CITIES IN DECLINE?
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A COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF MALMÖ AND NEWCASTLE AFTER 1945

Natasha Vall
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ABSTRACT

This book examines some challenges of post-industrialism in the western world; but it also makes major statements about the vitality of the comparative method in historical enquiry. In fulfilling this brief, the book focuses on two north European cities in their transition to the post-industrial economy after 1945: Newcastle in north east England and Malmö in southern Sweden. By the 1970s, these two places were seen as (what sociologist call) ’ideal types’ of late industrial decline. For most of the twentieth century, Britain and Sweden occupied polar positions in a spectrum of European economic and political systems, with Sweden characterised by sustained commitment to economic dirigisme and a strong welfare state, whilst Britain favoured state minimalism and the ’Anglo-Saxon’ economic model. This book shows how the global economic changes of the post-war period, filtered through two different political systems, were felt in the urban arena. Detailed comparison illustrates how particular local circumstances played a part in inhibiting, or easing, national mediation.

Although the emphasis is on the impact of industrial decline, the book’s scope extends beyond economic themes. A wide perspective of post-industrialism is deployed and the book includes chapters on the political, social and cultural history of both cities, as well as dealing with the major economic developments of the period. Despite the importance of the laboratories of southern Sweden and northern England, the essential dimension of this project is the evaluation of the comparative historical method. This book features extensive discussion of comparison and historical studies, relating its empirical findings to the question of historical explanation. In the concluding chapters, the case is made for the renewed salience of comparative history in the climate of post-modernism.
COMPARING Malmö AND NEWCASTLE SINCE 1945

By the 1970s, Malmö in southern Sweden and Newcastle in northern England were widely regarded as experiencing late industrial decline. This apparent similarity provided a point of departure for my doctoral research project which examined the transition to post-industrial society in both cities after 1945. The question that concerns us in this book is what has been the impact of post-industrialism upon the lives of Malmö and Newcastle's inhabitants? How have their patterns of work, the houses they occupy and their leisure pursuits been influenced by the rise of post-industrial society? Whilst these questions are applicable to both cities' experience of deindustrialisation, the two countries occupy polar positions in a spectrum of western European political and economic systems. Foregrounding local similarities in two different national historiographical contexts is no small task and one of the most enduring difficulties of this work has borne out the recent criticism that comparitivists remain locked in a framework of constructed national differences. As Jörn Rusen writes, "historians looking at historical thought in other cultures usually do so through their own culture’s idea of historiography". Whilst the contraction of a manufacturing economy was a shared feature of the histories of both cities after 1945, making sense of the particularities was difficult to realise without placing these cities in a framework of Anglo-Swedish historiographical differences. Peter Billing and Mikael Stigendal addressed this difficulty at an early stage of the research process that took as its starting point the pioneering study of Malmö during the twentieth century. Hegemonins Decennier offers a local perspective of the 'Swedish model' through an examination of Malmö in the twentieth century. Their jointly authored doctoral thesis functioned as a vital single-case account, from which comparative questions were generated. The reliance
upon the findings of this study was a necessity for the preliminary enquiries because the contemporary historiography for these cities was not substantial. At the same time, close comparison between Newcastle and Malmö, allows the conclusions of Hegemonins Decennier to be critically evaluated. Where similarities were detected it allowed us to question the extent of Malmö’s characterisation as an expression of Swedish welfarism, and opened up the possibility for other influences upon its development during the twentieth century.

Another challenge for this research was that during the 1990s Newcastle and Tyneside’s experience of industrial decline was part of a national debate concerning ‘decline’ with purchase in a variety of intellectual settings in British historiography. Given that a unifying theme in these perspectives was to explain the declining significance of Britain as an international power in the twentieth century, they appeared to 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. But whilst Malmö’s experience between 1870 and 1960, mirrored Sweden’s growth in that period, like many other Western European countries, including Britain, Sweden also suffered diminished demand for its manufactured goods by 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. This relatively contracted decline in Sweden provided the initial framework for the research work and the evolution of the comparison of the different contexts of Keynesian management, and rapid economic growth with recession during the 1970s in Malmö, and economic liberalism and protracted decline in Newcastle. With ‘different paths’ to a ‘similar outcome’ of deindustrialisation there was potential for applying a type of ‘Boolean logic’ advocated by historical sociologists such as Charles Ragin. There is much in favour of this approach. The process described as ‘casing’ prompts further historical investigation, and the need to formulate questions that are applicable to all cases assists in striking a balance between abstraction and contextual understanding.

But explaining the causes of ‘decline’ is not the primary moti-
vation for writing this book. As an historian, much of the material utilised in this project, which includes oral history, is difficult to render as causal factors capable of generating abstract generalisations. The choice of approach is driven therefore by an understanding of the difference between the methodological requirements of the humanities and social sciences. Rather than explaining the causes of decline, this comparison takes the contraction of manufacture in both cities as a point of departure, in order to provide a fuller, more complex perspective of the post 1945 experience and the emergence of post-industrial society in both cities. The advantage of what has been termed the 'interpretive' comparative approach is that it may bring critical focus to existing scholarship on post-industrialism based on its detailed empirical and conceptual reflections. This method has often received criticism for its inability to generate explanations that can be extracted from the comparison's immediate parameters. On the other hand, the interpretive method does offer the possibility of generalisation within its cases. This approach is not concerned with a singular context but with two or more contexts. The process of researching for and writing the historical narrative is therefore driven by the need to sustain the integrity of each case. This can be contrasted to more generalised European studies of phenomena such as the development of post-industrialism and the close contextual comparison of Malmö and Newcastle may be able to inform the conclusions of such studies.

Local similarities in Anglo-Swedish differences

Malmö and Newcastle are both port cities (although Newcastle lies ten miles inland from the North East coast and Malmö literally envelopes the Öresund) and with approximately a quarter of a million inhabitants are similar in size. Malmö lies on the southwesterly tip of Sweden's most southern region Skåne, whilst Newcastle is England’s most northern city. Newcastle is a relatively small British city whilst Malmö is Sweden's third largest. Once again this brings us back to the question of national differences. Urban life did not grow significantly in the major Swedish cities
before the nineteenth century. This theme of Sweden’s history formed an interesting aspect of Perry Anderson’s early comparative survey of the nature and development of absolutism in Europe. For Anderson, the diminutive Swedish towns, lacking in a formidable urban bourgeoisie, presented an insignificant challenge to the newly established and highly centralised Vasa State. This approach to national comparison bears out the critique of constructed national differences and exaggerated historical uniqueness, but this 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.

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. By contrast Malmö had 20,000 inhabitants in 1860. This difference 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. 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. Differences such as these mean that a comparison of urbanisation in Britain and Sweden would require an understanding of two distinct yet interdependent processes. For our purposes the different periodisation and intensity of urban development helps to explain the different nature of Newcastle and Malmö’s relationship with the surrounding region. Most commentators on the industrial development of North East England consider its parameters to be synonymous with the administrative counties of Durham and Northumberland. Within this area, though primarily in County Durham, coal mining 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 this area; 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 allegedly testifies to the North East’s ‘unique industrial status’.\textsuperscript{20} During the nineteenth century, Malmö consolidated its status as a centre for trade in the rich regional agricultural hinterland. But it was during the twentieth century that it was first distinguished by its industrial development.\textsuperscript{21}

Sweden’s industrial advance after 1870 was rapid, and built on a strong export sector, for which Britain was a significant recipient. The North East, in particular, was a major outlet for 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.\textsuperscript{22} This trade between Britain and Sweden provides an insight into the similarities between Malmö and Newcastle, but also allows us to explore the connections between them. Like Newcastle, Malmö was consolidated as a significant industrial port during the nineteenth century. Such was the level of shipping trade between the North East of England and Skåne that in the early twentieth century Newcastle’s Quayside, boasted its own ’Malmö Wharf’.\textsuperscript{23} This shared development allows us to view Malmö and Newcastle as north European industrial ports and, as will be shown in the chapter on economic development, endows 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 and engineering works, Kockums Mekaniska Verkstad, was founded in 1840 and was 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. This company will provide the focus for a micro comparison with Newcastle’s principal manufacturers. Newcastle’s standing as an industrial city is less comprehensive, despite its location in an overwhelmingly industrialised region. It is now widely acknowledged that despite its centrality as the trading hub of the ‘Great Northern Coalfield’, the city’s retail and commercial sectors were crucial to the nineteenth-and twentieth century urban economy. The establishment of Bainbridge’s store in 1837 signified the birth of the department store globally and secured Newcastle’s vitality as a centre for commerce and retailing in the nineteenth century. Malmö’s development as a port and trading centre was mobilised at the end of the nineteenth century following the construction of a new harbour. During the eighteenth century, Malmö suffered a relative decline, partly attributable to its incorporation into Sweden in 1658, which turned it from a central trading town within the Danish kingdom, to a relatively marginal one in Sweden. Nonetheless, by 1850, Malmö was the third largest harbour in Sweden and a centre of international trade. Newcastle also has an industrial past with parallels to the development of heavy engineering in Malmö. Whilst coal was mined almost exclusively outside the city, it had a major urban shipbuilding sector which precipitated the emergence of engineering works during the middle of the nineteenth century. The engineering plant started by W.G. Armstrong and Co. at Elswick typified this development and 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’. With a workforce of 20,000 the contribution to the city’s economy should not be underestimated. This manufacturing company provides a focus for the comparison with Malmö’s manufacturing sector after 1945.

The history of both these companies can be related to 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 industrial concern was located, the growth of a working-class movement occurred before the Independent Labour Party was formed.
'Independent' socialist activity in Newcastle was represented initially by Liberal interests. 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. Malmö was much more central to the evolution of national social democracy. 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 House) in Malmö. 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.

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. This can be contrasted to Newcastle and the North East, where early anchoring of the Labour Party to a proprietoral union movement dominated by the General Municipal and Boilermakers Union (GMBU) was an enduring characteristic of labour relations during twentieth century. 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. These issues will be further clarified in the ensuing discussion of politics in both cities, and the principal concern at this point is to establish that the politics of local social democracy is a subject of interest for comparison since both cities are perceived as strongholds of left wing politics. This premise will, once again, allow us to reflect upon the differences in national historiography and to bring the conclusions of Malmö and Newcastle to bear upon existing assumptions of national uniqueness.

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 British and Swedish modernisation 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 much-documented marches of the unemployed to London in 1936.\(^{35}\) In Sweden the national economic depressions of the early 1920s followed by a recession again between 1930-33, nonetheless motivated the Social Democrats to embrace Keynesian policy wholeheartedly after 1932 and in Malmö this was a period of mixed fortunes. As in the North East, there are many similar experiences of deprivation associated with the 1930s in Malmö. 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.\(^{36}\) 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’. Having said that, 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.\(^{37}\) On the other hand, the diversification that the British government might have hoped to foster in industrial regions was evolving without such strenuous national intervention in Malmö. Here industrialists had been looking to America since the beginning of the twentieth century for inspiration to rationalise the city’s manufacturing sector. Indeed, the early implementation of elements such as Taylorist management in the city’s leading textiles companies has been seen as a precursor for the spread of such ideas throughout Sweden during the 1930s and 1940s.

The different ways in which manufacturing companies pursued strategies for industrial modernisation after 1945 will similarly be closely examined in the chapter dealing with economic development. Unusually, it would appear that this theme can be situated in similarities in national historiography. 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”.\(^{38}\) 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. 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 with 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'.

Modernisation, as executed by both national and local agencies, was not restricted to manufacturing in either city, but had thoroughgoing consequences for the daily lives of ordinary citizens. In particular, modernisation of the social housing stock in Malmö and Newcastle radically altered both the physical and social landscape of the cities after 1945 and provides the subject for close comparison in the third chapter of this book. In both cities, fundamental slum clearance programs took place during the 1960s, and between 1960 and 1975, ambitious, radical, utopian schemes of social housing were implemented. In Newcastle some of the most daring programs for re-housing are associated with the leader of the Labour council and chairman of the Housing Committee during the early 1960s. 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. 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 Sweden and Denmark, particularly in the spheres of housing, planning and architecture.

In Malmö, the years between 1950 and 1970 are still described locally as the 'record years' of expansion. By 1950, Kockums was the ninth largest shipyard in the world. During this period, the manufacturing sector as a whole sustained near full employment in the city. One of the companies that expanded most rapidly after 1945, was the Skanska Group, (a construction company and supplier of building materials). 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. These schemes were the envy of local politicians such as T. Dan Smith in Newcastle who had visited Malmö during the early 1960s. Such connections between the two cities open up the potential for exploring the transfer of ideas during this time, an approach which also questions the validity of comparison couched in historiography of national differences. The similar ambitions of local politicians during the 1960s also allows the comparison to investigate the role of social housing as a catalyst for the changing fortunes of local social democracy.

With shared industrial pasts it follows that Malmö and Newcastle are often characterised as cities with a dominant male working-class culture. Part stereotype, part historical reality, this culture was severely challenged after 1945. During the ‘golden years’ Malmö experienced rapid demographic expansion, with the population increasing from just over 150,000 in 1940, to nearly 230,000 in 1960. Malmö’s status as one of Sweden’s most multicultural cities was established in this period. By 1998 over 20% of Malmö’s inhabitants had ‘non-Swedish’ citizenship. This had no direct equivalent in Newcastle, which did not sustained a large ethnic minority population in the post war period, relative to other British cities. On the other hand one of the most important social and economic developments shared by both cities during the post war period was the growth of new and increased work opportunities for women. Whilst the growing dominance of the labour market by women typifies much of Western Europe, the legacy of this change has been particularly profound in cities like Malmö and Newcastle where heavy industry was associated with a strong male associational culture.

Despite growth in the female employing service sectors sectors, both cities experienced recession following the oil crisis in 1973, particularly in the manufacturing sector. This mirrored national trends, 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.
Malmö and Newcastle, the rise of unemployment to unprecedented levels, was a clear symptom of a local decline in shipbuilding. In the wake of growing deindustrialisation the local government in each city pursued a range of strategies to detract from the growing stigma, particularly within the national media, of cities suffering urban and industrial decline. In keeping with many other post-industrial cities in Western Europe the local governments endorsed and subsidised the promotion of what has become termed the 'cultural sector' to challenge this stigma and redefine city identity.\(^{50}\) Whilst much of these promotional efforts were in line with national strategies for regeneration, in Malmö and Newcastle they also sought to capitalise on the growing popular perception that the cities possessed distinctive characteristics, such as dialect and that this distinguished them from the national heartland. 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 Bridge between Malmö and Copenhagen, local commentators emphasised that the eight hundred years Malmö and Skåne belonged to Denmark, contributed to a contemporary identity that was more 'continental' than Swedish.\(^{51}\) Similarly, the flourish of cultural and political regionalism in the North East during the last two decades of the twentieth century often sought to locate north-eastern political and cultural identity far from the southern geographical heartland of Englishness. Again, the potential for exploring the international transfer of ideas is pertinent here. North-eastern regionalism advocates Scandinavian social democracy as better suited to the North East of England than metropolitan orientated English governance.\(^{52}\) This outward looking gesture is suggestive of how the transfer of ideas can be appropriated in a selected fashion by a given national context. In the often idealised British appreciation of Scandinavian social democracy as inherently egalitarian, variations between the different Scandinavian countries or nuances below the level of the nation-state have often been overlooked. This point demonstrates the value of the local historical comparison, which can transcend the boundaries of the nation-state and bring critical focus to national stereotypes.
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. 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 European historiography there has been less concrete historical comparison of the relationship between region and nation-state. In assessing the significance of regionalism, the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle can help to fill this historiographical gap by considering the relationships within regions, specifically the dynamics of the city-region in the post-industrial period.

During the second half of the twentieth century, Malmö and Newcastle were important centres for regional cultural institutions. For instance they were and continue to be the homes to football clubs whose teams, Malmö Football Association’s ‘Di Blåe’ (The Blue Ones), and Newcastle United Football Club’s ‘Magpies’, achieved international acclaim during the second half of the twentieth century. Whilst identifying connections between associational cultures and work may not carry the scholarly appeal it once had, this sport is interesting because in both cases it was and con-
tinues to be the point at which there is a clear cross-over between working-class and regional identification. Malmö Football Association (MFF) was established first in 1910 and was closely related to many other aspects of working-class associational life. MFF’s games, played at the city’s old sports fields (Malmö Idrottsplats), have often been described as though the spectator experience was equivalent to a visit to the city’s other ubiquitous working-class meeting place, the People’s Park. Similarly, in Newcastle, regional sporting heroes such as Jackie Milburn, were also working-class men who characterised the fusion of working-class and regional identities in this cultural sphere. The comparison will reflect upon how these arenas of traditional working-class associational culture have been affected by the process of deindustrialisation.

This consideration prompts us to reflect upon the broader question of cultural change. The economic changes that ensued since the 1970s have been dramatic in both cities, but has this also been the case for culture? Have certain aspects of cultural life declined because of the industrial decline, or have they endured despite this process? Equally has the emergence of post-industrial society produced new patterns of associational life and leisure? Since the late 1980s in Newcastle, the local state has attempted to capitalise upon the city’s vibrant consumer culture, or more particularly, the night-time economy, in pursuit of urban regeneration. This post-industrial strategy appears to bear out 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. But it has also been demonstrated that these dimensions of consumer culture in Newcastle are neither new, nor non-specific, but have a longer history of association with the regional industrial experience. Identifying which cultural practices local authorities in Malmö and Newcastle have focussed upon in their drive for renewal can also reveal how cultural life has been affected by structural change.

This chapter sought to establish that Malmö and Newcastle are suitable subjects for comparison because they fulfil the premise
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”.

Based upon the historical outline provided here we can conclude that Malmö and Newcastle do indeed meet this requirement. Both cities 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 contributed to a more mature 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 emulate Scandinavian construction methods. As regards social developments, although these cities are similar in size by the end of the twentieth century, Malmö was and continues to be distinguished by the rapid growth of an immigrant population. 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 traditional associational culture fared in response to the emergence of post-industrial society after 1945.

In concluding I would like to emphasise that what follows represents a dialectic approach to comparative history, in which I move back and forth between national historiography and local material. The question underpinning this research concerns the impact of post-industrial society upon the lives of these cities’ inhabitants. How has it influenced their patterns of work, their housing and their leisure pursuits? Addressing this question involves the triangulation of evidence and ideas between the local, regional and national levels in the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle, a process that will allow existing accounts of Anglo-Swedish differences to be questioned. Although problems with constructed national differences remain at the fore of this book, I support Jürgen Kocka’s defence of identifying national peculiarities as a means of counterbalancing a ”certain Europeanisation of the image of the
Perhaps the asymmetrical comparison has taken on new importance since historians are no longer as preoccupied with the great modern polarities of ‘dictatorship’ and ‘democracy’ as in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Nowadays, it would appear that we are principally concerned with *degrees* of difference. But, as Nancy Green’s reflections on the comparative method reveal, degrees of difference do more than simply relativise existing historical explanations: they are an important heuristic device in their own right. Comparisons such as the one offered in this book rely heavily on national historiographies and their constructions of ‘national difference’, but use them as a heuristic device. They are an important means of the research process, rather than an end in themselves.

The enduring importance of comparison has been further underlined through my experience as a teacher of comparative history at Northumbria University where I ran a course based on my comparison of Malmö and Newcastle that included an exchange between students at Northumbria University and Malmö Hogskola. This involved student communication via the Internet, which was intended to build a comparative history of both cities and also included an exchange visit to each city. The practical and financial challenges of such a venture were protracted but did not diminish from the considerable gains. My responsibility was for the British students and I found their readiness to question their historical understanding of both British history and the history of Newcastle through comparison with Malmö and Sweden particularly encouraging. This was especially apparent on their return from a research visit to Malmö. One student memorably commented that he was endeavouring to view his hometown as if he were a visitor from Malmö, lending new meaning to the idea that comparison opens up the gaze to alternative historical perspectives.
FROM INDUSTRIAL TO POST-INDUSTRIAL CITIES

This chapter examines the contraction of Malmö and Newcastle’s manufacturing economies and the experience of high levels of unemployment after 1960. In Sweden economic decline after 1970 prompted a re-assessment of social democratic adherence to Keynesian policy after 1945. Periodic contraction was a feature of Newcastle’s industrial economy after 1918 and this slow down was officially documented by 1930. Economic decline has been a major theme in British historiography, and the management of economic decline dominated British politics during much of the twentieth century. In identifying the contrasting experiences of deindustrialisation, the significantly different rise of industrial society cannot be disregarded. Once again, the timing is significant in explaining issues such as the fact that Sweden’s industrial capital became dominant at the end of the nineteenth century in a principally rural country. This can be contrasted to the situation in Britain where the link between industrial capital and urban society was well established by this time, and where there was greater competition between financial and industrial sectors of the economy. As we shall see, these differences had a bearing on the development of Malmö and Newcastle as industrial cities, but the comparison of these cities in their transition to post-industrialism will endeavour to show how such Anglo-Swedish polarities can be critically evaluated by local comparison. To help contextualise the experience of the later twentieth century, this chapter begins with a survey of both cities’ industrial growth.
The Natural Inheritance and Industrial Development

As has been shown, Malmö and Newcastle were established during the nineteenth century as important national ports for the trade of domestic and foreign goods. Although Malmö’s development as an exporting port grew most notably during the twentieth century, both cities were characterised by reliance upon natural resources for their development as centres for heavy industry. In Newcastle coal mined in the ‘Great Northern Coalfield’ provided the impetus, whilst the exploitation of the chalk and limestone were responsible for Malmö’s early development. The benefits of these resources were realised first by Franz Suell, a prominent industrialist from Lübeck, who came to Malmö during the eighteenth century and acquired a chalkworks that had been established in Linnhamn, just south of the city. He used the profits from this business to start a tobacco firm in Malmö which complemented the growing predominance in the production of consumer goods, principally food and textiles, in Malmö during the nineteenth century. But the link between natural resources and economic development was perhaps most palpable in the evolution of the cement industry. The deposits of limestone surrounding the city were central to the creation of the company that would be synonymous with Malmö’s economic and physical expansion during the twentieth century, AB Skånska Cementgjuteriet. Its founder, Frans Henrik Kockum, had been aided in this venture by financial support from the regional bank Skånes Enskilda Bank, which had moved from Ystad to Malmö in 1873. The integration of the engineering and cement industries evolved as orders for new equipment and machinery for the cement factory, were taken at Kockums yard. This gave Kockums the base upon which to expand into shipbuilding during the twentieth century. By 1900, the Kockums shipyard employed 750 people, and by 1910 had launched its first vessel Tage Sylvan when with a 1,000 strong work force the company dominated heavy engineering in the city.

Industrialisation on Tyneside occurred significantly before what is understood as the British ‘industrial revolution’ during the nineteenth century. Coal mining was a significant feature of economic development from the fourteenth century in North East
England. As Joyce Ellis has demonstrated, from the sixteenth century onwards Newcastle’s success as a port was dependent upon its complementary position as the hub of a vigorous industrial hinterland. The basis of its trading strength was coal: the annual average export of coal from the river Tyne rose from 413,000 tons in the 1660s to 777,000 tons in the 1750s. 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. As a cheap supply of fuel coal also stimulated the emergence of glass, pottery and copper industries in Newcastle prior to the nineteenth century. By 1800 there were ten sizeable potteries in Newcastle; by 1850 C.T Maling was the largest manufacturer of pottery in the country. During the nineteenth century Newcastle was distinguished as much by its development as a commercial and retailing city, as it was in industry. Nonetheless, in industrial development, it is significant to note that earlier growth of smaller enterprises ancillary to the coal trade were superseded by larger units of production after 1850, specifically for the manufacture of ships. 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.

**Kockums and Armstrong’s: National Differences and the Question of Labour Process Rationalisation**

Whilst the scale of production at the yards in the North East England clearly surpassed levels of output witnessed at Kockums during the first half of the twentieth century, by 1950 Kockums was one of the largest ship yards in the world. The preponderance of large units of production in both cities provides the frame of reference for our micro comparison of Kockums and Armstrong’s. Here we will focus on the relationship of these companies to British and Swedish economic policy. The comparison reveals significant differences at the local level, particularly in the arena of labour process rationalisation, which bear out arguments about national peculiarities in each case. At the same time, we will reflect upon how the
dominance of large engineering companies influenced popular attitudes to work, and contributed in both cities to the construction of a masculinised work culture during the twentieth century.

**Plate 2.1. Kockums shipyard and crane, Malmö**

This crane was constructed in 1976, but was never used to launch a ship. Source: Natasha Vall personal collection.

During the late nineteenth century the shipbuilding component of Kockums Mekaniska Verkstad (engineering works) was evolving slowly whilst other facets of engineering, such as the construction of railroads and iron bridges dominated the company. In fact, the subsequent advances in shipbuilding were hard to discern in the late nineteenth century: in 1880 constructing ships precipitated a loss of nearly three-quarters of a million kronor. The company’s emergence as a world leader after 1945 is therefore inextricably linked to the evolution of Swedish macro-economic policy during that time. Between 1950 and 1970, Malmö entered a phase of exceptional expansion which surpassed national trends in the percentage employed in the manufacturing sector. 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’. In this reading the constant election victories for the local Social Democrats are fuelled by a strong manufacturing base during the 1950s and 1960s.
Malmö’s economic strength at this time has been seen as upheld by the comprehensive adoption of Fordist methods across a range of sectors, which allowed companies like Kockums to remain productive for longer than competitor yards in countries like Britain. The ability to implement strategies such as labour process standardisation depended upon a culture of local stability that nurtured workers ready to accept rationalisation as a by-product of continued economic and social well being. 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. 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.

Kockums’ expansion resulted in an increase of 1,300 employees between 1939 and 1951. The firm’s significant growth was recognised nationally in 1957, when the Swedish King Karl Gustav VI Adolf visited Malmö to open Kockums Engineering College, which was also Sweden's largest and most advanced technical institution. This was also a clear expression of the emphasis that the national Social Democrats were placing on the export sector in economic planning. 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 remained loyal. The 1950s 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 1950s 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 policy meant that in expansive companies like Kockums, where demand for labour was high, workers could not push wages up to inflatio-
nary 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 arguably complemented expansion and technical rationalisation in many Swedish manufacturing companies after 1945. By 1960 Kockums was the world’s ninth largest shipyard in terms of tonnage launched. Growing international competition in an era that saw world-shipping capacity outstripping demand prompted Kockums management to pursue comprehensive labour process rationalisation. Workers’ accounts of the company repeatedly described how various skill groups, specifically riviters, became obsolete during the course of the 1960s as the process of constructing a vessel increasingly came to resemble assembly line production.

Whereas expansion at Kockums can be related to the historiography of Swedish economic growth, arguments that the failure to rationalise and improve productivity gains was pivotal to British weakness in manufacture during the twentieth century do have purchase when we consider our local example, Armstrong’s yard in Newcastle. The other area of national concern that impinged directly on this company was war. Established in 1847 by William George Armstrong, son of a Newcastle coal merchant, W. G. Armstrong and Co. (Armstrong’s) was Newcastle’s largest engineering company during the nineteenth century, and clearly enjoyed the benefits of its location in an industrial port that was the capital and proprietor of a large exporting area. But its strength during the twentieth century was driven principally by a series of wars and international crises rather than the regional economic hinterland. Initially a company for bridge and hydraulic equipment production, resources were channelled into the more profitable construction of armaments and warships by the end of the nineteenth century. During the Crimean War service orders at the factory reached in excess of one million pounds. The consequences of this trend were significant in terms of the structural distribution of Newcastle’s economy in this period. Armstrong’s dominated the production of warships in Newcastle, and therefore was the yard that undertook the most intense fostering of overseas contracts. However, naval shipbuilding was a costly area of production in which only a minority of firms could compete. These developments forced smaller, potentially more diverse, local firms
such as the Benwell Fishery and the Elswick Copperas works out of existence at an early stage. Elsewhere in the city other factors contributed further to the narrowing of Newcastle's economic base during this time. Having lost the American market, turnover slumped considerably at the Maling Pottery works after 1920, which contributed to the diminished opportunities for female industrial employment in the city before the Second World War.

The question of labour process rationalisation is worth probing a little further. 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, was identified with technical flamboyance rather than modernity. 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. It needs to be added that Armstrong's 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 workforce at Armstrong's. Military advance, nonetheless, came to be represented by ships that were increasingly large, but technically incum­bent. 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. A reliance on military demand may also have stifled innovation since a profitable and seemingly secure government market now guaranteed success. But this reliance was thrown into sharp relief following the Versailles Treaty in 1918 which forced Germany to cede its fleets to the world export market. Between 1919-20 merchant work in hand at Newcastle yards including Armstrong's fell drastically. This mirrored closely the pattern of national events, in March 1922 the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation reported that 56 % of Britain's shipbuilding berths were idle.

The relationship between manufacturing and the conditions of war also played a part in maintaining the premium on skilled
labour as a recognised feature of Newcastle’s shipyards in this period. During the 1920s one notable social commentator described the process of constructing a vessel on the Tyne listing the main crafts as "platers, drillers, riviters, caulkers, shipwrights, joiners, plumbers, painters, blacksmiths, fitters, electricians and riggers and upholsterers". The twentieth century legacy of the premium on skilled labour is striking: as late as 1976 43% of the economically active males in Newcastle were classified as 'skilled manual'. In recognition of their skill workers at companies such as Armstrong's commanded high wages.

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. The evidence from Newcastle, which is heightened by comparison with the extensive labour process rationalisation undertaken at Kockums, reinforces the idea that a 'peculiarity' in British economic history has been the endurance of traditional methods in the face of a clear decline in demand for such craftsmanship. This point is reinforced if we look at the gender characteristics of manufacturing sector in Newcastle. As war stimulated demand at the same time as it reduced the size of the male workforce, 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. The argument that the distinctive power and independence of the British labour movement inhibited such rationalisations is also borne out by evidence selected from Newcastle. For instance, shipbuilding and mechanical engineering firms in Newcastle, including Armstrong's, sustained particularly low levels of female employment throughout the twentieth century in part due to opposition from unions based on the fear that employing women would dilute the skills base and earning capacity of men in these companies. Post war economic historians of 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.\textsuperscript{103}

As a local expression of prominent national developments in industrial relations and reliance on wartime markets, Armstrong’s provides some striking contrasts to Kockums in Malmö. Whilst the Armstrong yard 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 only saved by an injection of £2.5 million from the Bank of England and the Admiralty, and a forced merger with Vickers.\textsuperscript{104} Because orders from the Admiralty continued through the inter-war period, it was not before the end of the 1960s that the Board of Directors recognised the need for restructuring.\textsuperscript{105} But the outbreak of the Korean War re-enforced Vickers-Armstrongs Ltd. tendency to concentrate 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.\textsuperscript{106} Although the Second World War required a more advanced form of military equipment, Vickers-Armstrongs Ltd. continued to produce custom-built tanks and ships. Part of the explanation for this lies in the company’s close relationship with the national government, which ensured a guaranteed monopoly of the goods it produced through the operation of the ‘cost plus principle’.\textsuperscript{107} To facilitate speedy production in the circumstances of war, a profit percentage was added to production costs from the outset. This may have inhibited innovation and could even have encouraged inefficiency since the more the cost of goods the greater the profit for company. This relationship may therefore have assisted in the continuation of traditional methods of production.

Undeniably, these developments ensued during a portentous decade for Tyneside shipbuilders, particularly so once Japan overtook Britain in 1956 as the world leader in shipbuilding. Between 1960-5 British shipbuilding output fell by 19\% whereas Swedish output increased by 78\%, and Japan saw a staggering 210\% increase. Of the many explanations for the British yards’ failure to keep pace with rival productivity, the increase in demand for bulk carriers and large oil tankers seems to have been particularly problematic for the British. Whereas competitor yards such as Kockums
in Malmö had developed prefabricated welding techniques particularly suited for such vessels, the traditional strength of yards in Newcastle and the North East, to custom build a diverse range of ships, had by the 1960s become a deep seated problem. ¹⁰⁸

These reflections on the different labour processes point to the part played by management in inhibiting or mobilising the dilution of skill. In Newcastle research on Armstrong/Vickers after the Second World War has demonstrated that it was primarily management, rather than workers themselves, who opposed the dilution of skilled labour. This was explained in part by the vested economic interest in custom built products brought about by the reliance upon government contracts. Although the company began to experiment with a degree of mechanisation, which permitted some prefabrication during the 1950s, such developments appear not to have resulted in productivity gains. ¹⁰⁹ The argument that management was responsible for the level of standardisation could equally be applied to Kockums. For instance, Mats Greiff has suggested that after the Second World War there was a link between the rise of particular kinds of jobs in Malmö, such as unskilled office work undertaken principally by women, and the decline of skilled work in companies such as Kockums. This use of Braverman’s argument for the emergence of a division of labour emphasises that employers pushed for this development in the interest of profitability. This argument is also supported 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. ¹¹⁰ Modernisation in Malmö’s industries can therefore 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. ¹¹¹

Although such studies are relevant to macro comparisons of varying levels of industrial unrest, we are dealing here with two cities and two companies that did not witness significant industrial agitation after the Second World War. The difference is that skilled labour remained a premium in Newcastle, whereas the
labour process was extensively rationalised in Malmö. But how important was this difference in the transition to the post-industrial economy? As we have seen, the technical advance of manufacturing methods allowed Kockums to compete alongside Japan at a time that British yards, including those in Newcastle, were floundering. But, crucially, this difference did not change the fact that Malmö and Newcastle’s economic structures tended towards reliance upon larger units of production, linked to the inheritance of natural resources, which prevailed at the expense of a previously more diverse economic structure.

Plate 2.2. Toothpaste packers at the Winthrop Laboratory, Newcastle


Local similarities: structural imbalances in the industrial development of Malmö and Newcastle

In 1952 a prominent local historian undertook an inventory of Malmö’s economy which showed that more than half the city’s population employed in manufacturing were employed in the textile, clothing, and food producing branches. This built on an earlier legacy of textile and food production during the nineteenth century. Two sugar factories had been established in Malmö by 1770, and in 1869 a sugar refinery was opened just outside the city.
which had 900 employees by 1900. 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 source of employment in the city until the 1970s. In 1800 a textiles factory was established 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. By 1910 this company had 700 employees. Although nearly equivalent to Kockums’ labour market dominance, the textile factories were distinguished as a major source of employment for women. In 1910 women represented 47% of the city’s industrial workforce. In addition, 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. Prior to the Second World War, further expansion was facilitated by increasing the concentration of ownership through company mergers. Between 1920 and 1930, MAB purchased various smaller companies such as the sock factory, Malmö Tricot Fabrik, thereby facilitating the integration of hosiery, weaving and spinning in the same premises.

Although women were more prominent in the early industrial development of Malmö, Newcastle also sustained firms that were sources of female employment, but many of these, such as the pottery works, were eclipsed by the large-scale growth of the engineering companies. With the exception of beer, Newcastle’s manufacturing economy was dominated by the production of large-scale secondary non consumer goods before 1918. As one commentator observed during the 1920s, 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. Moreover, Newcastle did not profit from the diversification into the new industries that other parts of Britain, notably the Midlands, enjoyed during the 1920s and 1930s. That said, the official low rates of employment for women obscure the fact that from the 1920s Newcastle sustained many smaller firms that provided employment for
women in the food and clothing industry. In 1921, 825 women were employed in food; drink and tobacco manufacture and ten years later over 2000 women were employed in this sector, of and 700 of them were sugar confectioners. The scholarly neglect of women’s work early in the century has meant that its expansion after 1945 is apt to be seen as one of the by-products of deindustrialisation. Yet, on closer inspection, this relationship is difficult to demonstrate. As has been shown, work in these sectors was a significant feature of the first half of the twentieth century.

Like Malmö, Newcastle also provided work for women in the clothing sector, although this was not an outgrowth of an earlier textiles industry. A boost was provided by the Second World War, when many light clothing companies in London and the South East relocated to the North East to avail themselves of female labour, and by 1945 there were 10,500 employed in the clothing industry in the region. Whilst the rising prominence of factory work for women in the North East reflected the spatial and gender division of labour underway nationally after 1945, these branch plants also built on a degree of tradition. The manufacture of clothing in Newcastle was linked to the city’s mature retail sector and built on the legacy of Lionel Jacobsen’s company, Jackson the Taylor, who successfully spear-headed mass-production of clothing during the 1950s. By the early 1960s Jacobsen was chairman of the national clothing chain Burtons. Additionally, before the Second World War women tobacco workers in Newcastle far exceeded their male counterparts and the majority of women undertaking this work were classified as skilled. It might be pertinent, therefore, to address ‘de-skilling’ as a process which women as well as men experienced in the post-war years. This point is heightened when one considers developments in Malmö’s textile industry during the 1950s. Here we have an industry that was indigenous to the city and had been a significant employer of women since the nineteenth century. After the Second World War the acquisition of new machinery and extensive labour process rationalisation were as significant in the expansion of Malmö’s larger textile firms, as they were in the development of heavy engineering. At the MAB Group, increased productivity reflected 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, each of the 550 employees were producing 2500 stockings daily.\textsuperscript{121} The principally female workforce was organised according to the 'Bedeaux System' which implied specific monitoring of time and task allocation.\textsuperscript{122} By the mid 1940s MAB and MYA had 2000 employees. Nonetheless, in 1957, a year prior to the royal inauguration of Kockums Engineering College, 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.\textsuperscript{123} Correspondingly, 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. During the 1960s approximately 40\% of the population were employed in manufacturing and construction. In the light of the decline in textiles this figure reflected an economy that, as Henry Mess had observed of Newcastle during the 1920s, was precariously dependent upon narrow growth opportunities.\textsuperscript{124} For whilst the expansion of Skanska and Kockums put Malmö at the fore of economic growth in the 1960s in Sweden, high technology industries which were a feature of national economic growth after 1950, were an under-represented feature of Malmö’s economic structure.\textsuperscript{125} The parallels with Newcastle’s development are striking despite the different timing of industrialisation and the different character of labour and employer organisations. Like Malmö, Newcastle did not sustain modern lighter industries during the 1930s, nor did it benefit from expansion of this sector after the Second World War. Although Armstrong’s expanded capacity during the war, elsewhere in Britain re-armament involved the construction of new factories with new machinery that was largely absent from the North East. Newcastle’s perceived vulnerability to bombing militated against new economic developments and this concerned the cities’ leading industrialists. In 1942, a disconcerted Lord Ridley commented that,
All new factories and war work are in other parts of the country (ours being held to be a vulnerable area before war) – the result shall be that we will be at a disadvantage when peace comes.\textsuperscript{126}

In Britain the subsequent regional economic imbalances were recognised by the national government during the 1960s when Lord Hailsham was appointed minister with special responsibility for the North East by the Conservative Government. The beginning of a new regional policy phase in 1963, has been identified as a mix of ”one nation Conservatism, and Keynesian social policy”.\textsuperscript{127} The desire to revive the basic industries in the North East was underpinned by a plan for increased public sector spending, particularly on roads and industrial estates. In Newcastle the plan included a programme for city centre re-development as well as new plans for housing.\textsuperscript{128}

This kind of interventionist programme, which was initiated by the Conservatives and sustained by Harold Wilson’s Labour government after 1963, invites comparison between the British era of ’consensus politics’ and the consolidation of Keynesian social and economic policy by the Social Democrats in Sweden. By the end of the 1950s active labour market policy combined with state support for the export sector and ambitious re-housing programs were one of the hallmarks of Swedish social democracy.\textsuperscript{129} The fruits of these policies were evident in both the physical and economic development of Malmö during that time. But these national developments in Britain and Sweden were not equipped to recognise (in Malmö) or address (in Newcastle) the structural weaknesses of these cities’ economies. In Newcastle it would appear that the temptation of export based manufacturing companies to rely upon old imperial markets was greater than any motivation to diversify or to modernise. Despite the sporadic growth in Newcastle’s larger manufacturing companies throughout the 1960s, the extent to which an increase in export orders reflected a manifestation of the government’s commitment to technological advance is unclear. Intermittent success at Vickers-Armstrong Ltd. continued to depend on their ability to secure external defence contracts, and in real terms exports were stagnant. Moreover, during the 1960s Elswick tanks were only sold to countries which were technologically under-developed.\textsuperscript{130} Expansion at Kockums does provide a counterfactual account of what British regional policy might have
hoped to realise in Newcastle’s staple industries. Kockums continued to expand productive capacity during the 1960s and 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. On the other hand, as an exemplary example of national economic strategy, developments at Kockums may have disguised the emergence of a deep structural vulnerability in Malmö’s economy.

Structural imbalances and deindustrialisation after 1970

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 was a feature of Newcastle’s industrial economy after 1918, the frequent changes to the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) render cross year comparisons prior to 1960 difficult. 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 1995 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 development the industrial recession requires some elaboration.

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 exposed a vulnerability that may have been 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, when heavily dependent upon state subsidies, Kockums launched their last ship. Subsequently, and under the name Kockums Marine AB, the company diversified into marine technology. 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.

**Figure 2.1. Economic structure of Newcastle 1961-91**

![Bar chart showing percentage employed in different economic sectors in Newcastle 1961-1991.](image)


**Figure 2.2. Economic structure of Malmö 1960-90**

![Bar chart showing percentage employed in different economic sectors in Malmö 1960-1990.](image)


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. Simultaneously the balance of Sweden’s international export sector shifted from ships, to chemicals and electronics that were still underrepresented aspects of Malmö’s economy.

In Newcastle the ongoing industrial contraction intensified after 1973. Between 1978 and 1987, there was a particularly high instance of manufacturing redundancies. By 1980 Newcastle could only provide 38% of the city’s male working population with employment. The limited opportunities for male work are reinforced by the fact that 80% of available jobs were found in 28 manufacturing firms. By the seventies both Parsons works in Heaton and Vickers-Armstrong Ltd. 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. The following year Parsons works in Heaton announced 450 redundancies. Vickers’ Elswick factory closed in 1981, with a total of 620 job cuts. 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 to 18%.

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 national and international economies could be serviced, is relevant to the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle since 1970.
assumption that global economic relations undermine the existence of large nationally based manufacturing companies as well as the feasibility of national macro-economic management 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 nation’s import requirements, and a shift of resources from manufacture to the services. The notion of 'deindustrialisation', was central to the incoming Conservative government’s move to privatise and de-regulate both industry and public services, because, in conjunction with recession, the process undermined the Keynesian notion that increased 'non-market' sector spending could stimulate demand and production. In Newcastle, the assumption that public sector expansion had caused slow productivity growth was clearly apparent in the reversal of previous employment expansion in public administration after 1978.

**Figure 2.3. Unemployment by gender, Newcastle 1971-91**

![Figure 2.3](source:image)


**Figure 2.4. Unemployment by gender, Malmö 1980-94**

![Figure 2.4](source:image)

In Malmö, the public sector was the largest area of sustained employment growth between 1960-1995. In 1966 Malmö City Council had 16,700 employees and was the city’s largest employer. In that 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. Whilst public sector expansion did become politically problematic in Sweden, in Malmö this occurred following the decline of the city’s larger manufacturing companies, and does not uphold the claim that public sector growth was a primary factor in industrial recession. What is more, unlike Newcastle during the 1970s, industrial decline in Malmö was not followed by a sharp increase in levels of unemployment. 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, the respective management of industrial decline illustrates that mass unemployment was not an inevitable outcome. Whilst changing international economic conditions may have rendered extensive macro-economic management less feasible, the situation in Malmö suggests that in some instances, national and local governments were equipped to compensate for the combined effects of internationalisation and the volatility of financial markets. 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 between 1961 and 1971 witnessed a 70% increase in employment in public administration in the city followed by a 25% increase between 1971 and 1978. Although a primary aim of the 1963 to 1974 regional policy phase had been to revive the basic industries in
the North East, the recognition that an equal balance in distribution of growth was a prerequisite for future stability 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. 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. 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 1982 a less significant increase in female unemployment was attributed to the growing preponderance of administrative, clerical and sales related occupations in the private services. Female work in these occupations was primarily classified as part time, whilst opportunities for female full time occupation remained limited.

In Newcastle, there existed a discernible tendency amongst local labour politicians and trade union officials to view service sector growth as only compensating numerically for jobs lost in manufacture, which suggests that it did not assuage the qualitative loss caused by the contraction of heavy engineering work and shipbuilding. This built on the historic fear that female labour would undermine the status of a deeply masculinised workforce, and was compounded after 1979 by the national Conservative government’s use of part time employment growth in the service sector to disguise an otherwise worse performance in overall employment. Furthermore, the growth of female part-time employment was even less palatable once it became associated with the emergence of a low wage economy in the North East. In 1985, at a time when unemployment was growing steadily in Newcastle, wages in the Tyne and Wear area rose less than the national average. In neo-classical arguments low wages were seen as a prerequisite for recovery in depressed areas. As a magnet for new firms from high-waged areas they would, allegedly, erode regional unemployment differentials. Moreover, the emergence of a supply of low wage jobs in large cities notably in the consumer services corresponded, it was argued, to the internationalisation
of the economic base of such cities.\textsuperscript{155} In Malmö, women also dominated part time work, but in this city the experience of unemployment and the influence of global economic relations alongside the steady increase of female part time work, did not come to be associated with a low wage economy.\textsuperscript{156}

The experience of the labour force in Malmö suggests that adherence to the Keynesian approach did compensate for the impact of volatile economic circumstances. Nevertheless, the notion that financial globalisation undermined the feasibility of the large nationally based corporations as a viable means of growth, does have purchase with reference 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.\textsuperscript{157} In Malmö, compensation for the pending closure of Kockums as a shipyard was sought in public sector expansion. But 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\%.\textsuperscript{158} In 1980 SAAB established its new factory premises near the shipyard with the help of state subsidies. Although designed to offset the closure of Kockums 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.\textsuperscript{159} Whilst the intention here is not to underestimate the impact of this closure, the experience re-enforced the idea that state subsidised manufacturing plants were not an effective strategy for the city’s recovery from industrial decline. By 1990 the absence of a small business sector combined with the failure of large scale industrial projects such as the SAAB project were complicated by the new direction of national politics. The newly elected national ‘centre right’ four-party coalition’s economic strategy included public sector cutbacks and an unprecedented attempt at labour market de-regulation.\textsuperscript{160} Correspondingly, the annual
average rates of unemployment in Malmö increased from 2.4% to 12.4% between 1990 and 1993.\textsuperscript{161}

After 1979 the revival of private business was pivotal to the British Conservative government 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 1,800 jobs.\textsuperscript{162} Similar projects included the Central and East Quayside Developments. Initially the Armstrong Centre received substantial support from the new Development Corporation.\textsuperscript{163} The regionalist criticism of these industrially mixed or 'retail led' developments focussed upon the absence of an appropriate \textit{industrial} strategy for the North East.\textsuperscript{164} Although retailing growth had been important to the city since the nineteenth century local politicians were slow to capitalise on this potential. In 1965 the City Council launched a strategic plan, which apart from extensive plans for infrastructural expansion included the development of the Eldon Square shopping complex.\textsuperscript{165} 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 1950s underwent a series of closures.\textsuperscript{166} Overall, the steady growth of retailing in an otherwise fluctuating period underlines the significance of this sector to Newcastle’s twentieth-century economy. In 1987 the \textit{Management Horizons Survey} placed Newcastle second in the five largest shopping centres in England. Similarly the recent emphasis on the leisure industry, reflects the continuation of a trend which in Newcastle predates 1979.\textsuperscript{167} On the otherhand, this brings to light the extent to which the service sector was biased towards the provision of retailing services, at the expense, it could be argued, of other commercial services. For instance, although Newcastle’s financial services had developed in conjunction with regional industry during the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century the city did not continue to distinguish itself as a financial centre. In part this was due to the decision by financial organisations such as the Northern Counties and Rock building societies, which had been established by prominent industrialists during the
nineteenth century, to re-locate in the more lucrative areas in the south of England during the 1950s.\textsuperscript{168}

In Malmö, financial services had also been integral to the city’s industrial development. Skånes Enskilda Bank had moved to Malmö in 1874, a move which arguably attracted local businessmen and industrialists to the city.\textsuperscript{169} This became Sweden’s largest business bank during the later nineteenth century, and it continued to sustain strong links to the proprietors of the city’s cement and engineering industries. During the twentieth century expansion continued and although it was renamed Skandinaviska Enskilda Bank in 1939, with Carl Herslow, editor of \textit{Sydsvenska Dagbladet} and prominent member of parliament as its first managing director, its anchoring in Malmö was sustained. But as in Newcastle a similar spatial erosion of local financial power ensued during the twentieth century: in 1971 Skandinaviska Enskilda Bank merged with Stockholms Enskilda Bank, resulting in the transfer of the previous Malmö headquarters to the capital.\textsuperscript{170} On the other hand, developments in Malmö’s retail sector have not mirrored those in Newcastle. Although Malmö was established as a retail centre for the regional hinterland during the twentieth century, it did not have the long history as a centre for consumption that Newcastle drew upon in its development as a twentieth century shopping city. Department stores in the city flourished briefly during the 1970s, but by the 1980s they were either closed down or re-structured as ‘galleries’ with individual retailers housed in former department store buildings.\textsuperscript{171} In other words, the pattern of retailing mirrored, rather than offset, industrial developments in the later twentieth century in Malmö.

In the aftermath of the 1980s, the growth of retailing in Newcastle 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.\textsuperscript{172} Public accountability remains central, particularly as regards non-elected bodies in health, education and training.\textsuperscript{173} However, the implications of some criticism levelled at the strategies for urban regeneration left open the question
of what the politics of an effective strategy for growth should be. As this comparison with Malmö has shown, the continued call for an effective *industrial* strategy for the North East was probably misplaced.\(^{174}\) Whilst the implementation of policies of macro scale state intervention designed to maintain full employment, and represent industrial interests, were an effective strategy for managing economic growth, they neither prevented decline nor facilitated sustainable economic recovery in Malmö.

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 and could be described as local similarities *within* Anglo-Swedish differences. In the previous chapter, it was suggested that this book 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 is clearly the product of distinct histories; it could even be argued that Swedish modernity, with its characteristic American inspiration, had no real counterpart in Britain. 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 *dirigist* stance has, until recently, produced reticence towards further European integration for the opposite reasons. In order to establish the comparative importance of their respective industrial legacies to the wider experience of post-industrial society we now move to examine several other areas of these cities’ post war history.
LABOUR POLITICS AND SOCIAL HOUSING

This chapter examines the relationship between political processes and developments in municipal housing since 1945. The provision of municipal housing was arguably one of the most important features of both Malmö and Newcastle after 1945. This was undertaken in both cities to remove the physical evidence of industrialisation, and the associated overcrowding, poverty and ill health from the urban landscape. The social housing programs of the post-war years were also flagship projects of local labour councils. We consider these schemes in Malmö and Newcastle and argue that in each city they reflected the apotheosis of the industrial era: the aspiration for a modernised forward looking economic and social development in Newcastle and its realisation in Malmö. In turn, these developments in social housing and the problems that were experienced in the decade after their construction help to clarify how the transition to post-industrial society influenced two specific arenas of city life: local politics and the provision of housing.

Once again this comparison needs to contend with the issue of local similarities that find their historical context in national differences, particularly with regard to the relationship between local and national government. 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 too much difficulty. In this chapter the similarities are not as readily identified. Only after 1973 did the Labour Party sustain electoral success in Newcastle, whereas in Malmö, the social democratic Party dominated both the periods of industrial growth and decline. This difference is crucial to political developments in these cities after 1945, but this chap-
ter will not feature detailed analysis of the Conservative council era in Newcastle which reflects a significantly different political tradition. Moreover, recent developments in the field of comparative historiography have suggested that cross-national comparisons are limited by the parameters or ‘politics’ of the comparison. This is undeniably the case, in this study social democratic politics are compared because they are comparable, but also because they complement my own research interests. The merits of the claim that comparitivists are compromised to a greater extent by such considerations than other practitioners of history is further probed in the concluding chapter. On the other hand, recent developments which emphasise cross national similarities based on the transfer, appropriation and re-appropriation of ideas may assist the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle. These debates will be particularly helpful given that developments in local politics and social housing in Malmö and Newcastle can be linked to European ideas about mass-produced housing as an expression of the politics of welfare after 1945.

After 1945 the Social Democrats in Malmö were noted for innovation in housing provision. In 1948 one of the first municipal housing companies in the country was established in Malmö. 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. Between 1950 and 1953 the company in Malmö pioneered the ‘all concrete’ method of construction that assisted in combating a growing national housing shortage. In Britain after 1945, following national concern regarding both the qualities 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 councillor and chairman of Newcastle’s Housing Committee during the early 1960s, 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”. As
part of an organised visit to Scandinavia in 1963, selected representatives from Newcastle’s Housing Committee visited Skånska Cement Gjuteriet in Malmö. The mass production of houses in Malmö reached a peak during the late 1960s with the construction of the Rosengård housing scheme. Once again the potential for exploring the appropriation and execution of key twentieth century ideas in different contexts is plain to see. The British born Swedish based architect Ralph Erskine, responsible during the 1970s for the construction of Newcastle’s renowned community architecture program in Byker, was an early proponent of the mass-produced building method. The theme of social housing in both cities, focuses on the Labour council’s slum-clearance and re-housing programmes of the early 1960s in Newcastle and 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. We begin by situating these post-war developments in the emergence of labour politics in Malmö and Newcastle at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Early Twentieth Century Developments in Labour Politics**

In 1919 the Social Democrats were elected to the council in Malmö 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 Danielsson author of the first party programme lived and worked in Malmö. Unlike many other Swedish cities in this period Malmö was relatively free from established Liberal opposition. Danielsson’s socialism combined a commitment to ‘self help strategies’ with social reformism. At the same time he has been credited with introducing an ‘ideological motive’ to the emergent Swedish Consumer Co-operation, (KF Solidar) using Marxist social analysis. In the course of the 1920s, however, Social Democrats including Nils Person and Emil Olsson, undermined such Marxist influences and the Social Democrats henceforth worked
for social reform within the framework of capitalism. The political activities of leading industrialists in Malmö have also been seen as crucial in the emergence of a local Social Democratic Party lacking in genuine socialist commitment. In particular, people like R. F. Berg, the director of Skånska Cement Factory, who engaged in the negotiations between the employer federation and the confederation of blue-collar unions, which contributed to the 1906 central accord (December Compromise). This agreement has been used to explain the national Social Democrats’ tendency to eschew socialist strategies, and 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 levelling with full support of the Swedish Metal Workers’ Union. In the same year, a collectively negotiated agreement accepted by management ‘legitimised’ union activity at Kockums. On the other hand, Labour historians such as Stråth have alleged that this undermined any combative ambitions and paved the way for de-skilling and increased productivity.

The moderate socialist ambitions of the local Social Democrats were, it has been suggested, most palpable in the arena of social housing before 1945. Prior to the expansion of social housing after 1945, local Social Democrats supported the existing co-operative movement in the city, as a provider of cost-rental housing. The emphasis upon ‘self-help’, which support of the co-operative sector entailed, is seen to be characteristic of the limited and restricted socialist ambitions of Malmö’s early labour movement and Social Democratic Party.

The emergence of working-class political representation in Newcastle is often linked to large-scale industrial growth and pre-existing political organisation. 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 channelled their socialist and or radical interests through the existing Liberal institutions. A conference of the national Trade Union Congress Labour Representation Committee (LRC), which became the national Labour Party in 1906, 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: whilst speaking at the Newcastle conference he apparently referred to the LRC as a 'special' offshoot of a general movement. As in Malmö 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. A builder by trade Adams argued strongly against co-operative involvement on the grounds that such organisations were undemocratic and dominated by business elites. Although particular local circumstances varied, the housing association option also failed to develop elsewhere in Britain and the municipalisation of social housing became the national norm.

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. 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, councillor for a ward in Newcastle’s ‘West End’, subsequently became leader of the national Labour Party. He was also awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the part he had played in establishing the League of Nations. The only other local politician to achieve national acclaim was T. Dan Smith, the leader of the council during the 1960s. 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
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 tendency for many workers to live outside the city boundaries, as well as 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 until 1973.189 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**

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


Overall, in a comparison of local labour politics during the twentieth century one is struck by the different fortunes of the parties, which these statistics bear out. In addition, the low levels of participation in the formal political process are striking in Newcastle compared to Malmö where 80% and over were regularly sustained. Despite such clear contrasts, many of which have their explanations in the very different national political systems, both labour led councils were responsible for the execution of social housing schemes after 1945 that radically altered the physical, and indeed social, characteristics of the urban landscape.190
Table 3.2. Newcastle City Council election results 1950-67

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


Labour politics and social housing

In the immediate post-war decades, the Social Democrat’s success in Malmö was complemented by the national government’s ambition to realise economic growth alongside the expansion of welfare commitments.¹⁹¹ The development of a comprehensive social housing policy was seminal to this phase of national government. The scarcity of building materials during the Second World War combined with the rapid urbanisation that followed had resulted in a palpable housing shortage in Sweden. In later re-assessment of macro-economic policy, this aspect of Swedish history has often been overlooked. For, whilst the evolution of a housing policy was intimately connected to large-scale economic policy, this was also an era in which local government was increasingly given the responsibility for the implementation of state programmes, particularly in housing.¹⁹² Between 1946 and 1962 the experience of the social democratic council in Malmö reflects the combined, and in some ways conflicting, ramifications of these two developments.

In 1930, the Social Democratic Party in Malmö began publishing the electoral magazine Malmö Vår Stad, (Malmö Our City).¹⁹³ Between 1942 and 1962, the local council’s central concern with the housing question was often reiterated, 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".¹⁹⁴ S. A Johansson
was a Social Democratic Party councillor in Malmö from 1940, and 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 he was appointed union ombudsman, and in 1946 became the union’s chairman. Having served as a councillor 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 municipal arena.

Although Johansson became leader of the council in 1952, he quickly relinquished his labour movement associations. Billing and Stigendal have argued that a speech given by Johansson on the royal visit of Gustav VI Adolf to Malmö in 1952 was symbolic of the growing distance between the new leader of the council and his labour movement past. Suppressing his vernacular speech and omitting to mention Malmö’s important position in the history of the Swedish labour movement he allegedly made his priority national rather than regional and local concerns.

Johansson’s desire to see Malmö as a “city, work place and a home” has correspondingly been read 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. Whilst Johansson’s decision to suppress his dialect may have reflected an ambition to draw national attention to political developments in Malmö, voting patterns do not suggest that the local electorate perceived themselves to be marginalized in the national political framework. Moreover, given that many of the political developments that began in Malmö later served as a blueprint for the development of the national SAP, it could simply be the case that Johansson knew his electorate to understand ’national’ as consistent with both local and regional interests. When he 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. A similar local political agenda can be detected in Newcastle’s Development Plan Review published by the newly elected Labour Council’s Town Planning Committee in 1963. The Development Plan proposed changes that similarly emphasised the provision of social, recreational and cultural amenities. But in Newcastle, these measures were part of a national attempt to reverse the uneven economic development, ongoing 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. The rapid growth that resulted from earlier prosperity created a quickly built but poor quality housing stock. In the words of the leader of the council at the time, this costly and formidable task was necessary to “put right the legacy of Victorian prosperity”. By contrast in Malmö the shift in the local political agenda away from predominantly industrial and labour movement issues occurred before the decline of the industrial base. Indeed, much investment in infrastructure, particularly in housing, was designed to pave the way for further industrial expansion in the city.

Voting participation was generally high in Malmö with concentrated support for the Social Democrats in specific areas, and more precisely, areas that were examples of recent developments in housing. For instance, in the municipal election of 1954, 94% of the largely working-class electorate housed in the newly built Augustenborg supported the Social Democratic Party. Augustenborg was the first housing complex built by the new municipal housing company Malmö Kommunlala Bostadsbolag (MKB) formed in 1948. After a decade in national government and faced with a major housing shortage the Social Democrats formulated the social housing policy for the post war era. In 1942 the Swedish Parliament decided upon a loan system which would support the building industry to increase the number of dwellings produced whilst allowing the government to control tenure. Public housing companies including co-operatives were eligible for loans in excess of 95% for actual building costs, whilst owner-occupiers had to provide at least 10% of their own capital to be eligible. Local authorities were instructed to assist in increasing the proportion of ‘cost rental’ housing by ensuring that
municipal firms were party to the same economic advantages as co-operatives. We need to emphasise here that whilst the first municipal housing schemes were initiated after 1945, the other major provider of ‘cost-rental’ housing was in existence earlier. 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%. Between 1924 and 1959, HSB built 150,000 flats in Sweden. For our comparison it is 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. Whilst socialising the housing market was also a focal point for the Swedish Social Democrats after 1945, this can be distinguished from 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.

Given Malmo Social Democrats’ enduring engagement with local entrepreneurs,’ it has been suggested that the city was well placed to profit from the new direction of state-led initiatives. Indeed prior to the formal establishment of MKB, the council 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. The council collaborated with private building companies to initiate the formation of independent local housing associations and co-operatives. For instance, in 1945, following the completion of new flats in Svenstorp and Sofielund (just to the north of the central district of Innerstaden) the council subsidised the initial ‘tenant’s ownership’ (bostadsrätt) deposit, which underwrote a substantial proportion of the building 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. The development of tenant’s ownership was to 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.\textsuperscript{208}

The benefits of creating a formal local authority housing company, based on similar principles, were first espoused by the Social Democratic councillor 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”.\textsuperscript{209} Svensson’s concern with the housing question was primarily to ensure that the private sector could not impugn the standards of housing available to the less prosperous.\textsuperscript{210} MKB was established with Svensson as its first director in 1948. The formation of MKB in Malmö has been seen as a turn away from a more consensual politics in Malmö, which characterized the early twentieth century, and an acceptance of a more comprehensive form of municipal socialism. But compared to Newcastle it is equally important to underline that MKB was established as part of a process of political decentralisation: in 1948 new building legislation was passed which endowed local councils with extensive capacity for the planning and execution of housing policy.\textsuperscript{211} Whilst landowners retained the right of construction, this did not create extensive difficulties in Malmö where, unlike Newcastle, there was ample spare land. In Newcastle prominent local councillors 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.\textsuperscript{212}

In 1948 the construction commenced on what was to become Malmö’s first municipally owned housing estate. Completed in 1954 Augustenborg was built to rehouse tenants in privately rented flats from inner city areas, which had experienced severe overcrowding since the 1930s. Augustenborg would therefore become an example of the national strategy for both modernising and socialising the housing market executed effectively at the local level. The national intention to increase infrastructural investment was combined with a desire to encourage local innovation.\textsuperscript{213} The new flats all boasted modern amenities, such as bathrooms, and were more spacious than the older privately rented properties.\textsuperscript{214} Moreover MKB was created according to the 1948 legislation and correspondingly tenants paid cost-rental prices, which was also in
line with the national government’s commitment to keeping rent at 1942 levels. The high level of support the Social Democratic Party received from the inhabitants in Augustenborg suggests a successful mediation of national interest in the local environment had been achieved in this case.

But unlike British cities, including Newcastle, where council housing dominated cost-rental provision, in Sweden this expansion was monopolized by the co-operative sector. 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 underpinned the dominance of HSB as housing provider in this period. The co-operative was particularly well supported by the Metalworkers Union in Malmö following a decision to build flats for the Kockums workers during the post war housing shortage. In 1954 the local branch of HSB negotiated an agreement with the company and the union, committing Kockums to subsidising the initial deposit for employees willing to live in co-operative flats. However, such developments have been seen as militating against a comprehensive socialisation of the housing market in the city. Whilst this may have been the ambition of the ‘municipal socialists’, who established MKB, the government’s position was 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. This was a crucial moment in the relationship between local politics and housing questions in Malmö, particularly in comparison with Newcastle. Radicals such as Svensson, whilst faced with a degree of overcrowding common to many industrial cities, can not be said to have shared the pronounced burden of ”putting right the legacy of Victorian prosperity” in housing which faced their counterparts in Newcastle. On the other hand, there was a similar legacy of hostility to co-operative housing amongst Newcastle socialists. After 1945 in Malmö, radicals like Svensson had to compete with a centrally organised and state supported co-operative housing organisation for the quota of social housing. It is interesting to note that local analysis of this development in Malmö takes the dominance of the co-operative sector as evidence of a compromised social housing policy whereas, national comparisons, particularly with
Britain, have tended to see the prominence of organisations such as HSB as a measure of success in Swedish social housing.\textsuperscript{217}

**Plate 3.1. Augustenborg housing estate, Malmö**

![Augustenborg housing estate, Malmö](source: Malmö Stads historia. Sjunde delen 1939-1990.)

After 1945 the British Labour government’s ambition to improve the national housing supply similarly influenced the political situation in Newcastle. The historic overcrowding and the longer debate about the associated role of the private landlord, reflect Britain’s earlier urbanisation. This legacy had an impact upon relations between central and local government with regard to housing policy after 1945.\textsuperscript{218} The Labour government’s minister responsible for housing was Aneurin Bevan. Like the Swedish government during this time, Bevan saw the speculative builder as antipathetic to the concept of planning, and a social housing policy was developed in order to undermine the influence of both private landlords and builders. But rather than encourage local interpretation of this ambition, it has often been suggested that politicians like Bevan saw local authorities as potential instruments of state led programmes.\textsuperscript{219} Correspondingly the involvement of local authorities in planning was largely an extension of central control.\textsuperscript{220} Key studies of this period have confirmed that in local authorities in parts of southern England the Labour administration’s welfare program was implemented at the cost of a previously more innovative culture in local government.\textsuperscript{221}
In Newcastle, the impact of centralizing ambitions in physical planning had been a reality since the evolution of a regional policy during the 1930s, which connects with the wider experience of the North East as a site for the definition and appraisal of national strategies. But local interpretation of national plans was experienced during the 1960s, largely due to the contribution of T. Dan Smith, a politician who was decisive in shaping Newcastle and the North East’s sense of self-awareness during that time. The son of a miner, Smith was born in Wallsend in 1915 and became a councillor in 1950. 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 industrial riverside districts.

But slum clearance was not initiated by the Labour controlled council during the 1960s, rather it was both a response to, and extension of, 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. 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 1956-1960 the Conservative council cleared the slums on Noble Street in the city’s western districts 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 heartland of Newcastle’s industrial working-class. The blocks were crowded together on the site and built on an east-west axis. As a result a deep shadow was cast bet-
ween the rows of blocks with the result that north-facing entrances were always in semi darkness.\textsuperscript{225}  

Surveys carried out by the Noble Street Tenant Liaison Committee and Community Campaign subsequently reflected tenant dissatisfaction with many aspects of the houses.\textsuperscript{226} Mr. Hepple, Labour councillor for the Armstrong ward, commented that a meeting with tenants of the Noble Street Estate had produced ”extensive complaints about the exterior of the housing” nonetheless there were \textit{no major complaints}, about the interior of the housing ”just cleaning windows, draughty doors that sort of thing”.\textsuperscript{227} This re-enforces the scale of the problem facing policy makers in Newcastle. The buildings that the new Noble Street flats replaced were allegedly the worst slums the current Public Health Inspector in Newcastle had witnessed.\textsuperscript{228} In the year that tenants moved into the Noble Street estate, there were at least 100 families in a ward of 2000 residents without an internal supply of water.\textsuperscript{229} Such problems had been addressed at least a decade earlier in Malmö, with the construction of Augustenborg. During the 1960s 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”. Soon these \textit{new} dwellings were also being referred to as slums and provided a focal point for distinguishing the Labour council’s plans for re-housing in Newcastle. By the quality and means of the houses they were building and planning, the Labour council led by T. Dan Smith aimed to reinvigorate Newcastle’s estates. To underline the break with opposition policy, and to distinguish his leadership as both modernist and outward-looking, Smith turned to Scandinavia for inspiration.\textsuperscript{230}

During the early 1960s there was renewed interest in the methods of industrialized housing in Britain. Whilst the pre-fabricated method had been deployed in conjunction with the constructions of New Towns in Britain, such as Cumbernauld in Scotland, this method had developed more rapidly in central Europe.\textsuperscript{231} In 1961 Newcastle City Council 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 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 Montagu Estate in the west.

It was during this time that the Housing Committee in Newcastle began considering the merits of speeding up production and economizing by greater use of prefabricated methods of building and standardization. A series of reports commissioned by the Housing Committee concluded that housing developments undertaken in Denmark and Sweden were more suitable for Newcastle’s requirements than those in central Europe. 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 1963. In the spring of 1963, members of Newcastle’s Housing Committee visited Malmö. Part of the itinerary included a visit to Skånska Cement Gjuteriet where the British visitors were invited to observe the construction of prefabricated 'Heart Units'. Following the visit, Councillor J. Johnston commented specifically on the unit of accommodation viewed at Skånska Cement Gjuteriet in Malmö. This 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 Skånska Cement Gjuteriet be asked to “ship a complete unit of housing accommodation to Newcastle for erection within the city”. In the light of the ambitions for the comprehensive refurbishment of the urban landscape in Newcastle, we could see this request as an expression of wider admiration for what the councillors had witnessed during their visit to the Swedish city. For what was Malmö in 1963, if not modern? Prefabrication was not exclusive to the
housing industry, but, as we have seen, underpinned shipbuilding and had helped turn Kockums into a world-leader. The seamless adaptation to the motorized city had been achieved decades earlier, and Newcastle councillors must have looked on with envy as cars coursed through the centre of the city on wide streets lined with elegant functionalist buildings.\(^{233}\)

In the event, the transfer of ideas about building methods and modernising the urban landscape was never comprehensive, in part because a dramatic turn of events in local politics in Newcastle militated against the kind of continuity which would have been necessary to execute ideas appropriated from abroad.\(^{234}\) Although he had been decisive in instigating the Scandinavian tour, on returning to Newcastle Smith declared an interest in ’Skanska’ and withdrew from discussion of the visit.\(^{235}\) Likewise, during the discussions preceding the construction of the Cruddas Park flats two years earlier, Smith was absent when three additional firms, including the Scottish construction company Crudens, were 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, councillor Tom Collins previously vice chairman of the Housing Committee resigned. Collins would later reveal that he had felt under pressure from Smith to accept the Crudens tender. 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.\(^{236}\)

Without wishing to detract from the seriousness of the allegations and negative impact they had upon local political life in Newcastle, it needs to be emphasised, in the context of this comparison, that the infamous ’T. Dan Smith era’ further highlighted the difficulties involved in reducing overcrowding in Newcastle. With no alternative provider of cost-rental housing, the responsibility for this task had to be shouldered by the local authority. Taken together with the very limited autonomy afforded to local authorities in such matters by national government, it is possible to see how visionary politicians such as Smith became frustrated.
By contrast in Malmö, the social democratic council appeared to have both the autonomy and resources available to them that their counterparts in Newcastle lacked. In 1966 the city’s disposable income increased to a record 1 billion 6.6 million Swedish crowns. Given that the city was in such a sound financial position, and could levy its own taxes, there was no reason to doubt a buoyant future. This optimism underpinned audacious schemes involving the purchase of new land for industrial and housing developments that were publicized in the 1966 electoral pamphlet. Attributed to Oscar Stenberg, previously a director of HSB in the city and a councillor since 1950, the pamphlet espoused a harmonious combination of traditional social democratic interests with a policy which would ensure economic progress. In the circumstances of rapidly growing resources, produced by the close collaboration of ‘economic’ and ‘social’ interests, the contribution of the council was identified as providing increased security and well being in Malmö, principally by housing its citizens to the highest standards. But behind all the public discourse of consensus there was growing political discontent with such plans, even at a time of widespread prosperity. The ‘Conservative’ opposition argued that spending such vast resources buying land to control market speculation was a political manoeuvre that would deplete resources necessary for social security. Whilst this may seem like a rather carping criticism, and although the Social Democrats did not lose an election before 1985, in 1966 the social democratic majority was nearly matched when the Conservative inspired alliance ’Samling i Malmö’ secured 42.1% of the vote.

Subsequently, and particularly following the contraction of the city’s industrial base, the divisions which were beginning to emerge at the end of the 1960s were heightened and the political accord that characterised the early years gave way to distinctly polarised political positions, particularly as regards housing. But such dilemmas were still far from the minds of men such as Stenberg who appeared to have successfully combined social commitments and economic growth without compromising social democratic principles. Unlike Newcastle, in Malmö social housing had never been associated exclusively with municipal ownership, and in the British city the implementation of social housing was complicated further by a severe land shortage. This meant that
all new houses built following slum clearance had to use existing sites. Despite such historic and important differences, the fact that T. Dan Smith became financially involved with Skanska Cement as a result of the Scandinavian visit indicates important similarities in the ambitions and expectations for re-housing the citizens of Malmö and Newcastle amongst local Labour politicians. In both cities the Labour led councils wished to demonstrate, by the houses they were building and providing, that they were unafraid of cutting the ties with the urban milieu fostered by early industrial development. At the same time, the Housing Committee’s venture abroad alerts us to further ‘national differences’, such as in the construction industry which by the 1960s in Britain was still made up of small local enterprises, criticized already in the 1940s for not being efficient and productive enough to meet the demand for extensive re-housing that followed slum clearance. Furthermore, in Sweden, where the construction industry had been extensively rationalized, the related ambition to undermine speculative builders was never as politicized as the British Labour Party’s struggle with the private landlord. The consolidation of an integrated Keynesian economy in Sweden also arguably contributed to continuity in housing construction, which was never experienced at either the local or national level in Britain. In sum, T. Dan Smith’s thwarted attempted to import Swedish prefabricated housing to Newcastle is a starting point for revealing a series of interesting national contrasts that all warrant further comparative investigation in their own right.

The local contrasts in the execution of social housing are clarified further by the construction of the Rosengård estate at the end of the 1960s in Malmö. Rosengård was built between 1967 and 1974 and was Malmö’s first suburb. Unlike Augustenborg it was built on new land, north of the city’s most northern suburbs. The 1960s are now recognised as something of a watershed for Sweden’s construction industry, primarily because of the stimulus provided by the national government’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. Between 1968-79, Malmö built 12,604 flats. When completed, Rosengård provided flats for over 20,000 individuals. It was built
collaboratively by MKB and HSB and a private company, BGB (Malmö Byggmästares Gemensamma Bygg). The area of construction straddled Amiralsgatan, the main road from central Malmö to the north.

**Plate 3.2 and 3.3. Rosengård estate, Malmö**

The heart of the estate, Rosengård Center, was built on a concrete bridge spanning Amiralsgatan. This comprised shops, community centres, social welfare offices, a church, youth clubs and a gymnasium. This facility was well-equipped and also contained indoor and outdoor swimming pools, an athletics field and a junior school. Elsewhere in the estate, the predominately family flats combined 3, 6 and 9 storey buildings, grouped in four subsections each with their own pre-school, day-care centre and children’s playground. Whilst the houses were built using a combination of traditional brick and prefabricated methods, Rosengård Centre and the schools were wholly prefabricated buildings.246
Rosengård has often been characterized as symbolizing a pinnacle of Swedish modernity. 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 the national ambition to build a 'Million Dwellings', in ten years. This was also clearly evidence of Skanska’s own success in pioneering the 'all concrete method'. The apparently untroubled collaboration between MKB, HSB, and BGB provides evidence of a level of consensus that did not underpin the provision of social housing in Newcastle. This situation clearly also fostered a degree of self-confidence amongst politicians: at the outset of the construction process, Oscar Stenberg asserted that the municipality had purchased enough land to facilitate a continuous supply of housing until 1980. 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. All this could be seen in the large-scale and rapid erection of brand new flats in the city’s newest suburb. But, instead, Rosengård rapidly came to represent the shortcomings of this agenda. Despite the Planning Department’s insistence that Rosengård combined thorough planning with careful consideration of tenants’ needs, a survey carried out in 1974 indicated that many of the new inhabitants had been dissatisfied from the outset. The monotonous architectural style was particularly unpopular, specifically the preponderance of straight lines and high rise. Similarly the concentration of 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, providing easy access to the city, tenants complained that the main road split the estate into two halves.

Unsurprisingly such developments soon prompted scholarly interest in the estate, which revealed that planners and architects had operated without adequate accountability either to prospective tenants or to local government. Although Rosengård was incorporated into the 1956 to 1960 strategic plan for the city with elected city planners officially responsible for its development, in reality MKB, HSB and BGB had controlled the planning process quite autonomously. In the subsequent critique of the quality of
the houses, the dominance of the private building corporation over the construction process was singled out, particularly since Skanska was the major builder for BGB.252 Others argued that Rosengård represented misguided attempt by the social democratic government to control the economy through housing politics.253 The belief that the city’s history of consensual politics 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.254 In November 1973, there were 1,163 empty flats in Rosengård.255 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”.256

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 ‘anomie’ 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.257 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.258

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 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. 9,700 buildings were to be cleared, of which 1,175 were situated in the Parker Street area of the Byker ward in the east of the city.259 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.

**Table 3.3: Malmö municipal election results 1966-85**

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**Table 3.4: Newcastle City Council election results 1970-87**

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


Byker was built 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. It was laid out in a grid pattern to accommodate a dense population. The standard of houses was characteristic of the small vernacular Tyneside flat. At the time of the survey carried out by Peter Malpass for the city council during the 1970s, some original households still possessed no internal supply of hot water. One of the striking fea-
tures detected by the report was that the area had retained a "close
knit community", in which a culture of mutual help, characteristic
of industrial communities, prevailed.\textsuperscript{262} According to Malpass, lo-
cal Labour politicians and planners, influenced by T. Dan Smith's
"explicit interventionism", failed to realise the significance of the
'community' legacy in Byker. Whilst national slum clearance plans
were characterized by caution, the election of Smith as leader of
the City council had resulted in the implementation of radical me-
asures for redevelopment, which were unpopular amongst many
of the residents of 'old' Byker.\textsuperscript{263}

The most disturbing aspect was the proposal to reduce popu-
lation density. Byker had previously comprised an area of 264.5
acres housing approximately 25,000 residents. The 1961 proposals
intended to reduce the plot to 223 acres and crucially entailed a
reduction to just over 17,000 residents.\textsuperscript{264} 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 docu-
ment called \textit{Byker Neighbourhood: Guidelines for Redevelopment.}
In this document priority was given to the redevelopment of lar-
ger houses and flats. Indeed, in accordance with 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.\textsuperscript{265} 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, Byker was apparently be-
ning re-developed without the existing population in mind.

A year after the initial report had been submitted, the coun-
cil in Newcastle had become Conservative.\textsuperscript{266} 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.\textsuperscript{267} 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.\textsuperscript{268} 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.\textsuperscript{269} In 1968 Page launched his election campaign with the following attack on Labour’s record of housing provision in Byker.

Byker has never had a Conservative Councillor and on Thursday May 9\textsuperscript{th} 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.

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.\textsuperscript{270} The victory committed the Conservative council both to allowing those residents wishing to remain in Byker to do so, but also to improving 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.\textsuperscript{271} Grey was very impressed by 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.\textsuperscript{272} 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”.\textsuperscript{273} This participatory process had ne-
vertheless been more successful on some levels than others; many tenants expressed dissatisfaction with the front doors, which, like Swedish doors, were designed to open outwards rather than inwards as British doors do.\textsuperscript{274}

**Plate 3.4 and 3.5. Community architecture in Byker, Newcastle**

By 1969, there was urgent desire in Byker to see evidence of some progress. Given the protracted political struggles, tenants were now demanding to be re-housed as quickly as possible. Moreover a clearance policy, as opposed to modernisation, had been accepted by this stage. In recognition of local opinion, Erskine correspondingly gave an assurance that houses would be under construction by the end of 1970.\textsuperscript{275} 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 incorporates brightly painted wood and plastic materials, thus "breaking down a Modernist slab block into a more domestic scale". In the light of the distaste amongst residents in Rosengård for the monotony of straight lines and high-rise, this eclecticism is a deservedly acclaimed aspect of participatory architecture. The Byker estate was also distinguished in the British context, where attention to such details was often lacking, by its generous use of plants and shrubs. These aspects contributed national acclaim and significant media attention. They also represent an attempt to incorporate ambitious architectural features into large-scale housing programmes, which in turn implies costly maintenance. Unfortunately, Byker has not been adequately maintained and flats have increasingly become 'difficult to let'.

Concluding this chapter we can underline that the re-development of Byker and the construction of Rosengård clarify the political processes which the provision of social housing reflects in both cities. Several features which politicians in Malmö did not encounter complicated innovation in local social housing in Newcastle. The combination of a more thoroughgoing need for slum clearance in the British city and a highly politicised land shortage problem was a difficulty which distinguished this process in Newcastle. Paradoxically, the successful experiment in community architecture that took place with the re-development of Byker was not the product of political consensus or continuity in the evolution of social housing. In Newcastle it appears that both positive and negative developments in social housing have been produced by a volatile local political landscape. Rosengård, as an apparently unpopular example of interventionist planning and austere modernist architecture, is therefore equally interesting because it was indebted to a legacy of political stability and generous local resources. In turn, scarce resources and in particular land shortage, actually contributed to the innovative re-use of a Victorian industrial workers' site in Byker. Perhaps most importantly, the comparison suggests that whilst Malmö had the political means to combine consistent electoral success with expansion of the housing supply, this situation could not be maintained by the same expedient. In part this was because this process was not sensitive to the fact that important changes were underway in the character of the population, which could not simply be addressed by building more houses.
As has been shown, Malmö and Newcastle experienced intense economic changes during the second half of the twentieth century. In both cities, the 1970s and 1980s represented an era of transition from an industrial to post-industrial economy that brought with it the experience of severe unemployment. By providing a demographic survey of the years after 1945 it will be possible to contextualise these findings further. It is also important to ask how these changes influenced the social characteristics of these cities, and how the inhabitants of Malmö and Newcastle responded to an era that was often characterised by a series of social and economic crises. The historical survey of changes in the population will take into account issues such as fertility change, as well as changes in the characteristics of the resident population, including the growth of an ageing population and the respective importance of striking differences in levels of immigration. By the late 1990s, over 20% of Malmö’s inhabitants had ‘non Swedish’ citizenship, making it Sweden’s third most multi-cultural city. At that time, this feature had no direct parallel in Newcastle, which has often been characterised as a city with a strong element of cultural and indeed ethnic homogeneity that, if anything, intensified during the period of deindustrialisation. Such striking differences are clearly not directly comparable, and once again underline the divergent experiences of the twentieth century. Yet despite such differences Malmö and Newcastle have recently been characterised as cities experiencing ‘social exclusion’ and ‘urban poverty’, and in both cases the social characteristics of the population have been deployed in generating this perception. This social survey may therefore help to bring comparative historical focus to the ongoing public and academic concern about the experience of social exclusion in European cities.

It follows that we begin our historical comparison by taking a
look at the issues that preoccupied social observers at the beginning of the twentieth century. During the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century urban overcrowding was a particular concern for the authorities in both cities. In 1800, Malmö had a total population of 5,400, and by 1920 this had risen to 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.\(^{280}\) Migration from the surrounding agricultural communities was largely responsible for rapid population growth in Malmö at the turn of the century.\(^{281}\) Inward migration mirrored rapid industrialisation in Malmö at the end of the nineteenth century, which also characterised national developments in this period.\(^{282}\) 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. 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. In Malmö the housing requirements exacerbated by rapid expansion soon exceeded local building supply and overcrowding and associated health problems prevailed in the industrialised quarters.\(^{283}\) This was a cause for concern for the Poor Relief Board and other voluntary relief organisations in the city, who had limited means to alleviate such difficulties.\(^{284}\)

In 1928 the seminal *Industrial Tyneside* brought to light 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. Combined population and industrial growth also contributed to instances of unacceptable overcrowding intensified by the inadequate quality of the existing houses. Perhaps most important was the revelation that Tynesiders, “class for class, live in homes smaller by 30% than those in which most Englishmen live”.\(^{285}\) This conclusion has no direct parallel in Malmö, where overcrowding did not arouse *national* as well as local anxiety.
Overcrowding was prevalent in Malmö, but undeniably reflected a less protracted experience of industrial growth. What is more, compared to Malmö, in Newcastle there were no commensurate increases in female industrial employment.287 Whereas increases in female labour market participation coexisted with population growth in Malmö, the expansion of large-scale female labour market participation in Newcastle was largely synonymous with the period after 1945. Moreover, by 1912, the balance of migration to Tyneside had reversed signifying the point at which population growth had outstripped demand for industrial labour.288 Although outward migration was a feature of both cities after the 1970, it is important to note that this was not a new phenomenon in Newcastle. From this brief overview we can conclude that whilst both Malmö and Newcastle experienced difficulties relating to rapid population growth during the later nineteenth century, the restricted quantity and quality of housing in Newcastle, combined with the earlier experience of economic decline, endowed the city with a more complex physical and social legacy for the population to contend with in the twentieth century.289

The analysis of the years after 1945 begins by looking at birth rates in both cities, and relates it to the question of female labour market participation. Key assessment of social change in Malmö since 1910 identifies the period 1945-60 as a departure from an overall trend towards declining birth rates. This observation accords with fertility patterns across many European countries during the same period. Here we consider the contextual differences that underpin this trend in Malmö and Newcastle by looking at the changes in female occupation rates during this time.

Table 4.1. Newcastle286 and Malmö population 1920-91

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malmö</td>
<td>113553</td>
<td>155506</td>
<td>229248</td>
<td>233803</td>
<td>234796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>275009</td>
<td>256000</td>
<td>269678</td>
<td>277826</td>
<td>259541</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2. Birth rates in Malmö 1946-60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Live births</td>
<td>3295</td>
<td>3028</td>
<td>3180</td>
<td>3113</td>
<td>3145</td>
<td>3190</td>
<td>3302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimate</td>
<td>2949</td>
<td>2719</td>
<td>2817</td>
<td>2802</td>
<td>2786</td>
<td>2776</td>
<td>2943</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stillbirths</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Births</td>
<td>3362</td>
<td>3079</td>
<td>3231</td>
<td>3163</td>
<td>3199</td>
<td>3248</td>
<td>3351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimate</td>
<td>3009</td>
<td>2764</td>
<td>2861</td>
<td>2845</td>
<td>2833</td>
<td>2827</td>
<td>2983</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>368</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1965.

Table 4.3. Female occupations in Malmö 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Farm Worker</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Communications</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>General Services</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>12,155</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>9340</td>
<td>4796</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>43.84</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>33.69</td>
<td>17.05</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% married</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Generalplan for Malmö 1945.

Table 4.4. Female occupations by industry of work in Malmö 1960-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>33.2 %</td>
<td>15.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Communications</td>
<td>28.9 %</td>
<td>22.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector</td>
<td>21.3 %</td>
<td>49.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15.6 %</td>
<td>11.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As can be seen the high proportion of female industrial occupation prevalent early in the century was sustained until 1960. The growth in the birth rate after 1945 combined with continued labour market participation suggests that women who had children continued in employment. On the other hand, two thirds of the women employed in the city’s largest sector in 1945 were not married, and illegitimacy rates were low. Moreover, it is clear from
figure 4.5 that a significant proportion of married women with children did not work. This represents both a point of departure and a degree of continuity. The prevalence of single employed women is the continuation of a long-term trend in Malmö. The lower proportion of illegitimacy and employment rates for married women suggests that between 1945 and 1960 the economic and social environment in the city was more conducive to the ‘nuclear family’ than it had been earlier in the century.

Table 4.5. Rates of employment for married women with children under 7 in Malmö 1960

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

Source: Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1965.

Apart from fluctuations around 1960, there was a steady decline in the birth rate in Newcastle from the peak in 1950 to 1970. Between 1964 and 1977 there was a fall of 30-35%.

Between 1970 and 1990, the fertility rate in Newcastle was 58 per 1000 women, as compared to 63 per 1000 throughout England. The overall decline in fertility and the fluctuations in the early 1960s reflect national trends, which both mirror developments in Malmö and confirm many of the key conclusions of the debate concerning the European post war baby boom.

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 less direct 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 war. What needs to be emphasised is that in Newcastle
the growth of the population from 1945 to 1955 and the decline following 1961, was 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. Nonetheless, the increased fertility around 1961 in Newcastle raises a series of questions, particularly in relation to female labour market participation.

Table 4.6. Newcastle birth rates 1945-70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated Population</td>
<td>265,990</td>
<td>294,800</td>
<td>281,000</td>
<td>267,230</td>
<td>257,460</td>
<td>236,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total live Births</td>
<td>4761</td>
<td>5101</td>
<td>4720</td>
<td>4827</td>
<td>4449</td>
<td>3336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimate Boys</td>
<td>2254</td>
<td>2489</td>
<td>2267</td>
<td>2096</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimate Girls</td>
<td>2130</td>
<td>2385</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1417</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate Boys</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate Girls</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude rate per 1000</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The distribution of occupation for women in Newcastle between 1961 and 1971 can be related to the economic developments after 1945 and 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. The most noteworthy feature of the post 1960 data is the high proportion of married women in occupation in Newcastle. The increase after 1961, of married female labour market activity, is interesting when compared to Malmö where this period saw a growing number of married women occupied principally as mothers. In order to understand this difference we look briefly at national attitudes to female work and childcare during this time.
Table 4.7. Economic activity and marital status of women in Newcastle 1961-71

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

Source: Census County Economic Activity Tables Northumberland 1961.

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. In Sweden, the reforms that subsequently inaugurated the welfare state were heavily influenced by Gustav Möller, Minister for Social Affairs during Per Albin Hansson’s administration. Therefore as Esping Andersen suggests the concept of a welfare state, often attributed to William Beveridge in Britain, was present in Swedish election manifesto already in 1928.

Nevertheless, the comparison with Beveridge is useful because like the British reforms, Möller’s strategies during the thirties and forties were essentially rudimentary and signalled no significant departure from the earlier liberal tradition. 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 1941, 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. This earlier phase of similarity with British welfare reforms allows the particularity of the Swedish welfare model after the 1950s to be pinpointed. 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. Building on the expectations generated by the war, Attlee’s Labour government was responsible for implementing the most important reforms after 1945. Most notably, the National Health Service Act in 1946, the Town and County Planning Act of 1947, and the Children Act and National Assistance Act in 1948. These reforms built upon earlier Liberal and Conservative welfare legislation but provided a point of departure by introducing, for the first time, the concept of ‘universality’. This feature arguably brought British welfare reforms closer to continental models than had hitherto been the case.

After 1979, hostility towards welfare augmentation led to comprehensive reappraisal of the immediate post war era. For the Left, this provided an opportunity to bring to light the limits of Beveridge’s socialist outlook. 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 political and social stability rather than provide a serious challenge to capital. The political developments of the 1950s provide Esping Andersen with evidence that the Swedish Social Democrats diverged from the Anglo-Saxon model because they were able to integrate the institutions of the welfare state which continued to be residual in Britain. The key to these developments in Sweden was the pension reform that comprised of a new second tier earnings related pension scheme designed to win support from the new and independently unionised middle classes.

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 Myrdal’s family policy, as it does to the ‘People’s Home’ strategy. The Myrdals 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 the en-
couragement of reproduction that would 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 realignment in social democratic politics away 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 formulated to realise this utopian social vision were particularly apparent in the housing provision of this period. The spacious kitchens and ample washing facilitates, were not simply a benign reflection of improvements in the construction process, but also part of encouraging increased personal and social hygiene. Hirdman’s work has undeniably provided a point of departure for subsequent criticism of what is often regarded as an overly authoritarian welfare state.

Alva Myrdal has also become associated with her emphasis on women’s sequential roles, first as mothers and secondly as workers. Feminist perspectives have emphasised that legislation prompted by the Myrdals’ investigations reinforced a patriarchal model of social democracy in which the burden of the historic compromise was borne out primarily by women. Whilst acknowledging the gender bias of family policy, the most striking difference between the two countries’ welfare legislation after 1945 is still that the Swedish 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. We can see the results of this national difference quite clearly in welfare provision in Malmö and Newcastle. Although British women’s groups campaigned extensively for nursery provision during the 1950s, in Malmö and Newcastle the disparities between municipal provision of child-care facilities after 1945 remain striking.
Table 4.8. Industry of occupation and marital status of women in Newcastle 1961-71

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

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

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. These nurseries, moreover, were not intended to facilitate mothers’ sequential roles, but simply to provide a safety net in cases where domestic care was deemed to be inadequate. 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 [emphasis added].

In other words, this service was not intended to offer choice. Ne-
vertheless, the figures in table 4.7 demonstrate that by the early 1960s, married women with children were increasingly working, notwithstanding the absence of a comprehensive system of public day-care provision. It is likely that children in these families were cared for by extended family networks, building on the continuity of strong informal female networks in this sphere.

This can be contrasted to Malmö, where the municipal provision of day-care facilities was extended 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 that prevailed in the ‘Swedish Kindergarten’ system. By 1970, Malmö had 37 municipal day-centres with over 2000 places, which had risen to 53 by 1974 with over 3000 places. 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. Taken in conjunction with the steady increase in the number of municipal day-centres in Malmö, it is clear that the influence of ‘family policy’ was thoroughgoing and characterised by a level of integration in other policy areas such as housing and labour market strategies that was absent from Newcastle. Here we can see clearly how national policy filtered down to the local level: in Newcastle ad hoc provision of childcare by the local authority after 1945 reflects the absence of an equally thoroughgoing concept of family policy at the national level.

To conclude, the aberration that the proportion of married mothers not working represents in Malmö, could be seen to confirm the feminist critique of the patriarchal bias of Swedish wel-
farism. But 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 increased 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. Compared to Newcastle, Malmö’s experience suggests that state emphasis on the nuclear family did not inhibit labour market participation in the longer term. This can be contrasted to Newcastle, where day-care facilities were generally regarded as emergency facilities for 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 clear evidence for women’s growing participation in the labour market. 310 We have seen how this bears out differences in national family strategy, and this observation will now be considered alongside local changes in occupational status amongst men.

Both cities have working-class histories closely associated with the manufacturing economies that Malmö and Newcastle sustained. The resulting male culture of work has been seen as leading to the dominance of male over female official spheres of interest. In Malmö institutions such as the People’s Park allegedly symbolised male working-class respectability, the counterpart of which was the Swedish housewife. 311 Similarly in Newcastle, the representation of working-class interests in the labour movement institutions is said to have reflected a dominant male sphere of work. 312 This study of the post 1945 period takes such perspectives into consideration when noting that, with the exception of female employment in the textiles industry in Malmö, men in both cities dominated shipbuilding and heavy engineering employment. What then has the transition to a post-industrial economy implied for this predominance of male employment in heavy manufacture?

In Malmö, the post war period saw the numerical dominance of the manual working-class diminish, with the proportion of skil-
led operatives declining most significantly during the 1970s. 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 11% of men. Newcastle’s figures are particularly interesting because the 1960s are synonymous with an increase in the percentage of males classified as ‘skilled manuals’ coinciding with an overall increase in the proportion of non-manual occupations. The short term increase in skilled manuals reinforces the observation that technological underdevelopment of the manufacturing sector had a real impact on the labour market. Skilled labour was clearly perceived to be a valued asset in the economic circumstances of the 1960s.

Table 4.9. Summary of occupations for men in Newcastle 1960-75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional Managerial</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Non Manual</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Non Manual</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled and unskilled manual</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Manual</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Therefore, although the balance of employment shifted away from manual employment in both cities, in Malmö this was accompanied by a greater degree of labour process change and this was also a feature for female manufacturing employment. Moreover, in Malmö the decline in demand for skilled labour occurred as the industrial economy was reaching its peak, and cannot be seen to have represented ‘decline’ as such, rather it reflected the evolution of a different phase of manufacturing employment. This disparity helps to explain why there was greater anxiety that female service sector employment would undermine traditional male employment in Newcastle. The comparison of population changes reinforces the observation that there was continued stimulus to
both the culture and reality of male skilled manual work as late as the 1970s in Newcastle.

Fluctuations in occupational structure also need to be viewed against the changes in the resident population in this period. Both Malmö and Newcastle experienced considerable demographic contraction after 1945, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s. In Malmö 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 and 1970.315 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 1975.316 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.317

It is worth examining in detail the dynamics of both the resident population and those who moved in order to ascertain the significance compared 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 1980s.318 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 income groups.
Table 4.10. Age and socio-economic status of emigrants from Newcastle in 1966

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

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

Alongside this general movement from Newcastle important changes 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 earlier in this book, were experiencing the most dramatic population losses.

Table 4.11. Wards with significant increases and decreases in population, Newcastle 1960-75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East City</td>
<td>18,795</td>
<td>6,548</td>
<td>4,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West City</td>
<td>17,418</td>
<td>10,835</td>
<td>9,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elswick</td>
<td>12,155</td>
<td>9,172</td>
<td>10,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westerhope</td>
<td>5,443</td>
<td>10,155</td>
<td>12,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denton</td>
<td>6,549</td>
<td>12,123</td>
<td>12,629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosforth 1</td>
<td>14,782</td>
<td>13,501</td>
<td>12,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosforth 2</td>
<td>11,385</td>
<td>12,645</td>
<td>12,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotswood</td>
<td>14,360</td>
<td>12,455</td>
<td>11,953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The concentrated loss of population observed in wards such as East City and West City also reflected the slum clearance programmes.
in Cruddas Park during the 1960s and in Byker in the 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, followed by a rapid phase of housing construction. During the 1950s and 1960s, the city was also able to ameliorate the expanding population by incorporating many surrounding municipalities. It is also important to note that the population growth of the immediate post war years occurred alongside expansion in the city’s manufacturing sector, specifically at the city’s shipyard. Indeed, this economic growth outpaced demographic expansion and despite continuous inward migration from Skåne, Kockums was experiencing problems with labour shortages by the 1940s. Subsequently the company embarked on a programme of international labour recruitment, which considerably enhanced the proportion of the city’s immigrant population during the 1950s and 1960s. Many of the Kockums 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.319

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 characteristics 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 came to Malmö during the 1940s.320 Between 1940 and 1946 the number of families and households that were members of Jewish congregations increased from 408 to 863. It has been suggested that many of these immigrants integrated quickly because work was abundant, but also because the northern European refugees often shared the expe-
rience of the social democratic movement and received practical support from prominent members of the Social Democratic Party in Malmö.\textsuperscript{321}

Table 4.12. Distribution of Jewish community in Newcastle 1948-83

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gosforth/Kenton</th>
<th>Jesmond</th>
<th>West End</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lewis Olsover, \textit{The Size and Structure of the Jewish Community in Newcastle upon Tyne}, Newcastle 1981, Table 4.

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 at 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.\textsuperscript{322} Newcastle’s Jewish population grew rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century, with increased 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.\textsuperscript{323} Although the western areas retained a significant minority of Jewish residents, the spatial distribution of the Jewish community mirrors Newcastle’s as a whole in this period.

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.\textsuperscript{324}
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.\textsuperscript{325} 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%, took place during the 1990s.\textsuperscript{326}

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. For the comparison we can conclude that the occupational status of men changed in Malmö during the 1960s at the same time as a new population was arriving, often having been recruited to facilitate this change. This bears out the suggestion that immigrant workers were crucial to the evolution of the phase of Keynesianism that was dependent upon mass production to finance the social provision which took place during the 1960s and 1970s.\textsuperscript{327} By contrast in Newcastle the longer prevalence of male skilled labour co-existed with unusually high levels of continuity in social structure, due to the combined impact of outward migration amongst the young and socially mobile, and the absence of similar immigration from abroad.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Citizens born outside Sweden resident in Malmö 1910-80}
\begin{tabular}{lcccc}
\hline
\hline
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 \% & 13 \% \\
Total & 100 \% & 100 \% & 100 \% & 100 \% & 100 \% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Source: Ohlsson, 1994, Figure 13, p. 44.
Despite constant demographic expansion until 1960, Malmö lost 5% of its population between 1971-1983. Demographic assessment of this period reveals that it was primarily individuals who were born during Malmö’s 1940s ‘baby-boom’ that 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. This may have been motivated in the first instance by a shortage of houses attractive to these people, many of whom had young families. Whilst Malmö built no detached houses – or ‘villas’ in Swedish nomenclature – between 1966 and 1974 there was a rapid increase in such houses built by smaller authorities throughout Skåne. Given that this movement from the city was not synonymous with rising unemployment, the early 1970s were also characterised by a rapid increase in the levels of commuting. 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 large-scale construction of apartments and inner city slum clearance programmes.

Before embarking on the final theme addressed by this chapter, it might be useful to reflect upon what the comparison of selected population changes in Malmö and Newcastle has established. When considering demographic change it is clear that a more mature urban development in Britain accounts for many of the differences that we have observed in Malmö and Newcastle during the twentieth century. Clearly Malmö’s development after 1945 could have been compared 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. Therefore when comparing both cities after 1945, this constitutes a very different phase of economic and social development. But by looking at other developments, where similarities are apparent, it has been possible to synthesise some elements of social change in the later twentieth century. The shared experience of declining birth and mortality rates allowed the comparison to illustrate the importance of national differences in areas such as family policy. Moreover, the differences do not pre-
clude comparison, but allow new perspectives on local peculiarities to be generated. In the comparative perspective the prevalence of skilled labour in Newcastle can be related to differences in population structure in both cities. In Malmö, labour process rationalisation was accompanied by the arrival of a new population, whereas in Newcastle the reverse was the case. Moreover, it was not simply the absence of similar levels of immigration that was striking, but also the fact that the city lost many young inhabitants. Latterly this problem also affected Malmö, which once again reiterates the difference in timing in the transition to post-industrial society. Having said that, Newcastle’s characterisation as a culturally and socially homogeneous city can be challenged by the very recent and growing number of immigrants, many from former Communist states. This development is too contemporary to be critically evaluated here, but nonetheless it suggests that the epochal character of the growth and fall out from industrial society is being reversed. In the transition to post-industrial society, it would appear that cities such as Malmö with a younger industrial legacy, paradoxically, have a more mature experience of multi-cultural society to draw upon than many of the older British cities.

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 western districts increasingly provided the focus for investigations into the combined problems of joblessness, benefit dependency and general material deprivation by the 1980s. This area continued to attract attention from the local authority in the form of various initiatives designed to combat these difficulties and from academics concerned with questions such as social segregation and exclusion. Before introducing the local comparative perspective it is worth bearing in mind 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. This early focus upon poverty in an urban setting does not have a counterpart in Swedish historiography, partly due to the later development of urban society. But Swedish sociologists
have attributed these differences to national cultural particularities apparent in the lexicon of distribution and welfare:

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 (bestaanszekerheid) 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'. Therborn attributes an emphasis on equality in the Swedish discourse to the "radicalisation -cum-political success of Swedish social democracy", but also speculates that it may have its "ancestral base in a free peasant society". The polarisation between the 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Nordic' distributive discourses since the 1960s is probably accurate, but it remains important to note that an earlier comparative perspective of welfare developments would generate important parallels. As we have seen, during the 1940s the writings of the Myrdals influenced the evolution of both British and European concepts of welfare.

Although the urban experience of poverty may have been less intense in Sweden than in many British cities, the quality of life in Sweden’s major cities has been the focus of academic and political debate since 1945. During the 1960s, the emergence of 'inner city slums' is said to have influenced the Swedish government’s decision to build a million new houses in ten years. 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, with socio-economic, ethnic and spatial dimensions. Such concerns were not confined to Sweden. During the 1970s fears about new forms of poverty in France generated the expression 'social exclusion', which referred to a situation in which significant sections of
the population were living apart from mainstream society. Twenty years later the debate about poverty and late modernity was mobilised by the successive election of social democratic governments in Western Europe. Britain led the way in a debate which saw concerted efforts aimed at tackling social exclusion. The British 'Social Exclusion Unit' was launched in 1997 by the newly elected Labour Government. The concerns that underpinned these initiatives during the 1990s were influenced by the experience of the previous two decades, which had seen many British cities, including Newcastle, erupting in violence. In the wider attempts to understand these events, commentators with a high media profile started characterising these cities as places of danger, or more specifically, male danger. At the same time there was rising concern over growing divisions at the national level, or more specifically between the affluent south and 'relatively', impoverished north. Concern that areas of cities, and even entire cities, were becoming further stigmatised by analyses that were often one-dimensional in their understanding of these problems, national governments and the European Commission called for more nuanced, multi-dimensional strategies to promote 'social inclusion'.

In the many official reports and analysis that this ongoing debate has stimulated parts of both Malmö and Newcastle have been characterised as either having experienced or currently experiencing social exclusion. In this concluding section two areas often labelled as excluded are considered against the backdrop of the broader social changes in both cities since 1945. Rosengård is 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 and 1972 and is Malmö’s youngest suburb. It is therefore significant to note that the city’s older industrial quarters, such as ”Södra innerstaden”, have experienced neither the levels of stigmatisation or unemployment that have characterised the 'West End' and Rosengård. By the late 1990s Rosengård contained Malmö’s highest concentration of ethnic minorities: in 1999 74% of its inhabitants had a ”non-Swedish background”.
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. Moreover, whilst the concentration of high-rise apartment blocks in Rosengård is not paralleled in any part of Newcastle, areas like Cruddas Park in West City were built to house at least 2000 residents exclusively in public sector high-rise blocks of flats after 1961. Most significantly, both Rosengård and Newcastle’s West End have been subject to a level of stigmatisation in both the local and national media.

**Fig. 4.1. Ward map of Malmö**

![Ward map of Malmö](image)


Both these areas suffered negative stereotyping in part due to the experience of particularly high levels of unemployment. But unemployment was not confined to the late twentieth century in Newcastle’s riverside districts. Indeed the ‘West End’ demonstrates the need for historical awareness of phenomena such as ‘social exclusion’, which can lead to the assumption that a previous era was socially inclusive due to the existence of industrial employment. The ‘West End’ suffered from severe overcrowding in the late nineteenth century particularly when Armstrong’s empire grew most rapidly. By 1905, the parishes of Benwell and Elswick 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. After the Second World War, the concentration of poverty, poor health and unemployment provided the focus for further social research. 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.

**Fig. 4.2. Ward map of Newcastle**

The tendency towards severe unemployment in Newcastle’s western riverside wards was acknowledged by the City Council already by the early 1960s. In an otherwise buoyant prognosis of economic developments in the city centre service sector, the council conceded in the *1963 Development Plan*, that ”the Western parts, north of the Scotswood Road, are almost devoid of employment”. 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, the latter figure three times the national average. It is crucial to note that these areas of Newcastle which have been 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.³⁴⁴

Rosengård has similarly sustained Malmö’s highest levels of unemployment, which official statistics put at a conservative 10%, whereas others have produced figures nearer 50%. This discrepancy is due to the fact that many of the newest immigrants did not qualify to be registered at the employment office. In Rosengård, 32% of the population between the ages of 20-64 are economically active, as compared to a 63% city average.³⁴⁵ 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%.³⁴⁶

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’.³⁴⁷ Such pronounced levels of criminal activity have not been a feature of Malmö’s areas that sustain high unemployment.³⁴⁸ 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 elsewhere in the city.³⁴⁹ According to a report commissioned by the City Council the dramatic increase in criminality was attributable to Newcastle’s best known criminal families, who had 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”.³⁵⁰ This degree of exclusion, resulting in one or more districts becoming entirely dominated by a seemingly very powerful criminal fraternity, ”with their own society and their own rules”, had no parallel in Malmö during the 1990s. 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 … There are children of fifteen to sixteen 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.351

In Mikael Stigendal’s concluding pages of a comparison of the West End and Malmö’s ‘equivalent’ areas, he offers a warning remark to future policy makers in the Swedish city, suggesting that whilst the consequences of unemployment have not been as severe in Malmö, this could simply be a matter of time.352 Given the historical perspective of differences in social structure, such a prediction is difficult to sustain. It remains hard to understate the difference which Malmö’s younger demography constitutes. Moreover, the striking difference between Newcastle’s West End and Rosengård manifested itself in much higher levels of dissatisfaction with housing in the British city. Whilst inhabitants in Rosengård may have expressed distaste for some of the more brutal aspects of the estate’s modernist forms, these areas have not been systematically vandalised. By the late 1990s there were large swathes of public and private sector housing in Newcastle which could be neither let nor sold.353 This crisis resulted in the formulation of the infamous ‘Going for Growth’ policy by the City Council, which advocated the demolition of most properties in the riverside western districts.354 In order to understand this development we need to take into account the differences in the tenure system discussed in the previous chapter. In 1991 48% of the property in Newcastle’s West End was council owned. In Rosengård, co-operative housing and housing associations form the majority of tenure, whilst owner occupation has been minimal. It is impossible to establish a causal relationship between the problems of Newcastle’s older industrialised areas and the homogeneity of the tenure system in the British city. Nevertheless, the British municipality’s ongoing desire to achieve a mix of tenure developed in these areas suggests that future visits of the Newcastle Housing Committee to Scandinavia should not be ruled out. Although it is not this book’s ambition to measure one city’s experience of the transition to post-industrial
society as a failure against the other’s success, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, based on the comparison, that the long periods of unemployment combined with a homogenous tenure system, have been to the detriment of the inhabitants of Newcastle’s western riverside districts.

**Plate 4.1 and 4.2. Abandoned properties in Riverside West, Newcastle c. 1999**

Source: Natasha Vall personal collection
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, and is recognised as a path-breaking example of culturally led regeneration. Deploying the cultural sector as a force against economic adversity is now common amongst many previously industrialised cities: in Britain Glasgow’s programme of urban regeneration won it the distinction of being nominated European City of Culture in 1990. In Liverpool, recent investment in tourism and heritage has played a part in rehabilitating a city better known for violence, militancy and industrial decline, than for its significant collection of civic art, helping to secure the title ‘European Capital of Culture’ for 2008. 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. 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, including an orchestra, an unequalled theatre and major regional drama companies.

The belief that culturally led regeneration is an essential part of the post-modern, post-industrial urban experience has invited much appraisal. For instance, Casey, Dunlop and Selwood’s pioneering study of the phenomena during the 1990s was critical of the assumption that the ’cultural sector’ could realise economic regeneration. The definition of the cultural sector adopted by this study was traditional and restricted to the performing arts, fine arts, literature, arts festivals and built heritage. This study re-
revealed the economic importance of the arts in Britain to be ambiguous, with many subsidised organisations continuing to operate at a deficit. It also pinpointed the extent of cultural centralisation in Britain with resources, audiences and expenditure concentrated in London. Such conclusions combined with the apparent tenacity of culturally led regeneration, as exemplified by the continued popularity of the 'Capital of Culture' competition is ripe for comparative historical investigation. How have the particular historical contexts European cities influenced this shared approach to regeneration? Can we discern continuities with forms of urban management and local politics that evolved after 1945, or is the growing appetite for the creative economy entirely a product of post-industrial maturity? These are some of the questions that concern us in this chapter which will also seek to understand more broadly how city cultures have been promoted, manipulated and shaped, during the twentieth century.

Investigating this process allows a fluid concept of 'culture' to be deployed, nonetheless a cue is taken from Margaret Archer who argues convincingly that the realm of 'culture' should not be seen merely as an expression of, or integral to, 'society', rather it has its own distinct set of characteristics. Only by distinguishing the 'cultural' can we account for, and indeed entertain the possibility of, cultural change. She has written that "the Cultural System" is composed of entia which stand "in logical relations to each other-the most important of which are those of consistency and contradiction", and it is in observing these areas of consistency and contradiction that we are able to discern cultural stability and change. Looking at city cultures in a cross-national perspective obviously complicates the issue further; nonetheless, Archer’s emphasis on contradiction and consistency may assist in understanding shifts in the cultural landscape in both cities after 1945. Three themes underscore this chapter, representing three distinct types of cultural activity in both cities after 1945. The first concerns what might be termed 'elite culture', and examines the role of the local authorities in supporting or promoting such cultural activity after 1945. The second theme concerns 'counter culture' and we consider the relationship of such developments during the late 1960s to local politics and to the growing political ambition to control cultural representation in both cities. The third theme concerns
football, arguably the most important aspect of popular culture in each city. In the concluding section the comparison of the elite, radical and popular cultures is brought to bear on the more recent attempts to drive forward a culturally led regeneration.

**Elite Consensus and Cultural Welfarism**

Malmö Stadsteater (Malmö City Theatre) opened in September 1944. The theatre represents an important point of departure in the social history of Malmö. This was the start of a period of intense economic and 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 15,000 tons of iron and 56,000 bags of cement it also complemented the vertically integrated local construction industry. 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. 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 *Daily Express* ran with the less complimentary headline ”Danes glimpse orchids and diamonds in Sweden on the fringe of the war”.

Whilst there was less focus on that European dimension in domestic coverage, Malmö’s new asset was nevertheless cause for some consternation amongst the nation’s cultural elite. Vilhelm Moberg saw this provincial development as a potential threat to Stockholm’s cultural superiority. Malmö’s new theatre had a larger audience capacity than the sum total of the capital’s historic theatres. Visiting the theatre after it opened one former director of the Stockholm’s Dramaten, the capital’s most prestigious theatrical establishment, was forced to remind himself that he was indeed in a provincial Swedish city. But evidence of an attempt to mount
a challenge to metropolitan cultural dominance cannot be ascertained with satisfaction here, rather it may simply have been the case 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) reflected that a booming industrial city like Malmö should naturally build cultural institutions commensurate with this expansion, but he also observed an enduring commitment to 'folk' theatre in the city. Members of Föreningen Malmö Stadsteater (Malmö City Theatre Association) had been lobbying the local authority for support since it was founded in 1924. This group favoured a municipal theatre because previous theatrical performances had been brought to Malmö by touring theatre groups whose expense was prohibitive to a large proportion of Malmö's population. Therefore this exercise in salon democracy reflects both continuity and discontinuity in cultural practice. It became synonymous with an unprecedented degree of confidence, underpinned by a growing economy, and was read as such by the national cultural elite. But the theatre was not initially conceived by the local authority, rather by a small voluntaristic association with a long standing commitment to widening participation in the arts.

A similar preoccupation with bringing the arts to a wider public can be discerned in Britain during this period. In early Swedish cultural policy, Britain had been an important source of innovation. Ruskin and William Morris were to influence Sweden’s representatives of the arts and crafts movement in Carl and Karin Larsson who provided an example for subsequent generations of Swedish cultural reformers. Cultural reformers in twentieth century Britain certainly owe a debt to anti-ornamentalists such as Morris, but it was during the Second World War and the creation of CEMA, the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, which saw the beginnings of an institutional cultural policy in Britain. Established by Lord de la Warr, (chairman of the Pilgrims Trust and secretary of the Board of Education) to boost wartime moral, CEMA was to be the forerunner of the Arts Council. The latter was established in 1946, run most memorably by Lord Keynes until the late 1940s and during Harold Wilson's Labour government by Jennie Lee. There are conflicting perspectives of this development. On the one hand critics suggest that
the elitist origins of the Arts Council were to blame for the subsequent difficulties in realising wider participation. The ’arms length’ strategy for arts funding has often been directly impugned. Described by Lord Redcliffe-Maud as the favourable substitute for the nineteenth century private patron, arts funding adopted the system of resource distribution from the university funding arrangements, whereby an un-elected body of men, appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, advised the government how to vote, ’without strings’, on the distribution of money. Drawing on Raymond Williams, critics have suggested that this compromise made the Arts Council vulnerable to coercion and the purveyor of elite cultural ascendancy. Quite a different position can be found in more recent work on the British Art Centre Movement, in which the elitism of institutions like the Arts Council is of little relevance to the failure to entice the British public to visit art galleries after the Second World War. This is explained instead in terms of the disappearance of an audience which had existed for such things during the war, partly due to the recommencement of preferred forms of entertainment such as cinema after 1945.

the only way reformers could have succeeded was to halt consumer choice. This could have been done by nationalising culture on a soviet scale … Such a move was advocated by the communist party and at times by J. B. Priestley in moments of despair at the banality of British theatre in the early post war period.

Analysis of Swedish cultural policy, which was not institutionalised prior to the creation of National Council for Cultural Affairs in 1974, suggest that reformers found it difficult to realise their ambition to shape a better social environment by disseminating ’good’, ’high quality’ cultural experiences. This was not because such institutions carried an elite cultural inheritance, but, drawing on Bourdieu, because the dissemination of legitimate culture could only reproduce existing inequalities. Whilst institutionalised later than in Britain, the same pan-European optimism regarding citizen and community building, which characterised post-war Britain and underpinned the formation of the Arts Council, also prevailed in Sweden. Here leading Social Democrats also argued that whilst good standards of welfare were being attained, this ought to be equalled in cultural terms, in order to avoid the
emergence of a 'cultural lag'. Malmö provides an early example of this development. As we have seen, Malmö’s first municipal theatre, funded by the social democratic local council, opened in September 1944. The international acclaim brought a London journalist to report on the official launch. Despite Young’s misgivings, his presence in Malmö acknowledged that the cultural provision in cities like this probably surpassed the achievements of CEMA in Britain.

In the spring of 1946, delegates of statutory and voluntary organisations interested in the arts gathered at the Royal Station Hotel in Newcastle to listen to the inaugural address of the first Arts Council North Regional Conference by Mary Glasgow, Secretary-General to the Arts Council and a native of Newcastle upon Tyne. The conference delegates then made their way to the North Regional Offices in Bessy Surtees House on Newcastle’s Quayside for the main part of the conference. Covering a range of issues pivotal to British cultural policy after the Second World War, including housing the arts, art in schools, music and the importance of art to "the man in the back street", representatives were primarily drawn from curators, librarians and directors of major museums, but industrial representatives of companies such as Reyrolle and Co., and Parsons, the turbine manufacturers, were also present.

The influence of Glasgow, in driving forward popularising initiatives such as the Art Centre Movement, which her director Lord Keynes remained deeply circumspect about, has been well documented. At the same time, at the Newcastle conference, her continued commitment to Keynes’s dictum that "Every part of England be merry in its own way", was reflected in the distinction she made between the work of a Government Department and the Arts Council, "not bound to distribute its work evenly throughout the country; it wanted to work in an unequal way-to be free to build wherever there were signs of a firm foundation". Applied to the ambition to stimulate interest in art in the community this philosophy elicited the somewhat awkward compromise during the conference discussion that: "Everyone had the right to enjoy what he liked and those who wanted a better type of art must try to induce the Man in the Back Street also to want something better". Helen Munro, Arts Council regional director for the North
of England gave positive feedback from her region, describing feverish efforts by members of the Teesside Arts Guild, also present at the conference, to promote their activities in the face of competition from newly established art centres in the area.\textsuperscript{378}

The post-war years represented a break with both the voluntaristic tradition of cultural improvement, and the private, often with a bohemian imprint, patronage of the arts during the inter-war years. Glasgow made little secret of her disdain for the nineteenth century Victorian cultural inheritance.\textsuperscript{379} Her ambition for broader participation in arts patronage was realised following the 1948 Local Government Act, which gave local authorities $\frac{1}{18}$ of a penny rate for culture. In Newcastle this prompted the decision by the local authority to form a committee in 1950 to encourage cultural activities in the city. It is important here to bear in mind the following striking contrast: in Malmö the ambitions of Sandro Malmqvist were supported by a local government that could levy 80\% of all tax income. By comparison Britain devolved some responsibility for culture to the local level after the 1948 act, but other areas which were central to the issue of housing the arts, such as planning, were removed from the local arena.\textsuperscript{380} Nonetheless, in Newcastle, the Special Committee for the Encouragement of Cultural Activities took its cue from the Arts Council in emphasising that it would not promote entertainment but support "musical, artistic and cultural activities".\textsuperscript{381} Despite being couched in the language of citizenship and participation, the new cultural politicians and arts bureaucrats in Newcastle appear to confirm the wider perspective of British and European cultural policy as impervious to the nuances of folk and popular culture after the Second World War.\textsuperscript{382}

But reading this as an overbearing imposition of official culture is complicated in Newcastle where efforts to support musical activity were hampered by the absence of that most legitimate cultural institution, the symphony orchestra. Michael Hall, a northeasterner who had been studying music in London, returned in 1956 full of determination to supply the North East with its own orchestra. His letter to Newcastle Council’s Special Committee for the Encouragement of Cultural Activities, soliciting help with establishing an orchestra was taken seriously and extended an ongoing discussion of culture in the city to arts subsidy in the re-
Elsewhere in the country, Arts Council efforts to improve popular sensibilities had by this time foundered in the face of changing consumer behaviour and taste, but in North East England this tradition endured thanks to institutional developments leading to the creation of Britain’s first regional arts council in 1961. In 1960 Councillor E.J. Fletcher, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, Chairman of the Labour Party in Newcastle during the 1950s, and the Labour M.P. for Darlington after 1964, submitted a memorandum on “the case for a regional arts council” to the Newcastle Committee for the Encouragement of Cultural Activities. Tyneside was proposed as the initial area for the arts council, and shortly afterwards collaboration over funding for the arts was extended to Teesside and Wearside. Northern Arts’ regional imprint quickly came to the attention of the Arts Council of Great Britain, as well as national economic planning councils. In 1964, the association was asked by the Arts Council to extend their area to coincide with the boundaries of the Northern Economic Planning Board and Council. This comprised Northumberland, Durham, North Riding and the whole of Cumberland and Westmoreland. In 1961, with Dame Flora Robson as president and Lady Crathborne and Lady Ridley, amongst the vice presidents, the association certainly appeared to provide continuity in elite steer over culture and the arts. On the other hand, as a consortium of local authorities brought together to help address the fact that the North East possessed no regional orchestra, this outstanding impediment emphasised that elite patronage of the arts in the North East had been limited. In its early years, Northern Arts representatives frequently complained about the unwillingness of local firms to endorse or support cultural activities, and comparisons were made with cities such as Liverpool where the Liverpool Philharmonic was sustained by patronage from local industrial companies.

All the same, Mary Glasgow’s fear that the middle-class dominance of cultural policy discouraged working-class participation and undermined any didactic ambitions was shared by Northern Arts whose representatives remained anxious to engage with the region’s working-class associations. Throughout the 1960s there was a debate about how best to introduce ‘artistic activities’ to Working Men’s Clubs. The largely profitless character of such
discussions and endeavours is heightened by that fact that the organisation seemed ignorant of the connections between cultural practices, such as traditional music, which it sponsored readily, and the social club circuit itself. During the early 1970s Working Men's Clubs were once again put forward as possible venues for new types of cultural activities that would help to close the gap between ”art and entertainment”. At the same time it was thought that taking art into shipyards, could help to engage the region’s working population in the organisation’s activities.\textsuperscript{389} In the enduring concern to engage with working-class culture one can detect a continuity with the didactic approach to cultural improvement, a continuity that suggests such efforts met with as little success in the 1960s as they had in the in the 1930s and 1940s.

**Cultural policy and the counter culture**

Perhaps a suitable solution to Northern Arts’ difficulties with working-class culture might have been found in the initiatives that the Swedish Social Democrats experimented with during the 1970s. A backlash against the authoritarian overtones of cultural policy during the post war years led to the creation of the Cultural Workers’ Centres. Amongst these were centres for writers, poets, painters, actors, and translators, and they were organised by the artists themselves to promote work and find employment.\textsuperscript{390} Unlike trade unions, they did not negotiate fees, but were funded by the central government through the labour market institutions. Allegedly, artist ownership and integrity was protected from both political and economic steer in these centres. Nevertheless, the tension brought by political involvement in the arts can certainly be detected in Malmö, even during the alleged radicalisation of the 1970s. During this time a host of ”free cultural groups” mounted a highly publicised occupation of a small Art Deco theatre in the city centre in protest over the new direction in local authority cultural management.

By the early 1960s Malmö and Newcastle, like many European cities, sustained a thriving *demimonde* of jazz and cafes that was allowing a bohemian world to flourish away from London and
Stockholm. Boosted by the in-migration of a young population from the regional hinterland and beyond who were free of the cultural and economic constraints imposed on their predecessors by Depression and war in Newcastle, and by the growth of a multicultural population in Malmö, this development contributed to a clear shift in the urban cultural landscape.  

Plate 5.1. Victoria protest, Malmö

In Malmö, the Victoria Theatre provided space for the explosion of youth and bohemian cultures to organise plays, film festivals, music sessions and other cultural activities, and during the late 1960s and through the 1970s, such activities flourished in the city. Malmö’s ‘free’ cultural activists were in most cases part of the city’s radical intelligentsia, artists from Forum the city’s largest art college, and musicians such as Michael Wiehe. Many of these individuals were increasingly critical of social democratic management of the city, which was perceived to be both authoritarian and paternalist. The radical slum clearance of inner city areas was particularly unpopular, but attempts to exert political steer over cultural activities was also a source of conflict, and the Victoria Theatre became a symbol for both these areas of discontent. By the 1970s the Art Deco venue that housed Victoria was in need of urgent and costly repair. The group had contacted the council
who refused to subsidise refurbishment and threatened demolition unless the administration of the theatre was subsumed by an organisation supported by the Social Democrats. Such perceived coercion by folk culture—which social democracy was seen to represent—prompted the activists to occupy the theatre in protest, and the consensual council allegedly responded by mobilising dogs and police to disperse the angry crowd.  

In Newcastle, as elsewhere, new influences such as the American Beat movement played a significant part in the development of the counter culture. In music this was typified by emergence from the local scene of bands such as the Animals that were heavily influenced by the US. Eric Burdon, the band’s lead singer, was described at one stage as Britain’s first white blues vocalist. Poetry also played a central part in the cultural ferment of 1960s Newcastle. In 1964 the modernist poet Basil Bunting wrote a letter to the local newspaper requesting support for Connie Watson and Tom Pickard who had established a poetry centre in the Morden Tower, a small room in a tower in the city’s medieval wall. By then the Tower had already attracted poets including Peter Brown, Dennis Goacher, Alexander Trocchi and Robert Creely. The following year the growing connection with American beat poets was consolidated with visits from Allen Ginsberg and Lawrence Fehrlinghetti. In Pickard’s recollection the Tower’s growing significance, as a magnet for Beat poets, was a largely ad hoc and spontaneous development

A great deal happened quickly. In six months we were communicating with a whole network of poets across the world … we knew that what was happening was expansive and inclusive. And it had deep roots. Little hubs of activity, mostly generated by the young, were erupting outside the centres of power in many disciplines.  

Like the Victoria Theatre, the Morden Tower became a significant site in counter-cultural conflict. In 1965, Tom Pickard was refused financial support from Newcastle’s Cultural Activities Committee. In this year Pickard organised poetry reading for the American poet, Allan Ginsberg, at the Morden Tower. Although Basil Bunting, who was president of Northern Arts between 1972 and 1976, was an ardent supporter of Pickard and the Morden Tower, Pickard’s growing standing as a poet was also matched by a repu-
tation, fuelled by the media, of intense antipathy towards the local authority and Newcastle councillors. His counter-cultural status 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. In 1972, a Street Theatre had been forcibly removed from outside the Civic Centre in Newcastle and a group of artists including Pickard were arrested during a free cultural festival held on Newcastle’s Town Moor.

These incidents reiterate the difficulties at the heart of cultural policy. In Malmö, social democratic politicians had specific ambitions for the Victoria Theatre, and, echoing Richard Weight, they were consequently accused of being overly authoritarian in their cultural management. Observers like Lord Redcliffe Maude who sent British Arts Council representatives to Sweden during the 1970s further impugned this approach with the, subjective, observation that the functional efficiency of the Swedish system was not even conducive to the creation of particularly interesting art. The belief that less control in the arts was better continued to influence British Arts Council policy. Added to this, the local state remained relatively emasculated in terms of resourcing a local cultural infrastructure in Newcastle. Although conflict over the control of representation roused counter-cultural responses in both cities, cultural policy was characterised by a degree of continuity in Malmö that was absent from Newcastle.

Local politics and football culture: conflict and consensus

Before analysing the more recent significance of ‘creative economies’ in both cities, we need to look at the broader question of city cultures. The comparison of cultural policy, and its impact upon theatre and poetry, tells us about the experience of a relatively small group of educated youths, as well as representatives of the cultural elite, such as theatre directors, and the attitude of politicians to the management and control of these groups. But this needs to be balanced by considering something that touched the lives of a broader and larger proportion of the population and in both cases we need look no further than football. Whilst foot-
ball became synonymous with working-class associational culture during the first half of the twentieth century, this was not how it started in either city. At the end of the nineteenth century the notion of the British 'amateur gentleman' influenced football in Sweden. As a spectator sport it was dominated 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 (Malmö Fotbolls Förening) in 1910. This was a working-class association in respect of players, spectators and directors.399 In Britain where football became a spectator sport by the 1880s, the resonance of the 'amateur gentleman' had been eclipsed by the rise of professionalism at the end of the nineteenth century. Northern clubs challenged the exclusivity of the amateur gentleman, and working men were some of the most talented players in the era of new professionalism.400 By the end of the 1880s an agreement to legalise professionalism was realised in British football, albeit under strict controls. By contrast, Swedish football did not achieve professional status until 1967.

There are many plausible explanations for the rise to ascendancy of football in Malmö and Newcastle. In this instance that the two clubs came to represent a broader local identity than any other spectator sport has often been seen as crucial to understanding the importance of football 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 politics. In 1929, Eric Persson, a prominent Social Democrat with contacts in HSB, became the association’s secretary.401 In addition, the shipyard Kockums was not simply Malmö’s most important employer, but was also a crucial source of recruitment for both players and supporters of the burgeoning football association.402 In Newcastle, prominent players were responsible for ensuring that the Club became embedded in city culture. Colin Veitch, team captain during the 1910s and 1920s, 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.403 Whilst personalities such as Veitch have enjoyed resonant loyalty amongst fans, Newcastle United’s relationship with civic politics could not be described as 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 1890s. But for much of the twentieth century, this distinguished location was the source of conflict between the football club and local authority. The site in Gallowgate is an intake from the Town Moor, legally the ”estate and herbage” of the city’s Freemen, whilst the undersoil is the property of the local authority. The 1950s inaugurated a new era of fame for the club, characterised by Jackie Milburn’s meteoric success, but tensions with the official landlords were ongoing. Between 1930 and 1950, MFF played their matches at Malmö Sports Fields, (Malmö Idrottsplats), a similarly central location and a popular site for urban sociability. In 1958 a new stadium was built for MFF, situated next to Pildammsparken, a rural site on the outskirts of the city. Whilst this effectively severed the links with city venues linked to old associational football, such as beer halls and restaurants, it strengthened the formal political associations of the nascent years. Between 1950 and 1960 the success of MFF was often seen as an affirmation of Malmö’s wider success as Sweden’s foremost industrial city.

By 1950 Malmö was widely regarded as Sweden’s premier sport city, not least because Malmö FF dominated Swedish football.
During the 1950s and early 1960s crowds in excess of 15,000 regularly attended both the home and away games. Interest in MFF’s fortunes, however, extended beyond sporting loyalties because of increased municipal involvement during this time. In turn, municipal interest in sport and leisure in Malmö was complemented by national political strategies to incorporate sport into social democratic ambitions. When prime minister Tage Ehrlander launched his “strong society” strategy during the 1960s, sport was seen as central in providing citizens with the physical and social equipment for participating in democracy. Malmö was a national example in the implementation of strategies that would promote a strong society. Significantly Malmö FF’s strength in this period did not eclipse the importance of small associations. Indeed support for small clubs was prolific, reflected in the increase in the number of sports fields in the city from five to twenty-nine and football pitches from forty-six to sixty-eight between 1960 and 1975. In 1967, Malmö City Council formed a special committee to oversee leisure and sport provision in the city, with the chief aim to endorse and resource the social function of sport.

In many respects Malmö FF’s success during the 1950s was one of several instances where the augmentation of municipal activity directly impacted upon associational life in Malmö. By contrast in Newcastle, associational football remained largely voluntaristic. But at major club level activity was increasingly 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. 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 was 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 the ‘Wembley of the North’. Mutual hostility continued through the 1960s but abated in 1971 when planning permission for extending St James’s Park was granted.
Despite continued disputes between Newcastle United’s boardroom and Newcastle City Council the fans’ 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 press, buoyed by the Club’s success, speculated on the impact the onslaught of victorious Geordies would have on the capital. In Malmö, the rise of Malmö FF in this period was 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, and that helped underscore the realisation of the club’s commercial ambitions during the twentieth century. Prior to the 1980s these commercial ambitions were a source of conflict with local politicians.

Plate 5.3. Malmö FF female team

Whilst Malmö city council did channel significant resources into sport and football, particularly during the 1960s, 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 1960s. 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 declining in significance as a spectator sport in Malmö by the 1970s. By the 1980s Malmö FF games only attracted about 3,000 spectators.\textsuperscript{412} Professionalisation in Sweden also resulted in commercialisation, but this coincided with the declining significance of traditional networks of working-class association. The consistent commercialisation of Newcastle United, particularly during the 1980s, saw this spectator sport grow in popularity. 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.

Further evidence of continued spectator support for Newcastle United is provided by the ease with which the Club was able to increase ticket prices. In 1983, the combined sale of newly priced season tickets stood at a record 9,000.\textsuperscript{413} 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. Born in Yorkshire to a Tyneside family, Keegan was soon accorded native status in Newcastle. 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 from the growing importance of the Club’s commercial activities. Between 1979 and 1983, 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 also sponsored Keegan directly. David Hogg, the Club’s commercial manager during the 1980s, commented that ”the promotional side of things has gone from being a small but important fundraising part of the club, to a situation of dependence”\textsuperscript{414} Increased commercial activities in turn need to be seen in the context of increased star wages: Keegan was paid £80,000 by Newcastle United in his first twelve months, twice as much as anyone else in the club.

The increased opportunities for female football teams in Malmö, were, by contrast, relatively absent from Newcastle. The comparative insignificance of women’s football is generic to the British game and not particular to Newcastle. By the 1980s up to 500,000 women regularly played football in Sweden and Germany as com-
pared to a mere 8,000 in Britain. As part of the Government’s Youth Training Scheme of 1983 Newcastle United provided six training places for school leavers. Amongst others, 16 year old Paul Gascoigne from Dunston was selected. The scheme was run jointly by Manpower Services Commission with the Footballers Further Education and Vocational Training Society Ltd. Initiatives for women were generated locally. In 1987, a local sport studies student 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 the Council and received financial backing from the Sports Council of Great Britain and Newcastle’s Recreation Committee. Nevertheless, there are as yet no women’s football teams in Newcastle that have achieved success on the scale of Malmö’s principal female teams.

The declining significance of football in Malmö, specifically as a spectator sport after the 1970s, was the precursor to the rapid image change, which the city underwent during the early 1990s. 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. By contrast, in the face of recession during the late 1970s, the significance of Newcastle United to the city’s ‘distinctive’, and increasingly marketable, ‘identity’ was re-enforced. Clearly, this was underscored in Newcastle by the arrival of international media coverage in the form of Sky TV. This was still absent from the Swedish game in the 1990s. 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, which can be contrasted to Newcastle where football’s rise to dominance arguably eclipsed a more diverse range of sports in the city.

The explosion of ticket sales for Newcastle FC coincided with a thawing of relations with Newcastle City Council. Following the hostility of the 1960s and early 1970s, the council conceded that, “Newcastle United is a PLC and for the council to interfere in the
By the 1980s Newcastle United’s increased commercial success became a symbol of the city’s positive attributes at a time of ailing economic fortunes. As far as the club was concerned this kind of image making could be deployed as part of the marketing strategy for Newcastle United. Kevin Keegan had toured the region’s social clubs to promote Newcastle Brown Ale as part of the Newcastle Brewery sponsorship, and this campaign cemented links between old forms of sociability, such as male drinking, and the global, media driven economics that Newcastle United represented. Following the renewal of the sponsorship deal in 1990, the new black and white beer adverts that adorned the football ground also featured throughout the city and in the local press. Whilst the return of Keegan as manager in the early 1990s undoubtedly provided ‘social cement’ for Tyneside spectators, this also needs to be seen as part of the international business strategy of both Sir John Hall, the owner of Newcastle United FC, 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”. 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. In the rebranding of Malmö’s image during the 1990s, links with associative football played a relatively insignificant part. The greater advance of commercialism in sport in Newcastle and the apparently successful transfer of football from an emblem of class to regional affiliation might lead us to conclude that Newcastle had advanced further as a post-industrial city in terms of its consumer culture.
and cultural practices. On the other hand, as the concluding section will try to demonstrate, whereas Malmö retained elements of its industrial culture in associational sport, it embraced other areas of post-industrial culture, such as the creative economy, with an alacrity and efficiency absent from Newcastle.

**Creative economies and post-industrial cities**

Following the Victoria conflict in Malmö, the municipality took serious steps towards developing a coherent strategy for 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 social democratic dilemma was provided by the dual task of supporting cultural activity without prescription. For the left-wing opposition the 'free groups' should be allowed to remain free of administration from both the local authority and from the state. A wider reassessment of the workings of local democracy was integral to this debate over local cultural policy. The problems associated with the growth of an infrastructure, equipped to legislate for even the most informal aspects of city life, were at the centre of the Victoria conflict. In the autumn of 1980, Malmö City council reopened the Victoria Theatre under the new management of Skådebanan. Skådebanan was established in 1910. It 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 was popular with Malmö’s Social Democrats. 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 the employers federation, SAF. The disbanded Victoria Committee subsequently formed ‘Huset’ an association that organised an annual people’s festival in Malmö’s Pildamspark. In 1976, this association, with its origins in the counter-culture, applied for and received support from the local authority.

In Newcastle, by contrast, the question of managing the counter-culture was addressed by the application of economic criteria.
Speaking in 1970 one Conservative councillor celebrated the absence of political steer in cultural policy and applauded the growing commercial considerations of the regional arts council.

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.\textsuperscript{425}

Once the work of the Cultural Activities Committee was subsumed by Northern Arts the motivation for the local authority to carry out its own affairs in this area was diminished. In Malmö, an awareness of the issues raised by the Victoria controversy contributed to lengthy discussions about the precise nature of the relationship between city politics and city culture, and this influenced later developments such as the administration of Malmö’s first Municipal Gallery, Malmö Konsthall. This gallery was financed by the local authority with assistance from the national government and was opened in March 1975.\textsuperscript{426} 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 previously been successful in Stockholm. In that year the gallery had 87,000 visitors, which represented a 30\% increase in attendance figures from previous years. The self-conscious attempt to provide a ‘democratic’ service continued to characterise the approach to cultural management during the early years. In 1979 the gallery developed a project called ‘Bildcirkus’, which aimed to widen the gallery’s appeal to Malmö’s younger audience, which also enlisted the support of the city’s remaining ’free’ theatrical groups.\textsuperscript{427} The commitment to traditional aims can also be seen in the work undertaken with the labour movement, with annual exhibitions and workshops provided for the city’s trade union associations on a regular basis.\textsuperscript{428}

Whilst 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 1970s and its first opera-
tional year was 1980. It was formed in response to the changing nature of leisure, influenced by growing unemployment and the decline of traditional industrial work. In its first year, the new Sports and Social Club for Scotswood in Newcastle’s ’West End’, was one of the largest projects undertaken. It was funded by monies that the Arts and Recreation Committee levied and it represented a new direction in both national legislation and urban regeneration, which emphasised the provision of effective recreational facilities within areas of ’multiple deprivation’. It is therefore interesting to note that the first self-conscious emphasis on providing cultural facilities at ward level occurred during the 1970s. By this time in Malmö there was a shift away from support for smaller cultural associations to larger cultural institutions such as the municipal gallery. In 1974, 35 voluntary associations received grants from the council, amongst them ’Huset’, the former members of the Victoria Committee. Ten years later no such cultural associations were recorded as having received or applied for grants from the local authority. Conversely, in 1991, Malmö Kommun announced its first subsidy of over two million kronor to Rooseum, the city’s newly established private art gallery.

Malmö’s emphasis on new institutions also reflects another distinction in the provision for art 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 1990s. But in order to understand further the significance of the differences articulated here we need to look to the earlier historical context in Newcastle, since the apparent absence of a cultural infrastructure built on a degree of continuity in the city. Newcastle council does have its own art gallery, the Laing, but this was gifted to the city by the Laing merchant family at the beginning of the twentieth century. This situation echoed nineteenth century developments where the city had relied upon wealthy entrepreneurs, such as Richard Grainger, to lease flagship property for artistic purposes in place of building or acquiring their own. This tradition was compounded during the twentieth century by the development of a centralised infrastructure under the auspices of the Arts Council, and by
the successive eradication of local authority resources and power, by successive central governments. Such issues need to be taken into consideration when reflecting upon recent developments in cultural regeneration.

Sune Nordgren was appointed director of Malmö Konsthall in February 1990. His aim was ambitious: Malmö was to become the 1990s art metropolis of the Nordic region. Having studied Graphics at Malmö’s Forum during the 1970s, Nordgren was firmly embedded in the city’s counter culture. He was subsequently the arts correspondent of both *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* in addition to editing one of Sweden’s most prestigious art journals. The legacy of this work in journalism was that his subsequent career as a curator has generated widespread media interest. In his vision for the Malmö gallery he drew parallels with the journalistic tradition claiming that it was always “better to take a step too far than not to take a step at all”. 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. But after his first year at the gallery it appeared that he was becoming frustrated with the cultural climate in the city. Certain political elder statesmen had publicly dismissed some of his new initiatives. When a visiting Japanese artist was commissioned by Nordgren to dig his famous holes in a city centre park, a leading Social Democrat had instructed that “this rubbish be filled in again”. For all their promise of culture and a ‘new identity’ Sune Nordgren concluded from such outbursts that it was the old masculine values of an industrial culture that continued to dominate Malmö politics “it is football that is important in this city, it is snuff under the lip”.

Despite these difficulties Sune 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 1970s, to a vibrant cultural centre in the 1990s. 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 Sune 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 committee for culture, and Sune Nordgren soon conceded that talk of an art metropolis of the Nordic region was more than just a public relations exercise in Malmö. What is more, following the defeat of the Social Democrats in the 1991 local elections the promotion of culture was continued by the ruling centre-right coalition. It is noteworthy that during the 1980s and early 1990s, undeniably turbulent years in local politics, the old 'left-right' consensus remained enduring in cultural policy.

In 1990 Malmö city spent more local authority fiscal resources on cultural provision than any other municipality in Skåne and it was the second highest in the national expenditure amongst municipalities. A large proportion of this spending subsidised the extension for the Konsthall and provided the sponsorship for the new Rooseum gallery. Representatives from the Konsthall described Malmö as the re-vitalized 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. This national initiative coincided with unprecedented input in cultural provision in the city. Critics have suggested that the promotion of large cultural institutions and the bridge was merely symptomatic of the Malmö municipal affliction, which had simply transferred its energies from large-scale industrial production to large-scale cultural production, at the expense of a more vibrant cultural life at the 'associational' level. 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 idea
of the city as a cultural capital. This represents a degree of discontinuity within continuity and is a reminder of the layered characteristics of cultural change. This also has a part to play in the nature of Malmö’s transition to post-industrial society. The emphasis on the arts and similar cultural provision did coincide with economic adversity but can be seen as a product of infrastructural continuity at both a local and national level. Scarce municipal resources in Newcastle meant that provision for the arts did not evolve in a systematic fashion and its ad hoc nature has characterised both times of prosperity as well as economic stagnation. In Newcastle the local government reorganisation of the 1970s and 1980s impeded the city’s ability to subsidise the arts still further. Between 1975 and 1987 culture, along with refuse collection and the emergency services, became subsumed by the authority of the new Tyne and Wear Metropolitan County. This further undermined city control over affairs, and representatives from Newcastle argued that neighbouring Sunderland, because of its larger population, was gaining a disproportionate amount of the resources allocated for culture. Although the Metropolitan Councils were abolished during the late 1980s, Newcastle City Council’s jurisdiction over cultural affairs was once again curtailed in 1987 with the formation of the government appointed Tyne and Wear Development Corporation to oversee regeneration. Since the promotion of culture and leisure was central to the new agencies’ approach to urban regeneration, the city’s role in this area was once again diminished. In the light of the role played by ‘arms length’ government agencies in British cultural policies since 1945, the impediments to providing a new image based on the arts in Newcastle were both historic and contemporary.

On the other hand, the proliferation of government agencies and the absence of local government control in cultural policy have not prevented ‘traditional’ cultural pursuits coming to the fore of post-industrial culture in Newcastle. Since the 1980s Newcastle re-asserted itself in the circumstances of economic adversity by transferring regional particularity from production to consumption. In this local response, older patterns of associational life and sociability, but particularly drinking, are said to have prevailed. There is not space to comment on the extensive history of that cultural tradition here and the emphasis is on the more
In neglecting to harness these 'soft infrastructural resources’ the local authority had allegedly lost one of the vital components for the successful re-emergence of the post industrial city. But 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. The government-financed agency, Tyne and Wear Development Corporation assumed responsibility for this task in 1987. The director Alistair Balls stated that the aims of the programme was 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”. This echoed Labour Councillor Jeremy Beecham’s vision of six years earlier. "The emphasis on specifically recreational provision, particularly of bars and night-clubs, was to be overwhelming.

Whilst the redevelopment of the Quayside and similar projects is usually seen as the point of departure for emergence of the 'place' entrepreneur it has been suggested that the bias towards leisure and recreational facilities reflected long-standing traditions in the city. In the face of economic adversity the city increasingly defined itself in line with the established consumer inheritance, such as football and drink, and it took some time for the idea that the cultural sector might also include such things as galleries and libraries to take hold. In 1991, at the height of Sweden’s worst recession, which saw unemployment rates in Malmö rise from 2-12%, Sune Nordgren was made the curator of Malmö's municipal art gallery. In the five years that followed it became fashionable to describe Malmö as the art metropolis of the Nordic region. But of the 250,000 visitors in the gallery’s peak years, 40% were under the age of 18. In other words, this was also part of an education initiative in the city, with echoes of the earlier cultural welfarism. What was new was the idea that context, that is the city-image of Malmö, could be changed through cultural intervention. The
apparently successful realisation of this ambition, which Sune Nordgren shared with the local authority, made him attractive to policy makers abroad, particularly in Britain.

Often perceived as Newcastle’s south-bank suburb, but in fact a separate town and municipality, Gateshead appointed Nordgren to the post of director of the flagship Baltic Art factory in 1998. Situated on the banks of the river, this project opened in 2002 and heralded the regeneration and rebirth of ‘Gateshead Quays’. Here Nordgren stated that he hoped to achieve something like the Malmö project. This included energising the local creative environment, and, more ambitiously, making important artistic statements away from Britain’s cultural centre. In this aim we could argue that he built upon ideas of other flagship projects like the New Art Gallery at Walsall where it was hoped that exciting art would be stimulated by unlikely locations. Arguably this added a new dimension to cultural policy, which now had the power to change art, as well as to improve and change society. The apparent transfer of ideas generated in Malmö, is nonetheless complicated by the fact that the leader of the Swedish local authority claimed during this time that the city was no longer represented by ”ships, cement and chocolate”, and was instead becoming synonymous with design, education and art. But neither local nor national talent was expected to realise Malmö’s style potential, and the city sought the expertise of a group of consultants from St. Martin’s Art College in London.445 From this we can conclude that Malmö’s legacy of interventionist local democracy, whilst often unpopular, endowed the city with an infrastructure equipped to capitalise upon the very latest developments in the global urban marketing of place. This underscores our earlier reflection that, with its more recent experience of industrial society, Malmö often appears to have been more adaptable to the broader challenges posed by the transition to post-industrial society.

In 2005, Newcastle and Gateshead staged an unsuccessful bid to secure the much coveted title of ‘Capital of Culture’. The critical assessment of this process has underlined that the over-reliance on property-led regeneration and the infamous Newcastle consumption and night-life experience, failed to impress the judging panel despite the presence of projects such as Baltic. The historian Bill Lancaster reflected that the bid represented an ”empty sand-
wich”, a ”top slice of grands projets and a bottom piece of 'Party City' monoculture”.446 Without an appropriate filling, comprising of a broader selection of creative institutions, anchored more firmly in urban life, the superficiality of this bid was quickly detected. It needs to be added, despite the failure, that the continued attraction of the Newcastle and Gateshead 'Quays', as sites for the consumption of both art and night-life, is largely due to the efforts made by Gateshead in this regeneration process. Unlike Newcastle, Gateshead retained control over cultural policy in the era of the Tyne and Wear Metropolitan County and the Urban Development Corporation. Baltic was part of a series of grands projets, which brought Gateshead national attention, including the public sculpture 'The Angel of the North' and the 'Sage Music Centre', the latter of which was initially destined for Newcastle. It is therefore interesting to note that, like Malmö, this autonomy allowed Gateshead to generate its own cultural infrastructure which has facilitated and underpinned the creation of these projects. The perceived success in the management of cultural affairs has been acknowledged directly by Newcastle City Council with the formation of Newcastle/Gateshead, a Committee which continues to market the culture of these two municipalities jointly. This comparison has added an historical and international dimension to this debate. As has been shown, until very recently, Newcastle, compared to Malmö, lacked both the resources and political motivation for the evolution of a comprehensive form of cultural policy.447 On the other hand, this strategic absence has arguably allowed the continuation of the city’s old industrial working-class culture, with its roots deep in the nineteenth century.
URBAN BOOSTERISM AND THE CITY-REGION*

The 'Europe of the regions' has proved an enduring and versatile metaphor. Since the passing of the European Act in 1986, it has come to represent Europe’s better know examples of regionalisation on the one hand, and the independent regional challenge to the legitimacy of the nation-state on the other. In addition, in Europe’s peripheral and poorer regions, it has become an essential ingredient in the desired transition to the ‘new economy’. In the declining industrial milieu of Newcastle and Malmö, local politicians and image makers seized upon this opportunity to re-define the cities’ status as regional capitals. Here we examine the renaissance of the regional question in Malmö and Newcastle and Skåne and North East England in historical perspective. Recent enthusiasm for the regional agenda, is not an entirely contemporary phenomenon, but was preceded in both cases by successive attempts to launch the region as the preferred economic and or political unit. The complexities and stark differences that this comparison throws up, suggests that recent similarities prevent generalisation beyond these contexts. Yet the hypothesis that regional valorisation has taken place during the twentieth century, has rarely been grounded in specific contextual examples. Much of the scholarship surrounding European regions has been couched in the language of the putative decline of national political cultures. This comparison brings an historical perspective to the claim that the weakening of the nation-state during the second half of the twentieth century has been underpinned by cohesive regional political cultures. This chapter examines three distinct period of interest in the

regional question: the early 1960s to the mid 1970s which saw the growth of urban enthusiasm for regional planning; the politics of regional protest during the 1970s and 1980s; and the emergence more recently of enthusiasm for capitals of European regions.

Civic Boosterism
In recent years city boosterism represents a specific genre of urban regeneration, common to many of Europe’s old industrial cities. This strategy is characterised by explicit attempts to market the particularity of place, and therefore represents a shift from the urban aggrandisement of the early 1960s. In the previous chapter we saw how the transition to post-industrial society in both cities prompted regeneration attempts which, despite their differences, have underlined and promoted the distinctive qualities and attractiveness of urban culture as a means of attracting resources and tourists. During the 1960s the idea that planned regions could contribute to economic regeneration drew heavily upon the visions of urban utopias generated in architecture, and which continued to be influenced by the evolutionary conceptions of city-types. In contrast to recent urban regeneration, the desired urban environment during the 1960s was a progressive celebration of the universal over the particular. In Britain and Sweden, positivist influences could certainly be discerned in the politics of planning during the early 1960s. For instance, in Sweden the progressive mindset in social democracy during the early 1960s, found expression in the desire to create efficient and cohesive regions, realised through the abolition of smaller parishes after 1962. Likewise in Britain, technocratic enthusiasm for natural regions characterised the Conservative and Labour government throughout 1960s, where the desire to create efficient city-regions spawned several attempts to rationalise the administration of local and county government. In Malmö and Newcastle, the national enthusiasm for efficient regions complemented the growing regionalist aspirations in urban politics.

While ambitions for technocratic efficiency are synonymous with strong nation-statist ideals in both countries, in southern Sweden this was also part of a trans-national ambition for a dyna-
mic city-region to be realised by the construction of a bridge between Malmö and Copenhagen. Since the late nineteenth century there had been an ongoing interest from both national governments and representatives of Malmö and Copenhagen in the idea of a fixed link between the two cities. The first official delegation in 1954 for collaboration between Malmö and Copenhagen, and Skåne and Sjælland, followed renewed interest in the construction of a bridge across the Öresund amongst both national governments and the Nordic Council. Örestad’ would merge the two city-regions, creating a cohesive and efficient territorial unit. Such a vision echoed the conviction held by British and European planners for city-regions designed to support a core urban centre that could sustain a vibrant economy and population. The idea of the city-region was further complemented in Malmö by a series of measures designed to incorporate outlying local authorities into what was to be known as the Malmö block.

It is a reflection of the prevailing optimism in Malmö that little was made of the fact that the city was clearly the diminutive partner in this cross-national project. In the run-up to the 1962 local elections, the Social Democrats in Malmö even went so far as to use the Örestad as a metaphor for successful social democracy in Malmö, already renowned for combining thrusting industrial modernity with political consensus to foster collaboration in all areas of city life. Commitment to consensus was echoed with regard to national social democratic ambitions. Prominent local Social Democrats such as S.A Johansson were staunch defenders of this new territorial project, but stressed that Örestad would complement rather than compete with national economic development. The question of Malmö’s diminutive status in a region that would contain the Danish capital was nevertheless sidelined, indeed, in certain local social democratic circles Örestad provided a platform for a less benign regionalism. For instance, the local labour movement paper, Arbetet, ran a series of articles during the late 1960s claiming that the national press had been too quick in dismissing the importance of Malmö and Skåne to this new region. Claiming that consultation across the Öresund was primarily a response to Malmö’s astonishing economic growth, these early regionalists looked outwards from a ‘peripheral’ corner of Sweden to a new future which envisaged the Örestad occupying a central position in
a cluster of dynamic continental city-regions such as Hamburg.\textsuperscript{455} As has been shown, this was undeniably a heady period of expansion for the city: between 1950 and 1970 Malmö’s industrial economy expanded at a rate that easily surpassed national averages.\textsuperscript{456} In the light rapid growth during the early 1960s, it is perhaps understandable that local Social Democrats confidently assumed Malmö could enter into the Örestad on an equal footing, and go forth in competition with similarly expansive city-regions in continental Europe.

Newcastle had less reason to be this buoyant, but if anything the language of aggrandisement was more extravagant. The ‘Brasilia of the North’ was Labour leader and regionalist impresario T. Dan Smith’s favoured expression for the city in the halcyon days of the early 1960s. But whereas Malmö continued to enjoy a position of expansion based on a strong industrial economy up to the 1970s, as has been seen, Newcastle had been presiding over a sporadically declining regional economy since 1918. Newcastle’s status as commercial centre of the region had nevertheless allowed the city to escape from the worst exigencies of industrial decline, and the national programmes for regional regeneration initiated during the late 1950s gave the city’s image-makers an opportunity to enact their visions of urban utopia.\textsuperscript{457} In 1958, a new Labour council was elected with its leader T. Dan Smith.\textsuperscript{458} As part of breaking free from the regional shackles of heavy industry Smith was determined to shape Newcastle in an image which combined the great classical city-states, such as Venice, with the modern utopian ‘Brasilia’. As we have seen, this politician also became fascinated by the housing developments and physical planning that characterised Malmö during the 1960s.\textsuperscript{459} In addition, Smith was concerned about the city’s immediate hinterland. As part of securing Newcastle’s future as a regional commercial capital, he argued that greater administrative cohesion with surrounding areas was essential and tried to promote the idea of a single unitary authority for the conurbation of Tyneside which surrounds Newcastle and follows the river Tyne to its mouth on the east coast at Tynemouth. During the 1960s, Tyneside comprised fifteen separate administrative authorities, of which Newcastle was the largest. This written statement submitted by the Labour controlled council is suggestive of T. Dan Smith’s vision of Newcastle, the modern city-state:
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.\textsuperscript{460}

These boundaries were not arbitrary and they represented the appropriation of valuable land where, amongst other things, the region’s major airport was situated. Like the proposed Örestad, ‘Newcastle on Tyneside’ was very much of its era, a city-region intended to function efficiently in line with national orthodoxy in economic planning, but as in Malmö, it also provided an outlet for aggrandisement in the city. Newcastle’s protagonists argued that their proposal would treat the river Tyne as a ”unifying link-a spine for the whole area, rather than a division”, echoing the arguments deployed in favour of unifying the territory either side of the Öresund in Malmö.\textsuperscript{461} In his book on the ‘new regionalism’ Michael Keating contends that ”territorial politics has always been present and has never fitted easily into the procrustean bed of the nation-state”.\textsuperscript{462} But here the local comparison can provide crucial texture for such generalisations: in both cases the regionalism expressed in local labour politics during the 1960s complemented state-led ambitions for efficiently planned regions.

Although these shared visions were eclipsed by the growing economic uncertainties of the 1970s, it remains important to note that this was not the first time efforts to bring together the regional authorities in the North East had been thwarted. 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, and rationalise the inefficiency caused by so many competing local authorities. The discussion of the area which would incorporate the fifteen authorities to the north and south of the Tyne, were frustrated at an early stage by geographical political rivalries. Within the region, this prospect was unpalatable to the mercantilist Conservatives on Tyneside and the aristocratic Northumberland Tories as it was perceived to be a Labour driven agenda.\textsuperscript{463} Outside the region, Conservative central government found the prospect threatening given that the combined Labour majority in County Durham, Tyneside and within the Northumberland mining communities
would constitute a powerful left wing force. In the North East, the spatial manifestation of national political divisions has arguably inhibited the creation of a regional administrative unit since the late 1930s. But by the 1960s, with a technocratic national Labour government supporting Smith’s arguments for a unified Tyneside, the most strident divisions were within Tyneside, and more often than not, these were most hostile within the regional Labour group. Here parallels could be drawn with the opposition to the later abolition of the smaller parishes in Sweden, differing in one important respect: in Sweden there was no similar fear that larger authorities could pose a threat to the national political majority, and opposition was expressed primarily amongst the smaller parishes.

Despite these national differences, it remains interesting that the regional vision of social democratic politicians in both cities shared an enthusiasm for planning initiatives that sought to integrate, or complement, the national economy. This expansive mind-set nevertheless also confirms a conception of regionalism, loosely defined as the marriage of a concept of territory (often between the locality and state) and certain political goals. In Malmö and Newcastle, there were spatial ambitions within the celebration of political and economic buoyancy during the early 1960s, but neither had separatist intentions, and did not seek to exploit notions of historical uniqueness to legitimate expansion. Instead, this was a question of new boundaries for new futures that complemented the eradication of the past expressed elsewhere in infrastructural strategies, most notably the highly contentious slum clearance of older communities. During the early 1960s this amounted to a fortuitous appropriation of national, and with Örestad international, technocratic planning initiatives by forceful local politicians rather than the awakening of an autonomous regional politics. The power of individuals in the social construction of the regional agenda is perhaps most clearly illustrated in Newcastle, where it subsequently emerged that T. Dan Smith was an often isolated figure in the pursuit of the regionalist agenda at the local level.
The 1970s and the politics of regionalist protest

In contrast to the earlier urban aggrandisement, the regionalism that emerged during 1970s was driven by protest, and furthermore, it was initiated in the region rather than the city. At the same time both cities’ connection with their regions was redefined in the circumstances of economic contraction. Industrial decline, which was more protracted in Newcastle, challenged the functional assumption that regional capitals could be sustained by the centrifugal pull of urban economic activity. The earlier vision of the ‘city-region’ supporting a large population based on the services it provided and its ability to generate work was eroded in the face of dramatic de-population after 1970. Malmö lost 5% of its population after 1971 following the green wave of suburbanisation driven by the baby-boomers. Admittedly this loss preceded industrial decline but, as we have seen, it had severe repercussions for the urban financial situation. This was compounded by rising unemployment amongst the existing population by the 1980s. Newcastle similarly lost 5% of its inhabitants between 1970 and 1975. This population decline continued during the 1980s when the city suffered further population decreases. In Newcastle this was also part of a comparable aesthetic suburbanisation, but economic factors were equally significant: outward migration was concentrated amongst the economically active but also dominated the city’s riverside wards where the heavy industries had been located. Paradoxically, this contraction of the urban population coincided with the realisation of the earlier plans for the expansion of the cities’ administrative boundaries; similarly Malmö had by this time incorporated several surrounding authorities.

This combination of urban de-population and administrative expansion coincided with the first genuine politicisation of the regional agenda in Skåne and in North East England. Unlike Malmö and Newcastle, Skåne and the North East have very different histories that are not apparently comparable. During the later twentieth centuries these distinct contexts nevertheless gave rise to regionalism which drew upon their territories’ particular histories to illustrate the inadequacy of current administrative arrangements. In Malmö this regionalism was expressed in the Skåne movement,
and subsequently Party between 1976 and 1985 and in Newcastle with the Campaign For the North (CFN) in the early 1970s and more recently the Campaign for a Northern Assembly (CNA).

The Skåne Party was formed in 1979, and managed to gain 7.2% of the vote during the 1985 local elections in Malmö. This helped to bring about an unprecedented defeat of the Social Democrats after sixty-six years, and has been related to the rise in new political parties throughout the Scandinavian countries after 1970 that objected to the established party inheritance. Like many of the factional parties that emerged to challenge the traditional party structure in several Nordic and Scandinavian countries during the 1970s, the Skåne Party was essentially a "one man band" represented by Carl Herslow, the proprietor of a local taxi firm, who started publishing the party’s independent paper, *Skånekuriren*, from his business premises in 1977. Before using the radio as a vehicle for political broadcasting, *Skånekuriren* provided a forum for disseminating the movement’s ideas. The paper consistently attacked the over-bearing social democratic state and its favoured targets were the over-regulation of alcohol, tourism and the media. The territorial agenda was used primarily as a vehicle to galvanise support for these issues at a local level, particularly once Herslow recognised that a national mandate was beyond reach. Skåne nevertheless proved a useful site for such instrumental regionalism. The movement was able to argue that the region’s particular history had little in common with national, or rather, social democratic norms. To this end the Danish legacy was exploited readily; in one issue the entire 1658 Roskilde Treaty was published in conjunction with an article claiming that the Skåne flag predated both the Swedish and Danish flags by two hundred years. But more often than not, the Danish inheritance was recalled to bolster the campaign for de-regulation of alcohol distribution in Skåne, on the grounds that since the end of the nineteenth the Swedish temperance movement had circumscribed Skåne’s particularity to national norms of temperance and restraint.

Despite such rallying campaigning Herslow and other members of the party had failed to galvanise widespread support for the movement before to the 1985 election campaign. According to their own calculations there were 3,000 members in February 1978, although it later became clear that no more than 300 ever subscri-
bed to *Skånekuriren*, and sales of loose copies were slow. Herslow himself also admitted that he had lost 50,000 Swedish crowns in the production of the paper. Nevertheless, they had managed to attract several high-profile supporters including members of the academic community in Lund and prominent Conservative councillors from Malmö.

The Skåne Party was formally established in March 1979 and its program published in the regional newspapers. Initially the territorial agenda was moderate and echoed central government recommendations. Skåne needed a ”provincial government”, one administrative unit to replace the two district councils, three county councils, with the added ambition to abolish Malmö’s status as a separate authority. However, in the run up to the 1985 local elections the regionalist element of the agenda was couched in the language of separatism, in line with a now extreme criticism of the ”Swedish system”. In 1983, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* published one of the party’s advertisements claiming that the recent ballot on nuclear power, in which only 27% of the region’s population had supported the government, signified widespread disaffection with the Social Democrats at both a national and local level, and vindicated the Skåne Party’s position:

> 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.

The combination of an increasingly ambitious territorial agenda with the more radical criticisms, and the use of the local radio station as the party’s ”self appointed folk tribunal” proved successful enough to gain 7% of the vote in the 1985 local elections. Following the initial shock of losing control for the first time in 66 years, Social Democrat Lars Enqvist admitted that this maverick (Herslow) had been sorely underestimated: ”when he stood in Möllevången Square, doling out his free Skåne liquor, most people..."
had smiled wryly at this sideswipe at Stockholm’s authority”.\textsuperscript{476} Herslow, it would appear, had managed to tap into territorial loyalty, if by default, making his more extreme policies difficult to criticise.

An important feature of the Skåne Party’s regionalism in the comparative context was that it also sought to detract from Malmö’s status as regional capital. Indeed, Herslow claimed that far from being the region’s ’natural’ centre, Malmö was merely the capital due to the over-bearing and historic hegemony that the Social Democrats managed to exert over the region. The party even endorsed the idea that a new regional capital be created somewhere near Ringsjön, the geographical centre of Skåne.\textsuperscript{477} While by no means widely supported, this suggestion and the criticism directed toward Malmö acknowledged that the region had, and indeed needed, a central node. In an interview for \textit{Skånekuriren} in 1978, Conservative councillor from Malmö, Joakim Ollén, admitted that the movement was untenable with separatist intentions, but that he favoured securing more autonomy for Skåne with the support of national government.\textsuperscript{478} Ollén also supported the creation of a single authority to replace existing district and county boundaries for Skåne and, predictably, concurred that Malmö should relinquish its status as a separate authority.

Not surprisingly, the rise of the Skåne Party and the election defeat of 1985 have come to be associated with the changing fortunes of social democracy in Malmö. The late 1980s and early 1990s are also recognised as the most turbulent years for the city’s economy with the severe decline of some of the city’s most important industrial companies such as Kockums and unemployment rising to an unprecedented 12\% during 1991. The Social Democrats were back in power in 1988, but lost the 1991 election; such rapid political change was similarly unprecedented in a city used to the continuity of the post war years. During the late 1980s, the regional agenda also resurfaced in politics, however, this time the initiative came from national government. In 1991, the Swedish government led by the Conservatives under Carl Bildt reached an agreement with their Danish counterparts to build the Öresund fixed link. The Skåne Party exhibited the same opportunism in relation to this development as they had the regionalist agenda, aligning themselves initially with the local Communist, Left and
Green parties in protests over the environmental risks, whilst maintaining contrarily that the bridge was an important means in bringing Skåne closer to the continent. However, in the ensuing politics of international region building, the Skåne Party’s desire for regional autonomy was overshadowed by the birth of the new, transnational 'Öresund Region'.

In Newcastle, Labour has dominated council politics since the late 1950s, albeit more sporadically than in Malmö. As in Skåne, this was the source of conflict with surrounding areas in conjunction with the perceived urban aggrandisement that ”Newcastle on Tyneside” entailed. However, the new regionalism that emerged after 1970, was not motivated by a critique of Newcastle’s political strength as regional capital, rather it was a response to developments underway elsewhere in the country. By 1974, a British Labour Party with a weak majority was forced to take seriously the calls for devolution from both Scotland and Wales. Clearly this national difference needs to be taken into account. Whilst the rise of the Skåne Party can be seen as a product of dissatisfaction with the over-bearring social democratic state, the Swedish national government was not facing small nation-state nationalism comparable to Scottish and Welsh calls for devolution. Indeed in 1974, the reform of local government initiated during the 1950s in Sweden was completed, bringing to fruition the integrationist ambitions for regional efficiency which characterised the immediate post-war years. In northern England the Labour Party had been sceptical about devolution initially but was persuaded that the region would suffer if did not also attain devolved status, and in 1978 a pro-devolution campaign was launched. Nevertheless the regional Labour Party remained deeply divided and the Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan dismissed the idea of any coherent call for regional devolution from the north, on the grounds of ”political tribalism”. Despite the enhanced opportunities provided by Scottish and Welsh pressure it would appear that the wider northern position on devolution remained divided by the same issues of internal geographical political rivalry which had obstructed the earlier attempts to create a unified Tyneside.

It is worth expanding on the issue of comparative Anglo-Swedish labour politics here to clarify this point. Historical explanations of the difference between the Swedish Social Democrats and the
British Labour Party have emphasised how the early emergence of the trade-union movement in Britain, relative to the Labour Party, underpinned the subsequent strength of trade-union sectionalism compared to Sweden where the earlier formation of SAP ensured the unions’ alleged subaltern position. There are clear difficulties with this argument; not least that the importance of the Swedish union movement is perhaps downplayed in attempts to discern institutional explanations for national differences. Moreover, the Labour Party’s electoral weakness in Britain cannot be explained alone by the strength of the defensive trade-union movement.\(^482\)

That said, trade union politics dominated Labour politics throughout both County Durham and Northumberland due to the early concentration of coal mining. During the twentieth century this dominance prevailed in organisational terms despite the decline of heavy industry, with the effect of marginalising lay participation in politics. The industrial legacy produced England’s strongest Labour region, but the structure of the northern Labour Party, combined with the retrenchment of local government autonomy after the 1970s, ensured that the question of regional governance continued to be beleaguered by the politics of Labour, rather than place.\(^483\) In these circumstances the first unified campaign for separate political status in the north, was, in contrast to the Skåne Party, self-consciously apolitical.

A political coalition of Liberal Members of Parliament such as Richard Wainwright of the Colne Valley constituency, and Labour politicians like Jeremy Beecham, Labour member and leader of Newcastle upon Tyne City Council, were amongst the founding members of the Campaign for the North (CFN) in April 1977. The charitable Rowntree Trust funded the campaign until 1979. CFN’s publication, *The Northern Democrat* had provided a platform for the campaign’s ideas since 1975. *Northern Democrat* shares with *Skånekuriren* its emphasis upon the need for better provision of services at a local level, but unlike its southern Swedish counterpart, CFN had no clear cut political ambitions:

*Northern Democrat* has been created to provide a forum for those who are interested in the idea of democratic regional government. Beyond the belief that the North needs regional government it has no policy. All supporters of the basic principle are invited to contribute.\(^484\)
Compared to the Skåne Party, the CFN and the pages of the *Northern Democrat* were overwhelmingly concerned to document and protest against the impact of national inequalities on the northern region. Particularly vilification was reserved for London, whose disproportionate command of national resources and services acted as a drain on this peripheral region, whereas in Skåne, it was Malmö that came to symbolise all the failings of Swedish social democracy amongst supporters of the Skåne Party. This difference highlights that Malmö was perceived to be politically powerful, which seen from the comparative perspective also reveals the potential for centralisation within the Swedish tradition of local autonomy. It also makes clear, however, that by eschewing an ideological position, CFN was unable to generate a sustained debate on the internal dynamics and politics of a devolved north. Although Newcastle was the headquarters of the campaign during the late 1970s, the proposals for a Newcastle city-region, or a unitary Tyneside, appear not to have been a priority. Instead, CFN argued for the establishment of an elected authority to cover the larger area of the greater northern region, including the entire North East but also extending to Humberside, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. Although this vision was allegedly inspired by the German Länder, this also acknowledged that only a North of that size could transcend existing divisions within the region, playing a full role in Europe.\(^{485}\)

Although both the national Labour and Liberal parties acknowledged the significance of arguments for devolution in Scotland and Wales, the CFN’s proposals for the North never received considerable support. Their claims for special administrative status were countered at the national level by the findings of a Royal Commission in 1973 which concluded that unlike Scotland and Wales, Northern England had no need for any specific arrangements to articulate ‘separate’ identities. Although subsequent inquiries such as the minority *Crowther, Hunt & Peacock Report* suggested that a degree of legislative power would benefit the North, a survey carried out by the CFN itself revealed that there was little widespread support for devolution.\(^{486}\) After 1979, financial support from the Rowntree Trust was no longer forthcoming which coincided with the Scottish and Welsh ‘no vote’ on devolution. Combined with the incoming Conservative national government these developments effectively marginalised any claims for northern devolution.
Both the Campaign for the North and the Skåne Party comply with the perception that the late 1960s witnessed the growth of grass-roots regionalism in Europe, which drew upon anarchist traditions in viewing the centralised state as oppressive. Both cases were a response to the difficulties experienced by the modern nation-state by the end of the twentieth century, in particular the perceived mismanagement of de-industrialisation. Unlike the urban aggrandisement of the early 1960s, the proponents of the regional agenda did by the 1970s have separatist ambitions involving the creation of an elected authority for the north by the CFN, and the more radical suggestion for a republic of Skåne by Carl Herslow and his supporters. That, however, is where the similarity ends. The differences between these two movements belie any generalised suggestion that such developments were underpinned by coherent regional political cultures. In the case of Skåne the regional apparel was exploited to legitimise a populist onslaught on social democracy, which fortuitously tapped existing regional loyalties. Conversely, the regional agenda was the primary driving force for the CFN, but the acute absence of internal regional political coherence inhibited this campaign’s progress from an essentially geographical discussion of regionalism to a political regionalism. Furthermore, the criticism levelled at social democratic hegemony in Malmö by the Skåne Party provides evidence of an urban political culture ostensibly absent from Newcastle. Despite opposition to Smith’s aggrandisement, subsequent regional debates did not consider Newcastle’s position as regional capital of the North East, nor its relationship with the other regional centres of the northern region such as Leeds, Liverpool or Manchester. On the other hand in Skåne, notwithstanding the critique of Malmö, there was very little sustained debate on what a regional politics would consist of; as has been shown the Skåne Party oscillated from moderate proposals for boundary reform in line with national recommendations, to the radical call for a ”republic of Skåne”, as their critique of the Social Democrats intensified. Although these movements were responding to nation-state crises in both countries (the break up of Britain and the first serious challenge to social democratic hegemony in Sweden), they were fragmented and marginal and were not incorporated into the urban or national political agenda in either case.
**City-regions and the quest for the European Metropolis**

National political interest in Skåne was galvanised by the renewed enthusiasm for the construction of a bridge across the Öresund during the early 1990s. This ushered in a renaissance of national interest in the regional question in Skåne. In 1990 the Swedish and Danish governments pledged to give their whole-hearted support to the future of regions *per se*, and, as such, 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'.

In Malmö a period of concerted 'place marketing' ensued. Whilst the experience of industrial decline had tempered the expansive ambitions of the early 1960s, local politicians nevertheless saw this as an opportunity to re-define the city’s image. On the one hand, this new transnational region with its emphasis on cultural integration and the 'new' economy complemented developments in Malmö. As we have seen, the early 1990s witnessed significant municipal investment in the Malmö Konsthall and the Rooseum gallery which was bearing fruit in collaboration with equivalent cultural organisations in the Copenhagen city-region. On the other hand, Skåne's business community had been prominent exponents of the bridge since the early 1980s when the absence of a concentration of higher education or any significant research centres in Malmö had been seen as obstacles to the recovery of southern Sweden’s economy. Skåne’s re-birth, as part of the new Öresund region, became synonymous with rescuing Malmö from the stigma of industrial decline. This represented a shift in the character of discussions away from the emphasis upon questions of physical planning and energy questions that characterised the 1950s and 1960s, to the growing awareness of the new region as a strategic project to exploit potential relationships and foster competition with other developing regions.

Despite the emphasis on new opportunities, economies and regions, much of the rhetoric of the Öresund echoes the language of technocratic efficiency that characterised the immediate post-war decades. Moreover, in Malmö during the 1960s local politi-
cians had expressed comparable awareness of the competitive advantages of integration with the Copenhagen region. By the early 1990s the modernist utopian vision of concrete and steel may have been replaced by a softer version emphasising the cultural, creative and educational potential of region building, but elements of continuity with the earlier concern for economic efficiency and national agendas can also be discerned. As Tom O’Dell suggests,

Accordingly, Øresund is a modern project, moving in synchronicity with the larger global processes of our time, but it is also a project which its creators claim nurtures, celebrates and makes use of the distinctiveness of both the Swedish and Danish nations and their cultural backgrounds.

The emphasis upon the creators of this new region highlights the extent to which this construction lacks organic impetus from campaigners for regional autonomy. Indeed, this national project saw Skåne’s interests subsumed with expedience by the new region. Regional valorisation in this instance was produced by national conviction in efficient regions as essential within a competitive European and global market, which required the creation of a new regional territory. In Malmö, with the support of national government, and the regional business community, local politicians were able to capitalise on the city’s new territorial status at a time when its modern raison d’être as regional capital was in question. Seen from the perspective of the recurrent interest in the regional question during the post-war period, the organic, bottom-up regional disquiet which characterised the ambitions of the Skåne movement, constituted a definite discontinuity during this period.

Conversely, in the North East, there was nothing as dramatic as the Øresund fixed link to galvanise central government concern for its periphery. On the other hand, a new regionalist movement was formed in the North East during the early 1990s. 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.
In contrast to the Campaign for the North, the regionalism pursued by the C.N.A was explicitly aligned to the Labour Party. Although C.N.A sought to legitimise claims for an elected assembly with reference to a strong regional culture, members of this campaign were political rather than cultural activists. Therefore, some parallels can be drawn with the Skåne Party in so far as this was an overt critique of the majority Conservative government, particularly in the aftermath of the 1992 election, except of course that C.N.A and the Skåne Party occupied polar positions in the political spectrum. For the C.N.A regional particularity and difference was expressed through voting behaviour, which at that time distinguished the North East from the national majority. However, this exclusively political definition of the region provided clear recognition of the limitations of wider regional cohesion. The C.N.A dispensed with the demand for a ”greater north”, proposing instead 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. Within this diminished boundary support for the campaign was drawn primarily from Labour voters who were also geographically concentrated in the Newcastle city-region. This development coincided with an attempt by Newcastle City Council to underline the city’s status as capital of the region.

A regional capital sub committee had been established in the council in 1984, to emphasise the city’s role as regional capital, particularly in response to the ongoing redevelopment of the region’s riverside areas. Overwhelmingly this regeneration emphasised Newcastle’s importance as a site of entertainment and consumption. In the ensuing years the economy of sociability was exploited to the full; during the 1990s, Newcastle was vaunted as the seventh most exciting ’party-city’ globally. Like Malmö, this development was part of targeted regeneration strategies, which sought to remove the stigma of industrial decline. Critics of these new initiatives have been quick to point out that traditional political structures in a city like Newcastle were central in these new strategies, and that trade-union influence, in particular, retained a presence in the new agencies of regeneration. ’Traditional’ inter-regional rivalry also re-surfaced as part of Newcastle’s re-definition of its relationship to the surrounding area. Certain members of the
Regional Capital Committee were strongly opposed to Newcastle being type-cast as an exclusively recreational centre, and particularly the growing inter regional division of labour, which saw Newcastle characterized as the city with a cultural/commercial core, whereas the North East's other major population centre, Sunderland, designated the "advanced manufacturing centre of the North."  

The promotion of Newcastle as a regional capital did not generate consensus regarding the future of the North East, indeed, unlike T. Dan Smith and his plans for a 'Newcastle on Tyneside’, the Regional Capital Committee did not even view internal cohesion as a pre-requisite to the success of a regional capital. Rather internal divisions were exploited in the marketing of the regional capital:  

In marketing terms (Newcastle’s status as regional capital), is our 'unique selling point’, one that separates Newcastle from its neighbours and competitors.  

In 1995, Newcastle City Council advocated the creation of an Assembly for the North, alongside the Scottish Parliament and Welsh and London Assemblies. 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. But the absence of internal cohesion suggests that, as had been the case in Malmö, the principal 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”. The most important difference being that in Malmö, this had also become part of a trans-national project to encourage regional competitiveness.  

**Conclusion**

The regional apparel has been invoked frequently between 1960 and 1995 in order to legitimise the territorial ambitions of expansionist local politicians and regionalist activists. Nevertheless, this comparison suggests that caution should be exercised before
a direct link between the weakening of the nation-state and the awakening of regional politics can be constituted. In Malmö and Newcastle, the weakening of statist predominance was felt most keenly during the decline of heavy industry, yet an important period of urban regionalism preceded the decline in manufacture. In this comparison, the regionalism expressed in local politics during the 1960s was complemented by a state-sponsored conception of planned efficient regions.

The subsequent regionalism of the 1970s was the only explicit response to nation-state crises, but the marked differences which contextual comparison revealed belie any generalised conclusions concerning the emergence of a 'third' political level, between nation-states and the European Union, in this period. The formation of the Skåne Party represented a distinct discontinuity during the post-war period in southern Sweden, which contributed to the crisis in social democratic politics in Malmö during the 1980s. This development was nevertheless sidelined equally rapidly once the state resumed interest in the Öresund region during the early 1990s. In Newcastle, the three stages have been underpinned by one fundamental continuity: the inability to realise boundary reform or proposals for a devolved region and the internal territorial rivalries. Territorial loyalties have not transcended these differences, and, if anything, they have become more entrenched as the nation-state has, allegedly, weakened. On the other hand in the North East, the campaign for regional governance has been more sustained and notwithstanding the ongoing divisions within the region, in the North East there has been a broader support for regional government than was the case in Skåne. It is a paradox therefore, that it is the Swedish region that has been the first to achieve the political structures that the North East argued for throughout the post-war period. In January 1999 the democratically elected 'Region Skåne' was created to represent the interests of the counties in the South West of Sweden. While this development warrants further investigation in its own right, in the comparative perspective it underlines the tenuous nature of the link between regional cultures and political results.
This final section presents a synthesis of each chapter in relation to the question of post-industrialism. It concludes that economic decline remains an important parallel but demonstrates that in politics, society and culture, this feature has also been Malmö and Newcastle’s most striking difference. This dialectic between macro-similarity and micro-particularity allows the comparison to shed new light on explanations of national differences. For British commentators the Swedish city suggests that Keynesian *dirigisme* was ill equipped to meet the shocks of the post-industrial period, whilst Newcastle indicates the shortcomings of the Swedish assumption that over-bearing social democracy lay at the heart of urban industrial decline.

The book’s use of the comparative method is discussed at length here. The renewed interest in comparative history is reflected in the recent work of historians including Cohen and O’Connor, Berger, Donovan and Passmore amongst others. Much of this work has been motivated by the recognised benefits of transcending the nation-state in historical analysis. Many European universities are currently re-structuring their modern and contemporary European history programmes, shifting the focus away from an earlier concentration on chronological narratives of ‘large’ nation states, towards an emphasis on the exploration of themes across a range of different countries and regions, small and large, central and peripheral. The growing interest in a wider conception of European history, and in questions of social identity, citizenship, and participation, among others, demands detailed comparative and cross-national work. Similarly, in the light of the growing regionalisation of Europe, history is becoming more interested in the modern city-region. To date, such themes have been addressed
primarily by social scientists. These questions need the input of an historical perspective to meet the growing scholarly demand for historically informed work on European regionalisation. As yet, this demand has rarely resulted in either pioneering case-study work - comparisons usually draw on established national historiography - or in sustained discussion of this heuristic tool. Given that new comparative research brings with it particular challenges these issues are clearly related. This chapter discusses the problems of new cross-national research, relating this to the wider question of an 'historical method'. A researcher embarking on a cross-national comparison needs to manage practical problems of different research traditions and archives. The methodological problems include those of selection, discussion of the different research fields and the issue of which questions can legitimately be asked of different contexts, as well as writing, which is technically difficult in comparative analyses.

There is also an important intersection of theoretical and methodological concerns in comparative studies: radical selection, for instance, is a requirement of the methodology which imposes certain restraints on the comparative narrative. This section aims to show that despite the many technical difficulties, a redeeming feature of the comparative approach is its demand for multi-causality: questions generated comparatively must be addressed in multiple contexts. The comparative narrative is therefore explicitly guided by its methodological concerns. This conscious construction of narrative allows the comparative historian to counter some of the recent charges of the post-modern approach. In the retreat from modernist paradigms, comparative historians are provided with a viable alternative to accepting the irreducibly discursive character of events. This method addresses the relativist position by demonstrating that meta-historical themes have purchase in different settings, whilst also avoiding reductionism through the necessary consideration of contextual difference.

While the social sciences have long acknowledged the virtue of the comparative approach, it is only recently, following the decline of the modernist paradigms, that historians have universally recognised the importance of comparative perspectives. It has been, especially in Britain, uncharacteristic for historians to discuss explicitly the heuristic tools that they deploy in the creation of an
historical narrative. Indeed, historians could be described as without a recognised or universally acknowledged method and characterised instead by a degree of eclecticism in writing about the past. This tendency has also a feature of comparative studies, where historical works purporting to be comparative often contain modest discussion of the relationship between theory and practice. 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 either discern or scrutinise. This has often left historians vulnerable to the charge of implicitly or anachronistically appropriating social science theory, and applying it in an ad hoc fashion to historical narrative. During the 1990s, there were calls for the ”generic contextualisation of academic historical work” and a general anxiety about the conceptual apparatus for the construction of historical narratives. The discussion of the comparative method in this has been informed by the intellectual climate of the 1990s and argues that comparative history has an important part to play in developing new frameworks for future historical work. This conclusion is borne out by the proliferation of cross-national studies and by the ongoing discussion of comparative history that has emerged more recently.

Although the recognised 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 European modernity and patterns of industrialisation has often accounted for such classification. Charles Tilly’s reappraisal of the comparative approach in his, Big Structures, Large Comparisons, Huge Processes (1984), is indicative of this tradition and contains 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 (1984), the work of Perry Anderson and E. P Thompson are respectively categorised as practitioners of pa-
rallel demonstration theory and the interpretative approach. Such classification often corresponds to an emphasis on either similarities or differences, or macro-causal explanation as opposed to micro-historical description.\textsuperscript{514} Classifying these practitioners of comparative history and sociology, in terms of their relationship to modern sociology and explanations of modernity provides a useful schematic overview of some of the most significant works of comparison that emerged during the twentieth century. A destined pathway succinctly describes Anderson’s comparative attempt to account for the ’successful’ 1789 Revolution in France.\textsuperscript{515} 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 collection, which begins by acknowledging C. Wright Mills’ 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 whilst acknowledging the virtues of the ”interpretative historical school”, concludes that the downfall of this approach is the inability to generalise outside context.\textsuperscript{516} Skocpol’s standing in relation to 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.\textsuperscript{517} This critique provides a point of departure for the ensuing discussion on the use of comparison in historical study. Given that social scientists have dominated the methodological discussions of the principles of comparison, it is perhaps unsurprising 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. Indeed, recent developments in comparative history have reiterated some of Skocpol’s criticisms: as Deborah Cohen has written, ”the most stinging criticisms of comparative work come from historians who work across national boundaries but reject
comparison”. Proponents of cultural transfer, or the study of mutual influences and national crossings have gone so far as to suggest that comparative history is “a relic of structural history, incompatible with the new questions raised by cultural historians and post-structuralist analysis”. Paradoxically, this is a reversal of Skocpol’s argument during the 1980s that comparative history was too descriptive, too catholic in its methodology and lacking in the rigour necessary for generating causal explanation. Yet comparative history continues to attract significant protagonists. 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. David Englander went further writing 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”. 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’. Both these historians therefore emphasise that comparison is a valuable heuristic tool, but neither of them expands upon the challenges in the practical application of this approach. There are clear benefits to be derived from explicit discussion of these challenges. If historians continue to deploy comparison without addressing these concerns, they remain ill-placed to defend themselves against the charge of lacking causal rigour or that they are ‘structuralist relics’. Like any sub-discipline of history, comparison succumbs to post-modern criticism if its explanatory powers are circumscribed by, or simply reside with, the full (i.e. single-case, usually nation-state based) historical narrative. By articulating the practical and conceptual difficulties involved in comparative studies some of the challenges posed by a post-modernist critique of objective history may be addressed.

The ‘experimental logic’, as it appears in historical and sociological comparison, has been derived from J.S. Mill’s Two Methods of Similarity and Difference. Mill’s methods were based on showing that apparently different events are related to similar conditions or that similar events have different conditions. 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. The 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 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. Mill’s Two Methods:**
**Method of Similarity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case 1</th>
<th>Case 2</th>
<th>Case 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>e</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(x = \text{Causal Variable}\)
\(y = \text{Phenomenon to be explained}\)

**Method of Difference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Case(s)</th>
<th>Negative Case(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>not x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Skocpol, 1984

J.S. Mill held that his methods generated scientific truths. Skocpol drew attention to the historical comparison’s inability to generate explanation beyond specific cases. In the light of such conclusions, it is difficult to see how the experimental logic could be applied to historical comparison.
What follows is an attempt to show how such a ‘mental experiment’ has underpinned the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle. By 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 would be the process of deskill-ling in Malmö’s yards, which as we have shown, featured less in Newcastle’s yards. The latter constitutes the crucial variable ‘x’ that could be seen as capable of explaining why Fordist labour processes are appropriated in Malmö’s manufacturing companies and not in Newcastle’s. In turn, as regards the politics of housing, the Method of Similarity could also be applied. Initial differences, such as a continuous electoral majority for the Social Democrats in Malmö and a vacillating Labour Party in Newcastle; a vertically integrated construction industry in Malmö as compared to a fragmented one Newcastle; the continuity in national housing policy in Sweden as opposed to the *ad hoc* provision in Britain, could all be seen to be undermined by one crucial similarity: the inability of local government to respond adequately to demographic changes in housing provision. This provides the variable ‘x’ that explains the similar outcome, or the ‘y’, which is that electoral support for both local socialist parties was weakened by perceived failure in social housing, as demonstrated by the micro-comparison of Byker and Rosengård. We can therefore see how Mill’s methods have influenced and continue to provide a framework for questions that are addressed in historical comparison. Both the methods of difference and similarity have been used to generate comparative questions about Malmö and Newcastle. Nevertheless, the basic premise of this method as elucidated by Mill, in which ‘x’ is the crucial variable, remains problematic.

Selecting the likely causal factors to generate this methodology must depend on former knowledge accrued without reference to this method. 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. In this book, the anchoring concern has been to deepen the understanding of post-industrialism in north European cities. This does not mean that an understanding of the specifics can not be revised if the comparison distinguishes which relationships are most relevant to
the initial concern. However, methods of elimination or similarity cannot lead to a **decisive** verdict in favour of a single cause or a single explanation because the set of candidates is already decisively limited. This problem has prompted John Breuilly to assert that only the full historical narrative can take further the questions raised in the comparative context and from there generate wider historical explanation. Nevertheless, in the light of the post-Marxist intellectual climate it might be advantageous to make a virtue of the comparison’s inability to derive causal explanations. Comparison, necessarily, adheres to the principles of multi-causation, 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-causation, do not prevent important generalisations from being drawn **within** the comparative context. The results of generalising within cases can perhaps best be demonstrated via a concluding discussion of the themes examined in the preceding chapters.

The shared experience of economic decline, expressed 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. Existing assumptions about the causes of industrial decline in both countries and cities 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 cities could be 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 is alleged to preclude comparison entirely. A discussion of which relationships were most significant to the general experience of industrial decline in Malmö and Newcastle follows here.

A labour market explanation, which has been influential in ex-
plaining 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 and 1970, attributes this to a crisis in Keynesian regulation, or more precisely to "over regulation". The contention by British scholars, that public sector expansion explains slow growth in the manufacturing sector between 1950 and 1970 faced certain difficulties when set against the comparison with 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 in part because these industries had already experienced unfavourable international competition. 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.\footnote{523} It needs to be added that there still exists very little consensus as to the causes of slow growth in Britain between 1950 and 1970. 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 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. Following the experience of unprecedented and widespread unemployment during the 1980s, the argument for large and favourable employment effects of labour market regulation has been challenged repeatedly.\footnote{524} 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, under the Conservatives, by 1993.\footnote{525} Nonetheless, the comparison 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 and 1993, 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. The comparison of Malmö and Newcastle suggests that less regulation would not have resulted in more favourable employment effects in either city. Rising unemployment in Newcastle coincides with increasing labour market de-regulation, particularly after 1981. Whilst comparisons of national unemployment rates are notoriously unreliable, the differences in these two cities have been significant enough to challenge the assumption that ‘over-regulation’ caused mass unemployment in either Malmö or Newcastle. What the comparison also indicates, however, is that labour market stringency was not equipped to safeguard employment in manufacture. It needs to be added that a more recent explanation of British ‘slow growth’ between 1950 and 1970, 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 tended to give priority to securing beneficial trade conditions and increased profits for share-holders, rather than efficiency gains. In Newcastle the early shipbuilding techniques examined in chapter 2, were characteristically labour intensive. Nevertheless, by the Second World War, management was as opposed to the dilution of skill enhancing techniques as the work force at Armstrong’s. In addition, although the company were experimenting with prefabrication techniques by the 1950s, rarely did such measures translate into efficiency gains. Newcastle therefore appears to strengthen Michael Dintenfass’s argument that the responsibility for low productivity returns on research and development investment in Britain resided with management. Kockums, by contrast, carried out a program of extensive and consistent investment in pro-
duct 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. 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.

In the course of assessing the critiques of Keynesian regulation, which prevailed in both Swedish and British historiography 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 characteristics of each city’s economy. For 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 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 comparison has been able to challenge alternative explanations. This shared feature has been enduring, notwithstanding significant differences in both the organisation of labour and business. If Mill’s Methods were adhered to, this would suggest ‘the Method of Difference’, in which one causal variable, overrides all differences to explain the given effect, deindustrialisation. 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, as chapter four has shown, this did not mean that labour market regulation was irrelevant to the subsequent mediation of international economic change. Far from detracting from the importance of contextual particularities, the 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 decli-
ne in Malmö, whilst this exacerbated a more protracted crisis in Newcastle. 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 and should be subject to qualification.

In examining the theme of social housing after 1945 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. 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 provocative ‘what if’ questions surrounding the causes of world wars. But in comparative history the counterfactual question is distinguished because it refers to an actual as opposed to a fictional historical scenario. The counterfactual question in comparison is raised in the context of juxtaposition between two or more examples when an event or development is present in one and absent or different in the other. The counterfactual is further strengthened because the case where the event or development is absent, usually contains hallmarks, or circumstances reminiscent of the event contained in the contrasting example. In other words, the counterfactual question is generated in the context of empirical, rather than imagined historical circumstances, and each example provides a commentary on the other’s counterfactual. In its use of the counterfactual 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 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 pos-
sible variables. Such duplication in history would clearly be problematic in terms of time-scale, unless carried out by a team of researchers. However, and more importantly, the counterfactual question which comparison of two cities can generate relies on the empirical contexts it is grounded in.

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 British 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 characteristics; this would not have been possible, however, without some hallmarks, or suggestions of Malmö’s historical texture 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 historical circumstances that underpin 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. Recently it has been suggested that the inability to duplicate comparative questions across numerous cases, is a problem that is specific to the historical comparison, with its characteristic reliance upon qualitative data. In contrast, Peter Aronsson has suggested that qualitative histories of localities, with their requirement of contextual detail and depth, may actually preclude comparison entirely. It is the intention here to demonstrate that it may be possible to bring these two positions together. 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 complicated by the tendency in national comparisons of British and Swedish political systems to begin with
normative assumptions about what effective democracy ought to look like. These assumptions have often drawn on Scandinavian examples. It was suggested that an approach in which elements of normative judgement was exercised, was inappropriate for the comparative historical method.\textsuperscript{535} At this stage, it is nonetheless necessary to distinguish between a 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 than it appears to have been in Newcastle. In other words, the counterfactual question needs to be used to discern the most important distinctions between these two cities.

Heavy industrial development has been seen as a contributing factor in the emergence of a consensual style of local social democracy in Malmö. At the beginning of the twentieth century local political developments in the Swedish city also served as a blueprint 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 contributed to the emergence 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 apparent even in the evolution of social housing, which was demonstrated by the local Labour Party’s unwillingness to pursue co-operative solutions to the provision of cost-rental housing from an early stage.

In Malmö the local political buoyancy of the post war years clearly needs to be seen against the background of its influence on 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 national political concern. In Sweden housing increasingly became a national economic interest after 1945. Indeed housing was to be crucial to the evolution of national demand management after 1945. Malmö’s local political, but also economic, development meant that it was central to this phase of Swedish Keynesianism. Whilst successive social democratic governments 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 was no such pronounced legacy of urban over-population, which much of Newcastle’s municipal provision should primarily be seen as 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 became a local political pawn, in difficult, volatile, yet fundamentally centralised, economic circumstances.

Whilst the dominance of co-operative housing has been used by other studies to explain the failure of municipal socialism in Malmö this comparative study has been able to question this conclusion. The prevalence of co-operative housing is the most important distinguishing feature of Malmö and Newcastle between 1945 and 1965 and therefore the key to understanding Malmö’s success, relative to Newcastle’s difficulties. In Newcastle, the absence of an alternative provider of cost-rental housing clearly contributed to the political problems experienced in the provision of social housing between 1945 and 1965. Moreover, the absence of extensive co-operative provision in Newcastle has an essentially political explanation. Even if local modernisers had been able to access the technology and resources 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 in Malmö contributed to consensual delivery 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 cities, 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, and not utilised primarily as a political vehicle. It is striking that in the comparison with Newcastle, public sector housing appears less political in Malmö, despite the fact that the ‘folkhem’ strategy had such powerful political connotations both locally and nationally.

The comparison of social change in Malmö and Newcastle was able to reiterate some of the conceptual issues, which the comparison of social housing brought to light. Chapter four, for instance, concluded that the social experience of the transition to post-industrialism had more pronounced 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 principally motivated by an inability to manage deindustrialisation, but rather to the difficulties of adjusting to dramatic population changes during the late twentieth century. Therefore we can conclude from this that the differences in the composition of the population, cannot furnish an explanation for 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 may reveal the limitations of the local state in mediating these areas of externally motivated social change. At the same time, the comparison with Newcastle demonstrated that in other areas the city escaped the more severe problems associated with long-term joblessness that beset Newcastle, such as protracted ill-health. This conclusion is not uncontroversial, involving, as it does, an element of judgement in viewing one case as a ‘success’, or a ‘failure’, a trap which the astute comparative historian is supposed to avoid at all costs.
Whilst this may be a methodological flaw, all the evidence, be it qualitative or quantitative, would reinforce the conclusion that long-term unemployment and its associated effects has not been to the benefit of the population of Newcastle.

Aspects of official, popular and radical culture were 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 was possible to establish that it was the development of a political infrastructure in Malmö, which accounted for how culture was represented in the face of the transition to post-industrialism, whereas economic changes were more influential in the rise of the cultural sector in Newcastle. Newcastle City Council capitalised on cultural practices that were associated with acknowledged sites of urban sociability, such as drinking and entertainment, to promote culture in the city after 1980, but this was not a reflection of a pre-existing political interest 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 commercialised leisure was not inevitable in the transition to post-industrial society. This conclusion was reached by demonstrating the particular manifestations of apparently shared cultural phenomena. For example, the shared experience of cultural protest demonstrated that mono-causal explanation of international phenomena such as counter-cultural movements have often proved inadequate. As was the case in many other European cities, 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 nuances of this experience. In Newcastle, the cultural protest which Tom Pickard's poetry furore represented was arguably a reaction against a local authority that was both unwilling and unable to support a burgeoning avant-garde art scene in the city. 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 cause.

It is worth returning to the work of E. P. Thompson, in or-
der 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 of its anchoring in materialist perspectives. Nonetheless one of the most important features of Thompson’s historical method is that it is primarily relationships that are traced, and multiple relationships are emphasised as contributing to the process of historical change. This feature has been identified as a potential flaw and *The Making of the English Working Class* has been subject to the criticism that it ”swerves towards idealism and voluntarism whilst giving short shrift to material and structural analysis”.

This has led others to conclude that Thompson’s work is inappropriate to the formulation of theory because it fails to establish historical causation. On the other hand, Thompson’s emphasis on the historical process has often been celebrated and it is this aspect of his work which continues to provide stimulus to comparative historians.

During the 1990s the attempts to revise Marxism tended to detract from the wider implications of Thompson’s work, some of which can perhaps be better understood by drawing parallels with Clifford Geertz. Geertz’s own comment on the anthropological method makes clear that ‘thick description’ was meant to be distinguished from ‘mere description’. Indeed he repeatedly emphasised the problems inherent in ethnographic interpretation ”imprisoned in its own immediacy”. The proposed methodological solution was provided by generalising within cases, but not outside them. This strategy would, according to Geertz, avoid the difficulties of seeing the particularity of locality as an expression of the ”world in a teacup” and refusing to acknowledge that ”social actions are comments on more than themselves”. The extensive criticism which Geertz’s cultural analysis has been subject to suggests that the emphasis on ’generalising within cases’ has often been overlooked. Similarly, the focus on Thompson’s contribution to the revision of Marxism rarely expands upon possible parallels with Geertz. These parallels are pertinent for practitioners of comparative history, and can be discerned readily in Thompson’s critique of Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn in *The Poverty of Theory*.

In this polemic account Thompson demonstrates the flaws of a comparison that begins with a norm, provided by the French Revolution, and proceeds to impose this on the British historical
context. This critique is lucid and cogent, showing how the comparison left crucial English historical developments unaccounted for. Worse still Thompson suggests their account “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”. This critique of the failure to account adequately for the particular circumstances of the English historical experience has been applauded by contemporary practitioners of comparative history, such as John Breuilly. Thompson’s protagonists nonetheless qualify their comments with the caveat that whilst he may have effectively impugned the normative comparison, he was less successful in developing a framework for comparison that did not succumb to such pitfalls.

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 study of more than one context demands, is inevitably vulnerable to the critique from the specialist that regularity has been imposed at the expense of empirical rigour and sensitivity to the individual context. In Anderson and Nairn’s case, taking the ‘success’ of one revolution as a starting point from which to judge its counterpart as a failure may well be methodologically flawed, particularly since it furnished very little multi-causal analysis. But this flaw also points to the problems associated with generating questions which can be posed legitimately of more than one historical context from the outset. Thompson recognised this dilemma and proposed that concepts, models and overarching questions, must be employed in order to ascertain historical change. That said, he also emphasised 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 inter-
rogation of the evidence, even though it is often found that each case departs in this or that particular from the rule.\textsuperscript{545} Here Thompson is describing a method, which refutes the universality of historical explanation at the same time as it defends the creation of an historical narrative against the charge of being, "a consecutive phenomenological narration".\textsuperscript{546} This encourages the comparative historian since both the essential and the general are taken into account. Further encouragement is provided by the assertion that

\begin{quote}
History discloses not how history \textit{must} have eventuated but \textit{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.\textsuperscript{547}
\end{quote}

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:

\begin{quote}
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 (\textit{Zusammenhang}) and the cultural significance of its particular manifestations in their contemporary form and on the other \textit{its causes of becoming historically so and not otherwise}.\textsuperscript{548}
\end{quote}

Even more striking is the parallel in the following passage:

\begin{quote}
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.\textsuperscript{549}
\end{quote}

Thompson's account of historical causation was clearly influenced by the writings of Max Weber. Despite the absence of reference to the classical sociologists, Thompson did acknowledge the influence of C. Wright Mills, and his emphasis on process that is contingent is arguably derived from Weber, as well as the importance of understanding both the irregularities and the regularities of process. It is this aspect that also shows how the interpretative histori-
cal 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 could also be equivalent to adhering to the principles of multi-causation. Multi-causation, 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 remind us, multi-causation means weighing up various causal factors in order to establish which causes are most significant. The synopsis of preceding chapters has demonstrated 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. This feature is furnished to respond to some of the challenges 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. Patrick Joyce primarily deployed post-modernism as a challenge to dialectical history and whilst registering "considerable unease…with the way in which quite divergent ideas are yoked together under the term post-modernism", Joyce asserted that this body of divergent ideas was equipped to undermine social history, in particular its adherence to materialist-social linkage, by bringing to light the irreducible discursive character of events, structures and processes. Joyce further advocated that this challenge to social totality should be met by the historian, not by summoning old dualisms, but by embracing new versions of the social provided by linguistic and cultural analysis. This diatribe against 'social history', was motivated by an equally provocative caution against post-modernism from the social historian Lawrence Stone published in a previous issue of Past and Present. Stone warned historians that their abil-
lity to explain historical change was threatened from three central developments: linguistics and 'deconstruction', cultural and symbolic anthropology and New Historicism. Whilst devoting considerable attention to defending the 'linguistic turn' in historical analysis, Joyce did not discuss Stone's inclusion of cultural and symbolic anthropology in this category. Given that there are some important parallels between the comparative historical method and a methodology utilised by symbolic anthropologists including Geertz, it might be worth looking a little closer at this aspect.

Lawrence Stone's warning stated that cultural history departs from symbolic anthropology, when "the real is as imagined as the imaginary", and "the material is dissolved into meaning; and the text is left unconnected from the context". This has been read as an unacknowledged reference to Geertz's attempt to claim special status for symbolic analysis. Earlier in this chapter, it was suggested that parallels between Geertz and Thompson were viable due to the shared emphasis on historical process. Nevertheless, although both utilise Weberian insights, (which is explicit in the work of Geertz), Thompson can be distinguished from Geertz because the anthropologist had the ambition to depart from materialist explanation whereas Thompson used this methodology to underpin materialist conclusions. Both scholars have been criticised for their lack of causal rigour, however, these criticisms have paid less attention to the methodological principles which underpin their work. Given Geertz's commitment to generalising within cases there is no reason why the methodology which he deployed should inhibit historians in their quest for narrating change. Although Geertz does claim special status for symbolism, his methodology suggests that this need not have the drastic consequences for historical writing as predicted by Lawrence Stone:

To generalise within cases is usually called, at least in medicine...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.

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 material need not be dissolved into meaning, rather the connection between them is not presumed to be absolute from the outset. The important point of the analysis is to give equal weight to demonstrating where they are connected, and where they are not.

On the other hand, whilst the post-modern critique of both Thompson and Geertz may not have attended sufficiently to the methodological issues which underpin their emphasis on process, these criticisms do highlight other difficulties with 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’ in historical comparison, this still leaves the dilemma of how to generate the overarching questions from the outset. Thompson’s suggestion was that historical questions are generated implicitly from a ”logic of many examples”, however, such implicitness can only lend weight to the post-modern charge that ”events…of the past are indistinguishable from the forms of documentary representation and the historical discourses that construct them”.

The inability to formulate value free questions from the outset appears to be an interminable obstacle for the comparative historian. 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 questions which are motivated, quite explicitly, by their comparative concerns. Nonetheless, this feature can only be realised if it is first recognised that there are distinct problems inherent in this heuristic tool.

The first problem is associated with the reliance on the methodology of classical scholarship, which was first applied and formulated in response to questions that relate to the nineteenth century. Generating historical questions that are divorced entirely from the concerns of modernity is neither a possible nor a desirable objective of comparative studies focussing primarily on the second half of the twentieth century. However, although we might concede to the problems of the classical inheritance some basic methodological challenges remain. Whilst the radical selection 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 only possess when viewed through the lens of the comparison. 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 might be deployed in single case studies. In this book, 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 an examination of more diverse data, would have brought to light the underlying divergences and nuances within cities to challenge the enforced coherence. The problems of 'lumping and splitting' can undoubtedly be discerned in the comparison of Malmö and Newcastle, and it is likely that more nuanced analysis of population and economic statistics may have produced differing results. This further questions the extent to which it is possible to generate new questions via comparison.

British labour historian John Breuilly suggests that these problems of the comparative approach can be overcome when comparison is utilised to 'judge' a pre-existing single case historical narrative. This means that an existing account, usually based on a nation, provides the initial questions and necessary empirical detail against which comparisons can be drawn and new perspectives of the original account- generated. But there are some difficulties with this comparative approach. It fails to acknowledge that questions continue to be raised about the legitimacy of the 'full historical narrative', particularly when it is based on nation-state boundaries. Moreover, comparative studies with a local setting outside the sphere of the larger nation-states may not support a sufficient historiography 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. More importantly, even when existing sing-
le case accounts do exist, the interesting questions are not generated exclusively by referring back to a single case account, but also through a synthesis of the questions generated comparatively. Breuilly’s justification for the primacy of the single-case is understandable given that the conclusions which his work sustains are most relevant to the revision of German historiography. 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.  

What then does the dialogue between our two cities demonstrate in this instance? What does the Malmö perspective 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 both cities sustain 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 its 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, is 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 in Newcastle, but at the same time an important parallel with Malmö, is the temporary combination 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". This method challenges a relativist stance by demonstrating how overarching themes, such as deindustrialisation, 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, the manner in which it was experienced, socially, politically and culturally, sets these cities apart. This method of addressing comparative history means that the overarching definition of 'post-industrialism', as it relates to both cities, can be clarified. In Malmö and Newcastle the issue of urban decline should refer primarily to industrial contraction, which can be discerned readily in both cities. Outside the loss of manufacturing employment, it is not at all clear that the transition to post-industrial society should be characterised more broadly as a '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 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. The particularities of this experience can be better understood through the comparative reflections which developments during the 1960s generated.

The 1960s constitute a period of great interest to this book. Although both cities were clearly at different stages of economic development, politically this was also a period of important similarities. Swedish economic development was at its pinnacle during
the 1960s and Malmö was central to this development, indeed it had a pioneering role to play in the national strength of the shipbuilding and construction industries. Newcastle’s manufacturing sector was clearly less buoyant by this stage and it was not sustaining full employment. On the other hand, the construction of arms gave Newcastle a similarly central position in national economic strategy which, as has been shown, masked the overall economic vulnerability of this period. Moreover, the local political development, particularly the provision of social housing, certainly provided glimpses of Swedish modernity in the British city.\textsuperscript{564} This 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 in turn tends to the assumption that Malmö is simply less advanced than Newcastle and that the Swedish city will eventually catch up with Newcastle’s historical development.

Such conclusions miss the more interesting discussion regarding the relationship of similar politics to different phases of economic development. What remains interesting about the 1960s is not that Newcastle is older than Malmö, but rather the clash between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ Newcastle, which the comparison brings to light. For instance, when T. Dan Smith attempted to modernise social housing in Newcastle, this was not mirrored by modernisation of the manufacturing sector. Rather his attempted re-invigoration of Newcastle’s physical landscape and housing stock, occurred in combination with an antiquated, but sporadically stimulated manufacturing sector, distinguished by its use of skilled labour. At the same time the 1960s saw advances in the service sector, or specifically ‘retail-led’ economic development, presided over by a weak local state, led by a charismatic local leader intent upon generating dramatic change by importing aspects of 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. At the time the high-rise municipal apartments constructed throughout the city during the early 1960s were hailed as the physical manifestation
of Smith’s vision of Brasilia. But the politician later claimed that the failure of Attlee’s post-war Labour government to reform, or expand the powers of local government, meant that the only option available to councils “was to build high-rise flats on scarce available land cleared of slums”. Although 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. Indeed, seen from the comparative perspective, the social housing initiatives in Newcastle that have featured in this book 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 growth contributed to a particular stage of development in the second half of the twentieth century, which can really only be glimpsed in Newcastle. This can be discerned readily in manufacturing; 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 in a manner that characterised Malmö’s principal manufacturers. But in the Swedish city this level of modernity was not restricted to the changes implemented in the manufacturing companies, but rather was a comprehensive process that could be discerned in social housing policy, local politics and cultural provision. In the wake of industrial decline after the 1970s, the subsequent instability in Malmö, in politics and economics in particular, has often 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 offers a different reading of the post-industrial experience.

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. 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. In the British city it could be argued by contrast that traditional leisure pursuits, with roots in the industrial era, particularly those involving drinking and football have remained resilient. However, these areas of associational life have not simply flourish unhindered, rather they became increasingly commercialised. This prompted the local state to view such activities as a viable means to economic and urban regeneration. Whilst this confirms the resilience of such elements of associational life, it is also suggestive of a weakness in the local political infrastructure. Evidence for this is also to be found in the balance between centralisation and decentralisation, which existed in both cities. In the fifth chapter we explored how the decentralisation afforded to the municipality by the Swedish state extended beyond the execution of social housing to other areas of city life such as cultural provision. After 1980, both local authorities sought to articulate their importance as cultural and regional capitals. Nevertheless, it was in Malmö that the fusion of urban and regional interests was more palpable. In part, this was a reflection of the national interest in the construction of the Öresund Bridge. Moreover, as the ‘smaller centre’ of the new region in which Copenhagen is the undisputed capital, Malmö clearly needed to assert its own position in this territory. Nevertheless, the ability to do so, and to harness the new regional agenda and accrue benefits from it, is also evidence of a local political infrastructure, which simply did not develop in Newcastle. The sixth chapter concluded that local political weaknesses may actually have exacerbated the effects of national centralisation in Britain, which helped to explain why the territorial agenda in Newcastle continued to provide a platform for the expression of unresolved inter-regional rivalries.

This conclusion has important implications for this book 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 may also have contributed to a narrowing of the economic base, the experience of Newcastle equally demonstrates that without a significant local infrastructure, the
municipality was largely powerless to mediate the political, social and cultural ramifications of the transition to post-industrial society. Whilst regional identification remains strong, this has yet to be effectively harnessed; indeed in this sphere the local state appears moribund in its inability to tap what could be a force for positive change. Therefore, the comparison must conclude that within the apogee of Malmö’s twentieth century 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 time this should be viewed as a virtue rather than a flaw. This research was undertaken during a phase of transition in historical writing. Although the question of generating new historical questions remains unresolved, the application of comparison to historical contexts, whether they are local, regional or national, means that national perspectives will continue to be modified. The future of European history will involve a far-reaching realignment of the traditional categories in which history has functioned. The term ‘Europe of the regions’ has now become common place and the city region is the spatial unit at the fore of political and intellectual analyses in the twenty-first century. This ‘geographic turn’ raises many new questions about the character, economy, politics and culture of such places. This study has endeavoured to show that such questions can be addressed through an understanding of the practical and intellectual challenges that underpin the comparison of two or more historical contexts.
CONCLUSION

This book has explored the transition to post-industrial 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 and there are 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 historical writing witnessed during the 1990s. As suggested in the previous chapter, formulating questions that are relevant to more than one historical context can be seen as 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.

In concluding I would like to emphasise the importance of a dialectic approach to comparative history, in which the practitioner moves between national historiographies and local material. In this book this has involved the triangulation of evidence and ideas between the local, regional and national levels. As indicated in the introduction, this process bears out Kocka’s defence of the comparative approach in the light of a “certain Europeanisation of the image of the twentieth century”. Comparing, for instance, the development of a regional agenda in Malmö and Newcastle revealed how both cities changed as regional capitals after 1945. With their respective declining significance as a central node of a cohesive economic unit a certain anxiety was produced that was reflected in territorial mobilisation at the regional level. But, crucially, this
response was rooted in the different political cultures of Britain and Sweden. The regional protest movements could be characterised as expressions of nation-state crises in both countries, but they were expressed in the geographic break up of Britain and the political challenges to social democracy after 1945 in Sweden. These differences could undeniably be seen as precluding comparison: with such distinct historical and cultural antecedents should the Skåne Party and the Campaign for the North really be seen as cases of regionalism? On the other hand, this observation has only been ascertained as a result of deploying a comparative perspective and therefore has an important part to play in an intellectual climate where generalised assumptions about the emergence of the region as the third level of European politics are rarely informed by sensitivity to contextual particularity.

It has been equally important in this comparison of two north European cities to demonstrate where certain features are not sufficiently explained by their national historiographies. Many of the questions generated remain to be examined; nevertheless it has been the ambition of this book to demonstrate that the comparative approach provides a potential alternative framework for explaining national and local particularity, to both the emergence of a generalised European history, and the ascendance of relativism. Clearly this approach has several limitations, not least that this is still a nascent area for historians and as yet there exists no established critical mass from which to draw upon. The need for further comparative historical study is highlighted by this study. Whilst this book has been able to draw upon existing Anglo-Swedish scholarship, particularly in the area of politics, labour relations and industrial organisation, this provides a stark contrast to the paucity of similar scholarship in the equally important arenas of culture and society. It is hoped that the benefits of transcending national borders in historical analyses will be realised in future comparative studies of themes such as cultural representation and regional and urban identification, as well as in comparative economic and political studies.
NOTES

1 N.Vall, "Explorations in Comparative History: economy and Society in Malmö and Newcastle since 1945", Northumbria University PhD, 2000. It needs to be emphasized that all the translations utilized in this book are my own. I have tried to provide as literal a translation as possible and where referring to a company such as the engineering works, Kockums Mekaniska Verkstad, the Swedish title is included in the body of the text. The translation from Swedish to English of the term 'folk', with reference to organizations such as 'Folkets Hus', has proved particularly difficult since the English term 'people' does not convey the political, cultural and ideological significance of the Swedish term. In such instances it has been necessary to refer English readers to the Swedish historiography for further clarification of these terms.

2 James Fulcher, Labour Movements Employers and the State, Conflict and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden, Oxford 1991. This book draws on, but also problematises the oppositional Anglo-Swedish comparison. See also Jonas Pontusson, Swedish social democracy and British Labour: Essays on the Nature and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden, London 1988. This contrasts the successful retention of working-class support for social democracy in Sweden with the British Labour Party's loss of working-class vote during the 1960s and 1970s. Gösta Esping-Anderson's assessment of the emergence of Western welfare states draws on the Anglo-Swedish polarity in contrasting the 'British model' where reforms remained residual, with the progressive 'Swedish model' where reforms in the 1950s, such as the ATP pension


6 In Malmö Hegemonins Decennier complemented the seven volume city history Malmö Stads Historia. This seventh volume in this series, Oscar Bjurling (ed), Malmö Stads Historia, sjunde delen, 1939-1990, Malmö 1994, provided much contextual material for this study. The first collection of scholarly essays covering Newcastle's modern history was published in 2001 by Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds), Newcastle. A Modern History, Newcastle 2001.


9 Before 1960 it has been suggested that only Japan surpassed Swedish yearly growth averages: Lennart Jörberg, "Några tillväxtfaktorer in 1800 talets Svenska industriella utveckling" in Ragnild Lundström (ed), Kring industrialismens genombrott i Sverige, Stockholm 1966, p. 35.

10 Lars Magnusson, Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia, Stockholm 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 Kristina Orfali in "The decline of the Swedish

11 Charles C. Ragin & Howard S. Becker (eds), *What is a Case? Exploring the foundations of Social Inquiry*, Cambridge & Melbourne 1992. Although Ragin emphasises that establishing the cases is by no means the finished product but rather a process of redefining and re-categorising described as ’casing’.


13 The close comparative reading of post-industrialism in two cities can provide helpful textural detail to complement a burgeoning interest in post-industrial cities, such as David Goodman & Colin Chant (eds), *European Cities and Technology: Industrial to post-industrial City*, London 1999.


18 Franklin D. Scott, 1977, p. 338.


21 The different relationship between city and regional hinterland is explored at length in chapter six of this book.


23 Newcastle upon Tyne Official Industrial and Commercial Guide 1961, Newcastle 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 witness significant expansion before the 1920s.


27 For late nineteenth century development and the role of industrialists such as Armstrong see Oliver Lendrum, "An Integrated Elite: Newcastle's Economic Development 1840-1914" and for the consequences of these developments during the twentieth century in Newcastle see, Natasha Vall, "The emergence of the post-industrial economy in Newcastle 1914-2000", in Colls & Lancaster (eds), 2001, pp. 27-47 & pp. 47-71.


30 Peter Billing, Rolf Ohlsson & Mikael Stigendal, "Local Politics in social democracy", in Klaus Misgeld, Karl Molin & Klas Åmark (eds), Creating social democracy, Pennsylvania 1992, p. 272.

31 Timothy Tilton, "The Role of Ideology in Social Democratic Politics", in Klaus Misgeld, Karl Molin
& Klas Åmark (eds), 1992, p. 411.


33 Fred Robinson (ed), Post-industrial Tyneside, Newcastle 1988, p. 204.


43 During the early 1960s, the Danish architect Arne Jacobsen, along with Basil Spence and Robert Matthew, was invited to design three major building projects in the city. John Holliday (ed), City Centre Redevelopment, London 1973, p. 213.

44 Rolf Ohlsson, 1994, p. 105.

45 Peter Billing & Mikael Stigendal, 1994, p. 98.

46 Stefan Berger nonetheless emphasises that there is no methodological reason why comparitivists should not explore dependencies and relations that link contrasted entities, Stefan Berger, 2003, p. 171.


50 Bernard Casey, Rachel Dunlop & Sara Selwood (eds), Culture as Commodity: the Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK, London 1996.


52 Byrne, 1992, p. 50 & Rob Colls, "What is 'Community' and how do we get it? A message for the member of Sedgefield", in Northern Review 1995: 1, p. 24.


55 Harvey Taylor "Sporting Heroes ", in Colls & Lancaster, 1992, p. 129.


59 Breuilly, 1992, p. 16.

60 Jürgen Kocka, "Asymmetrical Historical Comparison: The Case of the German 'Sonderweg'", History and Theory 1999: 38, p. 49.

61 Nancy Green, "The Comparative Method and Post structuralism: New


63 Ministry of Labour, *Reports of the Investigations into the Industrial Conditions in Certain Depressed Areas*, London 1934, 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.


68 Bjurling, 1985, p. 193. In 1984, Skånska Cementgjuteriet changed it's name and became 'Skanska'.


73 Joyce Ellis, "'The 'Black Indies': Economic Development in Newcastle c. 1700-1840", in Colls & Lancaster (eds), 2001, p. 5.


75 Robert C Bell, Tyneside Pottery, London 1971, p 74.


77 McCord, 1979, p. 111.

78 Bjurling, 1985, p. 190.

79 Rolf Ohlsson, "I kranens tidvär", in Oscar Bjurling (ed), Malmö Stads historia sjunde delen, Malmö 1994, p 52.

80 Billing & Stigendal, 1994, define the 'Swedish Model' as a Fordist form of growth, which combined two 'historic compromises', between capital and labour, and the sexes. For the political dimension see Hugh Heclo & Henrik Madsen, Policy and Politics in Sweden. Principle and Pragmatism, Philadelphia 1987, provide a starting point, as do Anna Hedborg and Rudolf Meidner, Folkhemsmodellen, Stockholm 1984.

81 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 118.


84 Kockums AB, Skrift utgiven av Kockums AB, Malmö 1983, p 11.


88 Ohlsson, 1994, pp. 100-118.


91 McCord, 1979, p 131.

92 Benwell Community Development Project,
1978, p. 23.
93 Bell, 1971, p. 74.
96 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 100.
98 Mess, 1928, p. 52.
102 Frank Enis & Ian Roberts, ”'The Time of their Lives?’ Female Workers in North East Shipbuilding 1939-45”, in Archie Potts (ed), Shipbuilding and Engineers: Essays on labour in the Shipbuilding and Engineering industries in the North East, Newcastle 1987, p. 53.
103 This argument is put forward in David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus: Technological change and the Making of the Modern World, Cambridge 1969.
104 Trade Union Studies and Information Unit, A Farewell to arms? The Future Facing Vickers Elswick on Tyneside, Gateshead, no date, c.1983, p 8.
105 Trade Union Studies and Information Unit, c. 1983, p. 8.
107 Trade Union Studies and Information Unit, c. 1983, p. 8.
110 Geoffrey Ingham, Strikes and Industrial Conflict, London 1974, especially chapter four.
113 Bjurling, 1985, pp.


117 Mess, 1928, p. 42.


120 Vall, 2001, p. 57.


127 Byrne, 1992, p. 40.


130 Kaldor, 1989, p. 49.

131 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 108.

132 See figure 2.1


134 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 83.

135 Billing & Stigendal, 1994, especially chapter two.


138 Mary Kaldor, *Economic Audit of Vickers Scotswood Road factory*. Prepared for the 'Save Scotswood
Campaign Committee
February 26 1979,
Newcastle 1979.


Walter Eltis, "How paid public sector growth can undermine the growth of the national product" in Wilfred Beckerman (ed), Slow Growth in Britain: Causes and Consequences, Oxford 1979, p. 126.

Manpower Services Commission, Census of Employment for Newcastle, between 1971 and 1981 recorded no increase in the proportion employed in public administration, which accounted for less than 15% of the employed workforce by 1981. The remaining 20% employed in 'Public administration and other services' were employed in private services.

Malmö Kommun, Näringslivsвенheten, Näringslivet i Malmö. Fakta och illustrationer, Malmö 1984, p. 27.


See Fig 2.2.


Newcastle City Council Minutes, 4 April 1984, HC 378-I Public Accounts Committee Minutes of Evidence of the Public Accounts Committee
Meeting on Regional Industrial Incentives.


154 Tyne and Wear Research and Intelligence Unit, Economic Progress, Newcastle 1988.


156 Malmö Kommun, Socialförvaltning utredningssektion, 1975, p. 4.


161 See figure 2.2 for comparative unemployment figures. For Malmö see also Mikael Stigendal, Levnadsundersökningen av Malmö 1995-97, Malmö 1998, p. 3.


164 David Byrne, "What is the point of an Urban Development Corporation in Tyne and Wear" Northern Economic Review 1986: 15, p. 70.


167 Newcastle City Library, Newspaper Index of Restaurants and Pubs in Newcastle, compiled since 1969, attests to the steady growth of such businesses in the city since the 1960s.

168 Vall 2001, p. 64.


171 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 192.

172 Keith Shaw, "The Politics of Private v Public Partnerships in Tyne and Wear" Northern Economic
the mass production of housing against a backdrop of emergent welfare states in Britain, Sweden and Russia as 'the unself-conscious tradition', p. 76.

Newcastle City Council Minutes, Report of the Committee as to the visit of the municipal corporation's Housing Committee to Scandinavia March 20th 1963, p. 1099.


Billing, Olsson & Stigendal, 1989, p 284, Gunnar Olofsson also makes this point in Gunnar Olofsson Mellan klas och stat. Om arbetarrörelse, reformism och social demokrati, Lund 1979, 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’, causing the re-emergence of dominant agrarian and temperance influences p. 156.


186 Tony Barrow, ”The Labour Representation Committee Conference at Newcastle upon Tyne 1903” in Calcott & Challinor (eds), 1983, p. 40.

187 Tony Barrow, 1983, p. 35.


189 See Table 3.4.

190 It is also worth pointing out that the different national electoral systems have clearly had an impact upon local democracy. In Sweden, which has proportional representation, each individual vote carries more significance than is the case under the 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.

191 Billing & Stigendal, 1994, 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 accounted for the rapid economic growth between 1950-1970.

192 Agne Gustavsson, Local Government in Sweden, Uddevalla 1988, p. 19. Although Gustavsson indicates that employment and labour market matters 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 in Sweden.
The evidence for the suppression of his dialect is taken from an official recording of Johansson’s speech in 1952.

‘The People’s Home’ was the political slogan launched by the social democratic Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson in 1928. In terms of the direction of the Social Democrat’s strategy it has since been described as a political concept which promoted welfare, but particularly housing and employment, which ensured that this development would not inhibit capitalist growth. See Gösta Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 11-31.

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 cooperative tenure in Britain since “the communitarian philosophy at the heart of the cooperative ideal has

206 Arbetet February 27 1945.
207 Arbetet February 27 1945.
214 Billing & Stigendal, 1994, p. 198. Plans for Augustenborg and other housing developments in Malmö during the forties allegedly drew inspiration from Lewis Mumford’s ideas about neighbourhood communities in city planning.
218 Although much of Malmö’s housing developments in the 1960s also emphasised the clearance of derelict housing in the city there was undeniably a more mature legacy of overcrowding in Newcastle. Lancaster, 1994, pp. 1-5.
220 Lund, 1991, p. 7, argues that this was characteristic of the Fabian approach to welfare provision which was never intended to be synonymous with the recipient’s involvement in that provision.
222 Colls, ”Born Again Geordies”, in Colls and
Smith 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.


Benwell Community Development Project, 1978, p. 4.


Jencks, 1985, p. 77.

Newcastle City Council, *Newcastle Housing Committee Minute Book Volume 14 MD/NC/106 May 14 1963, Point 16*.


The one building that draws explicitly on Scandinavian ideas is Newcastle's Civic Centre. Constructed between 1958-1969 it owes a debt to both the Oslo and Stockholm City Halls. It was opened by King Olav V of Norway in November 1968. Thomas Faulkner, "Architecture in Newcastle", Colls and Lancaster (eds), 2001, p. 243.

Newcastle Housing Committee Minute Book Volume 14 MD/NC/106 14 May 1963 Point 16.


*Arbetet* November 26, 1967.


This critique appeared in *Arbetet* December 6 1966, attributed to the right wing grouping 'Samling i Malmö'.
It could also be argued that in Britain one of the factors which undermined the kind of continuity in housing construction achieved in Sweden, was the overwhelming bias towards securing the balance of payments in national 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 Pollard, 1982. It is certainly an argument that would appear to complement comparative studies of the construction process. For instance, Brian Finnimore, *Houses from the Factory. System Building and the Welfare State*, London 1989, argues that this kind of construction was successful in Sweden due to the existence of a monopolised and vertically integrated construction industry.
256 Malmö Kommun, 
Stadsfullmäktige protokoll 
med bihang 4:3:1974, 
Malmö 1974.

257 Malmö Arbetarekommun, 
Valutgången samfattande 
analyx, Malmö 1979.

258 Tomas Peterson, Mikael 
Stigendal & Björn 
Fryklund, Skånepartiet. Om 
folkligt missnöje i Malmö, 

259 Peter Malpass. The Building 
of Byker: Twenty Years of 
Hard Labour, Newcastle 


261 For a recent discussion of 
this local housing phe-

265 Census of Population 1966, 
London 1966. The 1966 
sample Census indicated 
that 49.8% of the house-
holds in the city contained 
only 1 or 2 people.

266 See table 3.4.

267 Newcastle Journal May 10 
1967.

268 Malpass, 1976, p. 36.

269 Conservative Party, May 
1968 Election Pamphlet: 
Alan Page-Your Conservative 
candidate.

270 Conservative Party, May 
1968 Election Pamphlet: 
Alan Page-Your Conservative 
candidate.


274 Newcastle City Libraries, 
'Housing' Newspaper 
Cuttings Volume 

275 Newcastle City Libraries, 
'Housing' Newspaper 
Cuttings Volume 1970-


277 Such a the BBC children’s 
television series Byker 
Grove, which was nonethe-
less shot in Benwell in 
Newcastle’s western distric-
ts, not Byker, and Sirkka-
Liisa Konttinen’s film, 
Byker, 1983.

278 During the last five years 
there has nonetheless been 
a visible acceleration in 
migration to Newcastle and 
a growing multi-cultural 
population. The present 
failure of government 
agencies to keep track of 
migration patterns makes 
this trend very difficult to 
quantify.

279 In 2002 the EU funded 
Elipse Project incorpora-
ted Malmö and Newcastle 
in a study that included
Hamburg, Turin and Copenhagen. This involved practitioners from the five cities working in areas characterised as 'social excluded' and compared differences and attempted to generate joint knowledge about good practices in combating social exclusion. Mikael Stigendal, Final Report of the Elipse Project. Different Problems, Similar Solutions, Malmö 2003, p. 10. This report built upon the conclusions and definition of social exclusion outlined in the European Commission, Joint Report on Social Inclusion, European Commission, Employment and Social Affairs, Brussels 2002.


282 Scott, 1977, 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.

283 Beggren & Greiff, 1992, p.25.


286 After of the 1971 Local Government Act, Newcastle’s boundaries extended to include, Gosforth, Newburn, Castle Ward, Brunswick, Dinnington, Hazelrig, Woolington, Moot Hall and precincts.

287 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.

288 Mess, 1928, p. 28.

289 For detailed discussion of Newcastle’s population during the nineteenth century see Michael Barke, ”The People of Newcastle. A Demographic History” in Colls and Lancaster (ed), 2001, pp. 133-166.


292 This trend led Jay 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”, Jay Winter, ”The Demographic Consequences of the War” in Harold L. Smith (ed), War and Social Change British Society in the Second World War, Manchester 1986, pp.151-78.

293 Census of Population 1929-61.


297 The Times February 2 1984.


299 TCO, the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees and SACO the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations.


302 Viola Klein & Alva Myrdal, Woman’s Two Roles, London 1968.


305 Newcastle City Council, Minutes of Evidence 1967-68, p. 263.

306 Newcastle City Council, Minutes of Evidence 1967-68, p. 263.


308 Malmö Statistik Årsbok 1975, Tabell 134.

309 Malmö Arbetarrekmuns representskap, Protokoll för t vid årsmote, Mars 16 1967.

310 See chapter 2 of this book.

311 Billing & Stigendal, 1994, p. 159.


313 Billing & Stigendal, 1994, pp. 130-137.

314 See chapter 2 of this book.

315 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 52.

316 The figures for Newcastle’s population mask this contraction due to the incorporation of the urban district
of Gosforth to the north of the city in 1974.


319 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 44.


325 Newcastle Corporation Social Services Department, 1974.

326 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 40.

327 Olsson, 1997.

328 Ohlsson, 1994, pp. 77-78.


337 Stigendal, 1999, p. 228.

338 Remark made by Inner
City Officer for the Unemployment Service in Newcastle (May 1997) during interview with the author.

339 Charles Webster, "Healthy or Hungry Thirties?" *History Workshop Journal* 1982: 13, p. 120.


345 Stigendal, 1999.


349 *West City Strategy* (Study commissioned by Newcastle City Council’s Community and Leisure Services Department in December 1995).


351 Interview with Benefits Agency Staff April 1997.


353 *Annual Report of the North Benwell Partnership 1995/6*, Newcastle 1996, p. 29, figure 2, gives a clear indication of the scale of regeneration expenditure on improving the housing stock in these areas.


355 John Belchem, "A city apart: Liverpool, Merseyside and the North West region"; Peter Aronsson, ”The Old Cultural Regionalism and the New”, in Lancaster, Newton and Vall (eds), *Regions and Regionalism in History*, Newcastle 2007,
forthcoming.


357 Arts Business Ltd. Creative Capital, Newcastle 1993, p. 3 (This study was commissioned by Newcastle City Council, Northern Arts, Newcastle Forum and the Newcastle Initiative).

358 Casey, Dunlop & Selwood (eds), Culture as Commodity: the Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK, London 1996.

359 Myerscough’s study took a broader approach including consumer spending on culture and leisure in his assessment of the arts and culture market. Unsurprisingly, this produced more positive conclusions about the economic importance of the cultural sector. John Myerscough, The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain, London 1988.

360 Casey, Dunlop & Selwood, (eds), 1996, p. 5.


362 Arbetet, Jan 14 1944.

363 Sydsvenska Dagbladet September 23 1944.


365 Graaf, 1951, p. 18.


367 The First Ten Years of the Creation of the Arts Council, Typescript, Northumbria University Library, p. 6.


369 John P. Redcliffe-Maud, Support for the Arts in England and Wales, London 1976, p. 24. Redcliffe Maud’s most memorable role was as Chairman of the Commission on Local Government, 1966-69, which proposed the replacement of rural, urban, district and county councils with ‘unitary authorities’, a development considered too radical for the incoming 1970 Conservative government.

370 Hewison, 1997, p. 33

371 Richard Weight, “‘Building a new British culture’: the Arts Centre Movement 1943-53”, in Abigail Beach & Richard


373 Björn Idlinge, ”'Av halt och klass' – ett historiskt nedslag i kulturpolitikens tillblivelse” KRUT 1999: 95, p. 21.

374 Sydsvenska Dagbladet September 23 1944.


380 Proceedings of Newcastle City Council, 1961 pp. 443-446.


382 Trondman, 1999, p. 11.


384 Northern Echo, July 3 1976, p. 4.


386 North East Association for the Arts, Annual Report, 1964-5. TWAS, Northern Arts Records, D. 4347.

387 North East Association for the Art, Annual Report, 1963-64, TWAS, Northern Arts Records, D. 4347.

388 North East Association for
the Arts, General Meeting, November 1961, TWAS, Northern Arts Records, Bound Volumes.

389 Northern Arts, Management Committee Report, 1974/5, TWAS, Northern Arts Records, Bound Volumes.


391 Between 1940-1960 Newcastle’s population increased from 256,000-269,678. Whilst the city centre areas benefited from a growing student population which would remain an enduring feature of post-war demography, this development was offset by the considerable decline in population from the industrial riverside wards, such as Scotswood, site of the historic celebrations and Smith’s physical regeneration. Census of Population, 1921-1961.

392 Mikael Wiehe, local musician and free cultural protagonist commenting in Den Hialöse, 1976: 2.

393 Bill Lancaster, ”Review of Sex Brown Alex and Rhythm and Blues” Northern Review 2001: 9, pp. 133-135.

394 Tom Pickard, ”Work in Progress” Northern Review 2000: 8, p. 37-38.

395 This incident provided the subject for Basil Bunting’s poem What the Chairman Told Tom, Richard Caddell (ed), Basil Bunting the Complete Poems, Oxford 1994, p. 122.


397 The Evening Chronicle October 6 1969.

398 Mother Grumble: North East’s Other Newspaper 1972; 2.

399 Torbjörn Andersson & Aage Radmann, ”Football fans in Scandinavia”: 1900-91, p. 144.


414 *Journal* December 20 1983.
415 John Mapplebeck, ”Women’s Football in the North East”, *North East Football Review* 1990; April, p. 11.
416 *Evening Chronicle* July 7 1983.
417 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.
422 Malmö Kommun, *Protokoll med bed bihang*, Februari 27, 2; 1972, p. 32.
423 Kjell Håkansson, representative from Skådebanan interviewed for *Den Hjalöse* 1980: 3.
426 Malmö Kommun, *Protokoll med bihang* Februari 27, 2; 1976, p. 32.
427 Malmö Kommun, 1975 års verksamhetsberättelser, p. 626.
428 Malmö Kommun, 1975 års verksamhetsberättelser, p. 626.
433 Thomas Faulkner & Andrew Greg, *John Dobson*. *Architect of the North*

Sune Nordgren, iDag March 21 1990, p.5.

Malmö statistik årsbok 1996, Malmö 1996, p. 120.

Sune Nordgren, ”Detta är obildengens stad” Sydsvenska Dagbladet, January 2 1991.


Bill Lancaster, 1992, p. 60.


Newcastle City Council, Newcastle City Council Minutes 1980-81, p. 899.

Alistair Balls, Building, Jan 31 1997.

Evening Chronicle, April 15 1998.


This claim was made during a public meeting of the city’s cultural representatives held at Rooseum in 1998.

Bill Lancaster, ”’As seen on TV’, or why Newcastle/Gateshead didn’t win”, Northern Review 2003/4: 13, p. 9.

Nonetheless contemporary developments have gone some way towards reversing this trend and recently the Guardian voted Newcastle Britain’s best art city in recognition of progress in the last couple of years, such as the opening of ‘The Biscuit Factory’, an art gallery close to the city-centre.

For instance, David Marquand’s work sees the ”Europe of the regions” as equipped to manage the paradox of supra-national integration and sub-national differentiation which neither the Liberal, nor the Marxist version of the state could contend with. David Marquand, ”Nations, Regions and Europe” in Bernard Crick (ed), National Identities. The Constitution of the UK, London 1991, p. 30.

Whilst regional history has burgeoned in recent years in Britain and Sweden, the established ’European’ comparisons rarely provide extensive discussions of the regions within Scandinavian. Peter Aronsson has suggested that continuing interest in the supra-national region remains pre-eminent at the expense of sub-national scholarship. Peter

450 In Britain Glasgow is perhaps the best known example of a strategy that resulted in the city’s designation as European Capital of Culture in 1990. This sought explicitly to re-define the city’s image and to rid it of the stigma of industrial decline by emphasising its unique cultural assets. Franco Bianchini, *The Creative City*, Bournes Green, 1994.


452 *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, February 10 1953, p. 3.

453 Derek Senior, ”The City Region as an Administrative Unit”, *Political Quarterly* 1965: 36, p. 83.

454 See chapter four of this book for details of the boundary changes in Malmö during the 1960s.

455 *Arbetet*, January 4 1968.

456 Ohlsson, 1994, p. 52.

457 Vall, 2001, p. 52.


459 Newcastle City Council, *Report of the Committee as to the visit of Newcastle Corporation’s Housing Committee to Scandinavia*, March 1963, p. 1099.


464 Keating, 1998, pp. 1-37 argues that regions are social constructions in which the combination of a concept of space with territorial mobilisation, elements of geography, cultural identity, administrative apparatus and popular identity can produce a strong regio-
nalism. He further argues that the development is too diverse to be attributed to the condition of post-modernity and must be seen as shaped by local circumstances.

465 See chapter three of this book for details of slum clearance programmes in both cities.

466 Lanigan, 1999, p. 165—this view was expressed by a senior Labour councillor and colleague of T. Dan Smith who was interviewed regarding his involvement in the setting up of regional economic planning boards during the 1960s and 1970s in northern England.

467 See chapter four of this book for details.


469 Herslow came from a family of prominent capitalists in Malmö with links to nineteenth century Lund historians.

470 Peterson, Fryklund & Stigendal, 1987, p. 84 originally the movement had used the Swedish flag with the word ‘freedom’ in the middle as its chief campaign image, it was first after Herslow had restricted his ambitions to Skåne that the regional flag was used.


473 Doctoral student at the time, Per Gunnar Rosenhead who had been studying Catalanian regionalism was amongst the movements supporters, Skånekuriren 1977: 1, p. 6.

474 Carl P. Herslow, Sydsvenska Dagbladet September 10 1983, p. 3.


476 Arbetet, 20 April 1986, p. 31.

477 Skånekuriren 1978: 2.

478 Skånekuriren, 1978: 3.


480 Per Olof Berg & Orvar Löfgren confirm that this regional project emerged with high expectations, with great hopes pinned on its ability to foster economic and urban growth, in addition to providing a testing ground for new cultural integration within the European Union. Per Olof Berg & Orvar Löfgren, “Studying the Birth of a Transnational Region” in Per Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen & Orvar Löfgren (eds), Invoking a

481 Lanigan, 1999, p. 144.
483 David Byrne, ”That lot have stood for it—the demise of northern labourism?” Northern Review 1998: 6, pp. 85-94.
490 Åke E. Andersson (et al), Sydsvensk Framtid, Södertälje 1989.
492 Berg & Löfgren, 2000, pp. 7-27.
493 Tom O’Dell, ”Traversing the Transnational”. in Berg, Linde Laursen & Löfgren, 2000, p. 236.
494 Compared to Malmö towns facing similar structural and social challenges but existing outside the Øresund ‘core’ such as Landskrona have suffered disproportionately. I am grateful to Peter Billing for this insight.
497 Campaign for a Northern Assembly, 1996, p.2.
499 This also generated interest in the academic community and historians have underlined connections with urban sociability since the eighteenth century, see Bill Lancaster, ”Sociability in the City”, in Colls & Lancaster (eds), 2001, pp. 319-341.

501 Newcastle City Council, Newcastle upon Tyne Regional Capital & Urban Development Corporation Subcommittee, May 17 1989, p. 3.


507 Stefan Berger with Mark Donovan and Kevin Passmore, ”Apologias for the Nation-State in Western Europe since 1800” in Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan and Kevin Passmore (eds), Writing National Histories, London 1999.

508 For an emphasis on the antipathy to methodological discussion see Lloyd, ”For Realism against the inadequacies of common sense: A Response to Arthur Marwick”, Journal of Contemporary History, 1996: 31, p. 192.


510 Hilary Geertz, ”Religion and the Decline of Magic”, Journal of Interdisciplinary History 1975: 6, pp. 71-89. This article provides an example of such a charge against historians. In this case, Geertz asserts that Keith Thomas’ unwillingness to define a precise anthropological orientation means that his historical account of complicated phenomena such as Witchcraft in, Religion and the Decline of Magic, New York 1971, are compromised.


513 Theda Skocpol (ed), Vision

514 Skocpol, 1984, p. 3.

515 Mary Fulbrook & Theda Skocpol, ”Destined Pathways: The Historical Sociology of Perry Anderson” in Skocpol, 1984, p. 200.

516 Skocpol, 1984, p. 372.


520 Breuilly, 1992, p. 3.


523 Eltis, 1979, pp. 118-140.


527 See chapter 2 of this book.


530 Dintenfass, 1992, p. 70.


533 Miles Fairburn, Social


535 See chapter 3 of this book.

536 See chapter 4 of this book.


539 Trimmerger, 1984, p. 225.


541 Geertz, 1973, p. 23.

542 Aletta Biersack, ”Local Knowledge, Local History” in Lynn Hunt (ed), The New Cultural History, Berkeley 1989, 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.


547 Thompson, p. 242.


550 Mandelbrote, 1996, pp. 337-350 saw Paul Ricouer, Dominic La Capra & Simon Schama as amongst those contributing to such developments.


This understanding of the comparative approach is also utilised by Fulcher, 1991, 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 concent-
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