand perpetuated an elite tradition

in culture and on the other adhered to the belief that participation was a matter for individual choice anyway is central to understanding the particularities of Newcastle and Malmö. But before expanding on this theme, the different traditions of British and Swedish associational life, need to be taken into account.

Swedish scholarship on the theme of associational life takes the 'folk' movements of the late nineteenth century, early twentieth century as a starting point.²⁵ The Labour movement, Temperance and Free Church associations were prioritised for a long time in studies, which attempted to explain Social Democratic success in terms of Swedish predilection for collectivism. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, associations usually affiliated to the labour movement, were seen as pivotal in mobilising working class political representation. In the period before 1932 these associations were precursors of the growth proper of the Social Democratic welfare state.²⁶ Recent scholarship has nonetheless viewed this essentially functionalist approach with scepticism. Analysis that tended to be restricted to the associations of the labour movement paid little attention to the co-operative movement, for 'ideological reasons', and underestimated the importance of the associations of the women's, sport, housing and education movements. Recent focus has also emphasised the cultural dimensions of associational life in order to shift the attention from the function of the association to address the, as yet inadequately explored question of why so many Swedish people joined so many associations.²⁷

In Malmö, developments after 1945 confirm that only a fluid definition of associational life is adequate. Between 1945-55 the majority of associations, which received support from the municipality, provided charitable welfare functions, particularly health services.²⁸ The actual number of associations in receipt of municipal grants did not diminish until the seventies, though it ceased to be exclusively associations that provided welfare assistance that applied. Between 1954-64 a shift in the character of associations is evident, due to the rise of 'cultural' associations. Whilst the City Theatre Association was present in 1944, the Labour Movement's Cultural History Association, the Arts Nova Association, the Fine Art and the Chamber Music

Association, were amongst many new associations in 1964.²⁹ Joining associations was an activity in Malmö that did not diminish when the voluntaristic dimensions were subsumed by the state. This is significant to the comparison, as it suggests that in Malmö there continued to be established channels for the organisation of 'associational life' after 1945. It also implies that 'associational life' was not a means of social affiliation exclusive to the manual working class.

British scholars have spent longer studying British associational life, but do not provide any plausible answers to the questions raised by their Swedish counterparts. The salient British differences in the experience of 'associational life' are nevertheless sustained. For Robert Gray, social reproduction through working class associational life was as vital to the success of the labour aristocracy as economic and political representation.³⁰ Although the labour aristocracy thesis has been challenged, the new more diverse social history perspective substantiates themes, which distinguish the British experience from the Swedish. Associational life in British scholarship is pivotal to working class experience and organisation. It is primarily social and there does not exist an equivalent emphasis on the relationship with the state. Indeed, its very diversity suggests that unlike Sweden, associational life remains organic in its organisation and growth, mirroring the more organic development of industrialism with all its regional variations. Paradoxically whilst it is amorphous, confirmed by recent debates on the issue of 'community networks', it is also more class based.³¹ Newcastle can be incorporated into the north eastern tradition of sustaining a plethora of working class associations: the ubiquitous 'social club' has been resilient even in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1986, the north east was recorded as having the highest concentration of social clubs compared to any other geographical area of Britain.³² In 1963, the secretary of Northern Arts had acknowledged that the region's unions of trade and social clubs ought to be harnessed by strategies aimed at developing arts across the board. The 'social clubs' were nevertheless conspicuous by their absence in the Northern Arts' authorised expenditure for that year.³³ Whilst it is not possible to ascertain with satisfaction whether this was either a product of popular disdain for the arts or of the elitism manifest in the organisation, the existence of these

variables helps to explain the different experience of associational life within official cultural policy in both cities. It is reflected in the absence of established contact points for traditional working class associations and the organisations responsible for official cultural provision in Newcastle after 1945. This also helps to explain why these developments remained essentially distinct in Newcastle after 1945, whereas in Malmö associations that represented both 'popular' and 'high' cultural activity were increasingly municipalised in this period.

The differences in the structure and organisation of 'associational life' do not detract from significant thematic similarities in Malmö and Newcastle after 1945. To this end the contribution of football to cultural life in both cities will be addressed. Whilst tenuously linked to 'culture as the arts', the issues of distinctive identity and working class culture are insufficiently dealt with if football culture in both cities is not incorporated. The development of football cultures in Malmö and Newcastle has affected many aspects of local identity. Both cities' football teams became important for working class affiliation during the first half of the twentieth century. During the fifties and sixties, Malmö FF and Newcastle United shared national acclaim. Nonetheless, the different directions football has taken in each city since the 1970's, is also suggestive of the underlying differences in the structure and organisation of cultural life, reflected increasingly in Malmö and Newcastle from the 1980's.

Whilst football became synonymous with working class affinity in both cities during the first half of the twentieth century, this was not an inevitable development in either. Football at the end of the nineteenth century in Sweden was highly influenced by the British 'amateur gentleman'. Originally it was dominated as a spectator sport by a few middle class clubs in Sweden's larger coastal towns. In Malmö the middle class club, Malmö IFK, was challenged by the emergence of Malmö FF in 1910. The latter was markedly working class in respect of players, spectators and directors.³⁴ In Britain where football became a spectator sport by the 1880's, the resonance of the 'amateur gentleman' was paradoxically eclipsed by the rise of professionalism already by the end of the nineteenth century. Northern clubs challenged the exclusivity implied by the

amateur gentleman, where working men were some of the most talented players.³⁵ By the end of the 1880's an agreement to legalise professionalism, albeit under strict controls, had been procured. Notwithstanding the impact this difference has had on the two national games this century, it needs to be pointed out that unlike many other northern British cities, football was not the first sport to attract the loyalty of the working class spectator in Newcastle. It was professional competitive rowing, which became the first focal point of working class sporting pride in Newcastle.³⁶

There are many plausible explanations for the rise to ascendancy of football in the individual cases of Malmö and Newcastle. In this instance that the two clubs came to represent a broader local identity than any other spectator sport is seen as crucial to understanding the relationship between football and working class culture in both cities. In Malmö the relationship with the Social Democrats is central. Before Malmö FF was established, there was already a tradition of recruiting members from the larger industrial employers to play in the city's many smaller football associations. After 1910, Malmö FF extended a pre-existing alliance between sport and work to the Social Democrats. In 1929, Eric Persson prominent social democrat with contacts in HSB, became the association's secretary.³⁷ In addition, the shipyard Kockums was not simply Malmö's most important employer, but was also an important source of recruitment for both players and supporters of the burgeoning football association.³⁸ In Newcastle, prominent players were responsible for ensuring that the Club came to be synonymous with city identity in its formative years. Colin Veitch, team captain before and during the 1920's, brought essential new tactics to the game. He was active in forming a player's union, but also in promoting the interests of the working class off the pitch.³⁹ Whilst personalities such as Veitch have enjoyed resonant loyalty in the city, Newcastle United's relationship with civic politics has never been entirely consensual.

A particular feature of Newcastle United, compared to many other British football clubs is that it has played at St James's Park, in the city centre since the 1890's. The revered location has nevertheless often determined the Club's relationship with the

city's officialdom in antagonistic terms. The site in Gallowgate, is an intake from the Town Moor, which is legally the 'estate and herbage' of the city's Freemen whilst the undersoil is the property of Newcastle Corporation. The 1950's inaugurated a new era of fame for the club, characterised by Jackie Milburn's meteoric success, but underlying tensions with their official landlords were subsequently revealed. Between 1930 and 1950, MFF played their matches at Malmö Sports Fields, (Malmö Idrottsplats), which was centrally located in the city, and was one of the city's best loved meeting places after the People's Park.⁴⁰ In 1958 a new stadium was built for MFF, situated next to Pildamsparken, a greenfield site on the outskirts of the city centre. Whilst this effectively severed the links with city venues linked to old associational football, such as beer halls and restaurants clustered around the old Malmö Sports Fields, it also strengthened the formal political associations of the nascent years. Between 1950-60 the success of MFF was seen as representative of Malmö's success as Sweden's foremost industrial city.⁴¹

By 1950 Malmö was widely regarded as Sweden's foremost sport city, not least because Malmö FF dominated Swedish football. During the fifties and early 1960's crowds in excess of 15,000 regularly attended both the home and away games.⁴² Interest in MFF's fortunes however, extended beyond the realms of local pride in Malmö due to increased municipal involvement during the 1960s. What is more, municipal interest in sport and leisure in Malmö also needs to be seen in the context of national political strategies to incorporate sport into social democratic ambitions. When Tage Ehrlander launched his 'strong society' strategy in the sixties, sport was seen as central in providing citizens with the physical and social equipment necessary for participating in Swedish democracy.⁴³ Malmö was a national example in the implementation of strategies that would promote a 'strong society'.⁴⁴ Significantly Malmö FF's strength in this period, did not eclipse the importance of small associations. Indeed support for small clubs was prolific, and can be seen in the increase in the number of sports fields in the city from 5-29 and football pitches 46-68 between 1960-75. In 1967, Malmö City Council formed a special committee to

oversee leisure and sport provision in the city, whose chief aim was to endorse the valuable social function of sport.⁴⁵

In many respects Malmö FF's success during the fifties was one of several instances where the augmentation of municipal activity directly impacted upon associational life in Malmö. In Newcastle associational football, which has always prevailed, remained voluntaristic after 1945. At the level of the city's premier club, however, activity was increasingly both professionalised and commercialised. After the removal of the maximum wage rule in 1961 Ivor Allchurch became United's highest paid player, inaugurating an era in which wages continually soared. In Sweden football was first professionalised in 1967. Conversely relations with the local authority in Newcastle continued to sour. The club had submitted for permission to redevelop St James's Park in 1958 and were refused. In 1963, plans were resubmitted together with an application for an extension of their existing lease. The council and the planning committee, were unwilling to co-operate and took the opportunity to criticise United's management structure. Pressure from the council to democratise ownership of the Club was unwelcome, as was the council's own agenda: a 40,000 capacity multi-purpose stadium that would make Newcastle home to the 'Wembley of the North'.⁴⁶ Mutual hostility continued through the sixties and was abated in 1971 when planning permission for St James's Park was granted. Despite continued boardroom disputes at St James's Park the popular support for the Club remained undiminished. In 1951 Newcastle United beat Blackpool 2-0 in the Wembley FA Cup Final. A crowd of 100,000 gathered to watch Jackie Milburn score the two winning goals. The task of transporting fans to London became known by British Railways as 'Operation Magpie' and Newcastle's *Journal*, buoyed by the Club's success, speculated on the impact the onslaught of victorious Geordies would have on the capital.⁴⁷ In Malmö, the rise of Malmö FF in this period is closely related to the advance of social democratic strategies into new spheres of city life. In Newcastle, football represented a deeply rooted sense of self-awareness that was social and cultural, but also entailed an embittered conflict with the city's political elite. Before proceeding to address the

different fortunes of Malmö FF and Newcastle United since the 1970's, the wider context of cultural developments in that period needs to be addressed.

Whilst football evolved harmoniously with Malmö's political establishment during the sixties, this can be contrasted to the experience of the city's 'free cultural groups' in the same period. The 1960's witnessed new levels of participation in associations, which represented the expressive arts in Malmö. The evidence also suggests that the municipality was actively supporting much of this activity.⁴⁸ In 1975, however, a host of 'free cultural groups', occupied the Victoria Theatre on Södra Förstadgatan in Malmö. The consensual council responded by mobilising police and dogs to disperse the crowds. According to the protestors, the Victoria Theatre had provided space for free cultural groups to organise plays, film festivals, music sessions and other cultural activities for many years. Nonetheless, by the 1970's the Art Deco venue was in need of urgent and costly repair. The group had contacted the council who allegedly refused to subsidise refurbishment and threatened demolition. Leading free cultural activists subsequently established the Victoria Committee to defend their position.⁴⁹ Later the council agreed to renovate the building but on the condition that Skådebanan, an arts administrative group supported by the city, assume responsibility for the organisation of free culture in Victoria.⁵⁰ This was an unacceptable compromise, to the free cultural groups who in turn protested against, "folk culture and private culture's attempts to suppress free culture in Malmö", by occupying the Victoria Theatre.⁵¹

Plate 5.1

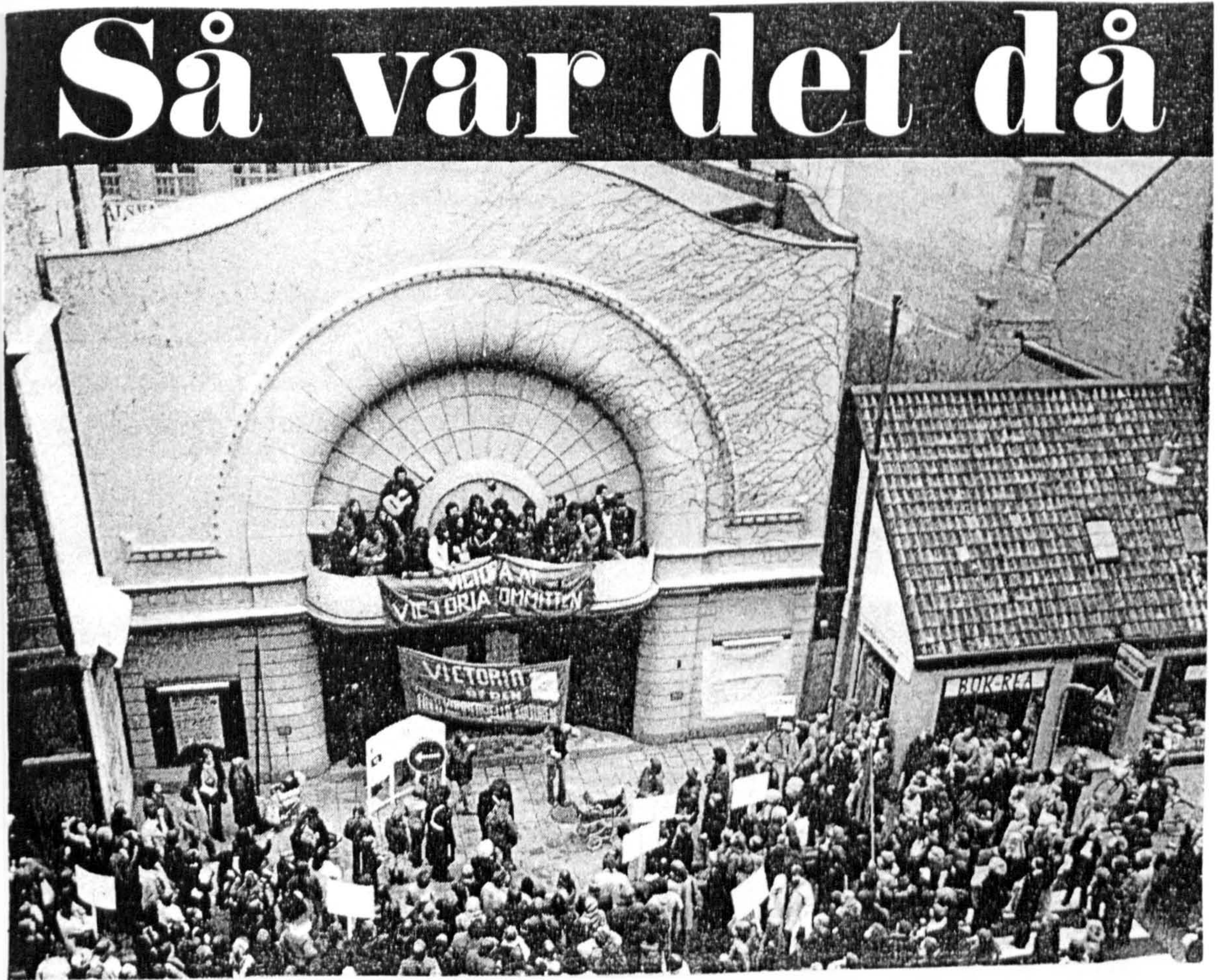


Plate 5.1
Victoria Protest in Malmö, 1976

Source: *Den Hialöse* 1976

The proclivity of cultural studies approaches to override case particularity is highlighted by the comparative approach here. Frederic Jameson's initially promising definition of culture as a nimbus between groups becomes difficult in the conclusion that interaction between groups only ever results in 'dialogically antagonistic moves'. The Victoria protests are therein an example of the innately unnatural relationship between groups. In short, groups share culture only because they cannot, like classes be coterminous with society.⁵² During the 1960's Newcastle experienced a degree of cultural conflict that can be paralleled with Malmö's protests. In 1965, the local poet Tom Pickard was refused financial support from Newcastle's Cultural Activities Committee.⁵³ In the same year, Pickard organised poetry reading for the American poet, Allan Ginsberg in Newcastle's Morden Tower. Basil Bunting, who was president of Northern Arts between 1972 and 1976, was also an ardent supporter of Pickard, partly because he recognised his talent, but also because he felt that the Morden Tower readings were a suitable cultural activity for a city like Newcastle. Great art was brought to the city and appreciated democratically in the Tower because there were no seats and, "the university professor sits next to the juvenile delinquent, the Gosforth girl next to the girl from Byker and the audience behaves like a single person".⁵⁴ Pickard's growing standing as the new poet of the North, was also matched by a reputation, fuelled by the media, of intense antipathy towards the local authority and Newcastle councillors and an, "apparently congenital phobia against conventional work".⁵⁵ His conflict with convention was confirmed in 1969 when he was banned from an open air poetry reading after police moved in to break up the free session being held in Eldon Square.⁵⁶ In 1972, a Street Theatre had been forcibly removed from outside the Civic Centre in Newcastle and Pickard with a group of local artists were arrested during a free cultural festival held on Newcastle's Town Moor.⁵⁷

Whilst these conflicts were common to both cities between 1965-75, the responses they precipitated do not confirm a shared causal factor. Basil Bunting's presidency of Northern Arts, is well placed to demonstrate the particular features of Newcastle. Basil Bunting, acknowledged as one of the greatest twentieth century British poets, was president of Northern Arts from 1972-1976. His resoundingly jaundiced appraisal of

regional arts patronage can be sampled in the bound volume of his presidential addresses published by Northern Arts.⁵⁸ According to Bunting, Northern Arts owed special responsibility in tending to the cultural affairs in the North, particularly in “nourishing the little spores of culture different from that of southern England”. His vision of re-establishing the truly Northumbrian spirit in painting and art gave the first eloquent expression to a regionalist perspective of Northern culture. His period as president, nevertheless, saw this prosaic inauguration utterly disappointed. Futile resources and unnecessary time spent bolstering the region’s cultural institutions, instead of supporting the individual local artist, fuelled his antipathy continually. What is more the tendency to import art from outside the region, served only to remind him that “Covent Garden and the Royal Ballet are almost completely barren of contemporary art.”⁵⁹ He resigned in 1977, in the same year, The Royal Shakespeare Company, subsidised by Northern Arts played its first spring season at the Theatre Royal and Newcastle Playhouse.⁶⁰

Bunting’s vociferous attacks on perceived acquiescence to London directives, his particular antipathy towards imported art and his enduring support for the local artist raises a series of questions for the comparison with Malmö. Following the Victoria conflict, the municipality appraised the stance towards ‘cultural policy’. Indeed, the crisis became pivotal in an attempt to define what the role of the local authority ought to be in the administration of culture. The Left Party Communists in Malmö (Vänster Partiet Kommunisterna), were ardent and vocal supports of the ‘free Victoria’ cause, arguing that the Theatre should be subsidised unconditionally.⁶¹ The dilemma for the social democratic majority was provided by the dual task of supporting cultural activity without prescription. For protagonists of the free cultural groups this was not possible in the light of the council’s unwillingness to support independent activity in Victoria. The views of Mrs. Sandell, social democratic councillor responsible for culture, exemplify the party’s position at this time.

“ In a democratic society like ours, we have to ensure that free groups are visible.... The question at hand is one of administration, since the local authority is subsidising the renovation and has stated that they want a

continuation of activity at Victoria, then how can this be taken to undermine free culture?"⁶²

For the Left Party Communists, the obvious response was that in a democratic society 'free groups' should remain free of administration both from the local authority and from the state.⁶³ Clearly a central theme of this debate was also a reassessment of the principles of local democracy. Mrs Sandell's incongruous notion of 'visible free groups' underlines the particularly Swedish dimension of this debate. The problems associated with the growth of an infrastructure, equipped to legislate for even the most informal aspects of city life, are at the very centre of the Victoria conflict. In the autumn of 1980, Malmö City council reopened the Victoria Theatre under the new management of Skådebanan. Skådebanan had been established in 1910 and was an association affiliated to the Education Movement, whose particular remit was to 'bring art to the people'. By 1970, Skådebanan had associations in nine regions throughout Sweden. It is not difficult to see why it won the Social Democrat's approval. The association had always maintained close links with the state, chiefly through the central labour market board. The executive committee during the seventies comprised representatives from the ABF, the blue and white-collar unions and SAF.⁶⁴ The disbanded Victoria Committee subsequently formed 'Huset' an association that organised an annual 'people's festival' in Malmö's Pildamspark. In 1976, this association applied for and received subsidy from the local authority.⁶⁵

In Newcastle, Bunting's views on Northern culture and his resignation from Northern Arts did not precipitate civic consternation. They failed to generate a debate about what cultural policy ought to be in the North. Indeed the activities of Northern Arts were only ever the subject of political discussion when the financial arrangements of the projects they subsidised were appraised. The comment by Alderman Grey in the *Evening Chronicle* in 1970 fairly represents the absence of any self-conscious attitude to arts or cultural policy at this time.

" I like this new attitude of Northern Arts, which is not prepared to hand out money to anyone who comes through the door. I like the attitude that says if you can make something pay then make it pay."⁶⁶

Although the fuel for Bunting's frustration is apparent, the comparison with Malmö again highlights the absence of a similar organisational structure in Newcastle. When the work of the Cultural Activities Committee was subsumed by Northern Arts in Newcastle, the power of the local authority to carry out its own affairs in this area was undermined. That is not to suggest that if similar structures had existed they would necessarily have generated similar debates about democracy. Rather the comparison suggests that the relationship between apparent similarities in both cities is different, and in so doing it also demonstrates that the application of a delimiting causal explanation is misplaced. Indeed if the comparison makes clear that the circumstances of case similarity are different, it should proceed to a deeper analysis of those differences.

An awareness of the issues raised by the Victoria controversy can be discerned in the subsequent administration of Malmö's first Municipal Art Gallery, Malmö Konsthall. The gallery was financed by the local authority with assistance from the national Social Democrats and was opened in March 1975.⁶⁷ In the fifteen years after its inception, the gallery held a series of popular exhibitions, which generated regular attendance. Whilst the focus was primarily on local and Swedish exhibits, in 1979 the gallery had an important international exhibition that had been successful in Stockholm previously. In that year the gallery had 87,000 visitors, which represented a 30% increase in attendance figures from previous years.⁶⁸ But it was the self-conscious attempt to provide a 'democratic' service that is the most significant feature of this period. In the same year the gallery undertook a project called 'Bildcirkus', which aimed to widen the gallery's appeal to Malmö's younger audience, whilst also collaborating with the city's remaining 'free' theatrical groups.⁶⁹ Enduring commitment to traditional aims can also be seen in the work undertaken with the labour movement, which ensured that yearly exhibitions and workshops were provided for the city's trade union associations.⁷⁰

Whilst the concern for the dynamics of local democracy precipitated a reappraisal of the cultural provision in Malmö, in Newcastle the changing economic circumstances after 1970, provided a challenge to prevailing attitudes to the provision of culture in the city. The Arts and Recreation Committee, was first established after the local government reorganisation of the mid seventies and its first operational year was 1980.⁷¹ It was formed in response to the changing nature of leisure, procured by the combined impact of growing unemployment and the intensified decline of traditional industrial work.⁷² In its first year in office, the construction and funding of the new Sports and Social Club for Scotswood was one of the largest projects undertaken. It was funded by Partnership money, levied by the Arts and Recreation Committee. It represented the new direction of the legislation, which emphasised the provision of effective recreational facilities within areas of 'multiple deprivation' whose impact was intended to be felt only by the local catchment area.⁷³ Although changing economic circumstances in the city motivated these new initiatives, they nevertheless contributed to a debate about Newcastle politics. The Report did not pledge to support all local areas in the city. It was biased towards 'inner city' and 'priority areas'. Amongst councillors from parts of the city that did not receive similar support, the feeling was clearly that there was a certain amount of inevitability in the way in which new resources were distributed. They would be directed solely towards 'priority areas', implying that the Labour held western areas of the city would be privileged.⁷⁴

That the distribution of resources in 'arts and recreation' in Newcastle prompted a resurgence of traditional geographical rivalries in the local Labour Party, is significant for the comparison with Malmö. By the 1970's the economic stability that had perpetuated cross party consensus was beginning to falter in Malmö. Social Democratic cultural policy was increasingly contested externally from the Left Party and the various elements of bourgeois opposition after 1975 in Malmö. Whilst these political differences are dealt with more extensively in chapter three, they also serve to illustrate the underlying differences in the direction of cultural policy after 1970. In Newcastle, the first self-conscious emphasis on providing cultural facilities at ward level occurred when there was a shift away from support for smaller cultural

associations to larger cultural institutions in Malmö. The increase in the number of individual associations receiving municipal support decreased rapidly after 1974. In 1974, there were still circa 35 associations that received grants from the council, amongst them 'Huset', the former members of the Victoria Committee. Nevertheless, ten years later no associations were recorded as having received or applied for grants from the local authority.⁷⁵ In 1991, Malmö Kommun conversely announced the first provision of a subsidy of 2,035 million crowns to Rooseum, the city's newly established private art gallery. Malmö's new emphasis on large-scale projects also reflects another distinction between the cultural policy direction in the two cities. Apart from being focussed at ward level, the remit of Newcastle's Arts and Recreation Committee, though diverse, ostensibly favoured recreation at the expense of the arts. In Malmö, the emphasis on support for large 'art' establishments needs to be seen in the context of the dramatic increase in attendance at Malmö Konsthall in the early 1990's.

Sune Nordgren was appointed director of Malmö Konsthall in February 1990. His aim was ambitious: Malmö was to become the 1990's art metropolis of the Nordic region. Having studied Graphics at Malmö's Forum during the 1970's, Nordgren was already familiar with the cultural particularities of that turbulent period. He had subsequently been the arts correspondent of both *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* in addition to editing one of Sweden's most prestigious art journals. In his vision for the gallery he drew parallels with the skills required for an editor of a successful journal, "Better to take a step too far than not to take a step at all".⁷⁶ Clearly, the intention for Malmö Konsthall extended beyond sustaining the gallery's status as a worthy municipal service. By the early 1990s, Malmö Konsthall had doubled its figures for attendance and in 1993 received a record 226,193 visitors.⁷⁷ After his first year as curator, Nordgren nevertheless appeared to have become rather sceptical about Malmö's future as a cultural centre. The response to some of his new initiatives in the city had seemingly been mixed. When the highly acclaimed Japanese artist, Toshikato au Eundo was commissioned by Nordgren to dig his famous holes in one of Malmö's parks, a leading social democrat had demanded that "this rubbish to be filled in

again".⁷⁸ For Nordgren this was symptomatic of the city's cultural malaise, as reinforced by official politicians. For Nodgren, this malaise was in turn a product of the predominance of male working class identity, since "it is football that is important in this city, it is snuff under the lip".⁷⁹

Notwithstanding initial conflict, Nordgren presided over Malmö's municipal art infrastructure during a period of rapid image change in the city. Indeed, seen from a national perspective Malmö had undergone the transformation, from a 'poured concrete' socialist stronghold in the 1970's to a vibrant cultural centre in the 1990's. Nordgren's hostility was ultimately about municipal financial support, rather than ideology. The council, accustomed to subsidising a 'democratic cultural service', was clearly unprepared for the financial input expected by a visionary like Nordgren. They provided and subsidised the gallery space, but were unwilling to contribute to the cost of works of art. This ambiguity led to the 'Keith Haring scandal', when Nordgren defied council regulations by keeping the gallery open on Mondays, to finance this costly international exhibit. The social democratic council did, nonetheless, establish "Kulturroteln" in 1990, a special Department for culture, and even Nordgren conceded eventually that talk of an 'art metropolis of the Nordic' region was more than just an exercise in public relations in Malmö. What is more, the promotion of culture, which the social democrats emphasised in this period, was adopted as policy by the bourgeois coalition, following the defeat of the social democrats in the 1991 local elections. It is important to stress that despite that the late 1980s and early 1990s, were exceedingly turbulent years in local politics in Malmö, the old 'left-right', collaboration was resilient in the arena of cultural policy.

Whilst Malmö city council did channel significant resources into sport and football, particularly during the sixties, it needs to be recognised that this was not only of importance to specifically male working class interests. One of the attempts to broaden the 'socialising potential' of sport reflects the growth of women's football at the end of the 1960's. IFK Malmö formed their first female team in 1968. By 1972 there were 43 women's football teams in Skåne and in that year Malmö FF also formed their

women's football team. Despite the broadening of participation that these developments implied, football was nonetheless eclipsed by its declining significance as a spectator sport in Malmö during the 1970's. By the 1980's Malmö FF games only attracted about 3,000 spectators.⁸⁰ Sport was professionalised in Sweden in 1967. What is important for the comparison is that in Malmö, this was clearly synonymous with increased commercialisation on the one hand and the declining significance of traditional networks of working class association on the other. In Newcastle consistent commercialisation of Newcastle United particularly during the 1980's did not undermine spectator support for the Club. Chelsea FC secretary confirmed that with 30,000 spectators the biggest crowd of the season in 1983 was provided by the visit of Newcastle United.⁸¹

Evidence of continued spectator support for Newcastle United, is provided by the ease with which the Club were able to consistently increase ticket prices. In 1983, the combined sale of newly priced season tickets stood at a record 9,000.⁸² The justification for increasing the price of tickets was provided by the ability to buy in internationally renowned stars. Kevin Keegan was enlisted to play for Newcastle FC in 1983. From Yorkshire originally, Keegan was soon accorded native status by Tynesiders. As a player he was in demand, and what became known as the 'Keegan factor' spread from Tyneside throughout the north east region. This was nonetheless inextricable with the growing importance of the Club's commercial activities. Between 1979-83, the revenue from Newcastle United's promotions had more than doubled. A not insignificant 20% was provided by the new sponsorship deal with Newcastle Breweries, who sponsored Keegan directly.⁸³ For David Hogg, the Club's commercial manager since 1979, "the promotional side of things has gone from being a small but important fundraising part of the club, to a situation of dependence".⁸⁴ Increased commercial activities in turn need to be seen in the context of increased star wages: Keegan was paid a staggering £80,000 by Newcastle United in his first twelve months on Tyneside, twice as much as anyone else in the club.

In contrast to Malmö, where the 1970's meant increased opportunities for female football teams in the city, similar developments were relatively absent from Newcastle. It needs to be emphasised though, that in international comparisons, the relative insignificance of women's football is generic to the British game and not particular to Newcastle. By the 1980's up to 500,000 women regularly played football in Sweden and Germany as compared to a mere 8,000 in Britain.⁸⁵ As part of the Youth Training scheme of 1983 Newcastle United provided six training places for school leavers. Amongst others, 16 year old Paul Gasgoine from Dunston was selected. The scheme was run jointly by Manpower Services Commission with the Footballers Further Education and Vocational Training Society Ltd.⁸⁶ Initiatives for women, were generated locally. In 1987, a local sports studies student, Kim Moore presented a blue print for promoting girls' football to Newcastle City Council. The three year plan to incorporate girls' football into the Council's own plans for developing boys' football in the region was welcomed by James Barney at Newcastle City Council and subsequently received financial backing from the Sports Council of Great Britain and Newcastle's Recreation Committee.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, there are as yet no women's football teams in Newcastle, which have achieved the same status as Malmö's notable female teams.

The declining significance of football in Malmö, specifically as a spectator sport after the 1970's, was the precursor to the rapid image change, which the city underwent during the early 1990's. In its heyday, Malmö FF, like Newcastle United, had represented a wider city identity, which was an intrinsic part of traditional networks of working class associational life in the city. After 1970 economic restructuring helped to undermine the networks that were associated principally with football. In contrast, faced with intensified economic decline during the late seventies, the significance of Newcastle United to the city's 'distinctive identity' was enduring.⁸⁸ Clearly, this was helped financially in Newcastle by the impact, which the arrival of international media coverage in the form of Sky TV generated. This kind of media coverage is as yet absent from the Swedish game, where increased commercialisation is tantamount to decline in local interest. It is nonetheless important to note that at the national level the

team and game has remained popular in Sweden. Moreover, the decline in spectator football is not synonymous with a decline in Malmö's significance as a sporting city more generally. Other games, most notably ice hockey have prevailed locally in football's wake, which can be contrasted with Newcastle, where football's unhindered rise to dominance, has eclipsed a previously diverse range of sports in the city.

The consistent buoyancy of ticket sales for Newcastle FC, also coincided with a thawing of relations with Newcastle City Council. Following the prevailing hostility of the 1960's and early 1970's, the city council conceded that, "Newcastle United is a PLC and for the council to interfere in the running of that club is wrong".⁸⁹ Notwithstanding the absence of a formal relationship, the views expressed by Labour Councillor Miss Steedman of the Arts and Recreation Committee is suggestive of the extent to which the fortunes of the Club became identified in local politics with 'city identity',

" Newcastle United is Newcastle. The team is part of everybody. We are so wrapped up in it, the very fact that they use part of the ground that was given to the city means we are so involved with them as a team."⁹⁰

At the level of the council as well as the level of the spectator Newcastle United's increased commercial status was used repeatedly to emphasise the city's specific 'place identity'. As far as the club was concerned this 'place identity' played an enormous part in the marketing strategy of Newcastle United. As part of the Newcastle Brewery sponsorship, Kevin Keegan had toured the region's social clubs to promote Brown Ale. Following the renewal of the sponsorship deal in 1990, the new black and white beer adverts, which adorned the football ground, also featured throughout the city and in the *Evening Chronicle*.⁹¹ Whilst the return of Keegan as manager in the early 1990's undoubtedly provided 'social cement' for Tyneside spectators, this also needs to be seen as part of the business strategy of both Sir John Hall and Newcastle Breweries. Both parties stressed the interchangeable characteristics of their Club or their Brewery with Newcastle the 'place' in the hope that it would provide "encouragement to other local businesses to subscribe for shares in the club".⁹² That Newcastle the city provided a powerful image for the marketing of Newcastle United FC and Newcastle and

Scottish Breweries, further illustrates the underlying difference in the comparison with Malmö. Working class identity in Malmö was not transferred to place identity. More specifically the promotion of new identity in Malmö did not strive to incorporate the city's old identity.

It might be pertinent at this stage, to think critically about the identity concept. Whilst the enormous inter-disciplinary potential is conceded, the concept should not be used indiscriminately. In the still nascent literature concerning the 'identity' issue, the dialectical relationship the concept implies is nevertheless unanimously endorsed: its raw classical definition is 'sameness', which we know to be operational in relation to 'otherness'.⁹³ This notion of differentiation has long been central to ethnic studies in the notion that it is the boundary that defines the group. It follows that the identity concept has been used most in studies that focus on national versus ethnic identities and the relationship between states and conflicting identities of common ancestry. The question of local identity, or common identity of place does not fit easily into these studies because on the one hand this is about territory but not exclusively common ancestry. Recently the notion of place identity has been subsumed by the growing literature on the European Union and the question of regional versus national identities. Indeed the differences in the relationship between centre and periphery in Malmö and Newcastle are instructive in understanding the specifics of 'place identity'. The tendency in Newcastle to stress, at a political, cultural and social level, the connectedness between the place and its traditional working class cultural institutions, such as the 'toon army', can be contrasted with Malmö's adaptability during its rapid phase of post industrialism, partly due to a level of integration and confidence in the national sphere, which Newcastle lacks. Nevertheless, for visionaries like Nordgren, the 'Malmö identity', particularly manifest in local social democratic politics, was tantamount to arrogant narrowness and an inability to embrace new ideas. For the local writer and social commentator Jaques Werup, the 'Malmö identity' was also stifling and narrow, but borne out of insecurity rather than arrogance.⁹⁴ These contradictions, only serve to confirm that perceptions of place identity are principally subjective, indeed Malmö illustrates the extent to which territorial loyalty can be made up of

multiple 'identities'. But seen from the perspective of Newcastle, it is the relationship with the centre, which is pivotal. The innovation and push for a new identity in Malmö, was as much a central government initiative as it was local. In the second chapter of this thesis, it was suggested that Malmö's experience of economic decline corroborates Paul Hirst's contention that the impact of global economic forces can be mediated by national governments. Malmö's cultural developments in this period, add to this argument by illustrating that the growth of cultural industries, is not necessarily a corollary of the workings out of global capitalism, in which market regulation has no place.

1990 was a significant year for culture in local politics in Malmö because the city spent proportionally more local authority fiscal resources on cultural provision than any other local council in Skåne. Moreover it was the second highest in the national expenditure amongst councils.⁹⁵ A large proportion of this spending subsidised the extension for the Konsthall and provided the sponsorship for the new Rooseum gallery. The representatives from the Konsthall described Malmö as the Nordic Region's new cultural centre, a claim that buoyant attendance figures helped substantiate. Investment in the combined development of Rooseum and the expansion of the Konsthall was also designed to facilitate collaboration with neighbouring cultural metropolises such as Copenhagen. As such the Konsthall's remit encompassed the municipal cultural vision at this stage: reversing the city's industrial stigma could be achieved by emphasising its cultural significance, but also by looking outwards. In turn, this was linked to the city's other great project, which was gaining momentum by 1990, the construction of the Öresund fixed link.⁹⁶ This project, was a national initiative, which coincided with an unprecedented amount of attention to cultural provision in the city. Whilst there existed longstanding traditions of local and regional particularity in the city, official articulation of the centre periphery relationship was a recent phenomenon. In Sweden this needs to be viewed against the background of central government's recent warming to the idea of regions as competitive in Europe, following the application for EU membership in 1991. As such, an emphasis on 'rivalry' with Stockholm was also integrated in national objectives.

For their local critics the emphasis on large cultural institutions and the bridge was merely symptomatic of the Malmö municipal disease, which had simply transferred its energies from large-scale industrial capitalism to large scale-culture, at the expense of a more vibrant cultural life at the 'associational' level.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, since the inauguration of Malmö Stadsteater in 1944, there had been consistent support for large cultural organisations in Malmö. New in 1990, was the emphasis on the city as a cultural capital. Clearly, the decline in support for traditional networks of associational life also needs to be seen in conjunction with the new circumstances of regionalism in Malmö. There had, however, always been a framework in place for cultural provision, what was new was the way in which it was utilised and the fact that the centre noticed and endorsed it; there are clearly degrees of discontinuity within continuity in this development. This is also part of the way in which structural economic change has been managed differently, since the emphasis on culture in the face of economic adversity in Malmö emerges as a carefully orchestrated plan, which can be seen as a product of infrastructural continuity on both a local and national level. Given that traditional networks of associational life were never as integral to municipal cultural provision in Newcastle, it follows that it is less easy to ascertain a similar emphasis on 'new identity' in the city. At the other end of the spectrum, scarce municipal resources have meant that official culture has been characterised by discontinuity. In contrast to Malmö's exceptional reputation for municipal cultural expenditure following the onset of economic contraction, in Newcastle the local government reorganisation of the eighties impeded the city's ability to subsidise the arts. When the city was rate capped after 1985, the Theatre Royal subsidy was amongst the first to be questioned. Nevertheless, the Northern Arts policy statement for the following year conceded that the subsidised arts in the region continued to be enjoyed only by the minority.⁹⁸ Seen comparatively, the impediments to providing a parallel platform for new cultural identity in Newcastle were both historic and exacerbated by contemporary economic circumstances.

When the Creative Capital initiative referred to 'distinctive identity' in Newcastle, they implied an established regional identity.⁹⁹ Recent scholarship has ascertained that Newcastle reinvented its distinctive identity, in the circumstances of economic adversity by transferring regional particularity from production to consumption.¹⁰⁰ In this specifically local response, older patterns of associational life, specifically drinking prevailed. There is not space to comment on the extensive history of that cultural tradition here because the emphasis is on the more contemporary implications. In 1994, the city's night life became the subject of sociological study, which confirmed that the old/new "pride in their 'toon' as it is affectionately known", was prevalent amongst Newcastle's youth and "their assessment of it as a place to go out largely reproduced this favourable attitude".¹⁰¹ The conclusion for the author was that in neglecting to harness these 'soft infrastructural resources' the local authority had discarded one of the vital components for the successful re-emergence of the post industrial city. Based on the comparison with Malmö, the converse could be said to be a truer reflection of the city's contemporary cultural provision. In 1981, Newcastle council inaugurated a rolling programme of regeneration of the Quayside with a view to stimulating business, social and recreational life in that 'historic' part of the city.¹⁰² The government-financed agency, Tyne and Wear Development Corporation assumed responsibility for this task in 1987. In TWDC's director, Alistair Balls' pledge, "to replace the old industries and bring new life into the area and to make people feel like there is something in it for them", there was an echo of Councillor Beecham's vision of six years earlier.¹⁰³ The emphasis on specifically recreational provision in that area is confirmed by the work of the Central Quayside Residents' Association, having disputed eight applications for new bars and clubs by 1994.¹⁰⁴

The redevelopment of the Quayside and similar projects is usually seen as the point of departure for emergence of the 'place' entrepreneur whose objective was not to "profit from production, but rent from tapping human activity in place".¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, critics of these new initiatives have been quick to point out that traditional political structures in a city like Newcastle remain central in these agencies of regeneration. In short, old corporatist strategies were not undermined by a new vision that sought to foster

entrepreneurship by promoting the 'cultural industries'. It could also be argued however, that whilst the promotion of the cultural industries was new, the bias towards the leisure and recreational sectors also reflected long-standing traditions in the city. The resilience of old corporatist traditions is in part explained by the city's early experience of industrial decline, which in turn produced the early experimentation with corporatist strategies to revive the region's economic forces. As such the T.Dan Smith era of local government and the legacy of an attempt to diffuse the poles of capital and labour no doubt ensured that there was a ready made Labourist elite well equipped to contribute to the new corporatist strategies of urban regeneration. Nonetheless, the vision of the 'Brazilia of the North' was also regionalist. In the face of economic adversity the city increasingly defined itself in line with the old/new consumer cultural interests, by exploiting pre-existing political structures, but without harnessing the regional dimension in a way that Malmö's visionaries were equipped to. Whilst the intricacies of this last point must be dealt with in the subsequent chapter, they illustrate that 'culture' is important in contributing to Malmö and Newcastle's different experience of decline. In conclusion, economic decline in Malmö motivated cultural change and the redefinition of identity, whilst in Newcastle industrial decline reflects the resilience of 'distinctive' cultural identity. The themes discussed in this chapter nevertheless offer the potential of some interesting new turns, following the appointment of Sune Nodgren in 1998, as the Director of the Baltic Gallery for Contemporary Art facing Newcastle's Quayside.

Table 5.1**Associations Receiving Grants from Malmö city 1944-54**

	1944	1954
"Kids to the Sea"	v	v
Against Tuberculosis	v	
Care of the Chronically Ill	v	v
Carehome Agnesfrid	v	
Central Allotments	v	v
Child Health in Malmö	v	v
Diabetes Sufferers	v	
Charitable Nurseries in Limhamn	v	
Commercial College	v	
Health Care in Malmö		v
Homesteads in Malmö		v
Lecturing in Malmö	v	v
Malmö Children's home	v	v
Malmö City Theatre	v	v
Malmö Nurseries	v	
Malmö Guard	v	v
Malmö West 'folk' children's garden	v	
Milkdrop	v	
Mother and Child	-	v
Music	v	
Samaritans		v
Scania Tourist Traffic	v	v
School holiday colonies in Malmö	v	v
Seamen's Home	v	v

Servant's House	v	
Single Mothers	v	
South 'folk' children's garden	v	
Story-time Malmö	v	
Story-time summer home Malmö	v	v
Summer Home for Working Women in Scania	v	v
The Blind	v	v
The Deaf	v	
Theatre	v	
Värnet	v	v
Women's Sport	v	v

Source: Malmö Kommunfullmäktiges Protokoll, Skaregister 1944 & 1954

Table 5.2**Associations receiving grants from Malmö city 1964-74**

	1964	1974
Labour Movement's Cultural History	v	v
Architects	v	
Ars Nova Contemporary Music	v	
The Blind	v	<u>v</u>
Heart and Lung	v	v
Diabetes		v
'Huset' ¹		v
Epilepsy		v
Philharmonic	v	
Bodekarens Shooting Range	v	v
Handicapped	v	
Hemgård	v	
Malmö Children's Home	v	
Story time for Children	v	
Health	v	
City Mission	v	
City Theatre	<u>v</u>	
Holiday Home for Women	v	
Varnet	v	
Allotments	v	
Chamber Music	v	
Fine Art	v	
School Summer Colonies	v	

¹ A collaboration between a number of different free 'creative' groups, mainly musical who were funded by the Council to organise a 'folkfest' in Slottsparken in 1976.

Samaritans	v	
Seamen's Home	v	
Musical Activities	v	

Source: Malmö Kommunfullmäktiges Protokoll, Sakregister 1964 & 1974

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- ¹ J.Bengt Pålsson (SAP) Malmö Kommunfullmäktiges Protokoll 25-26 Nov 1992 p. 183
- ² Arts Business Ltd. *Creative Capital* p. 3 (This study was commissioned by Newcastle City Council, Northern Arts, Newcastle Forum and the Newcastle Initiative)
- ³ G. Therborn, (1990) op.cit p. 11
- ⁴ A. Jarnick *Mot det moderna förnuftet. Johan Hjerpe och andra Smårgare I Upplysningstidens Stockholm.* (1992) p. 115-200
- ⁵ W. Roseberry cited in A. Biersack 'Local Knowledge, Local History' L. Hunt (ed.) *The New Cultural History* (1989)
- ⁶ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (1993), ch.1 passim
- ⁷ *Arbetet* Jan 14 1944
- ⁸ *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* 23 September 1944
- ⁹ O. Graaf *I vantan pa en stadsteater. Malmö Stadsteaters Verksameter.* (1951) p 304
- ¹⁰ O. Graaf *I vantan pa en stadsteater. Malmö Stadsteaters Verksameter.* (1951) p. 18.
- ¹¹ The Arts Council of Great Britain *Report of the first Northern Regional Conference* May 17th & 18th 1946
- ¹² The Arts Council of Great Britain *Report of the First Northern Regional Conference* My 17th & 18th 1945
- ¹³ Ibid. p. 12
- ¹⁴ Ibid p. 12
- ¹⁵ Newcastle City Council Proceedings of 1955 p. 173
- ¹⁶ Hereafter cited as Northern Arts.
- ¹⁷ Gladys Robson, Newcastle City Council Proceedings of 14th Sept. 1961
- ¹⁸ Report of the Cultural Activities Committee as to the Newcastle Playhouse. Newcastle Council Proceedings of 1st Feb. 1967.
- ¹⁹ O.Graaf op.cit.p.306
- ²⁰ N.Veitch *The People's Being a History of the People's Theatre in Newcastle upon Tyne 1911-1939* (1950) p. 9
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² North East Association for the Arts Annual Reports 1963/4
- ²³ Richard Weight 'Building a new British culture': the Arts Centre Movement, 1943-53 in Richard Weight & Abigail Beach (eds.) *The Right to Belong* (1998) p. 173
- ²⁴ Richard Weight op.cit p. 177
- ²⁵ Folk in this instance means 'popular' or 'mass' movements
- ²⁶ S.Lundqvist *Folkrörelserna i det Svenska samhället 1850-1920* (1977)
- ²⁷ K.Friberg unpublished PM 1997 p. 17-19
- ²⁸ See Table 1 of the Statistical Appendix
- ²⁹ See Table 2 of the Statistical Appendix
- ³⁰ R. Gray, *The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain c. 1850-1914* (1981) p. 40
- ³¹ See for instance R. Colls (1994) op.cit
- ³² MORI *Public Attitudes Towards Clubs* Report submitted to the CIU in 1986
- ³³ L. Johnson, North East Association for the Arts 1963/4 Annual Report.
- ³⁴ T.Andersson and A.Radmann, "Football fans in Scandinavia: 1900-91" p. 144 (nd)
- ³⁵ T. Mason, *Sport in Britain* (1988) p. 39
- ³⁶ H. Taylor 'Sporting Heroes' in R. Colls & B. Lancaster op.cit.p.113-130
- ³⁷ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit.p.166
- ³⁸ P. Billing, Matz Franzen & T. Peterson *Vem Vinner I Langden? Hammarby, Malmö FF och Svensk Fotbolls Framtid* (1999)
- ³⁹ Harvey Taylor, in R. Colls & B. Lancaster op.cit. p. 123
- ⁴⁰ P. Billing, Matz Franzen & T. Peterson (1999) op.cit

- ⁴¹ P. Billing *Hundra År av Gemenskap Malmö Iddrottsplats 1896-1906* (1996) p. 249
- ⁴² Ibid, p. 201
- ⁴³ Ibid
- ⁴⁴ P. Billing and M. Stigendal deal extensively with this theme in *Hegemonins Decennier* op.cit
- ⁴⁵ P. Billing (1996) op.cit p. 250
- ⁴⁶ P. Joannon, *United the First Hundred Years: The Official Centenary History of Newcastle United* (1980) p. 270
- ⁴⁷ *The Journal* Newcastle Sat. April 28th 1951 No. 32,686 p. 1
- ⁴⁸ See Table 5.1& 5.2 p. 187 & 188
- ⁴⁹ *Den Hialose* (various) Malmö's first free cultural journal was formed following the occupation of Victoria to provide a forum for an appraisal of official cultural policy in the city.
- ⁵⁰ Fru Sandell, (SAP) Protokoll 27 Februari 1976 Nr.2p.24
- ⁵¹ M. Wiehe local musician and free cultural protagonist commenting in *Den Hialose* Nr.2 September 1976
- ⁵² F. Jameson in J. Munns & G. Rajan (eds.) *A Cultural Studies Reader. History, Theory and Practice* (1995). p 629-31
- ⁵³ This incident provided the subject for Basil Bunting's poem 'What the Chairman said to Tom' R. Caddell (ed.) *Basil Bunting the Complete Poems* (1994)
- ⁵⁴ Basil Bunting cited in *The Journal* Newcastle 1.6.1965 p. 6
- ⁵⁵ *The Journal Weekend Review* Newcastle Saturday may 20th 1967.
- ⁵⁶ *The Evening Chronicle* 6.10.1969
- ⁵⁷ *Mother Grumble: North East's Other Newspaper* June 1972 N.2
- ⁵⁸ Northern Arts, *Basil Bunting's Presidential Addresses 1972-76*. Significantly Bunting's most acrimonious final address is absent from this volume.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ *Northern Arts 1961-81* (Published by Northern Arts)
- ⁶¹ Herr Sjostrom (VPK) Malmö Kommun Protokoll med bihang 27 February 1917 no. 2 p. 32
- ⁶² Fru Sandell (SDP) Malmö Kommun Protokoll med bihang 27 February 1974 no.2 p. 32
- ⁶³ Herr Sjostrom (VPK) Ibid. p. 32
- ⁶⁴ Kjell Hakansson, representative from Skådebanan interviewed for *Den Hialose* Nr3.1980
- ⁶⁵ Malmö Kommun Protokoll med bihang, Malmö sakregister 1976
- ⁶⁶ Alderman Grey *Evening Chronicle* 16/9/1970 p. 5
- ⁶⁷ Malmö Kommun Protokoll 27 Feb 1976 No. 2 p. 32
- ⁶⁸ Malmö kommun 1975 Ars Verksamhetsberättelser bihang 1979 N.626
- ⁶⁹ Ibid
- ⁷⁰ Ibid
- ⁷¹ Councillor Stabler, The Work of the Arts and Recreation Committee 1980-81.p.9 Newcastle Council Minutes 1980/81
- ⁷² Annual Report of the Arts and Recreation Committee, Newcastle upon Tyne City Council 3rd November 1982.
- ⁷³ The Work of the Arts and Recreation Committee 1980-81 op.cit. Appendix 2.8
- ⁷⁴ Councillor Ellis Report of the Work of the Arts and Recreation Committee 1982/83
- ⁷⁵ Malmö Kommun Protokoll 1984 Sakregister
- ⁷⁶ Interview with Sune Nodgren in *iDag* Wednesday 21 March 1990 p.5
- ⁷⁷ *Malmö Statistik Årsbok* 1996 Tables 205 & 206 p. 120
- ⁷⁸ *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* Wed 2nd Jan 1991 'Detta är obildningens stad'.
- ⁷⁹ S. Nodgren Ibid.
- ⁸⁰ P. Billing & M. Stigendal, op.cit. p. 175
- ⁸¹ *Journal* 8.11.1983 p.14
- ⁸² *Journal* 8.11.1983 p. 14
- ⁸³ *Journal* 20.12.83
- ⁸⁴ David Hogg *Journal* 20.12.1983
- ⁸⁵ J. Mapplebeck 'Women's Football in the North East', *North East Football Review* April 1990
- ⁸⁶ *Evening Chronicle* 11.7.1983
- ⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ In 1981/82 Newcastle's unemployment rate stood at 17%, representing an 80% increase in the space of three years. Newcastle City Council Minutes 1981-82 'Implications of increased unemployment' p. 1611 & 1727

⁸⁹ Councillor Ellis Newcastle City Council Minutes 1978-79 p. 66

⁹⁰ Newcastle Council Minutes 1978-79 p. 66

⁹¹ *Evening Chronicle* 1/3/95

⁹² *Newcastle Journal* 29/11/90

⁹³ G. Therborn (1990) op. cit. p. 230

⁹⁴ J. Werup *Hemstaden-min Malmöhistoria* (1981)

⁹⁵ Malmö Kommunfullmäktiges Protokoll 25-26 Nov 1992 Nr. 11 p. 186

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸ Northern Arts Policy Statement for 1986 conceded that "The subsidised arts are enjoyed regularly by a minority of the North's population and never reach a significant number of people at all"

Northern Arts 1961-86

⁹⁹ This document is inaugurated with a quote from Lancaster's essay in R. Colls and B. Lancaster (1992) op cit.

¹⁰⁰ B. Lancaster 'Newcastle-capital of what?', in R. Colls and B. Lancaster (1992) op cit passim

¹⁰¹ R. Hollands *Friday Night Saturday Night* Department of Social Policy Working Paper N. 2, Newcastle University 1995

¹⁰² Councillor Beecham Newcastle City Council Minutes 1980-81 'Additional Partnership Allocation 1980-81' p. 899

¹⁰³ A. Balls *Building* 31 Jan 1997

¹⁰⁴ *Evening Chronicle* April 15 1998

¹⁰⁵ K. Shaw 'The Development of a New Urban Corporation: the politics of urban regeneration in North East England' *Regional Studies* volume 27, 1991 p. 251-286

Chapter Six: Cities and Regions

This chapter examines the relationship between cities and regions. It begins with an overview of the defining characteristics of the north east region of Britain and Skåne, the south west region of Sweden. Subsequently the substantial inter-disciplinary literature on regions and nation states is examined in order to view this comparison in the context of current scholarship. This analysis will also help to ascertain the respective region/state relationship in both cases, which will provide the background for an understanding of both regions in the modern period. The often over-looked dynamics within regions will then be examined in order to establish the roles of Malmö and Newcastle as regional capitals after 1945. This leads to a discussion of the experience of regionalism in both cases during the same period.

In Swedish historiography, Skåne is distinctive primarily due to its early political history. Skåne has a Danish history, which predates its incorporation into Sweden in 1658. This early experience of changing political, linguistic and physical boundaries is salient to most interpretations of the modern region. In the recent debate generated by the development of Malmö Copenhagen links, Swedish scholarship contended that the question of when Skåne became Swedish should in fact only ever be asked in conjunction with questions regarding Skåne's native and Danish heritage. From an archaeological perspective, it is not unusual to argue that Skåne should be seen as an important central Scandinavian region in origin, rather than a southern Swedish province in the recent phenomenon of the nation state. Added to the fact that 'Skåne' and 'Scandinavia' share the same etymology, this creates the potential for a formidable regional perspective. Nevertheless, Skansjö warns against viewing Skåne as a 'natural region' in origin. Whilst the region is isolated physically by the sea to the south and a thick forest to the north, its economy has never been unified by this territory. Far from being an 'organic region', this territory was principally the result of a political project of the medieval Danish kingdom.¹

In the subsequent period of Swedish development, the interdependence of the economy on the one hand, and the absence of unifying regional economic developments goes some way to corroborate these earlier contentions. Malmö emerged as central to the early Danish kingdom, primarily because of its proximity to Copenhagen and to the herring trade. After 1658, Malmö retained its status as a centre for trade for the rich Scanian hinterland. Parallel to developments throughout Sweden, intense agricultural production, characterised the nineteenth century in Skåne. The region was endowed with exceptionally fertile soil, which lent itself primarily to arable and pasture uses as opposed to wood pulp, but the scale of development was not distinguishable from the rest of Sweden. Particular industrial development was the premise of Malmö in the twentieth century.

It is now recognised that the existence of an early significant northern British political identity has been obscured by the dominant traditions of English historiography. Despite the longstanding prevalence of accounts, both of the intellectual left and right, in which the emergence of the English state served to neutralise peripheral political identities, current scholarship contends that the north of England, like Skåne, had not been incorporated completely into the nation-state by the seventeenth century. Whilst the medieval kingdom of Northumbria was conquered in the ninth century, much of the power of the earls of Northumbria survived the Norman Conquest of the following century. Similarly, like Skåne, the north was a crucial frontier zone between two warring nations, until the Union of the Crowns in 1603.² In contrast to Skåne, however, distinctive industrial development is an important feature of the north east's historical development from an early stage.

The north east region is taken by most commentators on economic development, to represent the old administrative counties of Durham and Northumberland.³ Within this area, though primarily in County Durham, the coal mining industry provided the platform for a distinctive level of economic and social unity from the late medieval period. The early connectedness of urban and regional economy is a resonant feature of the north east and can be contrasted to Skåne's economy, particularly in relation to the early emergence of a regional capitalist elite in the former. The growth of the coal industry after the fourteenth century, shaped the dynamics of the region's class divisions from an early stage, in which a characteristically globally orientated

paternalist elite and large working class, testifies, it is suggested, to the north east's 'unique industrial status'.⁴

The industrial economy of the north east provided a degree of unity, which the south west of Sweden did not afford Skåne, but this economy ensured that the north east's administrative boundaries have paradoxically been established with some difficulties, particularly in the modern period. For instance, the question of where to draw the boundaries between the north east and the wider northern region has been at the fore of the national and local territorial debate throughout the modern period. Professor Fawcett's work, which will be dealt with subsequently, divided England into provinces at the start of the twentieth century, placing the north east into the larger province of 'North England'. The southern border was drawn from St Bede's Head on the west coast along north west England and concluded south of Robin Hood's Bay on the north east coast.⁵ This boundary was based on the premise that the region combined economic self-containment with distinctive 'regional character', which existing County borough boundaries, particularly the internal divisions of the Tees Valley, had neglected to accommodate.⁶ Whilst 'regional character' can be taken to mean a number of things, the existence of a regional dialect can be used to provide the cultural criteria to define regional boundaries. Apart from the economics of the Durham coal field, one of the features which distinguishes the north east from the wider northern region, is the distinctive dialect. The wider northern region is also generally recognised as having a dialect that has a history distinct from middle and standard English.⁷

Skåne shares with the north east a dialect that can be distinguished from standard Swedish and it owes much of this distinctiveness to its Danish heritage. From a linguistic perspective, 'Skånska' is regarded as a dialect of the east Danish type even though it is spoken in an area where the Swedish standard is followed. It should be pointed out that within the wider context of Scandinavia, the fluidity between the different languages, which originate from common Scandinavian, means that they are often regarded as dialects, rather than individual languages. Recent scholarship also cautions against emphasising the Danish in 'Skånska' vernacular to lend weight to the idea that the dominant Swedish has suppressed the authentic Skåne/Danish dialect.

This challenge to the so-called 'Swedification thesis', contends that the Danish in 'Skånska' which survived the 1658 cross over, was no more authentic to the vernacular dialect than the subsequent Swedish influences. Danish influence is attributed to the clergy, who continued to be taught in Copenhagen after the Treaty. Whilst place names and parts of the legal system assumed Swedish quickly, Danish remained prominent in the spoken vernacular because it was heard in Church. The genuine dialect had always been malleable and according to Ejskaer, changes should be attributed principally to the increasing mobility of the population and mass education. In short, the Swedish standard has replaced the Danish standard, rather than suppressed its influence on the vernacular.⁸ It needs to be added that whilst the existence of linguistic scholarship on the medieval period exists in both regions, specific focus on the modern period, and the relationship between dialect and an industrial economy is wanting.

The desire to identify the north east as distinct from the English standard, should not implant enforced unity on a dialect, which, as Griffiths suggests, is a product of complex linguistic inter-relationships. As regards the culture of the region however, this tendency can be seen more as a product of the particular historical circumstances than of any conscious attempt to construct distinctiveness. According to R Colls, 'new Northumbrian' buoyancy of the regional elite in the nineteenth century was borne out of confidence derived from economic prosperity, but a wider northern identity was construed at the same time in reaction to constructions of national identity in southern England.⁹ For J. Harrison, the growth of regional identity in the nineteenth century is not a reaction to southern supremacy, but predates it. Before the outcome of the Franco Prussian War brought financial supremacy to the City of London, regional identity flourished in England, largely because the British economy was increasingly more, not less, localised. Elite interest in provincial economies nevertheless declined once the City of London was established as the world's financial capital after 1870.¹⁰ Others echo this view in which the nineteenth century north east regional economic buoyancy failed to generate a politicised identity, compared to that which had flourished with the northern magnates of the fourteenth century, due to the global 'orbit of interest', which dominated the bourgeoisie.¹¹ In other words, supra-national integration occurred at the expense of internal cohesion at an early stage.

These disparate perspectives can both be juxtaposed to developments in Sweden, chiefly since they assume that regional buoyancy or peripherality is defined by a relationship with the centre. Skåne may be peripheral within Sweden, but it is not a peripheral territory in Scandinavia, indeed it emerged as central in the Nordic region when it gained currency in the middle of the twentieth century. Unlike the circumstances of the British Empire, the Swedish capital has never been the only central economic node for any of these territorial alliances. Most recently Skåne, with Malmö as its capital forms the significant other half of the Öresund region. This has enabled contemporary scholars to contend with confidence that whilst Malmö is far removed from Stockholm, it is Sweden's most significant centre relative to Brussels.¹² Malmö, like Skåne has a history of relations with more than one centre.¹³

This broad outline only touches upon the questions that will be addressed in some depth in the length of this chapter. This preliminary comparison of Skåne and the north east nevertheless confirms that the 'region' is a complex territorial unit, which lends itself to multiple meaning and interpretation. Keating concedes this point from the outset of his most recent work on regionalism in Europe. His minimal requirement that a region occupy the territory between locality and state is, as he concedes himself, problematic. As illustrated earlier, Skåne occupies territory within the Swedish state but both territories are incorporated by the Scandinavian region. Notwithstanding these interrelationships, his criterion for what can constitute a region within a state provides a framework against which individual cases can be measured. His classification includes three possible region types; economic regions with common production patterns, cultural regions in which dialect or 'identity' can delineate territory and thirdly institutional regions that can be either historic or contemporary creations.¹⁴ Based on the defining characteristics noted so far, it could be argued that the north east combines features of the economic and cultural regions, whereas Skåne comprises elements of the cultural with the institutional region. This assumption is by no means absolute, and it is the intention to return to these questions throughout this chapter.¹⁵

The concept of European regionalisation, or a 'Europe of the Regions', gained credence following the passing of the Single European Act in 1986. Whatever the

merits of the notion that nation-states should be by-passed in the flow of European power from Brussels, a related assumption is that in the twentieth century nation states have not been able to preside adequately over changes that are increasingly global. More government is needed, but at the regional level with direct access to Brussels. The implication is thereby also that in the previous century there existed a distinct state/region relationship, or rather state/province relationship, which shaped the call for or absence of call for increased power for individual regions. In truth these assumptions have provided the basis for a series of reflections on the state/region relationship long before the passing of the Single European Act. For instance, Immanuel Wallerstein's critique of the Western European 'core' during the 1970s influenced the work of scholars such as Michael Hechter to argue that core-periphery tensions also existed within nations. Hechter used the case of the Celtic fringe as an example of England's domestic periphery.¹⁶ Similarly Byrne's analysis of the north east of England suggests that, "spaces at the sub-national level can be 'underdeveloped' just as the Third World has been underdeveloped by capitalist civilisation."¹⁷

In David Marquand's confident advance of a 'Europe of the Regions', the defining characteristics of twentieth century Europe, specifically two world wars and the rise and fall of European socialism, produced a paradox combining supranational integration with sub-national differentiation, which neither the Liberal nor the Marxist versions of the nation state were equipped to foresee. In contrast a 'Europe of the Regions', accommodates this combination and is vindicated in doing so by the process of regionalisation, or devolution, which member states excluding Britain have initiated.¹⁸ Like Marquand, Perry Anderson is confident that it is the twentieth century that has 'valorised' the region. Whilst it emerged in political discourse at the end of the nineteenth century, contemporary consensus still viewed potential nation state recalcitrance with scepticism, ensuring that Europe would have to wait until the end of the Second World War for its resurrection. This argument, in which the decline of the nation state prefigures the rise of the region, is clearly problematic, not least because Britain did attempt to use the regional agenda to address problems posed by the administration of the Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century. More generally, the reversal in the fortunes of the region after 1945, are often not as absolute as assumed here, particularly if the case of countries like Sweden, having

experienced neither the absolute discontinuity of war in central Europe, nor the subsequent weakening of the nation-state, are taken into account.

The case of Germany is often given much attention in 'European' analyses such as the above and is similarly relevant to the Swedish case. Sweden is interesting because the perspectives of the Swedish state offered by internal and external observers differ quite sharply. In external perceptions, often motivated by a critique of the British state, Sweden is upheld as an exemplary model of decentralised governance. Parallels are often drawn between contemporary Germany and Sweden as both countries afford a high degree of autonomy to the level of government below the state. Whilst the nascent German state was a federalised hybrid, the autonomy endowed to the historic city states was impeded by Prussian dominance, indeed it was this development which Fawcett cautioned against in devising his 'federal' system for the British Empire. Although the Weimar Republic was responsible for resurrecting the *Länder*, they were abolished by the Third Reich and contemporary autonomy is as much a product of supra-national post war reconstruction as it is intrinsic to the German state. Swedish scholars concede that local autonomy is an enduring feature of the Swedish state development, but caution against attributing this to exemplary decentralisation. This paradox is part of recent debates in Sweden regarding a recognised 'Whig' national historiography. The 'Whig' depiction of the Swedish state begins with Gustav Vasa's centralising measures in the sixteenth century, followed by the emergence of a particularly efficient bureaucracy in the seventeenth century and concludes with the triumphant universalist welfare state in the twentieth century.¹⁹ An early backlash against this statist paradigm saw the principles of local self-government espoused by the Social Democrats since the 1950's, as a state power trick, designed to stimulate fiscal resources, by "fooling people that they had a say".²⁰ Recent scholarship confirms that the distinction between 'central' and 'peripheral' in Sweden has often been 'janus faced', represented by the combination of identities, which made up Swedish nationalism at the beginning of the century. For instance, public loyalty to the Swedish flag (launched in 1893), still combined strong regional with national affiliation by the 1930s, best represented by 'hembygds romantik', (romanticisation of agricultural life and loyalty to individual agricultural districts).²¹ Eva Österberg has also argued that our understanding of early modern state centralisation remains inadequate if the role played by the locality is marginalised. Between 1500-1800,

Swedish Kings often allowed a considerable degree of autonomy to parishes in order to soften the blows, which strengthening the crown for the centralising state would imply for local nobility. Combined with Sweden's relative absence of feudal structures and a farmers Estate in the Parliament this provides a multi-causal explanation of why Sweden did not, as was the case in most centralised European countries, experience popular revolt at the end of the eighteenth century.²² Whilst Sweden's combination of a centralised unitary state and a high degree of local and fiscal autonomy may be internationally unique, it is now recognised that true Jacobin centralisation was rarely realised fully even in Europe's most unitary states.²³

Britain is usually singled out as peculiar in Europe because it did not adopt the Napoleonic code for systematised state building with its characteristic bureaucratic organisation. This model is contrasted to minimal legislation in Britain with organic development of local government and a continuity of unavailing state intervention in the twentieth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, this development combined conservative ideas of provincial autonomy, with the ideology of an indivisible nation and the recognition that federalisation was sensible in order to secure loyalty to the monarchy within the Empire.²⁴ According to Harvie, exponents of local autonomy indigenous to English provinces and not influenced by Scottish civic philosophy, were confined to the nineteenth century bourgeoisie, whose combination of anti-modern and anti-urban Ruskinian ideals undermined the emergence of a powerful urban elite.²⁵ Whilst this may have been the case in Ruskin's north west, Micheal Dintenfass has suggested recently that the industrial middle class in the north east combined ideas of civic responsibility with an obligation to serve community, which transcended the dichotomy between 'Town and Country'.²⁶ Moreover, the contention that local interests of urban elites in England are undermined by the events which dominated Europe, suggests that caution should be exercised before attributing regional insignificance wholeheartedly to weak indigenous institutions. Much of Harvie's account is intended as a critique of the emergence of 'bourgeois regions' during the twentieth century, and is perhaps overly sceptical of all 'civic ideologies'. Nonetheless the point that regions do not rise to significance in the wake of the declining nation state, but are central to the problematics of the modern European state, is certainly applicable to the British case.

Contrary to the assumption that it was after 1945 that the region first gained political credence, in Britain the first decades of the twentieth century saw a reversal in the commitment to the indivisible nation of the late nineteenth century. In principle it was the 'Irish question', which motivated interest in regional government. Given the earlier nineteenth century commitment to the 'indivisible nation', this reversal has been seen as a pragmatic response to the growing discontent prevalent in the white colonies. In a checks and balances approach federalisation became an option deemed likely to retain loyalty to the crown, whereas loyalty to the Parliament at Westminster and the British nation-state was assumed not to be as palatable. A scheme of three units within the British Isles engendered problems given the uneven distribution of population in each. The proposed solution, which was publicly supported by Churchill in 1912, was to split England into a number of regions that would form units in the Empire. The man in charge of this exercise was classical geographer Professor Fawcett.²⁷ The functional efficiency which characterised his recommendations, is attributed to Fawcett's Fabianism, as distinct from nationalism. He was also, however, influenced by Patrick Geddes who combined French sociology with Scottish civic humanism and positivism in his writing on city types.²⁸ By the 1920's, the white colonies had progressed to semi independence of their own volition and the departure of the Irish Free State subsequently removed the need for government reorganisation within Britain.²⁹ The administrative unit, which the north constituted after 1942, nevertheless adhered to Fawcett's original proposal. In the north east the growth of national interest in the region's management was motivated primarily by concern for the industrial economy. Special Areas Commissioners and regional tripartite bodies such as the North East Development Association (NEDA), were established during the 1930's, in recognition of the declining industrial economy following the Depression.

In Sweden the principle of local self-government, was constitutionally recognised during the 1930's. State reforms were forthwith to be enacted by local rather than national authorities and local powers of taxation were ratified. This development occurred in conjunction with, and was motivated by, rapid urban and industrial expansion. Between 1930 and 1960, the proportion of the Swedish population resident in urban areas rose from 30 to 70 percent, which prompted a series of new boundary reforms after 1945.³⁰ Up until 1952 Sweden had possessed approximately

25,000 municipalities; many of the smaller agricultural parishes were abolished in line with the requirement that a local authority contain at least 2000 inhabitants. In 1962 the Parliament ratified a new principle whereby each municipality was intended to constitute a coherent economic and geographic unit, with a recognised centre. In Sweden the construction of 'natural regions' was successfully carried out by the 1970s despite the objection of many smaller authorities.³¹ Apart from illustrating the extent to which the influence of international sociology and geography also prevailed in Sweden after 1945, the boundary reform highlights the interdependence of local needs and national objectives in Swedish 'self government'. In 1962 a government commission couched the relations between the State and local authority thus:

"The relationship between the State and local authorities is no longer characterised by a permanent segregation of duties and fundamentally different interests but a common endeavour to promote the best interests of citizens, by constant shifts in the mutual division of labour, by continuous co-operation in a variety of forms and by mutual dependence."³²

Whilst Sweden may have devolved much power to the municipality during the twentieth century, this should clearly be distinguished from local 'autonomy', which characterised the emergence of local government in Sweden during the nineteenth century.³³ Twentieth century local autonomy was designed primarily to promote the continuation of efficient national economic growth, and was in practice not far removed from Britain's response to economic stagnation with, 'state managed' regions. In Skåne, Malmö was to incorporate the surrounding smaller authorities into a proposed 'Malmö Block'.³⁴ The underlying principle, that the economy should be integrated regionally provides an interesting parallel to regional policy ambitions in the north east.

The NEDB was dissolved during the Second World War. Subsequently Lord Ridley, the son of a Northumberland coal owning family was instrumental in instigating further local initiatives, designed to boost the regional economy. He formed the Northern Industrial Group (NIG) during the thirties and in 1944, established the local corporatist group, North East Development Association (NEDA). He was also Chairman of the North East Industrial Development Association (NEIDA), which became the Northern Economic Planning Council, (NEPC) in 1961.³⁵ The

overwhelming prevalence of local elites such as Ridley on the management boards of these 'corporatist' bodies, has generated a formidable school of thought in the region. It contends that this elite core was able to promote its own interests over and above regional needs due to the rise to dominance of non-elected machinery of government, starting with the corporatist bodies of the 1930's through to the QUANGOS of the 1980s. After the Second World War, 'Tyneside's ruling class' increasingly moved capital out of the region as their interests shifted to finance capital, helped by the central government moves to nationalise coal, which endowed coal owners with large compensation payments. This development is also seen as related to the dislocation of the British financial and industrial sectors, which characterises two centuries of political economy. The historic financial significance of the City of London, which Harris sees as consolidated by the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War, marginalised regional industrial growth because it impeded the desired transition of local financial institutions from short term capital providers, to long term industrial managers and investors, which characterised the rise of modern industrial economies in for instance, Sweden and Germany, with their high levels of R&D and continued supremacy in technical expertise. The take over and subsequent expansion of the Northern Rock Building Society, by prominent industrialists after 1945, is taken to reflect this transition, in which the elite, whilst still based in the region, shifted their entrepreneurial focus to the wider stock markets.³⁶ Commentators in the north east relate this development to the growing concentration of company ownership in the same period. Between 1910-1935 the number of companies in Britain producing fifty percent of the national output decreased from 2000-800; by 1958 this was down to 420 and between 100-140 by 1970.³⁷

The characteristically British legacy of the late nineteenth century dissonance between global orientation of finance capital and the domestic needs of industry is a less striking feature of the development of Sweden's twentieth century economy. In part this is explained by the still buoyant industrial economy and the absence of nationalisation, but also by the symbiosis between industry and finance that has long characterised Sweden's elite. One of the central points, which the Billing & Stigendal thesis demonstrates, is the extent to which Malmö's economy is bound to Sweden's national financial sector.³⁸ Moreover, Sweden's economy has always been characterised by a high degree of ownership concentration. Three central spheres of

interest are usually identified amongst Sweden's twentieth century prominent elite. The largest is that of Skandinaviska Banken, followed by the Handelsebank and the Wallenberg's bank, Stockholms Enskilda Bank. During the twentieth century the Skandinaviska Banken was central in Malmö's industrial economy, similarly Handelsebanken had substantial financial interests in many large companies in the city. Stockholms Enskilda Bank had the most significant stake in Malmö's industrial companies during the 1960's, ensuring Malmö's economy a central position in the sphere of Sweden's elite interests.³⁹ Currently, Stockholms Enskilda Bank is called Skandinaviska Enskilda Bank and the influence of the Wallenberg empire is more readily manifest than ever. In 1990, the firms controlled by that family comprised nearly forty percent of the market capitalisation of the Stockholm stock exchange, including seven out of its ten largest companies.⁴⁰ Although Sweden did witness the movement of capital from domestic industry following the industrial contraction of the 1970's, this was largely due to political turmoil and a reaction against social democratic fiscal stringency. Crucially this process did not underpin the emergence of the Swedish capital city as an 'international clearing house' in the twentieth century.

Whilst there are significant differences between the Skåne and the north east in isolation, clearly not unrelated to differences in British and Swedish economic history touched upon here, Malmö and Newcastle share positions as the dominant urban centres within their regions in the twentieth century. Compared to Malmö, Newcastle's position was consolidated much earlier; it was already described by Defoe in the eighteenth century as the 'emporium of all the northern parts'. Newcastle's monopoly of the Tyne, was established in the medieval period and remained unchallenged until the middle of the nineteenth century, which saw the growth of commercial and industrial interest on both sides of the river. The growth of the Tyneside conurbation provided a series of new challenges to Newcastle's role as regional capital. Whilst Malmö had been central to the Danish trade before 1658, it was not immediately obvious that it would be Skåne's regional capital prior to the population expansion and the arrival of the railway after 1860. It was in Lund that the region's academic and religious institutions were situated, and Skånes Enskilda Bank came into existence in Ystad in 1831, forty years before it moved to Malmö.⁴¹ Malmö's centrality is connected to the structural changes, which Skåne underwent at the end of the nineteenth century, but primarily to the emergence of a strong industrial

economy and industrial elite, in the city itself. The wave of emigration, which Sweden experienced at the end of the nineteenth century, actually resulted in population expansion for Malmö. Many of the region's agricultural workers never got as far as America. Between 1860-1910, the coastal city's population grew from just under 20,000 to 88,000.⁴²

Despite the north east's ongoing industrial contraction, during the early 1960s Newcastle like Malmö, witnessed the emergence of regionalist sentiment in local politics, which was related to perceptions of economic buoyancy in both cases. In the early 1960's the Örestad concept gained currency amongst Malmö's leading politicians and industrialists. This concept translates 'Öresund City', and was designed to promote enhanced city-city (Malmö and Copenhagen), and city-region (Skåne and Sjælland) cohesion. Örestad emerged against the background of the first Öresund delegation for collaboration across the Sound in 1959, whose recommendations were presented in 1962. Whilst not organic to Malmö, the idea soon became linked to Malmö's ongoing industrial expansion. In the local social democratic election brochure for 1962, the Örestad concept was presented as a crucial component of social democratic Malmö's successful combination of industrial modernity and consensual politics. The 'friendly window' concept, which referred to the consensual style of local politics, was also included and the cover of the brochure comprised a picture of a brand new prefabricated house from the Lorensborg district in the city.⁴³ Whilst politicians such as S.A Johansson, were keen to stress that Örestad was intended to generate increased collaboration, which would complement rather than compete with the national arena, for others the concept had regionalist potential.⁴⁴ The local labour movement paper, *Arbetet*, contended that the Örestad concept was seen as a competitive threat elsewhere in Sweden, which the national press was unwise to dismiss so readily. The consultative body, Öresundsrådet, was in place during the 1960s purely in recognition of the powerful development that was already manifest in south west Skåne.⁴⁵ In other words, there was a distinct desire, within some sections of an otherwise consensual social democratic council, to emphasise Malmö's propriety over this expansion. By the end of the 1960s, the local social democratic council was also convinced that the rest of Sweden had paid insufficient attention to developments in the southern region. Their yearly report for 1969 lamented that 'upp Svenskarna' had not appreciated fully, what a meaningful

role the Öresund region could play in northern Europe, competing with the Hamburg region.^{46 47}

When Lord Hailsham was appointed Minister with Special Responsibility for the north east in 1963, an attempt was made to ameliorate earlier national regional policy strategies. Indeed, as suggested before, parallels can be drawn between this ‘one nation Conservatism’ and Swedish Keynesianism in the same period. Though the strategies for the north east were designed to arrest economic decline and did not include the principle of ‘local self government’, the 1960s were a very active period for local government, specifically in Newcastle. When T.Dan Smith was appointed leader of the council in 1958, it was clear that he had his own regionalist agenda for Newcastle. Deducing the specifics of this agenda is less easy to decipher than it has subsequently been to cite the well known phrase, ‘Brasilia of the North’, particularly since Smith’s own comments on the subject have tended to support criticism of his elitism.

“ In examining regionalism, I always try to look at the topic in the context of the white hot technological revolution. In the 1960s we had an elite movement. It was a reflection of the greater number of working class people who by then were beginning to shine in the fields of science and technology;.... They reflected the consciousness of an age of increasing leisure and they were articulate exponents of devolution and regionalism.”⁴⁸

Who, these ‘exponents of devolution and regionalism’ actually were is not clear since Smith did not have whole-hearted support for these ideas from within his party, but taken in conjunction with the redevelopment of the city centre, it is possible to see this period as a point of departure for Newcastle. Whilst it did not lay claims to a technological revolution, in the 1963 *Development Plan Review*, Newcastle City Council confirmed that Newcastle had suffered disproportionately during the fifties compared to the decline in primary sector employment experienced by the wider conurbation. Such assertions complemented Smith’s particular brand of regionalism, which involved emphasising Newcastle as a commercial, rather than industrial, regional capital.⁴⁹ The extent to which the redevelopment of Eldon Square was presented and perceived as a way of promoting Newcastle as a regional capital can be seen in the response of the business community to these developments.

“The second stage of the City Development Plan promises a Hotel in Eldon Square, but it will be a few years yet before it really materialises. This city is looking forward, there is no dearth of brilliant ideas, and eventually we should have a city worthy of the title ‘Metropolis of the North’. The Chamber of Commerce continues to have a very good relationship with the Civic Authorities.”⁵⁰

Smith’s convivial business relations, his dominance of boards such as the powerful Northern Economic Planning Council (NEPC) and his ‘elite’ views have lent support to the argument concerning the resilience of an elite core in planning and policy making, which has impeded the emergence of a proper regional industrial strategy for the north east. Compared to Malmö’s promotion of its regional significance during the 1960’s, it is apparent that the absence of a ‘proper regional strategy’ in the north east, coincides with a point of departure for Newcastle, albeit characterised by the continuity of an ‘elite’ dominance in local government. Newcastle was recognised as a major retail centre before the opening of Eldon Square, due principally to the strength of indigenous firms such as Fenwicks and Bainbridges, which distinguished it from other regional centres in Britain. In a comparison of British conurbations carried out between 1961-66, London’s growth is clearly most striking but Newcastle was singled out as distinct from the conurbation centres outside London because it combined the largest territory with the lowest proportion of employment.⁵¹ This should not be taken at face value, given that the boundary of the conurbation was not defined, which suggests that Tyneside’s boundaries, and as such the wider conurbation’s employment figures, were incorporated. It does underline, however, that Newcastle underwent dual developments in this period. Despite obvious embellishment by Smith, the attitude of the city’s business community suggests that the early 1960s was a period of perceived prosperity in Newcastle, and like Malmö, the existence of territorial sentiment was used to bolster this perception.

The 1963 *Development Plan Review* recognised the city’s historic role as a retail centre, but responded also to new demand, discernible in the recent increase in applications for the extension of shop premises within the boundaries of the city. The subsequent building of Eldon Square endowed the city with the country’s most advanced indoor shopping centre, by capitalising on the growth in demand for retail space and at the same time emphasising Newcastle’s role as regional capital, as expressed in the physical redevelopment of the city centre.⁵² It provided a point of

departure because the previous Conservative authority, whilst recognising the need for the expansion of services within the city had been reluctant to finance such radical redevelopment.

Table. 6.1 Distribution and turnover of shops in Tyne and Wear 1975

	Shops	Turnover £000	Employment	Turnover 1975 £000
Newcastle C.A	530	69.5	9,931	146.6
Sunderland C.A	376	36.3	6,281	81.7
Gateshead C.A	90	6.6	974	28.7
South Shields	157	10.3	1,694	25.1
Wallsend	338	10.8	1,820	18.0
North Shields	234	8.2	1,608	14.5
Jarrow*	207	7.2	1,171	10.6
Whitley Bay*	417	10.8	2,048	9.5
Washington*	132	4.0	604	9.3

Source Table 2.1 in Ross Davies & David Bennison *The Eldon Square Shopping Centre: The First Eighteen Months*. p. 9

* Data refer to whole town

For the comparison with Malmö, this table provides several noteworthy features. An important difference between Malmö and Newcastle's industrial economies is their respective location within the city. Whilst the cement industry and to a lesser extent Kockums occupied the peripheral parts of the city, Malmö can be distinguished from Newcastle because it also sustained a significant city-centre industrial economy in the twentieth century. In the twentieth century Newcastle's industrial activity was increasingly concentrated in the west of the city, whereas these figures reflect the growth of a non-industrial city centre economy after 1945. Nearly 10,000 employed in Newcastle central area is not insignificant given that Armstrong's 20,000 labour force occupied almost 230 acres in the Scotswood road area. In the comparison with Malmö, it is also important to note that Newcastle is surrounded by significant other centres, which (particularly Sunderland), were potential competitors for this burgeoning city centre economy. This increase in retail employment was

overshadowed by the worsening contraction in manufacturing employment by the end of the 1970's. The division between the growth of some sectors situated within city centres and increasingly concentrated in Newcastle, and the decline in manufacturing, which manifested itself most acutely outside the boundaries of the city, needs to be taken into account when considering internal political divisions within the region.

As part of securing Newcastle's future as regional commercial capital, Smith recognised that greater regional cohesion was a prerequisite and argued for the establishment of a single unitary authority for Tyneside. Under the provision of the Local Government Act of 1958 a Commission was established to review the local government organisation in Special and Development Areas. The 1958 Act, stated that Tyneside consisted of the County Boroughs of Gateshead, Newcastle, South Shields, and Tynemouth, the Boroughs of Jarrow, Wallsend and Whitley Bay, and the Urban District of Gosforth, Longbenton, Newburn Blaydon, Felling, Hebburn, Ryton and Whickham. The Commission was entitled to change this arrangement by amalgamation and sought the advice of individual councils as to the desired structure. The written statement, which Newcastle Council submitted, provides a telling example of the principles underlying Mr. T.Dan Smith's desire for a unitary authority for Tyneside:

"This Council recommend the creation of a new County Borough of *Newcastle on Tyneside*, embracing the areas of Newcastle, Gateshead, Wallsend, Jarrow, Gosforth, Hebburn, Felling and Newburn together with parts of Longbenton and Castle ward."⁵³

Newcastle on Tyneside, would necessarily include parts of Longbenton and Castle Ward, in order to incorporate the land which the 'Municipal Airport' was situated on, and also miscellaneous land which the Council intended to develop further.⁵⁴ This development is interesting in contrast to Malmö. The area which Newcastle proposed was not far removed from the 'Malmö Block', which was associated with the national boundary reforms between 1966-72 in Sweden. Unlike Malmö, the suggestion came from the regional capital itself. The boroughs of Tyneside, Gateshead, South Shields and Tynemouth did not support Newcastle's suggestion, because they saw it as evidence of "Newcastle Socialists' plan of a take-over bid". Nevertheless Newcastle's justification for this suggestion was that it would treat the River Tyne as a 'unifying link-a spine for the whole area, rather than a division'.⁵⁵ The enduring

obstacles to unifying the authorities on both sides of the river need to be seen against the background of previous national attempts to improve the structure of government in the north east.

In 1937, the *Report on the Royal Commission on Local Government in the Tyneside Area* had suggested that a Northumberland Regional Council should be established to provide regional services such as health and education and other public utilities, and rationalise the inefficiency caused by so many competing local authorities. The proposed boundaries, which would unite the fifteen authorities to the north and south of the Tyne, were problematic partly because they ignored the economic connections to the south with Wearside and Teeside, which Fawcett had recognised, but principally due to geographical political rivalries. From outside the north east Conservative central government could not accept the prospect of a huge and powerful left wing authority, which the combination of the labour majority in County Durham, the labour votes on Tyneside and those of the mining communities in Northumberland would constitute. Within the region, this prospect was similarly unpalatable to the mercantilist Conservatives on Tyneside and the aristocratic Northumberland Tories.⁵⁶ The distinct regional implications of British national party politics hindered the emergence of regional unity in the north east. As such, internal regional divisions proliferated. By the 1960s when Smith was arguing for a unified Tyneside, the most strident divisions were to be found *within* Tyneside, and more often than not, within the regional Labour Group.

Malmö's boundaries extended rapidly after 1950 and by 1971 included the formerly independent authorities of Södra Sallerups, Oxie and Bunkeflo, and plans to extend the city's boundaries to include Svedala, Bara and Burlovs and parts of Staffanstorp had been suggested. The early incorporations were motivated by national boundary reform, and influenced by ideas concerning the efficiency of 'natural regions', but by the 1970's there was also support for incorporation from the social democrats in Malmö, who recognised that they would need to extend their fiscal base to finance the city's burgeoning public sector.⁵⁷ Paradoxically, these incorporations were complicated by Malmö's own unwillingness to become part of Skåne county council. The suggestion that Malmö should join the county council was also part of the boundary reform, which abolished many older rural authorities after 1952. Regional

cohesion in Skåne would be improved by the effective distribution of services, particularly in health, which were increasingly concentrated in the rapidly expanding Malmö. There was nevertheless significant resistance from within Malmö motivated by the concern that whilst more people would have access to Malmö's largest public service, such as the hospital, the fiscal revenue would go to the county council, which would prevent the city from expanding further.⁵⁸ There was also a degree of reluctance from the smaller authorities. For instance, representatives from Bunkeflo municipality, regardless of political party, expressed concern about being part of Malmö due to the prospect of longer hospital waiting lists and increased bureaucracy.⁵⁹ Similarly in Malmö, conservative opinion, whilst concerned mainly with the distribution of cultural services, expressed the same sentiments as Malmö's social democrats: Malmö was all too often providing a regional service without regional support. Amalgamation with the county council, could only be accepted if support for Malmö as a regional capital could be ensured.⁶⁰

Before assessing the significance of these boundary developments, it is necessary to ascertain to what extent it can be asserted that the Mr. T.Dan Smith era of local government and the launching of the Örestad concept were expressions of 'regionalist' sentiment, without imposing a teleological framework on developments that were not self-consciously territorial. Keating's discussion of 'regionalism' allows for a degree of fluidity, because it is defined broadly as the marriage of a concept of territory, (often the level between state and locality) and certain political goals.⁶¹ Malmö was exceptionally buoyant during the mid sixties, with high levels of employment and 65% of the work force employed in the manufacturing sector. What is clear, both from the caution expressed by S.A Johansson in 1962 through to the growing impatience of the late 1960's is the shared degree of confidence in Malmö's continued position of strength and centrality in the development of the Örestad. It can therefore be ascertained that in the celebration of Malmö's political and economic buoyancy during the sixties there existed an awareness of the spatial dimensions of this success, as distinct from that of the nation-state territory. Issues pertaining to the provision of services and public utilities within Skåne subsequently brought Malmö's relationship with the region into sharper focus. Similarly, from the perspective of smaller surrounding authorities, the degree of centralisation which the growth of the regional capital implied was often objectionable. Nevertheless, internal regional

divisions were not a forum for the expression of cross and inter party political rivalries. Whilst Smith's political ambitions contained territorial dimensions, compared with Malmö, his era of regionalism in the north east increasingly provided a platform for the expression of geographical political rivalries. Ultimately this development of regionalism in the north east, did not generate a cohesive regional concept to match the Örestad, despite references to 'Northern Metropolises' and 'Brasilia'. In political and economic terms the north east emerged from the 1960's as externally defined, by the numerous national planning initiatives, which had prevailed since the 1930's.

It has been suggested, using Malmö's boundary extension as an example that the provision of public services can reveal the characteristics of the tensions between city and region. It is the intention here to use two concrete examples in both cities, the proposal to build a bridge between Skåne in southern Sweden and Sjælland in Denmark, and the development of the regional airport at Woolsington in Newcastle, to establish a greater understanding of comparative city/region relationship. Taken in isolation, the airport and the fixed link, are not ideal subjects for comparison. The building of a bridge between Malmö and Copenhagen is clearly an infrastructural project of much greater scale and international significance than Newcastle's regional airport. However, both projects lend themselves to analysis of the relationships within regions and it is for this reason that they are compared. It is also worth noting that whilst there has been considerable scholarly attention recently to the spatial unit between the level of the state and locality, this has rarely addressed sub-regional relationships. Even though the work of formidable scholars such as F. Braudel still serve to emphasise that city states enjoyed a five-century dominance in Europe, as compared to a century and a half of the nation state, a preoccupation with the latter dominates most academic research. Whilst it would clearly be unwise to investigate the contemporary history of cities without relating them to the development of nation-states, it is equally anachronistic to see regions as abstracted from a dialectical relationship with both nation states and cities.

Historical studies of cities have built upon the already substantial works within classical geography and sociology, and as such urban historians have been amongst the staunchest defenders of the comparative, multi disciplinary approach to historical

works.⁶² The unifying theme of urban history is that spatial configurations generate specific effects. From urban sociology and urban ecology came the assertion, that cities generate a society manifestly different from rural areas. Whereas this influenced a school of writing focussing upon urban behavioural patterns, or mentalities, for classical geography it was the actual land use within cities and between cities and regions, which determined the specifics of human organisation.⁶³ The suggestion that spatial configuration affects social organisation is still relevant to contemporary scholarship, notwithstanding recognition that classic predictions for cities and the development of specific social bonds, have not always prevailed.⁶⁴ Urban historians, were nevertheless quick to challenge the ubiquity of the distinctly urban specifics prescribed by both social sciences, arguing that the boundaries of cities, designated by, for instance measuring the radii of specifically urban services, could not reveal the cultural boundaries, which both cities and regions are equipped to impose.⁶⁵

The wider challenge to the notion of a distinctly 'urban variable' in the process of historical change, similarly came from within the discipline. The specifically urban argument, pioneered by J. Dyos in the 1960s and revised by A. Sutcliffe in the 1980s saw the late nineteenth century British city, as central in "moving Britain towards the highly interventionist State apparatus within a relatively impoverished productive system", at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶⁶ This perspective was sidelined during the 1970s, when the history of cities was increasingly subsumed by 'history of society'. The comparison of Malmö and Newcastle requires a combination of both perspectives. It has not been the purpose of this thesis to argue that Malmö and Newcastle generated developments that were crucial to moving Britain or Sweden in a particular way by the end of the twentieth century. In part this is because the comparative approach does not allow for the development of a full historical narrative, equipped to make causal inferences applicable to the level of the nation state. Moreover, if it were so equipped, more than one British or Swedish case would have to be examined. On the other hand the comparison also challenges the perspective in which the processes manifest in the cities are simply a reflection of the universal working out of 'history of society' at the micro level, by providing examples of local deviation from national patterns. Instead the comparative analysis ameliorates both perspectives because it gives special emphasis to the relationship between the general process and the particular manifestation.

In seeking to establish the relationship between city and region in each case, the 'city region' concept provides a useful starting point. During the 1960s the city region concept was proposed by Derek Senior, as a solution to the administrative problems caused by the setting up of 'little Whitehalls' in British standard regions according to national regional policy guidelines. Senior, like Fawcett, was critical of the imposition of standard, often arbitrary boundaries in areas that lacked administrative cohesion. In keeping with T.Dan Smith, Senior was also concerned about the inefficiency of local government. Senior contended that Britain's plethora of overlapping local authorities was not equipped to carry out the plan making required by regional policy strategies and argued for the recognition of the 'city regions' as the only viable units of modern planning.⁶⁷ The definition of a city region, which Britain's 'major authorities' would constitute, raises some pertinent questions for the analysis of Malmö and Newcastle's regional relationships.

"By a city region I mean an area whose inhabitants look to a common centre for whose specialised facilities and services (social, cultural, professional, educational and other), whose economic provision demands a user population of large but less than national proportions."⁶⁸

In the North, Senior proposed a Newcastle city region, which would have administrative jurisdiction over most of Northumberland and County Durham. The question this raises for Malmö and Newcastle echoes the urban historian's challenge to the prescription of city/region boundaries. For instance, to what extent were the demands and the provision of central facilities in Malmö and Newcastle the reflection of the clear-cut boundaries between the city and the region? If these boundaries were imposed, either by the city or by the region, then what were the motivating factors?

At the end of the Second World War, the development of civil air communications was given a high priority in Britain, in part due to the belief that air transport would come to dominate the handling of freight. Under the provision of the Civil Aviation Act of 1949, County Councils were entitled to establish and maintain aerodromes.⁶⁹ In the north east, consent was given initially to Boldon in South Tyneside as the location for the international airport in the region. In 1955, the government apparently withdrew its support for Boldon. According to representatives from Newcastle, there were some unsuccessful attempts to develop an airport in Teeside in the interim, but it

was Newcastle City Corporation, which proceeded favourably with their own municipal airport at Woolsington. It was this airport that was subsequently recognised by the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation as the airport for the north east.⁷⁰

There had been a municipal airport committee in Newcastle since 1927. After the Second World War, a joint regional committee was formed, to decide the location of the north east's international airport. By 1954, however, it was already decided that the Chairman of the North East Joint Airport Committee was authorised to oppose any suggestion for the development of an international airport in the north east, other than at Woolsington.⁷¹ The extent to which this was perceived by representatives from outside Newcastle, as the most favourable outcome is questionable, particularly given that Newcastle was also intent on securing substantial regional financial support for the airport at Woolsington.⁷² At a Municipal Airport Conference held in 1960, Alderman Suddick from Sunderland, asserted that his council did not wish to participate in the funding of the scheme at Woolsington and proposed instead the re-examination of the desirability of the civilian airport at Ouston, near Sunderland.⁷³ A statement had appeared in the press at the same time, attributed to the President of the Tyneside Chamber of Commerce suggesting that Ouston Aerodrome would be more suitable for the north east than Woolsington. In accordance with the decision taken in 1954 the response of the regional airport committee was that, "having considered all the relevant circumstances the committee reaffirms their decision to support the development of Woolsington".⁷⁴ It is the case of Sunderland, which necessarily raises the most interesting questions. Sunderland Council eventually agreed to support the airport at Woolsington, but later applied to the N.E.R.A.C to be released from its obligations and was refused. Whilst the authority in Newcastle, perceived the location of the airport at Woolsington as favourable, it is not clear that the north east's other regional centres shared this perception of a common core. Taken in conjunction with the Council's proposed 'Newcastle on Tyneside', the lengthy negotiation, which would ensure that the region's international airport came to be situated in Woolsington, suggests that Newcastle's representatives wanted to establish the city as capital not only of Tyneside, but also Wearside.

In 1886 Francis Deboncle brought news to the Swedish government in Stockholm, of the request to build an underwater tunnel between Skåne and Sjælland from a

prominent French banking syndicate.⁷⁵ The Swedish government rejected the initial proposals and the idea was not resurrected until after the First World War, when it was suggested that a bridge could be built between Helsingborg and Helsingør, north of Malmö and Copenhagen. This was contested by representatives from Malmö, who asserted that a bridge linking the two countries ought to connect the two regional capitals.⁷⁶ During the Second World War, any proposed construction over the Sound was restricted due to naval activity. Nevertheless, a collaborative council called Öresundsrådet was established by the Danish and Swedish governments in 1959, to investigate the potentials for the building of a fixed link. By this stage, the opportunity for increased communications had gained favour with the Nordic Council, which was inaugurated in 1953.⁷⁷

The inaugural session of the Nordic Council was opened by King Frederick of Denmark in Copenhagen in the spring of 1953, and described in Skåne's newspapers as being cautiously optimistic, despite some Norwegian hostility.⁷⁸ It was in the field of augmenting communications, which the Nordic Council was most proactive and the building of a bridge between Skåne and Sjælland was amongst the Council's primary concerns. The Council actively debated the issue extensively throughout the 1950s, proposing a series of recommendations in the 1960s and in the absence of a ratified decision recommended that the two countries proceed with the construction of a fixed link again in 1971.⁷⁹ In the many discussions that the fixed link generated, the macro Nordic region was prominent, particularly as regards collaboration between Sweden and Denmark, which brought the shared territory, the Öresund region into sharper focus. But the absence of a tangible 'Skåne' is striking, particularly from the perspective of Malmö. For instance, in 1969, Malmö representatives from Öresundsrådet published recommendations for further development. This emphasised the importance of bridging national differences, in line with the Nordic Council's suggestions. It also recommended that history taught in both regions should focus upon the history of the shared cultural border, which made up the Öresund region.⁸⁰ It was clearly less important, in the desire to secure the agreement to build, to focus on the distinct histories and territories of Skåne and Sjælland. The proposal to build this bridge launched the concept of the Öresund region, and increasingly, it was this relationship, which local politicians in Malmö became keen to articulate, particularly once the economic prosperity, which prevailed when they launched the Örestad

concept in the early 1960's diminished.⁸¹ Whilst it fell to the local populist party to bring the territorial politics of Skåne back on the agenda during the 1970s, in the comparison it is important to note that whilst Malmö was capital of Scania, unlike Newcastle it was also the sub-centre within the Öresund region.

Both cities' connection with their regions was redefined in the circumstances of economic contraction in the 1970s. During the 1970's both cities witnessed the re-emergence of new forms of regionalist sentiment. In Malmö this was reflected by the growth of the Skåne Movement, and subsequently Party between 1976-85 and in Newcastle by the Campaign For the North (CFN) in the early 1970s and more recently the Campaign for the Northern Assembly (CNA). Crucial to the comparison is that Malmö and Newcastle's relationship with these regionalist developments differed quite markedly. The Skåne Party incorporated into their regionalist agenda a critique of social democratic Malmö, whereas Newcastle as home to most of the campaigners and supporters, particularly of the CNA, was neither vindicated nor criticised by either in its role as regional capital.

Three years after Malmö Social Democrats' election defeat of 1985, a book was published examining the role played by the populist Skåne Party in this unprecedented downfall. Peterson, Stigendal and Fryklund suggest that the previous half-century of social democratic municipal government in Malmö, generated the ideological climate, characterised by cross party and capital/labour alliance, which led to the emergence of the populist Skåne Party. The history of the party organisation and its leader, Carl P Herslow, is taken to be an unusual example of populism, but one that was nevertheless able to sustain localelectoral support for a critique of the beleaguered 'Swedish system', through broadcasting on local radio.⁸² It is the regionalist dimension of the party, which provides the focus here.

The most important individual in the emergence of the Skåne movement was Carl P Herslow, the descendant of one of Malmö's most prominent elite families of the late nineteenth century. Apart from sitting on the director's board of both Kockums and Skanska at various stages, the late Carl Herslow was also the editor of Skåne's first regional newspaper, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, which had been established by historians Martin Weibull and Claes Odhner from Lund during the 1870s.⁸³ Carl P. Herslow,

was a local entrepreneur, and as such belonged to a group, who it is argued, felt the effects of Sweden's economic crisis after 1970 most acutely. For the majority of the twentieth century they had been isolated from the Swedish symbiosis between state, municipality, and large-scale industry and finance.⁸⁴ The formal emergence of the Skåne Movement, can be dated to 1977 when they formed their own independent newspaper, *Skånekuriren* (Skåne Courier), run by the company Skåneposten AB, which started life as a private taxi firm in 1973, purchased by Herslow in June 1977. This paper was a central forum for publicising the party's aims and ideology prior to the use of the radio during the 1985 election campaign.

What is clear from the outset, is how the territorial dimensions of this movement were used to legitimise its most heartfelt issues, regarding the deregulation of key policy areas, in particular the sale of alcohol, tourism and the media. By the 1980s, territorial loyalty was also used to criticise national and local immigrant policy. Indeed, the movement was initially intended to be national, and was only limited to Skåne, when Herslow realised that he would not be able to achieve a mandate at the national level. In the first issue of *Skånekuriren*, it is quite clear that the party's unambiguous aims were concerned to ensure that; "beer, wine and spirits be sold in the same tourist friendly way in Skåne as in our neighbouring countries of Denmark and Germany".⁸⁵ The same issue also featured an interview with a new member of the movement, who had spent time studying Catalan regionalism. According to Rosenhead, Skåne's historical circumstances did not warrant the radical claims for separatism prevalent in Spain, instead he was a member of the movement because of regional loyalty, which given Skåne's historic links with the continent, could be used to promote greater autonomy. The next issue of the paper echoed this perspective, but the editor also emphasised that the desire for Skåne's autonomy must not impinge upon Swedish national interest.⁸⁶ Subsequently, however, the entire tract of the Roskilde Treaty (1658) was published, in conjunction with a claim that Skåne's flag, pre-dated both the Swedish and the Danish flags by two hundred years. The emphasis on the indigenous vernacular and Danish heritage, was nevertheless always most closely allied to the case for alcohol deregulation, manifest in the contention that Skåne had more in common with Danish attitudes to drink in the twentieth century, than with the Swedish Good Templars.⁸⁷

As regards support for the Skåne movement prior to the 1985 election campaign, it is not possible to assert that it was widespread. In February 1978, the Skåne movement itself estimated that it had three thousand members.⁸⁸ It subsequently emerged however, that no more than three hundred people actually subscribed to *Skånekuriren* and the sale of loose copies was slow. Herslow himself later admitted that he lost 50,000 Swedish Crowns in the production of the paper.⁸⁹ When representatives were chosen for election to the Skåne Party in 1978, they were predominately from Lund, and when politicians from Malmö were invited to comment on the movement, they were usually Moderates. In an interview with Joakim Ollen, Moderate councillor from Malmö in 1978, Ollen asserted that he supported the Skåne movement's calls for greater regional autonomy but warned that the movement was untenable with separatist intentions, or without support from the national government.⁹⁰ The Moderate councillors were particularly enthusiastic in their support for one of the Skåne movement's main ambitions, abolishing existing district and county boundaries and replacing them with a single regional authority, meaning that Malmö would cease to be a separate authority. It follows that the Skåne Movement and Party also constituted a sustained critique of Malmö's status as regional capital, or more specifically, the social democratic dominance of the regional capital. They contended that whilst the region's geographical centre was located centrally in the region, near Ringsjön, the political and actual power in the region, was concentrated in Malmö. Notwithstanding the population density exclusive to Malmö, the Skåne movement challenged the virtue of this dominance as the best arrangement for the rest of the region.⁹¹

On the 24th March 1979, the Skåne Party was established and presented itself and its programme in all the regional newspapers. In this launch of their programme, they still used the term 'provincial government' to describe their territorial ambitions for Skåne and reiterated the desire to replace the two district councils, three county councils and Malmö local authority with a single Skåne authority. This claimed to be in line with national government objectives as stated in recent official declarations. In the run up to the 1985 municipal elections, however, the regionalist element of the agenda became radical, in line with a now extreme criticism of the Swedish system. In a political advert for the party published in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* in 1983, it was claimed that the recent ballot on nuclear power, in which only 27% of Skåne's population had supported the government, provided evidence of local and national disaffection with the social democrats:

“ In Skåne there is no support for Palme's socialist domestic and foreign policy, which constitutes an atrocious encroachment on Skåne's 'folk' majority. The Skåne Party has hitherto worked for regional autonomy in Skåne this is now not enough because the national government prohibits political broadcast on the radio. We now want Skåne to be an independent republic with a president like the USA and France. Skåne must be part of NATO and the E.U. Politics in all areas ought to be closely aligned to those of Western Europe, of whose 33 independent states, only eight have smaller populations than Skåne.⁹²

The reaction of the Social Democrats in Malmö, to the combined impact of the Skåne Party gaining 7.2% in the 1985 elections and the loss of electoral majority was one of dismay and embarrassment. By this stage, it was clear that Herslow's political agenda contained an anti-immigrant element, although it claimed not to be racist. Herslow had clearly been underestimated and regarded initially as a maverick and an ineffectual political upstart. In the words of one of Malmö's prominent social democrats at the time, “when he stood in Möllevången Square, doling out his free Skåne liquor, most people had simply smiled wryly at this sideswipe at Stockholm's authority”. Here Enqvist crystallises the key to the specifics of this territorial agenda. As *Skåne Partiet* shows, the number of people actively engaged either in the movement or the party, was never substantial, and Herslow himself only came to use

the regional apparel because he realised that it was a way of getting into government. Nonetheless the fact that neither the local Social Democrats, Moderates, nor the wider regional population wished to be perceived as critical of the argument for increased autonomy for Skåne, confirms the existence of regional loyalty. Whilst the region does have a territorial history, which at times has been at odds with the nation state boundaries, the element of coincidence in the use of regionalism by the Skåne Party challenges the extent to which there is a direct link between the existence of regional loyalty and the use of political regionalism in this instance. The territorial apparel was used here to justify right wing, separatist populism but it was not the expression of a suppressed separate people, or of the collapse of the nation state.

Richard Wainwright, Liberal MP for the Colne Valley constituency, Jeremy Beecham, Labour member of Newcastle upon Tyne city council and Paul Temperton, were amongst the founding members of the Campaign for the North (CFN), in April 1977. The *Northern Democrat*, had been published by CFN's precursor, the Committee for Democratic Regional Government in the North of England since 1975.⁹³ The charitable Rowntree Trust funded the campaign until 1979. It was motivated by the findings of the Redcliffe Maude Commission, which echoing the suggestions made by earlier Royal Commissions, sought to rationalise the plethora of local authorities in the north east and argued for the establishment of a single, non-legislative authority in the north east.⁹⁴ It was this commission, which Derek Senior responded to with the proposal for a Newcastle city region, based on commuting patterns, to cover most of Northumberland and Durham. The CFN, however contested both these proposals, arguing instead for the establishment of an elected authority, which would cover the greater Northern region, a North, which stretched from Hull to Liverpool and up to the Scottish border. This north was deemed to be equivalent to the German style Länder and therefore equipped to transcend existing divisions within the region.⁹⁵ This never achieved considerable support from central government, particularly given that the 1973 Kilbrandon Report had concluded that unlike Scotland and Wales, northern England had no need for any specific arrangements, to articulate separate identities. The minority, Crowther Hunt & Peacock Report, established in response to Kilbrandon in 1973, contended that a degree of legislative power would benefit the north, and in keeping with the CFN, held that a regional council should also include Yorkshire and Humberside. Despite the existence of the

CFN, a survey carried out by the minority report, suggested that there was little widespread support for northern devolution at a mass level.⁹⁶

It is perhaps unwise, however, to dismiss so readily the significance of the CFN in the light of centrally motivated royal commissions and surveys. Moreover, there exist important parallels and distinctions between CFN and the Skåne Movement. In contrast to the latter, CFN was avowedly non-political. The *Northern Democrat*, which was published by CFN eight times a year was intended as a forum for all those interested in democratic regional government. Indeed every issue of *Northern Democrat* reiterated this non-political commitment; “beyond the belief that the North needs self-government and has a right to decide the details itself, Northern Democrat has no policy”.⁹⁷ Compared to the Skåne Party, which appropriated territorial dimension to lend weight to broader political ambitions, CFN’s territorial agenda appears to have been intrinsically regionalist. Echoing Fawcett and several subsequent commentators on the status of the ‘North’, several issues of the *Northern Democrat* were devoted to locating the ‘North’ and questioning established administrative boundaries. Interestingly, the contentious question of where to locate a regional capital did not receive extensive coverage. It is nonetheless worth re-stating that unlike the Skåne Party, this movement did not have separatist intentions and referred to itself instead as a ‘promotional pressure group’.⁹⁸ Despite the assumption that separatist movements tend to be located in ‘economic regions’, in this instance, it was Skåne, with less claim to the status of an ‘economic region’ than the north east, which generated what could be defined as a separatist movement.

As regards membership numbers, parallels can be drawn with the Swedish case. By 1979 CFN’s membership had reached approximately 300 and local branches had been established in Tyneside and Merseyside. The central headquarters were located at Hebden Bridge.⁹⁹ By this stage CFN had already conceded that recruiting new members to the movement was problematic, which would appear to support the claim that there was little universal demand for northern devolution. Nonetheless, in 1979 CFN carried out their own survey in the region, which found that 40% of the population would want devolution if it were granted to Scotland and Wales.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, 62% of respondents were in favour of change of some kind, which

suggests that conclusions about marginal mass demand tend to be heavily dependent on the nature of the questions and bodies responsible for carrying out such surveys.

In the subsequent circumstances of a weak national majority, and pressure from both Plaid Cymru and the Scottish National Party, the British Labour government was forced to take seriously the calls for devolution from both Scotland and Wales by 1974. Although sceptical at first by the late 1970s, the regional Labour Party had become convinced that they could only avoid being damaged by Scottish devolution, if they themselves achieved similar political status. In 1978, the regional Labour party launched a pro devolution campaign, called, 'Lets pull it Together for a Better North'.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, as Lanigan's thesis demonstrates, political interests in the north east remained divided between those who believed that the region's only future was as part of the national economy, and the proponents of regional devolution. During the 1970s the Labour Prime Minister Callaghan, reportedly believed that political tribalism in the north east would prevent any coherent call for regional devolution equivalent to the Scottish or Welsh.¹⁰² This suggests that the palpable perception of internal political weakness compounded existing central government reluctance on northern devolution. Indeed, a senior Labour councillor in the north east, interviewed for the Lanigan thesis on the subject of his involvement in both the NDC and the NEA, concluded that T. Dan Smith had always been isolated in his pursuit of a regionalist agenda during the 1960s and 1970s. As regards the CFN, financial support was not forthcoming after 1979 and coincided with the Scottish and Welsh 'no vote' on devolution, which combined with the incoming Conservative national government to marginalise any claims for northern devolution. This was an untimely end for the CFN. The *Northern Democrat* constituted, a hitherto unprecedented, sustained and informed debate on the issue of devolution in the north, whilst at the same time recognising appositely the divisive problems inherent in northern Labourism. Indeed, an appraisal of the themes addressed by the political regionalist movements of the 1990s attests to the level of sophistication, sustained by the CFN already during the 1970s. This level of sophistication also provides evidence of the extent to which the regional debate has remained static in the last two decades.

One of the issues, which fuelled the Skåne Party's critique of social democratic Malmö, was the inability to reach a positive decision regarding the construction of the

Öresund fixed link.¹⁰³ Paradoxically, the Party did not use the bridge to bolster their regionalist agenda, aligning themselves instead in a rather ad hoc fashion with the local Communist, Left and Green parties in criticising the potential environmental risks, whilst also asserting somewhat ambivalently, that a fixed link with Europe was important in principle.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, the fixed link came to play a central part in the development of national government strategy to enhance the regional dimension of its macro political and economic policy by the 1990s. This also coincided with the government national interest in the boundary reform, which the Skåne Party had long been lobbying for.¹⁰⁵ In 1999, Skåne comprised one administrative unit, Region Skåne, instead of the earlier Kristianstad Län and Malmöhus Län, with thirty-three separate local authorities, including Malmö Kommun. The final decision to build the bridge, was not a local government decision, rather taken by the national Moderate government, led by Carl Bildt in 1992, when Malmö council also had a Conservative majority. For Joakim Ollen, the leader of the Conservative council this decision nevertheless implied that the largest infrastructural project undertaken to date in the Nordic Region was located in Malmö. It was nevertheless not before 1994, that the whole decision making process was completed, (much of the delay can be attributed to conflict generated by the environmental concerns). The actual construction process began in December 1994.

In addition to vociferous protest from environmental activists, there was also some trepidation about this infrastructural project amongst smaller local authorities throughout Skåne, who felt that the decision had been taken without due consideration of the impact outside the boundaries of the 'Bridge City'.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, by the time the decision was taken there was clearly a degree of symbiosis between the aims of national government, the majority local political opinion, and the local business elite. For the Swedish government the appeal of the Öresund link was manifold. The national government recognised that Malmö needed strategic economic input, to overcome the decline, which the closure of Kockums had contributed to. The bridge over the Sound was seen in part as a potential lift for the country's southern economy.¹⁰⁷ In a report published by the Swedish and Danish governments in 1990, both sides pledged to give their whole-hearted support to the future of regions *per se* and, as such, were committed to ensuring that the vision for Öresund was realised. This region, they contended, was a unique example of integration and contemporary

cross-cultural collaboration, ideally placed to serve as a prototype for the development of the 'Europe of the Regions'.¹⁰⁹

Figure 6.1

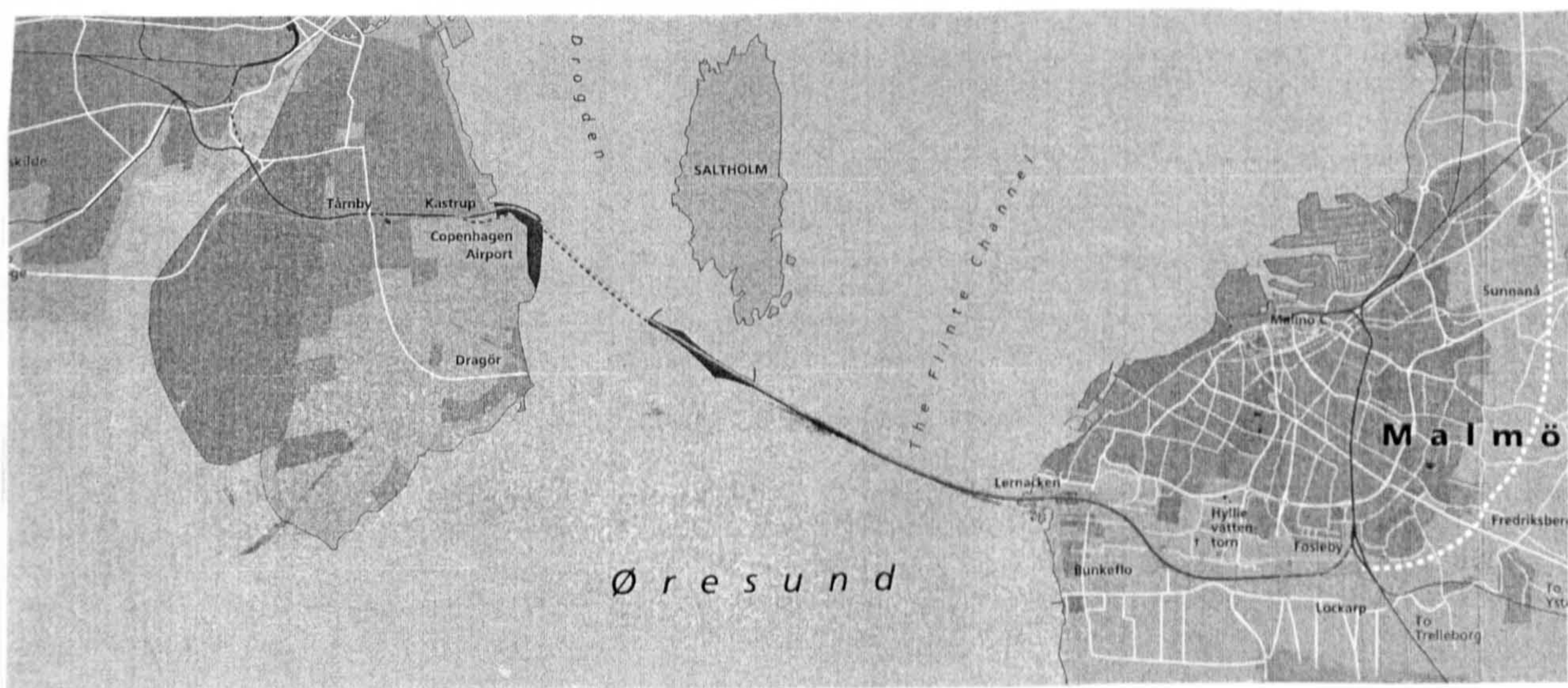


Figure 6.1
The Öresund Bridge

Source: *Sund & Bro Newsletter* 1999

The region's business community also expressed an awareness of a need for a territorial articulation of the nation's economy by the late 1980s, by which time the absence of a concentration of higher education or any significant research centres, were seen as obstacles to the recovery of southern Sweden's economy.¹⁰⁹ Christian Tankjaer, sees this as evidence of a shift in the tone of the discussions for the bridge between 1950's and the 1990s. Whilst earlier discussions had focused on the physical planning, such as location and energy questions, the more current debate has concerned the Öresundregion as a long-term strategic project. This reflected a keener awareness of the potential relationships, or rather competition with, other developing European regions. This table published by the Southern Swedish Chamber of Commerce in 1993, is taken as evidence of this shift:

Table 6.2: Urban Regions of Creativity in Western Europe: Top Ten

1	London-Cambridge-Oxford
2	Paris
3	Amsterdam-Utrecht-Leiden
4	Bonn-Cologne-Dusseldorf
5	Copenhagen-Malmö-Lund
6	Stockholm-Uppsala
7	Brussel-Louviere-Ghent
8	Frankfurt-Mainz-Giessen
9	Munich
10	Heidelberg-Karlsruhe

Source C. Tangkjaer *Over Öresund* p. 70

The comparison with Newcastle nevertheless illustrates that the territorial dimension of the Öresund debate was present already during the fifties and sixties. Malmö's launch of the Örestad concept, represented an earlier territorial awareness of their economic development, similarly the Nordic Council's support for the fixed link, brought an awareness of that region's centrality in the supra national context into

sharper focus. The difference in the later regional debate exists in the emphasis on competition with other regions, specifically within the European Union, which was largely a product of national government interest, supported by the local business and political community.

The Campaign for a Northern Assembly was established in 1992. Its founding principles, as stated in the policy document published in 1996, were couched in these terms:

“The C.N.A has existed since 1992 with the purpose of advocating directly elected regional government for the Northern Region. The North is characterised by a strong and distinctive regional culture, which is ignored in the current administration structure and by a major democratic deficit-with over 50% of the regional electorate voting Labour at the last election.”¹¹¹

This represented a shift from the earlier aims of the CFN because the regionalism that the C.N.A pursued was clearly political in origin, indeed it constituted primarily a reaction to the Conservative majority national government, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the 1992 election. Moreover, C.N.A proposed the creation of a ‘smaller north’, to consist of Cumbria, Cleveland, Co Durham, Tyne and Wear and Northumberland in line with the standard boundary definitions of 1974, an area almost identical to that of Fawcett’s province of the North.¹¹² Recent research suggests that despite their use of the existence of a strong regional culture to legitimise claims for an elected assembly, C.N.A members were political rather than cultural activists.¹¹³ A significant proportion of the campaign’s supporters were Labour voters, and the members were heavily concentrated in the ‘Newcastle city region’, with 84 out of 102 respondents to a member survey living in the Newcastle and Gateshead area. It is also noted that despite drawing on the existence of territorial loyalty, there did not exist a significant dialogue between the campaign and the organisations of cultural regionalism, such as *Northern Review*, which emerged at the same time.¹¹⁴

The regional business elite had also begun to express interest in the territorial dimensions of the region’s economic and political future by the early 1990s.¹¹⁵ Moreover, the subject of Newcastle’s role as regional capital re-emerged as a focal point for Newcastle City Council in this period. A regional capital sub committee

was established in 1984, which dealt initially with issues of planning, but by the late 1980s was motivated to emphasise the city's role as regional capital, particularly in response to the TWUDC's initial proposals for the redevelopment of the region's riverside areas. When TWUDC published their statement of proposed development, the regional capital sub-committee, objected to Newcastle being type-cast as a singularly commercial centre, and in particular the inter regional division of labour, wherein Newcastle was characterised as the city with a cultural/commercial core, whereas Sunderland was called the "advanced manufacturing centre of the North."¹¹⁶ This articulation of Newcastle as the regional capital did not coincide with a renewed national interest in regional economies, rather this was an objective exclusive to the City Council's economic development strategy. Moreover, the promotion of Newcastle as a regional capital failed to generate a coherent internal consensus regarding the future of the north east. Indeed, internal divisions were exploited in what amounted to little more than a marketing exercise: "In marketing terms (Newcastle's status as regional capital), *is our 'unique selling point', one that separates Newcastle from its neighbours and competitors.*"¹¹⁷ In 1995, Newcastle City Council advocated the creation of an Assembly for the North, alongside the Scottish Parliament and Welsh and London Assemblies.¹¹⁸ When the Labour Government was elected in May 1997, Newcastle City Council stated its support for the Deputy Prime Minister's proposal for the creations of both Regional Development Agencies and a directly elected Regional Assembly.¹¹⁹ The internal inability to address the issue of regional cohesion in conjunction with Newcastle's role as regional capital suggests that, like Malmö the most important motivation for articulating the region in local politics by the 1990s came with the recognition that, "In value for money terms, nearly all our expenditure on Regional Capital schemes is eligible for European Regional Development Fund grant".¹²⁰ The most important difference being that in Malmö, this was also part of a national endeavour to encourage regional competitiveness.

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine the relationship between cities, regions and nation states as reflected in the case of Malmö and Newcastle. It was suggested that the territory which Skåne comprises adhered to cultural and institutional criteria for regions from an early stage, whilst the economy of the north east was seminal in defining both the culture and boundaries from the late medieval

period. By the twentieth century both cities were established as the dominant urban centres within these regions. Whilst Malmö witnessed particularly buoyant development since 1900, Newcastle's development as a dominant post industrial city coexisted with a declining regional economy, implying that the city was not able to capitalise on regional economic development in a way that had characterised earlier periods. Bearing in mind this background, it was suggested that the historic differences between Skåne and the north east regional economies both as regards time and content, were too distinct to warrant further comparison and that a focus on the relationship with the nation states would shed light on the respective development post 1945.

During the 1960's there was a high concentration of national financial interest in Malmö's development. This coincided with state moves to promote regional economic efficiency. Sweden combined centralisation in terms of homogenous national goals and interdependent localities, with the principle of 'local self government'. Whilst Sweden, like Britain did not establish a regional tier of government during the 1960s, in Sweden this combination of high municipal autonomy with national economic integration, has been crucial in shaping the dynamics of the region. British centralisation, as it impacted on the north east in the twentieth century was reflected by the effect of nationalising the regional economy at the same time as elite financial interest withdrew to the capital. Britain appears to be decentralised compared to Sweden because the infrastructure to mediate large-scale structural changes at the local level was scarce; all the north east's promotional and corporatist bodies were established in response to decline. In the light of the post war calls for Welsh and Scottish devolution, the British nation-state is also characterised by weakness compared to the Swedish. However, in the wake of the 1952 boundary reform in Sweden, the abolition of rural parishes led some commentators to look to Britain as an effective model of decentralised government, where parish councils remained operational.¹²¹ These problematics are essentially a comment on the differences between the British and the Swedish economies and nation-states and how they impact on the cases in question; centralisation in Britain is clearly quite distinct from centralisation in Sweden. The term 'region', must therefore also be seen as inextricable from the particularities of the historical process in which it is situated, suggesting that caution should be exercised before endowing the region with

overarching spatial potential, where its rise can be pitted against the 'decline of the European nation state'.

Notwithstanding the impact, which the nation state has on both cases, it was suggested that in order to understand fully the dynamics of these modern regions, an examination of the relationship within regions was useful. During the 1960s Malmö and Newcastle witnessed the growth of regionalist sentiment in conjunction with the provision of large-scale infrastructural services in the region. It was possible to ascertain that Brasilia and the Örestad, were both expressions of regionalism, by adhering to a broad definition. Such a definition also enabled crucial differences to be discerned. In Malmö the Örestad concept and the expressions of regionalism, which were involved in articulating Malmö's centrality in this territory did not foster internal regional divisions comparable with developments in the north east. Despite references to Brasilia, the geo-political divisions within the north east, reflected a degree of fragmentation, which Smith's regionalism exacerbated. This last point has wider implications for current scholarship on devolution. By incorporating the 'northern question', into the break up of the British nation-state, it has often been assumed that there exists a universal demand for regional representation in areas such as the north east, due principally to the uniformity of voting behaviour. But Newcastle's pursuit of regional cohesion was often regarded as an unfavourable attempt at internal centralisation, within an area of uniform political allegiance. Keating suggests that in areas with high municipal autonomy, it is common to perceive increased regional infrastructure with suspicion. Relative to Swedish municipal government, autonomy in local government in the north east is low. The regional response to Newcastle's attempt to underline its role as regional capital, could therefore also be seen as a reflection of the way in which the circumstances of British centralisation, are replicated, if not exacerbated at the regional level. In short, the combination of a dominant capital city, with weak peripheral infrastructure means that in certain circumstances regional capitals are also predisposed to drain, rather than irrigate their regions.¹²¹

During the 1970s, both Skåne and the north east witnessed the emergence of political groups with a regionalist agenda, that were not confined to either city. Whilst it was suggested that the link between territorial loyalty and political regionalism was not

causal in this instance, the two are not unrelated phenomenon. Indeed it is difficult to cite an example of political or cultural regionalism existing in areas without territorial loyalty. Unlike the Skåne Party, CFN did not constitute a critique of local government in Newcastle, and whilst it was a reaction against national recommendations for boundary reform, these were motivated by the growing weakness of the British nation state. A parallel process has not been a feature of the Swedish nation state during the twentieth century, indeed in the comparison regionalism in the context of the Skåne Party, emerges as a reaction against the impact of a strong state, as overtly manifest in social democratic Malmö. In the previous chapter, it was suggested that notions of place identity have been disparate and as such principally subjective, nonetheless, in the case of Malmö a hierarchy of territorial identities is more readily manifest, in which loyalty to Malmö, Skåne, Sweden, Öresund, Denmark the Nordic region and Scandinavia can all be discerned. In the combined circumstances of the break up of the British nation state and an oppositional relationship with the centre, a coherent hierarchy of identities from the city upward has been less discernible in Newcastle. There is a strong sense of local cultural 'identity', in Newcastle, as the previous chapter confirms, but a connection to a wider local political or regional political identity is less easy to discern. In Malmö the combination of local and regional territorial loyalty, with a decentralised municipal government and a strong state, helped mobilise more thoroughgoing political interest in the regional question by the 1990s.

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- ¹ Sten Skansjo "Kring Skåne före 1658" *Öresund. Samarbete mellan arkiv och museer på bade sidor av Sundet. Seminarium på Kulturen i Lund i oktober 1997* pp. 77-91
- ² J. Tomaney "In Search of English Regionalism" *Scottish Affairs* N. 28 Summer 1999 pp. 63-79
- ³ See D. Rowe, N. Mcord (1979) Colls & Lancaster (1992) op.cit
- ⁴ D. Byrne *Beyond the Inner City* (1989) p. 40
- ⁵ C.B.Fawcett, *Provinces of England: A Study of Some Geographical Aspects of Devolution* (1960) p. 83
- ⁶ C. B. Fawcett (1960) op.cit. p. 83
- ⁷ B. Griffiths *North East Dialect: A Survey and Word List* (1999)
- ⁸ Inger Ejskaer, "Sydskaninaviske sprog: græns eoverskridelser" *Öresundsforbindelsen. Integration København-Malmö-Lund-Potentialer-barrier-problemer* (1997)
- ⁹ R.Colls, in R. Colls & B. Lancaster (1992) op.cit p. 3
- ¹⁰ J. Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spheres: Britain 1870-1914* (1993) pp. 17-19
- ¹¹ J. Tomaney, op.cit p. 72
- ¹² G. Tornqvist "Att Skapa en Öresundsregion" *Hur en Region Nybildas* (1998) p. 14
- ¹³ P. Aronsson argues that the supra national regions Scandinavia and Nordic can overshadow interest in Sweden's sub-national regions in P. Aronsson (ed) *The Making of Regions in Sweden and Germany Culture Identity, Religion and Economy in a Comparative Perspective* (1998), p. 15. Nevertheless the difference remains important in an understanding of Skåne in conjunction with the north east.
- ¹⁴ M. Keating *The New Regionalism in Europe* (1998) ch 1 passim
- ¹⁵ The case of Skåne and the north east is not considered to be suitable for a comparative investigation such as Malmö and Newcastle affords, rather is used here to establish the setting for the analysis of regional capitals.
- ¹⁶ C. Ragin & D. Chirot 'The World System of Immanuel Wallerstein: Sociology and Politics as History' in T. Skocpol (ed.) *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* 1984, pp 276-308 passim
- ¹⁷ D. Byrne op.cit p. 26
- ¹⁸ D. Marquand 'Nations Regions and Europe' in B. Crick (ed.) *National Identities. The Constitution of the UK.* (1991) p. 30
- ¹⁹ P. Aronsson (ed.) *The Making of Regions in Sweden and Germany Culture and Identity, Religion and Economy in a Comparative Perspective* (1998) p. 17
- ²⁰ P. Aronsson (1998) op.cit, p. 22
- ²¹ E. Österberg 'Tradition och konstruktion. Svenska regioner i historiskt perspektiv' in B. Blomberg, & S. Lindqvist (ed.) *Den Regional Sararten* (1994)
- ²² Gunnar Wetterberg *Kommunerna* (1997) p. 22

- ²³ M. Keating op. cit. p. 35
- ²⁴ C. Harvie op.cit. p. p.20
- ²⁵ C. Harvie op.cit. p. 20
- ²⁶ M.Dintenfass 'Neither Metropolitan nor Provincial, The Interwar Middle Class' in A. Kidd and D. Nicholls (eds.) *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies in Regional and Cultural Diversity Since the Eighteenth Century* (1998) pp 214-228
- ²⁷ B. Lancaster (1992) op.cit p. ix
- ²⁸ H. Meller Patrick *Geddes Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (1990)
- ²⁹ C. Lanigan op.cit. p. 145
- ³⁰ A. Gustavsson op.cit p. 59
- ³¹ A. Gustavsson op.cit, p.32
- ³² SOU 1965:54 cited in A. Gustavsson (1988) op.cit. p. 62
- ³³ K. Hansen op cit. pp 44-69
- ³⁴ It needs to be pointed out at this stage, although many smaller authorities were incorporated by the city, Malmö remains one of exceptions as regards the 1974 legislation: apart from Gothenburg, it is the only Swedish city that has its own administrative authority separate from the wider geographic unit of Malmöhus Län Landsting (County Council).
- ³⁵ Rowntree Research Unit, University of Durham, "Aspects of Contradiction in Regional Policy: the Case of North East England" *Regional Studies* Volume 8 1974, p. 139
- ³⁶ BCDP N0.6 (1978) op.cit, p. 64
- ³⁷ BCDP N06 (1978) op.cit, p. 69
- ³⁸ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit. Figure 5 Skandinaviske Intressefar i Malmö runt 1960, p. 254
- ³⁹ P.Billing & M.Stigendal op.cit. p. 254
- ⁴⁰ G. AAders & C. Wiebe *The Art of Cloaking Ownership: the Case of Sweden* (1996) p. 33
- ⁴¹ P.Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit. p. 92
- ⁴² Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1997 Tabell 20 s. 28
- ⁴³ *Malmö Din Stad Val Brochyr 1962*
- ⁴⁴ S. A Johansson in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet 12 May 1962*
- ⁴⁵ *Arbetet* Thursday 4 January 1968
- ⁴⁶ Arbetarekommunens arsmote. Stadsfullmaktigegruppens rapport 1969
- ⁴⁷ The term 'upp Svenskar' has roughly the same connotations when used by a southern Sweden as 'southern English' does for a British northerner, with the important qualification that this does not necessarily refer to the Swedish capital city.
- ⁴⁸ T.Dan Smith, *An Autobiography* (1970) p. 80
- ⁴⁹ T. Dan Smith 'Development Problems of a Regional Capital.' 26 May 1960, unpublished paper held in Newcastle City Library Political Corruption Press Cuttings Volume
- ⁵⁰ Tyneside Chamber of Commerce Annual Report 1963.
- ⁵¹ G.C Cameron & A.W Evans "The British Conurbation Centres" *Regional Studies* (1973), p. 47
- ⁵² Ross Davies and David Bennison, *The Eldon Square Complex-The First Eighteen Months* (1978) p. 9
- ⁵³ Newcastle Council Proceedings, May 23rd 1962 pp 62-78 (emphasis added)
- ⁵⁴ Newcastle City Council Proceedings, May 23rd 1962 pp 62-78
- ⁵⁵ Newcastle Council Proceedings May 23rd 1962 pp. 69-70
- ⁵⁶ C. Lanigan op.cit. p. 144
- ⁵⁷ Malmö Arbetarekommuns Styrelse Protokoll Nr. 5 22 April 1974, Bilaga 2.
- ⁵⁸ Malmö Stadsfullmaktiges Protokoll 26 May 1972 Nr. 5 Yttrande över betänkande angående Malmö Kommuns Aterintrade I Malmö Hus Lans Landsting
- ⁵⁹ Ibid. Herr Karl Anders Jonsson (Bunkeflo kommun)
- ⁶⁰ Ibid Fru Rode (Moderat)
- ⁶¹ M. Keating op.cit p. 13
- ⁶² H. Dyos (ed.) *The Study of Urban History* (1968) p. 8
- ⁶³ P. J. Waller, *Town City and Nation 1850-1914* (1983) p. 16
- ⁶⁴ D. Massey, J. Allen & S. Pile (eds.) *Understanding City Worlds* (1999) pp 99-157 passim
- ⁶⁵ P. J. Waller op. cit p. 26
- ⁶⁶ A. Sutcliffe "In Search of the Urban Variable: Britain in the Later Nineteenth Century" in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.) *The Pursuit of Urban History* (1983) p. 263
- ⁶⁷ D. Senior "The City Region as an Administrative Unit" *Political Quarterly* Volume 36 (1965) p. 83
- ⁶⁸ D. Senior op.cit. p. 84
- ⁶⁹ Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne Municipal Airport Committee Minute Book N. 3 1963

- ⁷⁰ North East Development Association Copy of Paper Submitted to the Executive Council at a Meeting of 25th Sept 1958.
- ⁷¹ North East Joint Airport Committee Minutes 28th January 1955
- ⁷² When Mr. Lennox, then Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation, confirmed that the government deemed Woolsington to be suitable for the development of international air services in the north east, a representative from Teesside objected, stating that Woolsington was over thirty miles from Teesside and requested that the Treasury authorise the development of customs facilities for Greatham. Extract from Parliamentary Debate on Wednesday 3rd February 1954, received by The Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne Special Committee as to the Municipal Airport Committee Minute Book n. 1 30th April 1952-26th October 1956
- ⁷³ Municipal Airport Conference of Local Authorities Minutes 7th November 1960 p. 184
- ⁷⁴ Municipal Airport Committee Minutes 28th Oct 1960
- ⁷⁵ *Skånekuriren* 6 April-10 May 1978
- ⁷⁶ *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* march 1936
- ⁷⁷ The post 1945 period is recognised as a watershed for the growth of cultural and infrastructural collaboration between the Scandinavian countries, which the successful development of the Scandinavian Airlines System, having established a formidable international reputation by the 1950s, testifies to. T. D. Kerry op.cit p. 356
- ⁷⁸ *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* February 1953, p. 3
- ⁷⁹ Nordiska Radets Verksamhet 1971-1986. Oversik over radets rekommendationer och yttranden NORD 1988:78 p. 251 ff
- ⁸⁰ Oresundsregionen Information om Oresundregionen utgiven av Oresundsradet 1969
- ⁸¹ In a discussion of the fixed link in 1978, Gösta Håkansson of the local Center Party commented that Malmö would increasingly find it difficult to compete with big brother Copenhagen in the context of the Öresund region Protokoll 20 December 1978 Nr. 11 Yttranden vid Kommunfullmaktiges sammantrade den 20 December 1978
- ⁸² T. Peterson, M. Stigendal & B. Fryklund. *Skåne Partiet. Om Foklight Missnoje I Malmö* (1988) introduction passim
- ⁸³ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit. p. 238
- ⁸⁴ T. Peterson, M. Stigendal & B. Fryklund op. cit. p. 50
- ⁸⁵ *Skånekuriren Skånsk Torsdagstidning for Politik Ekonomi och Kultur* 22 Oct-2 Nov 1977 p. 1
- ⁸⁶ *Skånekuriren* op.cit p. 1
- ⁸⁷ *Skånekuriren* Jan 1978 op.ct. p. 1
- ⁸⁸ *Skånekuriren* Feb-March 1978
- ⁸⁹ T. Peterson, M. Stigendal & B. Fryklund op.cit p. 83
- ⁹⁰ *Skånekuriren* April-May 1978
- ⁹¹ *Skånekuriren* Feb 1978
- ⁹² C. P. Herslow *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* 1983 September 10th p. 3
- ⁹³ *Northern Democrat* 1975 N. 1
- ⁹⁴ C. Lanigan op.cit. p. 149
- ⁹⁵ W. Lancaster 'Time Space and Identity', Conference Paper Given at *he North East Myth or Reality?* North East England History Institute Saturday October 2nd 1999 Gateshead Civic Centre.
- ⁹⁶ C. Lanigan op.cit p. 151
- ⁹⁷ *Northern Democrat* 1975-6
- ⁹⁸ Kevin Daws CFN member from Redcar *Northern Democrat* Spring 1979 N. 15 p. 4
- ⁹⁹ *Northern Democrat* Winter 1978-9 N. 14
- ¹⁰⁰ *Northern Democrat* Spring 1979 N. 15
- ¹⁰¹ C. Lanigan op.cit p. 165
- ¹⁰² Ibid
- ¹⁰³ *Skånekuriren* November 4th 1989, p.6
- ¹⁰⁴ *Skånekuriren* October 4th 1990, p.9
- ¹⁰⁵ *En Region Blir till: Rapport utarbetad av den Danska och Svenska regeringen.* (1990), p. 11
- ¹⁰⁶ Docent Nils Lewan commenting in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* 10th September 1992
- ¹⁰⁷ *Arbetet* 31st January 1990
- ¹⁰⁸ *En Region Blir Till* op. cit p.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ake E. Andersson I samverkan med Ingvar Holmerg och David E. Andersson *Sydsvensk Framtid* Moraberg Forlag (1989)
- ¹¹⁰ *Democracy and Progress: Towards a Regional Government for the north. A Policy Document.* C.N.A Newcastle upon Tyne 1996 p. 1

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- ¹¹¹ *Democracy and Progress: Towards a Regional Government for the north. A Policy Document.* C.N.A Newcastle upon Tyne 1996 p. 1
- ¹¹² C.N.A op.cit (1996) p.2
- ¹¹³ C. Lanigan op.cit. p. 195
- ¹¹⁴ C. Lanigan op.cit. p. 200
- ¹¹⁵ See *Journal* 24th October 1995 p. 29, Chamber of Commerce Leaked response to N.E.A plans for Regional Assembly
- ¹¹⁶ City of Newcastle upon Tyne Regional Capital & UDC Subcommittee 17th May 1989 Newcastle City Council's response to the UDC Officer's Working Group's "Tyne and Wear: The Vision of the Future" p. 3
- ¹¹⁷ Note to the leader of the Council from the Director of Development as to the Regional Capital Initiative. Newcastle City Council Regional Capital Officers Group Agenda and Minutes July 1991-Nov 1994
- ¹¹⁸ Newcastle City Council (1995) *Regional Government: A Way Forward. Proposals from Newcastle City Council.* para 2.3
- ¹¹⁹ Newcastle City Council Strategy Delivery Committee June 1997-April 1998
- ¹²⁰ Newcastle City Council Regional Capital Officer's Group Agenda and Minutes July 1991-November 1994
- ¹²¹ A. Möller *Socknen-lokal identitet eller fornminne? En jämförelse mellan Storbritannien och Sverige.* (1990) p.48
- ¹²² Melvin Bragg suggested that a capital city such as London, has the potential to irrigate the rest of the country but the degree of centralisation of national services means that currently it acts as a drain on the British regions. Melvyn Bragg 'In Conversation with the Editors', *Northern Review Volume 3* (1996) pp 77-87

Chapter Seven

Malmö, Newcastle and the comparative historical approach

This chapter draws together the individual themes, which preceding chapters have investigated in order to address the question that has been central to this research. Namely, is the comparative approach, especially equipped to understand both the essential and the particular features of more than one historical case? If so, does this approach have wider implications for understanding the historical method? In addition to providing a platform for a discussion of the comparative approach, this chapter will also sharpen the perspective of the cases of Malmö and Newcastle by concluding the discussions of economy and society undertaken so far. The purpose of chapter one was to provide an historical overview of both cities in the modern period, and to identify themes, which would receive further analysis in ensuing chapters. In other words, chapter one sought to establish that Malmö and Newcastle were suitable subjects for comparison and that the basic criterion, that cases should share significant similarities but at the same time differ markedly, could be fulfilled. In fulfilling this criterion chapter one also noted the connectedness of these similarities and differences. The differences manifest in both cases, could be related to overarching similarities and vice-versa.¹ It is this feature, or rather these relationships, which allow the thesis to address its methodological question regarding the use of comparison in history.

It is uncharacteristic for historians to discuss explicitly the heuristic tools, which underpin the creation of an historical narrative. Indeed, historians could be described as without a recognised, or universally acknowledged method and characterised instead by a certain eclecticism in writing about the past.² Miles Fairburn confirms that overarching methodological writing, which he defines as, “the relationship between the aims of an enquiry and its data, concepts and forms of reasoning and their justification”, is often wanting within the historical discipline.³ Whilst there is much to be celebrated in this tradition, particularly the richness and diversity of scholarly activity it generates, it does mean that when historians write theory, the relationship between such ‘philosophical detours’ and actual research practice can be difficult to

discern, and therefore scrutinise. This has left historians vulnerable to the charge of implicitly and sometimes anachronistically appropriating social science theory, and applying it in a somewhat ad hoc fashion to historical narrative.⁴ This tendency is also a feature of comparative studies, where despite the recent flurry of historical works purporting to be comparative, there is still modest discussion of the relationship between theory and practice in this area. Nevertheless, in response to the decline of Marxism as the dominant descriptive framework of the post war period, there has been a call for the “generic contextualising of historical evidence as well as the provision of the appropriate context for a work”.⁵ A discussion of comparative history seems apposite in these circumstances

Although the recognised ‘grand oeuvres’ of comparison have invariably addressed vast historical trajectories and historically motivated questions, their methodologies have been scrutinised almost exclusively within historical sociology. Such scrutiny is characterised by a tendency to divide scholars, such as Marc Bloch and Barrington Moore, into different schools of comparison. The pervading attention to classical questions regarding the, “social origins and effects of the European industrial and democratic revolutions” accounts for this classification.⁶ Charles Tilly’s reappraisal of the comparative approach in his, *Big Structures, Large Comparisons, Huge Processes* (1984), contain chapter headings such as ‘Universalising Comparison’ and ‘Finding Variation’ to distinguish between the methodological approaches of Skocpol and Barrington Moore respectively. Similarly in Skocpol (ed.) *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*, the work of Perry Anderson and E. P Thompson are, amongst others, categorised as practitioners of parallel demonstration theory, (Anderson) and the interpretative approach (Thompson). As regards the comparative method, these categories can often be supplanted for an emphasis by the practitioner, on either similarities or distinctions, or for the opposition between macro-causal explanation and micro-historical description deployed to address the questions motivated by European modernity, the antecedents of which are to be found in the differences between classical approaches to modern sociology.⁷ Clearly, classifying the important practitioners of comparative history and sociology, in terms of their relationship to modern sociology helps to clarify the intricacies of this heuristic tool. Moreover, these methodological distinctions also constitute an insight into the content of the work in question. A ‘destined pathway’ succinctly describes Anderson’s

comparative attempt to account for the successful 1789 Revolution in France.⁸ Similarly, Thompson's 'interpretative' method with its emphasis on individual experience and process can be seen as both methodologically and conceptually opposed to the pre-formulated theory applied in Anderson's work. Nonetheless, in this book, which begins by acknowledging C.Wright Mill's contribution to historically informed social science, the implication of these distinctions for the historian become manifest in Skocpol's concluding chapter. Whilst seemingly acknowledging that 'no existing macro-sociological theory' seems adequate for our era, she comes down firmly in favour of what she calls 'analytic historical sociology', and is equally close to dismissing the virtues of the 'interpretative historical school', because of its misleading inability to generalise outside of context.⁹ Skocpol's standing against the historical interpretative method, can also be sampled in her own comparison of social revolution in China, Russia and France, in which she concludes that 'Revolutions', are better explained by political and economic structure, than by human agency.¹⁰ This critique of the 'interpretative historical school' provides a point of departure for a discussion of the use of comparison in history in this chapter.¹¹

Given that social scientists have dominated the methodological discussions of the principles of comparison, it is not surprising that historians have not leapt to the defence of the 'interpretative historical comparison'. Instead, the renewed interest in comparative history is motivated by the recognised benefits of transcending the boundaries of the nation-state in historical analysis. For instance, the British labour historian John Breuilly begins a comparison of labour and liberalism in nineteenth century Europe by discussing the potentials of comparative history. According to Breuilly, this method is best equipped to challenge the assumptions of 'full historical narratives' and at the same time can sharpen the understanding of context. Similarly David Englander suggested that 'without the drawing of comparison, the relationship between the unique and the general would never be known and history, as a discipline, would be impossible....;comparative method applies the logic of the experiment to the study of human societies in the past'.¹² Breuilly also notes that the difference between comparison and 'normal' history, is that comparison concerns itself with more than one particular, and is therefore the closest one gets to the 'experimental method'. For the latter comparison is a "mental experiment, which tries to compare particular events in this way".¹³ Both historians therefore emphasise that

comparison is a valuable heuristic tool, but in both cases, the methodological principles of this tool appear to be located firmly in the historian's imagination. But it seems that potential benefits can be derived from articulating just these principles for historians. These benefits are motivated by two primary concerns in this instance. Firstly, if the way in which history uses the comparison remains implicit, then it is ill placed to defend itself against the charge of being 'misleading', which seriously undermines its status as a 'heuristic tool'. Secondly in articulating the methodology there exists a potential benefit as regards the challenges posed by a post modernist critique of objective history, which comparison ultimately succumbs to if it must hand back to the full or normal historical narrative to generate historical explanation. Interestingly, the critique of the historical method by causal theorists such as Skocpol, can be related to the post-modernist charge against objective history. In both cases, historians are criticised for failing to be methodologically explicit, which for causal theorists, results in an inability to generalise, whereas for post-modernists the discreet historical method combined with putative objectivity masks the implicit articulation of 'very particular interests' on the part of the historian.¹⁴ It is the former concern, which this chapter addresses first, whilst the challenge posed by post modernism will be dealt with in conjunction with a concluding discussion of chapters 1-6.

The 'experimental logic', as it appears in historical and sociological comparison, is derived from what J.S. Mill called his Two Methods of Similarity and Difference.¹⁵ Mill's methods were based on showing that apparently different events are related to similar conditions or that similar events have different conditions. Nevertheless, by looking closer at Mill's Methods, some of the problems of their implicit use in comparative history are magnified. According to Mill, it was possible to move beyond mere enumeration to causal induction through his two Methods. By "cause", Mill meant a sufficient cause, sufficient enough to produce an effect and the sufficient cause of an event were to be found in its immediate antecedent events or circumstances. The two Methods of Similarity and Difference could do two things. They could eliminate the circumstances that were not sufficient causes of an event, thereby isolating a crucial variable, or provide additional cases where a significant shared factor always preceded the event. The latter is principally enumeration, and the former elimination, which in comparison implies that apparently similar cases produce different 'outcomes'.

Figure 7.1

Method of Similarity

Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
a	d	g
b	e	h
c	f	I
x	x	x
y	y	y

x = Causal Variable

y = Phenomenon to be explained

Method of Difference

Positive Case(s)	Negative Case(s)
a	a
b	b
c	c
x	not x
y	not y

Source: T. Skocpol *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* (1984)

J.S. Mill held that his Methods generated scientific truths, and Skocpol similarly concluded that historical comparison is flawed due to its inability to generate explanation beyond specific cases, both assumptions therefore raise this question: how can 'experimental logic' be applied to historical comparison?

Both the Method of Difference and the Method of Similarity, could be applied hypothetically to the cases of Malmö and Newcastle. For instance, utilising the 'Method of Difference', it could be argued that significant similarities in Malmö and Newcastle are provided by the existence of large shipyards and large manual working classes, whilst the crucial difference exists in the process of 'deskilling' manifest in

Malmö's yards, and absent from Newcastle's. The latter constitutes the crucial x variable capable of explaining why Fordist labour processes are appropriated in Malmö's manufacturing companies and not in Newcastle's. Similarly, as regards the politics of housing, the 'Method of Similarity' could also be applied. Initial differences such as; a continuous electoral majority for the local labour party in Malmö and a vacillating one in Newcastle, a vertically integrated construction industry in Malmö as compared to a fragmented industry in Newcastle, the existence or absence of national long term continuity in housing programmes could all be seen to be undermined by a crucial similarity, provided by the inability in both cases of local government to respond adequately to 'population changes' in housing provision, which is the variable x that explains the similarity y, that both local labour parties' electoral support was weakened by perceived failure in social housing as demonstrated by the cases of Byker and Rosengård. Mill's methods are therefore what underpins the questions raised in comparative analysis and both the method of difference and similarity have been used extensively to generate comparative questions about the cases of Malmö and Newcastle. Nevertheless, the basic premise of this method as elucidated by Mill, in which x is the crucial variable is problematic.

Selecting the likely causal factors to generate this methodology must depend on former knowledge got without the help of these 'Methods'. Comparative history similarly begins with a question that extends beyond the specifics of each case, the similarities and differences are subsequently determined by that question. This does not mean that an understanding of the specifics can not be revised if the comparison distinguishes, which relationships are most significant to the initial question. Nonetheless, methods of elimination or similarity cannot lead to a *decisive* verdict in favour of a single causal variable because the set of candidates is already decisively limited. This problem motivates Breuilly to assert that only the full historical narrative can take further the questions raised in the comparative context, and generate wider historical explanation. Nevertheless, it seems that this is to do an injustice to the comparative approach and that there is indeed a virtue in its inability to isolate one causal variable, which is that it necessarily, because of its methodological requirements, adheres to the principles of multi-causality. Moreover, in response to the charge that historical comparison is undermined by its inability to generalise, the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle suggests that, the 'principles of multi-causality',

do not prevent important generalisations from being drawn *within* the comparative context. The virtues of generalising within cases can perhaps best be demonstrated via a concluding discussion of the themes examined in chapters 2-6.

The shared experience of economic decline, manifest in higher than national average rates of unemployment and the contraction of a manufacturing base after 1970 provided a point of departure for the second chapter. In other words, it was a general question about the causes of industrial decline, which provided the parameters for the comparison. As regards the comparative approach, the themes incorporated by this chapter were most fruitful in raising questions about the applicability of established national explanations of economic decline, to local experience. In part this was because the experience of economic decline in both cases, was closely related to the dynamics of both nations' economic and political systems. Nonetheless, the comparison would not have been able to challenge existing assumptions if important local 'particularities' had not been discerned. It needs to be added, that the word unique and particular are used to relate Malmö and Newcastle either to each other, or to demonstrate divergences from generalised national patterns. Unique and particular are not used to assert historicist uniqueness, given that strict historicism precludes comparison entirely.¹⁶ A discussion of which relationships were most significant to the general question regarding industrial decline in Malmö and Newcastle follows here.

A labour market explanation, which has been influential in explaining both the unprecedented experience of unemployment in Sweden after 1973, but also the slowing down in the growth of the manufacturing sector, detected in Britain between 1950-70 attributes this to a crisis in Keynesian regulation, or rather, a case of 'over regulation'. The contention by British scholars, that public sector expansion explains slow growth in the manufacturing sector between 1950-70 faced certain difficulties when applied to the case of Malmö. Malmö's public sector expanded rapidly at the same time as the manufacturing sector was making its most productive gains, that is, between 1950 and 1970. The Swedish national government also choose to support the expansion of its export sector in this period, over and above domestic manufacture, such as textiles because these industries were already subject to unfavourable international competition, prior to the oil crisis. The growth of the public sector in

Malmö compensated for the loss of employment in the textiles industry, but did not procure an overall contraction of the manufacturing base, as the case of the export sector demonstrates.¹⁷ It needs to be added that there still exists very little consensus as to the causes of slow growth in Britain between 1950-70. In the light of Malmö's experience, it is clear that the growth of the public sector in Newcastle after 1960, (which did not expand to the same extent as in Malmö), did not reflect a pull of labour resources from the manufacturing sector. Rather, the growth of the public sector in Newcastle after 1960 suggests that the manufacturing sector itself was not making the productive gains commensurate with those witnessed in Malmö. In the cases of Malmö and Newcastle, explanations for both the contraction of manufacture and the experience of slow growth, must be sought outside the sphere of public sector expansion. In Sweden, there was limited departure from Keynesian orthodoxy prior to the 1980s, and particularly resilient was adherence to comprehensive labour market regulation, discussed in some length in Chapter 2. Following the experience of hitherto unprecedented widespread unemployment during the 1980s, the argument for large and favourable employment effects of labour market regulation has been challenged repeatedly.¹⁸ During the 1980s, the Social Democrats launched the market directed 'third way' strategy, and the share of active labour market expenditure was cut radically, reaching an all time low by 1993.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the case of Malmö and Newcastle suggests that caution should be exercised before endorsing the conclusions of this hypothesis, which by implication suggest that 'over regulation' caused unemployment after 1973 and that less regulation would have procured more favourable employment effects in the same period.

In Malmö unemployment increased dramatically between 1990-93, when Carl Bildt led a Conservative government committed to a neo-liberal strategy known as 'the only way'. Paradoxically the government's only attempt to alleviate unemployment in this period consisted of supporting traditional active labour market schemes developed by the social democrats.²⁰ The case of Malmö and Newcastle together suggest that less regulation would not have procured more favourable employment effects in either case. Rising unemployment in Newcastle is synchronic with increasing labour market de-regulation, particularly after 1981.²¹ Whilst cross national comparisons of unemployment rates are notoriously unreliable, the differences in these two cases have been significant enough to dismiss the assumption that in either Malmö or

Newcastle, 'over-regulation', caused mass unemployment. What the comparison also indicates, however, is that labour market stringency was not equipped to safeguard employment in manufacture.

In the course of challenging the critiques of Keynesian regulation, which prevailed in both Sweden and Britain after 1973, it became clear that more fruitful explanations of both the contraction of manufacture and the experience of unemployment ought to be sought in the sphere of structural economic explanations. Nevertheless, it needs to be added that a more recent explanation of British 'slow growth', between 1950-70, sheds light on certain divergences in Malmö and Newcastle's manufacturing sectors in that period. Unlike Swedish manufacturing companies, for whom the labour market compromise required substantial efficiency gains, it has been suggested that private investment in Britain, has tended to give priority to securing beneficial trade conditions and increased profits for share-holders, rather than efficiency gains.²² In Newcastle the early shipbuilding techniques examined in chapter 2, were characteristically labour intensive. Nevertheless, it has been suggested recently that by the Second World War, management was as opposed to the dilution of skill enhancing techniques as the work force at Armstrong/Vickers. In addition although the company were experimenting with prefabrication techniques by the 1950s-having replaced flame cutting tables with shearing machines-rarely did such measures translate into efficiency gains.²³ Newcastle therefore appears to strengthen M. Dintenfass' thesis in which the responsibility for low productivity returns on R&D investment in Britain resides with management.²⁴ Kockums by contrast, carried out a program of extensive and consistent investment in product rationalisation after 1960, which by 1970 meant that the company was widely regarded as one of the leading shipyards of the world, judged on its productivity and efficiency.²⁵ The different organisation of business and labour, but particularly business, can be deployed to explain this divergence in company efficiency, but not the subsequent contraction in manufacture.

No amount of technical and labour market efficiency in Malmö could disguise the structural imbalances, which both economies developed in the twentieth century. Large and monopolistic heavy engineering companies dominated both Malmö and Newcastle's manufacturing economies. The new light and 'high tech' industries, which have flourished in Britain and Sweden in the twentieth century were relatively

absent from both cities. This shared feature is most important in explaining why both cities suffered severe economic problems after 1970. Methodologically speaking, this is established because the thesis has been able to eliminate alternative causes. This shared feature has been resilient, notwithstanding significant differences in both the organisations of labour and business. If Mill's method was adhered to, this would suggest 'the method of difference', in which causal variable y , overrides all differences to explain the given effect, economic decline. In Malmö and Newcastle, however, the disparate historical circumstances are not made irrelevant by the shared features emphasised here. In Newcastle, the absence of industrial modernisation clearly compounded a structural imbalance, particularly in the twenty years before the oil crisis. In Malmö, industrial modernisation did not prevent a structural imbalance emerging, but this did not mean that labour market regulation was to be irrelevant to the subsequent mediation of international economic change, as the synopsis of chapter four demonstrates. Far from undermining contributing particularities, this shared structural dominance of large heavy manufacturing demonstrates that it was the relationship with the changes in the international economy, which was most significant to the experience of economic decline in Malmö, whilst in Newcastle this exacerbated a more protracted crisis. This chapter also shows the advantage of comparative history of local cases, which can demonstrate that explanations provided for national developments, are not always applicable universally, which in turn means those national explanations, must be qualified.

In examining the theme of social housing after 1945 in both cities, and its relationship to local political processes this comparison concluded that in Newcastle underlying political problems manifested themselves in difficulties within the provision of social housing, which in turn exacerbated local political difficulties. In contrast, the comparison yielded a different perspective of Malmö, where the economics of social housing, closely related as they were to macro-Keynesianism were more significant to the experience of local political problems after 1970. This conclusion was generated by a specific benefit, which the comparative approach is endowed with: it can pose legitimate counterfactual questions.

The use of the counterfactual is most often associated with economics and the more provocative historical 'what if' questions, both over which comparative history has a

distinct advantage. The counterfactual question in comparative history refers to an actual as opposed to a fictional case. Furthermore, the 'what if' question in comparison is raised in the context of a juxtaposition between two cases, when an event or development is present in one and absent in the other. Added to this, the counterfactual is further legitimised because the case where the event or development is absent, usually contains hallmarks, or circumstances reminiscent of the event contained in the juxtaposed case.²⁶ In other words, the counterfactual question is generated in the context of empirical, rather than imagined historical circumstances, because each case provides a commentary on the other's counterfactual. It is in this use of the counterfactual that the comparative historical method is related most closely to the experimental method, yet at the same time, it is in the use of the counterfactual that the necessary distinction between these related approaches becomes apparent. Both comparative history and the experimental method modify the circumstances of their questions, and measure subsequent outcomes. The experiment utilised by scientific inquiry is rendered more apposite when numerous experiments are carried out, modifying the circumstances of each case to explore all possible variables. Such duplication in history would clearly be problematic in terms of time-scale, but more importantly it is also epistemologically flawed. The counterfactual question, which a comparison of two cities can generate, relies on the empirical realities in both cases.

Therefore, in the comparison of social housing, Malmö was able to generate several counterfactual questions for Newcastle. For instance; how would Newcastle's post war housing responses have developed, without the pronounced legacy of Victorian overcrowding? Would local political responses to social housing needs have differed if social housing had not been the epicentre for conflicting national political ideology? Would greater decentralisation have made a difference to local politics in Newcastle? Hypothetical questions such as these are generated and can be addressed because Malmö provides the necessary counterfactual circumstances; this would not have been possible, however, without some hallmarks, or suggestions of Malmö's historical circumstances discernible in Newcastle. The comparison furnishes the counterfactual because instances such as T.Dan Smith's work for the Skanska Group demonstrates the connections between these two cities, connections, which in turn enable the comparison to establish precisely, which factors set them apart. In order to generate a

counterfactual question, which could be duplicated in numerous different places the cases would need to be diluted to an extent that would undermine the very historical circumstances that legitimate the use of the counterfactual in comparison. Ultimately this would amount to little more than an exercise in enumeration, rather than establishing historically significant causal relationships. It has been suggested recently that the inability to duplicate comparative questions across numerous cases, is a problem that is specific to the historical comparison, which relies heavily upon qualitative data.²⁷ In contrast, Peter Aronsson argues that in qualitative histories of localities, the requirement of contextual detail and depth, virtually precludes comparison entirely.²⁸ It is the intention here to demonstrate that it is possible to ameliorate these two positions. At the beginning of chapter three, it was suggested that a comparison of Newcastle's political history in the period after 1945, with that of Malmö's, was potentially problematic because there exists a tendency in national comparisons of British and Swedish political systems, to begin with normative assumptions about what effective democracy ought to look like. It was suggested that an approach, in which a degree of moral judgement was exercised, was inappropriate for the comparative historical method.²⁹ At this stage, it is nonetheless necessary to distinguish between a flawed normative approach on the one hand and an approach, which establishes why the relationship between social democracy and social housing was less problematic in Malmö before 1970. In other words, the counterfactual question needs to be used to discern the most important distinctions between these two cities.

Heavy industrial development was related to the emergence of a consensual style of local social democracy in Malmö. Local political developments in the Swedish city at the turn of the century, also served as a blue print for the development of the national social democratic party. As regards both economics and politics, Malmö was at the centre of national political development at the beginning of the century. In Newcastle, heavy industrial development also motivated the development of the local Labour Party, but unlike Malmö, this did not lead to the development of consensual politics in the post war period. From an early stage, the Labourist stance in Newcastle was defensive. Whilst Newcastle was central to the British economy in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the local Labour Party emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century this was no longer the case. Moreover, although radical liberalism

had placed Newcastle at the centre of Britain's political development at the end of the nineteenth century, this moment had passed by the 1920s, when the local Labour Party began to assert its influence on the city. From the outset a defensive stance was transferred to the evolution of social housing, evident in the local party's unwillingness to pursue co-operative solutions to the provision of cost-rental housing at an early stage.³⁰

In Malmö the local political buoyancy of the post war years, clearly needs to be seen against the background of its influence on the development of the national party at the beginning of the twentieth century. As regards housing, the post war years were seminal because of the decentralisation of many administrative functions to the local level. Whilst this also occurred to a certain extent in Britain, housing continued to be a nationalised political concern. In Sweden housing became increasingly a national economic interest after 1945. Indeed housing was to be crucial to the evolution of demand management after 1945 in Sweden. Malmö's local political, but also economic development meant that it was central to this phase of Swedish Keynesianism. Whilst the national Swedish social democrats also wanted to undermine both the speculative builder and the private landlord in Sweden, the dominance of the co-operative sector provided an alliance of private and public provision from the outset. Moreover, in the Swedish city, there did not exist such a pronounced legacy of physical urban decay, which much of Newcastle's municipal provision was primarily a response to. The fundamental difference in the evolution of social housing in both cities, and its consolidation after 1945, existed in the fact that in Newcastle this was a local political pawn, in difficult and fundamentally centralised economic circumstances.

Whilst the dominance of co-operative housing was seen as the factor, which undermined genuine municipal socialism in Malmö, in the light of this comparison, this is the most important distinguishing feature for the period 1945-65 and therefore the key to understanding Malmö's success, relative to Newcastle's problems. In Newcastle, the absence of an alternative provider of cost-rental housing clearly contributes equally, if not more, to the political problems experienced in the provision of social housing between 1945-65, than economic forces. Moreover, the absence of extensive co-operative provision in Newcastle, has an essentially political cause. Even

if local modernisers had had access to the same technology, which they tried to import from Sweden, and even without the exigencies of 'stop-go' national economics, the comparison suggests that the politicisation of the alliance between 'social housing' and defensive local Labourism in Newcastle would have remained problematic. In turn the comparison also demonstrates that whilst the use of the co-operative sector contributed to politically uncontentious provision of cost rental housing before 1970 in Malmö, this political equilibrium could subsequently not be maintained by simply increasing housing supply. In the face of severe economic problems in Malmö, the provision of social housing quickly became associated with political instability, even though it had been the mainstay of twentieth century social democratic politics. Nevertheless, the comparison with Malmö suggested that this was a reflection of how quickly issues of uneven economic development become politicised, rather than a reflection of problems inherent in the mechanisms for the provision of housing. Housing became politically problematic for local government in both cases, when the municipalities were perceived to be solely responsible for large-scale mistakes. Malmö demonstrates that this was avoided whilst housing was integral to an expanding local economy, as opposed to being utilised primarily as a political vehicle. It is paradoxical that in the comparison with Newcastle, public sector housing appears less political in Malmö, despite the fact that 'folkhemmet', had such powerful political connotations both locally and nationally in Sweden.

The comparison of social change in Malmö and Newcastle was able to reiterate some of the conceptual issues, which the previous chapter raised. Chapter 4, for instance concluded, that the social experience of industrial decline, had more severe consequences in Newcastle than in the Swedish city. The extent to which this could be attributed to radical differences in the composition of the population in each case was explored, revealing that Malmö's 'social-problems', were not related to the city's inability to manage industrial decline, but rather its inability to ameliorate the population changes of the late twentieth century. Therefore, the conclusion must be that the differences in the composition of the population, are not equipped to explain why, overall, the social ramifications of industrial decline have been more severe in Newcastle. It was argued that Malmö's problems in adjusting to the population changes of the last two decades in particular, revealed the short-comings and the rigidity of the local state, in mediating these areas of externally motivated social

change, but at the same time, the comparison with Newcastle also demonstrated that in other areas, the city escaped the more severe problems associated with long-term joblessness that beset Newcastle.³¹ This conclusion is not uncontroversial for the comparative historian, because it necessarily involves an element of judgement, or rather an element of viewing one case as a 'success', or a 'failure', which the comparative historian is supposed to avoid. It is necessary to look a little closer at the fundamental dynamics of the comparative approach in order to address this problem, and this can be best achieved through a discussion of the conclusions reached in the fifth chapter.

The themes of official culture and elements of popular and radical culture in both cities, was examined in order to address a general question about the use of 'culture' as a promotional tool for economic regeneration in both cities since 1980. By utilising the comparative method it has been possible to establish that it was underlying political infrastructure in Malmö, which accounted for how culture emerged in the face of economic changes, whereas structural economic change was more significant to the rise of the cultural sector in Newcastle. Newcastle City Council capitalised on areas synonymous with territorial loyalty to promote culture in the city after 1980, but this was not a reflection of a pre-existing interest in, or infrastructure for, provision in this area. That leisure services and football became more marketable can be seen as a side-effect of the internationalisation and commercialisation of these activities, but Malmö illustrates that the rise of just such a cultural sector was not inevitable in the circumstances of the loss of the city's manufacturing base. This conclusion was established by demonstrating the particular manifestations of apparently shared cultural phenomena. For example, the shared experience of cultural protest demonstrated that mono causal explanation of disparate cases is often inadequate. The 1960s were a period of rapid economic, political and cultural change in Malmö and Newcastle. In both cities, there was grass roots protest against an attempt by the authorities to 'bring art to the people'; nevertheless, closer inspection revealed the underlying differences of this protest. In Newcastle, the cultural protest, which Tom Pickard's poetry furore amounted to, was overwhelmingly a reaction against the developments associated with activities of the British Art Centre Movement after 1945, which had their background in a national movement, characterised by a degree of antipathy towards 'participatory folk traditions in the arts'. In contrast in Malmö,

the Victoria protests were directed towards the overbearing attempt by the local social democrats to bolster 'participatory folk traditions in the arts'. In short, neither case confirmed a shared causal factor. It would be possible to go on and demonstrate several instances of apparently similar phenomena with different antecedents, in order to reinforce the futility of unilinear theory in comparative analysis, but that would not illustrate adequately the implications of this argument.

It is worth returning to the work of E. P. Thompson, in order to expand upon the conceptual questions raised so far. Earlier, it was suggested that Thompson's approach was also problematic for the comparative historian, because it used a materialist perspective of social change. But dismissing Thompson on the grounds of his materialism runs the risk of undermining one of the most important features of Thompson's historical method, because it is primarily relationships that are traced, and multiple relationships are emphasised as contributing to the process of historical change. Trimberger regards this as a potential flaw, which ultimately means that, "*The Making of the English Working Class* swerves towards idealism and voluntarism whilst giving short shrift to material and structural analysis".³² This 'swerve' has led others to suggest that Thompson's work is inappropriate to the formulation of historical theory, because it evades establishing historical causation. Trimberger also confirms that "Anderson is correct in asserting that Thompson was little interested in causal analysis".³³ She nevertheless also concedes that he was interested in process, which suggests that his work could provide historical explanation, without being normative. Trimberger goes on to propose that in this aspect of Thompson's work, parallels can be drawn with Clifford Geertz.

Emphasis on the attempt to revise Marxism, has tended to obscure the underlying implications of Thompson's method, some of which can perhaps be better understood by expanding on the parallels drawn with Geertz. Taking Geertz's own comment on the anthropological method, it is clear that 'thick description' was not intended to be equivalent to 'mere description'. Indeed he repeatedly emphasised the problems inherent in ethnographic interpretation 'imprisoned in its own immediacy'.³⁴ The proposed methodological solution was provided by generalising within cases, but not outside them, a method which would avoid the dual difficulties of seeing the particularity of locality as an expression of the 'world in a teacup', and at the other

extreme, refusing to acknowledge that 'social actions are comments on more than themselves'.³⁵ The extensive criticism, which Geertz cultural analysis has been subject to, suggests that the emphasis on 'generalising within cases' is often, either misunderstood, or simply overlooked.³⁶ Similarly, the focus on Thompson's contribution to the revision of Marxism, rarely expands upon possible parallels with Geertz. These parallels are essential for practitioners of the comparative method, and can be discerned readily in his critique of P. Anderson and T. Nairn in *The Poverty of Theory*.

In this polemic Thompson demonstrates convincingly that Anderson and Nairn's method is flawed because they begin with a prescriptive norm, which is provided by the successful French Revolution, and proceed to impose this norm on the British historical case, which in the juxtaposition is considered to be a failure. This critique is lucid and cogent, and shows that the Anderson and Nairn comparison left crucial and particular English developments unaccounted for, or worse still; " nudges one towards an attempt to explain 1832 and the fracas about the Corn Laws, taken together as a kind of pusillanimous, low pressure reproduction of the conflict in France".³⁷ This condemnation of the failure to take account adequately of the particular circumstances of the English historical process, is applauded by contemporary practitioners of comparative history, such as John Breuilly, but with the important qualification that whilst Thompson effectively 'debunks', the normative comparison, he is less successful in subsequently developing a framework suitable for 'non-normative' comparison.³⁸

This weakness detected by Breuilly is instructive. In defence of the Anderson and Nairn comparison it could be argued that the problems of their method are as much a reflection of the central problems of generating an adequate framework for comparative analyses, as they are of the arguments within Marxism. The need for selectivity, which a comparison of more than one particular demands will always be vulnerable to the critique from the specialist of one area, that regularity has been imposed at the expense of empirical rigour. In the case of Anderson and Nairn, taking the 'success' of one case, as a starting point from which to judge its counterpart as a failure is clearly methodologically flawed, particularly because it furnished very little multi-causal analysis in their case. But this flaw also points to the problems

associated with generating questions, which can be posed legitimately to more than one historical case from the outset. Thompson recognises this dilemma and proposes that concepts, models and overarching questions, must be employed in order to ascertain historical change, but emphasises that preliminary historical questions/concepts can only be utilised with radical scepticism:

“Such concepts arise within the historian’s common discourse, or are developed in adjacent disciplines. The classic concept of crisis of subsistence proposes a rational sequence of events: ...; These concepts, which are generalised from a logic of many examples, are brought to bear upon the evidence, not so much as ‘models’, but rather as ‘expectations’. They do not impose a rule, but they hasten and facilitate the interrogation of the evidence, even though it is often found that each case departs in this or that particular from the rule.”³⁹

Here Thompson is evincing a method, which at the same time as refuting the universality of historical explanation, vehemently defends the creation of an historical narrative against the charge of being, ‘a consecutive phenomenological narration’.⁴⁰ This is encouragement to the comparative historian: both the essential and the particular are taken into account by this argument. Further encouragement is provided by the assertion that:

‘History discloses not how history *must* have eventuated but *why it evented in this way and not in other ways*; that process is not arbitrary but has its own rationality and regularity; that certain kinds of event (political, economic, cultural) have been related, not in any way one likes, but in particular ways and within determinate fields of possibility.’⁴¹

The most interesting parallels to this line of thinking are not to be found exclusively with Clifford Geertz, but also in the methodological writings of Max Weber:

“We wish to understand the reality that surrounds our lives, in which we are placed, in its characteristic uniqueness. We wish to understand on the one hand context (*Zusammenhang*), and the cultural significance of its particular manifestations in their contemporary form, and on the other *its causes of becoming historically so and not otherwise*.”⁴²

Even more striking is the parallel in the following passage:

“We have first (in history) in common with juristic theory, how in general is the attribution of a concrete effect to an individual ‘cause’ possible and realisable in principle in view of the fact that in truth an infinity of causal

factors have conditioned the occurrence of the individual 'event' ...The possibility of selection from among the infinity of the determinants is conditioned, first, by the mode of our historical interest."⁴³

The fact that Thompson's summation of historical causation is practically verbatim Max Weber and the latter does not appear once in his footnotes, is somewhat puzzling, although Thompson does acknowledge the influence of C. Wright Mills at this juncture. Nevertheless, it is the emphasis on process that is not arbitrary, which Thompson derives from Max Weber, and it is this notion of the importance of understanding both the irregularities and the regularities of process, which demonstrates that the interpretative historical school of comparison is on the one hand endowed with certain important explanatory powers, and on the other can address some of the questions thrown up by a post-modern critique of objective history.

Utilising comparison to understand both the regularities and irregularities of process, is on closer inspection equivalent to adhering to the principles of multi-causality. Multi-causality, nevertheless needs to be distinguished from an historical narrative in which it is simply conceded that 'an infinity of causal factors', have conditioned an event, because as Weber and Thompson both confirm, multi-causality means weighing up various causal factors in order to establish which causes are most significant. The synopsis of chapters 2-5 demonstrates that comparison is especially equipped to establish the significant particular-general relationships, because it can raise legitimate counterfactual questions, but also its radical selectivity actually means that it must eliminate less significant causal variables. It is this capacity, which is furnished to respond to some of the problems, which post-modernism poses to historians.

Before addressing this problem, it might be useful to define what is meant by 'post-modernism', in this instance. Whilst it is conceded that the term has purchase in a whole range of disciplinary settings, what is relevant here is the body of scholarship which is concerned specifically with critiquing the genres in which traditional historiography has functioned.⁴⁴ For Patrick Joyce, it is primarily in challenging dialectical history, which post-modernism is best employed. Whilst registering "considerable unease;...with the way in which quite divergent ideas are yoked together under the term post-modernism", Joyce asserts that this body of divergent ideas can

undermine social history, in particular its adherence to materialist-social linkage, by bringing to light the irreducible discursive character of events, structures and processes. This challenge to social totality, should Joyce suggests, be met by the historian, not by summoning old dualisms, but by embracing new versions of the social provided by linguistic and cultural analysis.⁴⁵ This diatribe against 'social history', was motivated by a similarly terse warning 'note' against post-modernism from Lawrence Stone published in a previous issue of the same journal.⁴⁶ Stone warned historians that their ability to explain historical change was increasingly under threat from three central developments; linguistics and 'deconstruction', cultural and symbolic anthropology and New Historicism.⁴⁷ Whilst devoting considerable attention to defending the 'linguistic turn' in historical analysis, Joyce did not discuss Stone's incorporation of 'cultural and symbolic anthropology' in this threatening category. Given that there are some important parallels between the comparative historical method and a methodology utilised by 'symbolic anthropologists' such as Geertz, it might be worth looking a little closer, both at the inclusion by Stone, and the exclusion by Joyce.

Stone suggests that cultural history departs from symbolic anthropology, when for anthropologists, "the real is as imagined as the imaginary", because "this presumably means that the material is dissolved into meaning; and the text is left unconnected from the context".⁴⁸ This is an unacknowledged reference to Geertz's attempt to claim special status for symbolic analysis.⁴⁹ Earlier in this chapter, it was suggested that parallels between Geertz and Thompson were viable due to the shared emphasis on historical process.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, although both adopt Weberian methodology, (which is explicit in the case of Geertz), Thompson can be distinguished from Geertz in that for the latter this methodology often has a materialist target, whilst for Thompson it is utilised in combination with materialist conclusions.⁵¹ Both scholars have been criticised for their lack of causal rigour, however, these criticisms, display a fundamental ignorance, which Stone's perspective confirms, surrounding the methodological principles, which underpin their work. Given Geertz's commitment to generalising *within cases* there is no reason why the *methodology*, which he espouses should threaten historians in their quest for narrating change. In other words although Geertz does claim special status for symbolism, a closer look at his methodology

suggests that this does not have the drastic consequences implied by Stone's warnings:

"To generalise within cases is usually called, at least in medicine and depth psychology, clinical inference. Rather than beginning with a set of observations and attempting to subsume them under a governing law, such inference begins with a set of (presumptive) signifiers and attempts to place them within an intelligible frame. Measures are matched to theoretical predictions, but symptoms (even when they are measured) are scanned for theoretical peculiarities-that is, they are diagnosed."⁵²

It is beyond the scope here to ascertain how valid Geertz's position was in terms of anthropology, but his commitment to this method suggests that for the historian, 'material' is not immediately dissolved into 'meaning' as Stone suggests, but rather their connection is not presumed absolute from the outset, therefore the point of the analysis is to give equal weight to demonstrating where they are connected, and where they are not.

Whilst the criticism of both Thompson and Geertz, do not attend sufficiently to the methodological issues, which underpin the shared emphasis on process, these criticisms inadvertently highlight the basic weaknesses of this approach. It was suggested earlier that a reliance on Mill's 'Methods' in formulating questions for comparative knowledge, relies on a degree of 'a priori' knowledge derived without the help of these methods, therefore although it is possible to demonstrate how to utilise 'the experimental logic' fruitfully in historical comparison, this still leaves the dilemma of how to generate the overarching questions from the outset. Thompson suggestion was that historical questions are generated implicitly from a 'logic of many examples', however, such implicitness will only lend weight to the charge that "events;...of the past are indistinguishable from the forms of documentary representation and the historical discourses that construct them".⁵³ The inability to formulate 'value free' questions from the outset appears to be an interminable obstacle for the comparative historian.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the most important benefit of the comparative approach, is not that it can generate new value free questions, but rather that it generates new value laden questions, questions which are motivated, quite explicitly by their comparative concerns. But it can only generate new questions by first recognising the problems inherent in this heuristic tool.

The first problem, is associated with the reliance on the methodology of classical scholarship, which was applied and formulated in response to questions, that were a product of the nineteenth century. The 'a priori' knowledge, which motivated both Thompson and Weber to pursue the multi-causal model, was based on the particularity of the English working class and Western capitalism respectively, and opposed to the Marxist predictions for both cases. Generating historical questions that are divorced entirely from nineteenth century 'norms' is not possible and should not be the object of comparative studies focussing primarily on the second half of the twentieth century. But even once the problems inherent in classical scholarship are recognised, some basic methodological problems remain. Whilst the radical selectivity, which this method requires, means that it is bound to multi-causality, this also implies that the comparison imposes a certain pattern on events of the past, which they themselves would not have if they were not viewed comparatively. This in turn raises the question: how can our understanding of context be deepened by a method, which appears to leave important historical developments of the individual case unaccounted for, in search of similarities and differences that are relevant to the comparison? Moreover, because comparative details need to have some sort of equivalence across space, it could also be argued that this method lends itself to a less imaginative use of historical data, than is available to the single case analysis. In this thesis, official published sources have provided the majority of the primary material, in part, because the themes examined could be addressed by such sources, but also because of the need to build up comparable bodies of data. This requirement also means, particularly in a study of two cities, that certain themes have been studied together, when a look at more diverse data, would have brought to light the underlying divergences and nuances within cities to challenge the enforced coherence. For instance, some of the problems associated with what Miles Fairburn calls 'lumping and splitting', can be detected in the Malmö/Newcastle comparison; the comparison of demography and population changes, in particular, conformed to an aggregationist stance by studying men and women together in this instance.⁵⁵ This further questions the extent to which it is possible to generate 'new' questions via comparison.

Breuilly suggests that the problems of the comparative approach can be overcome, when comparison is utilised to 'judge' a pre-existing single case historical narrative.

This means that the existing account provides the initial questions and necessary empirical detail against which comparisons can be drawn and new perspectives, of the original single case account, generated. Notwithstanding the current intellectual climate, in which the unequivocal authority of the 'full historical narrative' is questionable, in studies which have a local setting outside the sphere of the larger nation-states, there may not exist a sufficient historiography endowed to facilitate such an approach. Whilst comparison necessarily builds upon existing expertise, comparative studies should also be able to undertake pioneering work in pioneering areas. But more importantly, even when existing single case accounts do exist, the most interesting questions are generated not by referring back to a single case account, but through a synthesis of the questions generated comparatively. Breuilly's justification for the primacy accorded the 'single-case' is understandable given that the conclusions, which his work sustains, are most relevant to the German case. Undoubtedly, the thorough comparisons with the British labour movement, and Liberalism, strengthen his concluding remarks on German particularity, but it remains difficult to see how this conclusion also deepens an understanding of the other contexts, which are utilised to generate this conclusion. As such it is also difficult to see how, in this search for an explanation of national 'peculiarity', the German case has not been privileged, albeit without actually distorting an historical understanding of the other cases.⁵⁶ Whilst the existing account of Malmö by Drs. P. Billing & M. Stigendal, has functioned to a great extent as a single-case study, from which many comparative questions have been generated throughout this thesis, the interesting conclusions, if the principles underpinning the creation of a multi-causal historical narrative are to be adhered to, must be of equal interest to both cases.

What does the dialogue between cases demonstrate in this instance? In other words, what does the Malmö perspectives tell Newcastle and what does the Newcastle perspective tell Malmö? What do the questions generated explicitly by the comparison suggest? Taken as a whole the thematic areas studied in individual chapters highlight some important aspects of continuity and change in both cities. Indeed from the observation made in the first chapter, that both cities suffer economic decline and that in both cities there is a strong tradition of municipal social democracy it has been established that relative to Malmö, Newcastle's experience of economic decline after

1970, represents a degree of long-term continuity during the twentieth century, whereas in Malmö, this was quite an unprecedented experience after 1970. Conversely, the predilection for social democracy represents continuity in Malmö, which is related to the parallel emergence with industrial capitalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. This local party developed consensual capital labour relations after 1945, and sustained a high level of voter participation and confidence. In contrast to Malmö, the political discontinuity, which the prevalence of social democracy in Newcastle constitutes can conversely be related to the more mature experience of economic decline. In Malmö, loss of confidence in social democracy is an outcome of economic decline whereas in Newcastle economic decline reinforced social democratic allegiances. This in itself is not entirely new given that the local party in the British city emerged in response to unfavourable local and national economic developments in the early twentieth century. What does represent a point of departure, but at the same time an important parallel with Malmö, is the combination in Newcastle of local social democratic confidence with perceived economic prosperity during the 1960s.

Clifford Geertz selected Morocco and Indonesia for his study of religious development because both were Muslim countries, but this shared feature, was for Geertz, “culturally speaking at least, their most obvious unlikeness”. This instance of difference within similarity is useful for Geertz, because it allows both places to, “form a kind of commentary on one another’s character”.⁵⁷ This method challenges a relativist stance, because it demonstrates that overarching themes, do have purchase in different settings, but at the same time it does not confirm the aggregationist quest for regularity either, because it is most interested in the particular manifestations of such themes. Therefore, borrowing from Clifford Geertz, the regularities and irregularities which the comparison brings to light suggest that whilst economic decline remains an important parallel, in the way in which it manifested itself, socially, politically and culturally, it is also the aspect which sets these cities apart. This method of addressing comparative history means that the overarching definition of ‘decline’, as it relates to both cases, can be clarified. In both these cities, ‘decline’ should refer primarily to industrial contraction, which can be discerned readily in both cases. Outside the loss of manufacturing employment however, it is not at all clear that the period after 1970 should be characterised more broadly as one of ‘decline’. In the arena of social,

cultural and political change, the many complicating factors, that can not be attributed simply to economic decline, such as the resilience, or strengthening of territorial loyalties in both cases after 1945, and the fact that overall, the post war period has been one of increased, rather than decreased employment opportunities for women, suggest that a narrower definition remains preferable. That said, the continuities and discontinuities evident exclusively within manufacturing and local politics are related to the shared experience of industrial contraction after 1973, and the particular relationships with this shared experience can be better understood through the comparative questions, which the preceding decade throws up.

The 1960s constitute a period of great interest to this thesis. Although both cities were clearly at different stages of economic development, politically this was also a period of great similarities. Swedish economic development was at its pinnacle during the 1960s and Malmö partook in this development, and indeed had a pioneering role to play in the national strength of the shipbuilding and construction industries. The status of Newcastle's manufacturing sector was clearly of much less significance nationally by this stage and it was not sustaining full employment locally either, however, in the local political development, particularly in the politics and provision of social housing, there were certainly glimpses of Swedish modernity evident in the British city. ⁵⁸This is crucial for the comparison because it precludes the different relationship between the general and the particular being attributed simply to the difference in periodisation. An over emphasis on the difference of periodisation tends to see the particularities of each case as simply a product of the same inexorable forces of change occurring at different times. This is problematic, as it tends to assume that Malmö is simply less advanced than Newcastle and that the Swedish city will eventually mimic Newcastle's historical development in time. Such an analysis also misses the more interesting conclusions regarding the development of similar political developments at out of very different economic stages. What is interesting about the 1960s, is not that Newcastle is older than Malmö, but rather the clash between the 'old' Newcastle and the 'new' Newcastle, which the comparison brings to light. For instance, when Mr. T.Dan Smith attempted to modernise social housing in Newcastle, this did not take place in symbiosis with the modernisation of the manufacturing sector. Rather this attempted modernisation in Newcastle, occurred in combination with an antiquated, but sporadically stimulated manufacturing sector, without a

sufficiently modernised labour process. At the same time the 1960s saw advanced service sector, or specifically 'retail-led', economic development, but presided over by a weak local state, with local political leadership, intent upon generating, reactive change, by importing Scandinavian modernity. Crucially the attempt to modernise social housing in Newcastle, did not take place in the context of the augmentation of local government powers. Indeed, whilst the high-rise municipal flats constructed in throughout the city during the early 1960s, were hailed at the time as the physical manifestation of Smith's vision of Brasilia, the politician later conceded that the failure of Attlee's post war Labour government to reform, that is expand the powers of, local government after 1945, meant that the only option available to councils, "was to build high-rise flats on scarce available land cleared for slums".⁵⁹ Notwithstanding the fact that this was clearly also an attempt by Smith to distance himself from the 'growing inner urban unrest', which characterised many 'tower block estates' by the mid 1980s, this also demonstrates that the development of modern social housing in Newcastle, was not the result of the development of a modern local state.⁶⁰ Indeed, seen in the comparative setting, this development in Newcastle can be characterised as a product of the failure to modernise the local state.

Therefore, what the comparison of Malmö with Newcastle tells us of Malmö, is not that it was simply less advanced, but that late industrial development in the first half of the twentieth century, contributed to a particular stage of development in the second half of the twentieth century, which Newcastle really only glimpsed. Clearly this can be discerned readily in manufacture; it was suggested in the second chapter, that with the possible exception of Newcastle's branch plant companies, the manufacturing sector, did not appropriate fordism to the extent that Malmö's principal manufacturers were equipped to. But in the Swedish city, this level of modernity, was not restricted to the changes implemented in the manufacturing companies. As a result of the discontinuity, which industrial decline after the 1970s represented, the causes for instability in Malmö, be they political, economic, or social, have been sought in the dynamics for growth, or rather, Malmö has often come to be seen as a victim of its own success. Nevertheless, the comparison with Newcastle, suggests that the modernisation not just of manufacture, but also of the local state, and of social housing, have had profound and enduring implications for the way in which international economic change, has been mediated, at the local level.

In Malmö, it has been suggested that the modernisation of the local state, reflects the workings out of the 'Swedish Model', in the local environment. This extension of the state infrastructure undermined certain patterns of associational life, by for instance physically removing meeting places and more importantly, lessening the need for collective action.⁶¹ Taken together, the comparison of social change in chapter four, the articulation of cultural and regional politics in local government in chapters five and six, bring a different perspective to this conclusion. Chapter five confirmed that certain aspects of associational life in Malmö, were increasingly 'municipalised' after 1945, in a way that was uncharacteristic of Newcastle where certain traditional areas of associational life, it could be argued, have been allowed to flourish unhindered. But areas of associational life examined in Newcastle after 1945, did not simply flourish unhindered, rather they became increasingly commercialised, prompting the local state to look upon them as a means to economic and urban regeneration, in short as a means to ameliorate industrial decline. Whilst this confirms the resilience of such elements of associational life, it is also evidence of a fundamental weakness in the local political infrastructure. Evidence for this weakness can also be found in the balance between centralisation and decentralisation, which existed in both cities. In the fifth chapter, it was suggested that the decentralisation afforded to the municipality by the Swedish state, was not manifest in its social housing policy alone, but also in the extent to which municipality was able to orchestrate cultural change.

After 1980, both local labour councils increasingly sought to articulate these cities' importance as both cultural and regional capitals. Nevertheless, it was in the Swedish city that regional interests the local political agenda in recent years. In part, this was a reflection of the enormity of the infrastructural change, which the construction of the Öresund bridge implied, Malmö as the significant 'smaller centre' of the new region in which Copenhagen is the undisputed capital, clearly needed to assert its own position in this territory. But its ability to do so, is also evidence of a local political infrastructure, which Newcastle has been denied. In the sixth chapter, it was concluded that a weak infrastructure exacerbated the effects of national centralisation in the local environment, which helped to explain why the territorial agenda in Newcastle continued to express unresolved inter-regional rivalries.

This conclusion has important implications for the thesis as a whole. Whilst there can be little doubt that Malmö's growing political infrastructure after 1945, undermined certain aspects of informal associational life, and possibly also contributed to a narrowing of the economic base, the case of Newcastle demonstrates equally that without a significant local infrastructure, the municipality was largely powerless to mediate the political, social and cultural manifestations of structural economic change. Whilst regional identification remains strong, this has not been harnessed, indeed in this sphere also the local state appears moribund in its inability to tap what should be a force for positive change. Therefore, the comparison must conclude that within the highest stages of Malmö's modern history, the city developed an infrastructure, which has remained resilient in the circumstances of post industrialism. Comparative analyses such as these will clearly continue to raise as many questions as they are equipped to answer, but at the present juncture, this should be viewed as a virtue rather than a potential flaw. This thesis has been undertaken during a phase of transition in historical writing. Whilst it has been argued that such a transition makes it difficult to generate substantial new historical questions, the application of new historical contexts, whether they are local, regional or national, to established questions, means that these questions will be modified. The Swedish perspective is particularly equipped to contribute to such a transition given that it is ill served by the 'old dualisms' derived from a narrow version of European modernity anyway. Finally, this benefit can only be realised through a thorough understanding of the methodological issues, which underpin the emphasis on the relationship between the general and the particular, in the analysis of two historical cases.

- ¹ N. Vall op.cit Ch. 1 p. 28
- ² For an emphasis on the antipathy to methodological discussion see C. Lloyd 'For Realism against the inadequacies of common sense: A Response to Arthur Marwick', *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 31 1996 pp- 191-207 esp. p. 192
- ³ M. Fairburn *Social History* op.cit p. 3
- ⁴ H. Geertz 'Religion and the Decline of Magic I' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* VI (1975) pp 71-89 passim. This article provides an example of just such a charge against historians. In this case, Geertz asserts that Keith Thomas' unwillingness to define precise anthropological orientation means that his historical account of complicated phenomena such as Witchcraft in his *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) are flawed.
- ⁵ S. Mandelbrot *History of European Ideas* Vol. 22, N. 516 (1996) pp. 337-350 passim
- ⁶ T. Skocpol in Skocpol (ed.) *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* (1984) p. 356
- ⁷ T. Skocpol (ed.) (1984) op.cit p. 3
- ⁸ M. Fulbrook & T. Skocpol 'Destined Pathways: The Historical Sociology of Perry Anderson' in T. Skocpol *ibid* p. 200
- ⁹ T. Skocpol *ibid*. p. 372
- ¹⁰ T. Skocpol *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. (1979)
- ¹¹ For a fuller discussion of the history -sociology relationship in the context of comparison see V. E. Bonnell 'The Uses of Theory, Concepts and Comparison in Historical Sociology' *Comparative Studies in History and Society* (1980) pp 156-173 passim
- ¹² D. Englander (ed.) *Britain and America: Studies in Comparative History 1760-1970* (1997) p. IX
- ¹³ J. Breuilly op.cit. p. 3
- ¹⁴ K. Jenkins *Re-thinking History* (1991) p. 60
- ¹⁵ John Stuart Mill "Two Methods of Comparison" (excerpt from *A System of Logic, 1888*) in Amatai Etzioni and Frederic L. Du Bow eds. *Comparative Perspectives: Theories and Methods* (Boston, Little, Brown 1970) p. 206
- ¹⁶ J. Breuilly op.cit p. 277
- ¹⁷ W. Eltis (1979) op.cit pp 118-140 passim
- ¹⁸ L. Calmfors & P. Skedinger 'Does Active labour Market Policy Increase Employment? Theoretical Consideration and some Empirical evidence from Sweden' *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* Vol. 11 N. 1 p. 92
- ¹⁹ M. Stigendal (1995) op.cit pp 15-23 passim
- ²⁰ M. Stigendal (1995) op.cit pp 15-23 passim
- ²¹ N. Vall op.cit ch 2
- ²² K. D. Brown *Britain and Japan A comparative economic and social history since 1900* (MUP 1998) pp. 70-71
- ²³ P. Chapman (1999) op.cit p. 17
- ²⁴ M. Dintenfass op.cit p. 70
- ²⁵ Government Bill Concerning Shipbuilding Industry. Bill 1976/1977:139 Riksdagstrycket 53ff Cited in Lars Bergrenn "The Effect of the Shipbuilding crisis in Malmö, Southern Sweden", unpublished paper, courtesy of the author. p. 4
- ²⁶ J. Breuilly op.cit pp 1-5 passim & p. 277
- ²⁷ M. Fairburn op.cit. pp 112-145
- ²⁸ P. Aronsson "Fragor och Svar. Landsbygdens modernisering och lokalpolitisk Historia beskrivning" in L. Nilsson & K. Österberg (ed.) *Kommunerna och Lokal Politiken. Rapport fran en Konferens om Lokalpolitisk Historia* (1995) p. 22
- ²⁹ N. Vall op cit. ch 3 p. 2
- ³⁰ N. Vall op cit. ch 3. p. 12
- ³¹ N. Vall op.cit ch 4 conclusion
- ³² E.K. Trimberger 'Thompson: Understanding the Process of History' in T. Skocpol ed. op.cit p. 220
- ³³ E.K Trimberger op.cit p. 225
- ³⁴ C. Geertz *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973) p. 23
- ³⁵ C. Geertz (1973) op.cit p. 23

- ³⁶ For instance, A. Biersack 'Local Knowledge, Local History' in L. Hunt (ed.) op.cit suggests that Geertz's focus upon *process* makes no attempt to bring to light the relationship between the particular manifestation and the overarching process of historical change. p. 82
- ³⁷ E. P. Thompson *The Poverty of Theory and other Essays* (1978) p. 48
- ³⁸ J. Breuilly op. cit. p. 6
- ³⁹ E. P. Thompson (1978) op.cit p. 237
- ⁴⁰ E. P. Thompson (1978) op.cit p. 242
- ⁴¹ Ibid p. 242
- ⁴² M. Weber "'Objectivity" in social science' in M. Weber op.cit p. 72
- ⁴³ M. Weber op.cit p. 169
- ⁴⁴ S. Mandelbrot *History of European Ideas* Vol. 22, no. 5/6 pp. 337-350 passim sees P. Ricouer, D. La Capra & S. Schama as contributing to such scholarship.
- ⁴⁵ P. Joyce "History and Post-Modernism" *Past and Present* no. 133, 1991 p. 208
- ⁴⁶ L. Stone "History and Post-Modernism" *Past and Present* no. 131, 1991 pp. 217-18
- ⁴⁷ L. Stone op.cit. p. 217
- ⁴⁸ Ibid op.cit. p. 217
- ⁴⁹ C. Geertz *Negara: The Theatre State in 19th Century Bali* (Princeton. New York. 1980) p. 135
- ⁵⁰ This observation was made first by E. K. Trimberger in T. Skocpol op.cit p. 225
- ⁵¹ E. P. Thompson "18th Century English Society: Class Struggle Without Class?" *Social History* no. 3 (1978) pp. 133-65 passim
- ⁵² C. Geertz *The Interpretation Of Cultures* (1973) p. 26
- ⁵³ P. Joyce op.cit p. 208
- ⁵⁴ Relying on classical sociological heuristic tools can be problematic given that as Kalberg contends "on behalf of the ideal type, Weber's own failure to specify clearly the procedures for its construction constitutes a severe problem." S. Kalberg op.cit p. 196
- ⁵⁵ M. Fairburn op.cit pp 112-145
- ⁵⁶ J. Breuilly op.cit p. 2 & pp. 294-295
- ⁵⁷ C. Geertz *Islam Observed* op.cit p. 4
- ⁵⁸ This understanding of the comparative approach is also utilised by James Fulcher (1991) op cit, in which he endeavours to understand 'Swedish tendencies in Britain and British tendencies in Sweden', using Barrington Moore's 'suppressed alternatives' p. vii & 5, the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle can be distinguished from Fulcher's work, which is primarily concerned with the fortunes of the Social Democrats and the Labour Party, by its more concentrated attention to the methodological problems of comparative history
- ⁵⁹ Mr. T. Dan Smith 'Thatcherism is Legalised Poulsonism' *The Guardian* Sunday November 22 1986 p. 11
- ⁶⁰ Ibid
- ⁶¹ P. Billing & M. Stigendal op.cit. p. 378

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the themes of economy and society in the cities of Newcastle and Malmö after 1945. It has also sought to establish the advantages and drawbacks of the comparative approach in historical study. There is a number of concluding points, which need to be drawn from this wide-ranging exercise.

The synchronic study of more than one historical case can be a valuable asset to the historian seeking to explore new areas of interest. This is because the technical requirements of this heuristic tool demand that the historian be explicit about the motivation for the questions they raise. This methodological requirement can be of value in the wake of the uncertainty, which the decline of the Marxist and 'modernisation' paradigms has produced. As suggested in the previous chapter, formulating questions that are relevant to more than one historical case, is a step away from a 'modern' aggregationist stance, but at the same time, provides a challenge to absolute relativism by demonstrating that generalised themes have purchase in different settings.

The merit of this comparison of two north European cities resides in its ability to demonstrate where certain features are not sufficiently explained by their national historiographies. This merit was made clear in this work through a comparison of the shared experience of industrial decline. Newcastle and Malmö are indeed examples of a declining industrial milieu, nevertheless, their very different starting points and more importantly, the different manifestation of this trend after 1945, suggests that a single national historiography is not furnished to explain this process. This local British case, suggests to Swedish commentators that Swedish modernity as it manifested itself in Malmö, can not alone be held responsible for the city's vulnerability to the internationalisation of the economy. On the other hand, the Swedish case suggests to British commentators that greater industrial modernisation and more rigorous Keynesian orthodoxy was ill equipped to meet the economic challenges of internationalisation. However, in the comparison of the political, cultural and social experience of both cities after 1945, one general feature has been significant. Whilst the decentralisation of greater political control to local

government in the Swedish case, did not prevent economic decline, it meant that the dramatic changes that took place in the second half of the twentieth century, were mediated and articulated in the local political setting. Not surprisingly, the absence of a parallel political process in Newcastle, has had a profound effect upon the British city's experience of structural change. This conclusion is relevant to both cases and raises some interesting questions about the dynamics of relations below the level of the nation-state in different European countries. Many of these questions remain to be examined, nevertheless, it is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated that the comparative approach provides a potential alternative for explaining national and local particularity, to the relativist thicket proposed by post-modernity.

This method does nevertheless have its limitations, not least that this is still a nascent area for historians and as yet there exists no substantial critical mass from which to draw upon. The need for further comparative historical study is highlighted by this comparison of Malmö and Newcastle. Whilst this thesis has been able to draw upon existing Anglo-Swedish scholarship, particularly in the area of politics, labour relations and industrial organisation in the twentieth century, this provides a stark contrast to the paucity of similar scholarship in the equally important arenas of culture and society. It is hoped that this thesis in conjunction with further doctoral work in progress at the University of Northumbria and Växjö in Sweden, will help to redress this imbalance.

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