



## **Conference programme**

**This version was published 8 October 2019**

**Any last-minute alterations (presenters, titles, rooms) will be**

**[announced in the online version](https://www.ekhist.uu.se/forskning/conference-programme)**

(<https://www.ekhist.uu.se/forskning/conference-programme>)

# 1st Scandinavian Economic History Meeting & 13th Swedish Economic History Meeting

## Thursday, 10th of October

- 10.30-16.30 Registration, Main hall, [Ekonomikum](#)
- 11.00-12.00 National conference of Heads of Department and Directors of Study
- 12.15-13.00 Annual meeting, Swedish Economic History Association
- 13.00-14.00 Lunch for Heads of Department and Directors of Study (Humlan, Ekonomikum)
- 14.00-16.00 SESSION 1**
- 16.00-16.30 Coffee
- 16.30-18.00 **Keynote:**  
Professor Jenny Andersson: *No Limits. Shell, OPEC, and the World Market*,  
Lecture hall 4, Ekonomikum
- 18.00- Welcome drink, Main Hall, Ekonomikum

## Friday, 11th of October

- 8.15-16.30 Registration, Main hall, Ekonomikum
- 8.30-10.30 SESSION 2**
- 10.30-11.00 Coffee
- 11.00-13.00 SESSION 3**
- 13.00-14.00 Lunch, Restaurant Humlan, Ekonomikum
- 14.00-16.00 SESSION 4**
- 16.00-16.30 Coffee
- 16.30-18.30 SESSION 5**

## Saturday, 12th of October

- 8.15-14.00 Registration, Main hall, Ekonomikum
- 8.30-10.30 SESSION 6**
- 10.30-11.00 Coffee
- 11.00-13.00 SESSION 7**
- 13.00-14.00 Lunch, Restaurant Humlan, Ekonomikum
- 14.00-16.00 SESSION 8**
- 16.00- **Book releases in Faculty Club**  
Larsson, M. & Lönnborg, M. (2019). *Omvandlingar. Försäkringsbolaget Skandia 1990-2016*. Förlaget Näringslivshistoria.  
Larsson, & Lönnborg, M. (2018). *Ömsesidig försäkring. Bolag, kunder och marknad*. Dialogos  
Olsson, M., Lönnborg, M. & Rafferty, M. (2019) (Eds.). *Unplanned. The Transformation of States and Financial Markets in 'Transition' Countries*. Dialogos
- 18.15- **Conference dinner**. Västmanlands-Dala Nation. St Larsgatan 13.

## Timetable for panels (The panels in boxes are double panels)

DAY	TIME	Room A138	Room A144	Room A156	Room B115	Room: Various	Room B139	Room A153
Thu	14:00-16:00	1A	1B	1C	1D	1E	1F	
Fri	08:30-10:30	2A	2B	2C	2D	2E	2F	2G
Fri	11:00-13:00	3A	3B	3C	3D		3F	3G
Fri	14:00-16:00	4A		4C	4D	4E	4F	4G
Fri	16:30-18:30			5C	5D	5E	5F	5G
Sat	08:30-10:30	6A	6B	6C	6D	6E	6F	
Sat	11:00-13:00	7A	7B	7C	7D		7F	7G
Sat	14:00-16:00	8A		8C	8D	8E	8F	8G

## Panel 1A

Room: A138

### **Turbulent Finance and the Society I**

Times of financial and monetary turbulence are decisive in history. Whether it is about banking, financial flows, currency or sovereign debt crises, such turbulence leaves its impact on the further development of society. Political regulation or deregulation, or other reform, is often the immediate impact, and thus such turbulence has a long-term impact on the institutional regime. As a consequence, a long-term impact on economic growth and societal development at large can be expected.

This session welcomes papers that explore cases of financial and monetary turbulence and their impact. In an international context, the turbulence that instigated the Great Depression, the turbulence that surrounded the Oil Crises, or the Great Recession with the euro crisis, are certainly cases in point that could be addressed. The Swedish economic history is also interspersed with episodes of turbulence in banking and currency affairs, that have left an impact on the following development and that provide topics for papers.

**Språk: engelska**

**Organisationsansvarig:** Jonas Ljungberg ([jonas.ljungberg@ekh.lu.se](mailto:jonas.ljungberg@ekh.lu.se))

Alexander Abramov (Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration) and Ilja Viktorov\* (Södertörn University): “State-led Financial Capitalism and Emergence of Collateralized Finance in Russia”

Lars Ahland (Stockholm University), Oskar Broberg (University of Gothenburg), Anders Ögren (Lund University): “Banks lending against stocks”

Seán Kenny, Anders Ögren and Liang Zhao (Lund University), ”A preliminary bank level analysis of the 1920s and 1930s crises”

Seán Kenny (Lund University), Rui Esteves (Graduate Institute of International & Development Studies Geneva) & Jason Lennard (NIESR / Lund University): “The aftermath of sovereign debt crises: A narrative approach”

Heikki Mikkonen (Tampere University): “How Long Can It Last? Apprehending growth, crises and business cycles in Nordic economic associations before the First World War”

Jonas Ljungberg\* and Anders Ögren (Lund University): “The EMS Crisis: causes and consequences”

## Panel 1B

Room: A144

### **Från grundforskningen frontlinje: Doktorander presenterar sin forskning Sessionsansvariga: Mats Morell & Orsi Husz**

Ordförande: Orsi Husz

Till denna session inbjuds doktorander med ekonomisk-historiska ämnen att presentera sin forskning. Alla ämnesområden är välkomna oavsett om det handlar om planerad, pågående eller snart avslutat avhandlingsprojekt. Passa på och träffa doktorander från olika institutioner och berätta om ditt projekt för en nationell/skandinavisk publik. Bidrag som diskuterar generella frågor om forskarutbildning och avhandlingsskrivande (metod, teori, forskningsvillkor, publiceringsmöjligheter mm) är också välkomna.

Skicka intresseanmälan med en titelrubrik (och helst också kort abstract) till Mats Morell ([mats.morell@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:mats.morell@ekhist.uu.se))

Deltagare:

Vinzent Ostermeyer (Lund Universty):

A Takeoff for All? The Swedish Industrialization in a Firm-Level Perspective, 1863-1914

Abstract: While we do have a good knowledge of how the Industrial Revolution proceeded at the aggregate level, it is at the micro- or firm-level where economic development occurs. Since differences in firm-level productivity explain large shares in cross-country income differences, we can only by considering firm-level developments be informed of the underlying driving forces of as well as hindrances to economic growth. This thesis considers Sweden between the years 1863 and 1914 as a case study in this regard. The aim of the thesis is to provide the first integrated and quantitative study of the processes of industrialization in a country at the firm-level. The thesis achieves this aim by considering three themes, which are addressed in four papers. The first theme motivates a descriptive analysis of the Swedish industrialization at the firm-level. It presents with the *Fabriksberättelser* a novel yearly dataset covering all Swedish firms, the underlying methods used in its construction, and first descriptive insights into how the industrialization proceeded at the firm-level in Sweden. The second theme asks whether factors such as protectionism and infrastructure projects had a beneficial impact on firm-level developments as it was previously maintained for aggregate analyses. As such, this theme considers the impact of tariffs and the installment of postal offices on firm-level outcomes in quasi-experimental settings. The third theme addresses whether the Swedish industrialization was a self-reinforcing process by estimating the size of local multiplier effects, i.e. whether creating one job resulted in the creation of further jobs. Overall, this study is not only interesting for the sake of Swedish economic history but can inform current debates and economic policy. Moreover, the thesis follows a novel tradition in economic history by relying on quasi-experimental settings and methods.

Victor Persarvet (Uppsala University) : " "Tariffs, Trade and Economic Growth in Sweden 1858-1913"

This thesis investigates the effects of the Swedish tariff policy on trade and economic growth during Sweden's industrial breakthrough. As the Swedish economy developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, its tariff policy also changed from a relatively liberal to a more protectionist policy. The move towards protectionism also coincided with accelerating growth rates. This correlation was not a uniquely Swedish phenomenon but has been found by a number of researchers investigating European countries in the late nineteenth century, which has sparked a debate about what effects the tariff policies had on the development of the European economies.

Using the Swedish tariff legislation and official statistics from the period, this thesis quantifies the Swedish tariff policy between 1858 and 1913 and thus for the first time gives a detailed description of the changes to the Swedish tariff structure. It also investigates the effect of the tariffs on trade using an import demand model, and in addition to this investigates the relationship between import penetration and tariff protection for agriculture and industries in Sweden. Finally, the impact of the Swedish tariff policy on structural change and economic growth is analyzed using effective rates of protection and estimates of labor productivity in the Swedish economy.

Contrary to the UK, which kept a low tariff policy during the period, Sweden adopted a protectionist policy more akin to that of the German Empire. This study shows that the move towards a more protectionist policy in the late 1880s triggered a broad based import substitution. The import structure shifted towards imports of low tariff or duty free commodities, mainly in the form of raw materials and inputs. Whereas the tariff protection was uncorrelated with productivity growth within industries, the tariff structure mainly favored industries with higher levels of labor productivity, inducing factor movements towards more productive sectors. This effect on aggregate productivity was positive but most likely small. This thesis thus highlights the importance of economic structure and variance in labor productivity between sectors for understanding the correlation between tariff protection and growth during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Rickard Westerberg (Handelshögskolan):

Socialists at the Gate: Swedish Business and the Defense of Free Enterprise, 1940-1985

Abstract:

Projektet syftar till att undersöka det svenska näringslivets opinionsbildning 1940–1985. Datan består huvudsakligen av ett unikt och tidigare outforskat arkivmaterial tillhörandes flera organisationer som grundats i syfte att försvara ett privatägt näringsliv framför allt under konfrontationerna med arbetarrörelsen i samband med debatterna om planhushållning på 1940-talet och löntagarfonder på 1970-talet. Projektet kommer att fördjupa vår kunskap om det svenska näringslivets politiska påverkansarbete och därmed bidra till det inhemska och internationella akademiska intresset för organiserade näringslivsintressens samhällspåverkan.

Jonatan Andersson (Uppsala University)

Migration during the Swedish Industrialization, 1860-1940

**Abstract:**

A requirement for the industrialization of Sweden, starting in the mid-19th century, was a large-scale relocation of labor from farm to factory. Though this transfer of people from rural to urban areas is recognized as important, we have little knowledge about the characteristics of the migration and how it evolved during industrialization process. The aim of this thesis is, accordingly, to study internal migration in Sweden on a micro level. I will follow 2,500 individuals born between 1860 and 1900, making yearly observations until at least 1940. The data is obtained mainly from digitalized church records, but also censuses and tax records.

## Panel 1C

Room: A156

“Natural Resources Management. Latin America in the Nordic countries' mirror”

### Organizers :

Cristián Ducoing (Lund University, [cristian.ducoing@ekh.lu.se](mailto:cristian.ducoing@ekh.lu.se)) and José Peres-Cajías (University of Barcelona)

### Language of the session: English

This panel aims at understanding why Latin American and Nordic countries, which are both abundant in natural resources, have followed such a divergent development path throughout the last century. While the comparison between these regions has been previously analysed, the study of the role of natural resources is still insufficient. Scholars have tended to highlight the critical role of vertical linkages (i.e. the ability to promote greater value added in natural resource-related activities). The papers in this session start from a different perspective, taking into account the criticism to the vertical linkages idea: natural resource endowments must not be considered a gift of nature or a lucky heritage, but the output of human investments in knowledge and technology.

Taking advantage of the ongoing project funded by the Swedish Research council and the recent session organized at LASA (2018), the organizers have gathered a solid panel of scholars, mixing papers at initial stage with advanced drafts.

### **Participants and papers**

1. Education, learning and innovation in mining: a comparison of Chile and Norway. **Kristin Ranestad** (Lund University)
2. Taking off from Natural Resources. Fiscal dependency in comparative perspective. **Sara Torregrosa Hetland** (Lund University), **José Alejandro Peres Cajías** (Universitat de Barcelona) and **Cristián Ducoing** (Lund University)
3. Behind copper prices. A historical perspective 1780 - 2016. **Anna Carreras-Marín** (Universitat de Barcelona), **Marc Badia-Miró** (Universitat de Barcelona) & **Cristián Ducoing** (Lund University)
4. Copper, trade and business. The role of big corporations in the copper sector. Chile and Sweden in historical perspective **Ann-Kristin Bergquist** (Umeå University)



## Panel 1D

Room: B115

”Migrationsregimer och efterkrigstidens arbetsmarknad”

Begreppet ”regim” används ofta i migrationsstudier som en abstraktion eller samlingsbeteckning på de formella och informella regler, praxis, institutioner, organisationer och normer som formar människors migrationsmöjligheter och migrationserfarenheter. I regimbegreppet inryms vanligen också dynamiker som upprätthåller och maktförhållanden som omförhandlar olika typer av gränser, dels rumsligt mellan skilda politiska enheter, dels diskursivt mellan människor. I den här sessionen diskuteras därutöver temporala aspekter av begreppet migrationsregim, med fokus på arbetsmarknadsfrågor i såväl ett europeiskt som svenskt perspektiv. Migrationsregimens förändringar och kontinuiteter över tid studeras intersektionellt, med hänsyn till klass, genus och etnicitet. För det första diskuteras den tidiga efterkrigstidens Europaintegration och framväxten av de ”fria” rörligheterna i relation till facklig internationalism, och för det andra EU:s externalisering av gränsbevakningen i en samtidshistorisk synvinkel genom Frontex. För det tredje behandlas svensk offentlig sektor och fackförbundet Kommunals invandrings- och invandrardiskussioner från 1970-talet och framåt. Slutligen, för det fjärde, diskuteras omformuleringar och gränsdragningar mellan omsorgs- och lönearbete i Sverige under de senaste decennierna.

Deltagare:

1. Johan Svanberg, ”Facklig internationalism och migration. Internationella metallarbetarfederationen, Europaintegrationen och efterkrigstidens ”fria” rörlighet”
2. Daniel Silberstein, ”Gräns- och migrationsregimer i EU på 2010-talet”
3. Daniel Stridh, ”Facklig migrationspolitik. Svenska kommunalarbetsförbundet och migration 1972-2015”
4. Paulina de los Reyes, ”Migrationsregimer och reproduktionsarbetets villkor i Sverige 1970-2015”

Ordförande: Markus Lundström

Sessionsspråk: Svenska

## Panel 1E

Room: B153

# Nordic historical national accounts

Historical national accounts constitute an important research field within Nordic economic history. National accounts constitute systematic accounting techniques to measure the economic activity of nations. Internationally, there has been many efforts to extend existing GDP series back to the early modern period and the Middle Ages. Currently there are several ongoing projects in the Nordic countries to reconstruct historical national accounts for the pre-industrial period. This session welcomes contributions in this field in a broad sense, for example, on regional national accounts, long-term economic growth, income distribution, environmental accounts, price indices, purchasing power parities, estimates of production in various branches, national wealth, employment, population, satellite national accounts, estimates of unpaid domestic services, human capital formation, and conceptual development.

Session organizers: Rodney Edvinsson ([rodney.edvinsson@ekohist.su.se](mailto:rodney.edvinsson@ekohist.su.se)),  
Svante Prado ([svante.prado@econhist.gu.se](mailto:svante.prado@econhist.gu.se))

### Papers

1. Rodney Edvinsson, "Swedish Historical National Accounts 10000 BC to the present"
2. Ola Grytten, "Challenges of revising historical national accounts"
3. Guðmundur Jónsson, "Weak spots in the Icelandic historical GDP estimates and ways to remedy them"
4. Roger Svensson, "The Secrets of Emergency Debasements"
5. Svante Prado, "New estimates of volume output in Swedish manufacturing, 1870-1950"
6. Christoffer Gad

## Panel 1F

Room: B139

### **Stronger together?**

With industrialization and the growth of wage work, a number of risks emerged in the form of workplace accidents, illness and unemployment. The transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy meant that a growing group of wage earners lacked the support of old safety nets and needed protection from temporary loss of income. Awareness of new risks in industry prompted both workers and employers to act; the former, by demanding new safety nets, forming voluntary associations and trade unions, and the latter by making various forms of welfare commitments, including investments relating to occupational health and safety. Sicknesses funds and trade unions are examples of collective action when dealing with risk, and became increasingly important in the context of industrialization and with the emergence of the modern labor market. This session presents ongoing research on collective action relating to challenges and emerging risk connected to industrialization, before and during the modern welfare state.

Papers and participants:

1. Lars Fredrik Andersson & Liselotte Eriksson (Enhetene för ekonomisk historia & Centrum för genusstudier, Umeå universitet): "Workplace accidents and workers' solidarity"
2. Johan Junkka (Centre for Demographic and Ageing Research, Umeå universitet): "Voluntary association growth and mortality decline in Sweden 1880-1940"
3. Tobias Karlsson & Maria Stanfors: "To be or not to be? The importance of group size and homogeneity for union membership in Sweden" (Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Lunds universitet)
4. Helene Castenbrandt (Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Lunds universitet): "The move away from poverty relief: Economic assistance at long-term illness in early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden"

Session organizer: Maria Stanfors, professor Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Lunds universitet  
Department of Economic History, Lund University Box 7083, 220 07 Lund Phone: +46 46 222083

## Panel 2A

Room: A138

### **Turbulent Finance and the Society II**

Times of financial and monetary turbulence are decisive in history. Whether it is about banking, financial flows, currency or sovereign debt crises, such turbulence leaves its impact on the further development of society. Political regulation or deregulation, or other reform, is often the immediate impact, and thus such turbulence has a long-term impact on the institutional regime. As a consequence, a long-term impact on economic growth and societal development at large can be expected.

This session welcomes papers that explore cases of financial and monetary turbulence and their impact. In an international context, the turbulence that instigated the Great Depression, the turbulence that surrounded the Oil Crises, or the Great Recession with the euro crisis, are certainly cases in point that could be addressed. The Swedish economic history is also interspersed with episodes of turbulence in banking and currency affairs, that have left an impact on the following development and that provide topics for papers.

**Språk: engelska**

**Organisationsansvarig:** Jonas Ljungberg ([jonas.ljungberg@ekh.lu.se](mailto:jonas.ljungberg@ekh.lu.se))

Alexander Abramov (Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration) and Ilja Viktorov\* (Södertörn University): “State-led Financial Capitalism and Emergence of Collateralized Finance in Russia”

Lars Ahland (Stockholm University), Oskar Broberg (University of Gothenburg), Anders Ögren (Lund University): “Banks lending against stocks”

Seán Kenny, Anders Ögren and Liang Zhao (Lund University), ”A preliminary bank level analysis of the 1920s and 1930s crises”

Seán Kenny (Lund University), Rui Esteves (Graduate Institute of International & Development Studies Geneva) & Jason Lennard (NIESR / Lund University): “The aftermath of sovereign debt crises: A narrative approach”

Heikki Mikkonen (Tampere University): “How Long Can It Last? Apprehending growth, crises and business cycles in Nordic economic associations before the First World War”

Jonas Ljungberg\* and Anders Ögren (Lund University): “The EMS Crisis: causes and consequences”

## Panel 2B

Room: A144

### The Factory Censuses: data and applications I

The Factory Censuses (Fabriksberättelserna) are unique Swedish micro-level sources, containing annual reports on the universe of manufacturing establishments.

They were collected by the Board of Commerce (Kommerskollegiet), starting in the 1740s, and in a largely uniform way throughout two centuries: factory name, owner, type of production, production volume, production value, number of workers of different categories, taxes or taxable annual revenues, and from 1863, specification of machinery and power sources (man, beast, water, steam, electricity).

In a joint effort, researchers from the Department of Economic History in Lund and the Institute for International Economic Studies, Stockholm, is digitizing the Factory Censuses with the aim of creating a high quality database available for researchers. At this session, we will present the database under construction – so far, 1863–1914 – give account for its credits and limitations, present concerns and methods for data processing and linking, and show some early research applications.

Panel organizer: Mats Olsson, [mats.olsson@ekh.lu.se](mailto:mats.olsson@ekh.lu.se)

The Factory Censuses 1740–1914. Sources and data collection

Mats Olsson

Linking Factory Censuses 1863–1900. Methods and early results

Vinzent Ostermeyer

Applications and further research I

Thor Berger

Applications and further research II

Ingvild Almås

Summary discussion

Mats Olsson, all

## Panel 2C

Room: A156

### Aktuell reklamhistorisk forskning I

Det reklamhistoriska fältet i Sverige växer. Vid dessa två sessioner presenteras och diskuteras exempel på den pågående forskningen. Ytterligare bidrag som antingen behandlar reklam, marknadsföringsbranscherna (i bred bemärkelse) eller använder annonser som empiriskt material, välkomnas varmt.

Sessionsansvarig: Nikolas Glover (nikolas [glover@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:glover@ekhist.uu.se))

#### Papers

Discussant: Fredrik Sandgren

1. Erik Lakomaa: "Framtidens kanal? - Videotex i Sverige 1977-1993"
2. Oskar Broberg & Marcus Gianneschi: "A history of cultural sponsorship in Sweden – a new market in marketing"
3. Therese Nordlund Edvinsson, "Vanity for sale: Advertising for the beauty salon in urban Sweden during the 19th Century"

## Panel 2D

Room: B115

### **Industries, oils and energy: historical perspectives**

Chair: Lars Fälting, Uppsala University

#### *Papers:*

Fredrik Olsson-Spjut (Umeå universitet) & Cristian Ducoing (Lunds universitet)

#### **“Capital stock, institutions and path dependence. The energy transition in the Swedish iron and steel sector, 1913–1940**

Energy transitions are a major issue in climate policy. Lessons from the past are crucial for understanding present and future events. The proposed article is an in-depth study of Institutions and energy transition in Sweden taking as case study the iron and steel sector during the period 1913–1940.

The Swedish iron industry did not change to coal in the 19th century. Instead, the industry underwent a technical change within the existing methods of charcoal-based production (Madureira, 2012). The capital investments in the iron and steel industry targeted energy efficiency in furnaces and new steel-making methods from the 1850s and onwards (Olsson, 2007). Relatively larger units and more efficient methods did decrease the amount of charcoal used per tonne of iron and steel produced, but the total energy consumed by the sector increased during the latter half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century (Lindmark & Olsson-Spjut, 2017). With increasing relative prices of charcoal during this period, the Swedish iron and steel sector experienced stronger international competition and decreasing margins. Swedish iron and steel underwent a relatively rapid change in the 1920s and 1930s from wood (charcoal) to a mix of electricity and coal-based production, with a larger part being coal-based, versus electricity-based, production during the earlier part of the 20th century. The pace of the development in changing to new forms of energy within the sector is explained by previous research as a result of the crises the sector experienced in the 1920s. After the First World War, prices of imported iron and steel sharply fell, and the prices of regionally produced charcoal increased. This situation led to a structural change within the iron and steel sector. During the interwar period, 72 ironworks closed. An absolute majority of those were charcoal-based (Arpi, 1953; Inwood, 1985; Smil, 2016). From a historical perspective, the general development of and structural change within Swedish iron and steel during the 1920s and 1930s is quite well documented. On the other hand, with regard to the perspective of energy transition, the relatively rapid energy transition in the sector has not been analysed to the same extent. The Swedish iron and steel sector provides an interesting case for analysis from the perspective of energy transition and the composition

and change of the stock of capital (classified by energy technology), and the role of institutions.

Gregory Ferguson-Cradler (University of Bergen)

**“Ownership, corporate structure and the Energiewende: the Big 4 German electricity utilities from deregulation to the present”.**

Following deregulation of the German electricity sector in 1998 four large corporations quickly consolidated control over the lion’s share of the sector. While these corporations still generate well over half of electricity consumed in Germany, the rapid rise and expansion of wind and solar generation has put them in considerable stress. These giants have been famously unwilling or unable to invest in and build their own renewable capacity. A host of explanations have been offered, from path dependency on fossil and nuclear fuels, rent-seeking and regulatory-capture, to just plain poor strategic decision-making. The market for German renewables has been, instead, dominated by small-scale, “locally”-owned and frequently non-profit or partially non-profit structures.

This paper seeks to explain the trajectory of the major German electricity utilities within the larger context of contemporary political economic history. Using mixed qualitative and quantitative methods, it charts corporate organization and strategies, ownership structures and financing patterns to consider the implications of the corporate form and structure in the energy transition. Given the success of energy cooperatives and the salience of ownership in the energy transition, the paper will give particular attention to the issue of ownership drawing from literatures in economic and business history, political economy, and legal institutionalism.

Thomas Pettersson & Fredrik Olsson Spjut (Umeå Universitet)

**“The Swedish SME sawmill industry since the 1970s – structural change and new competitive advantages”.**

The small and medium sized sawmills normally export a smaller proportion of their production compared to the pulp industry's sawmills. Therefore, the domestic market's development is relatively important for the sawmills. Previous research has not studied these sawmills’ organizational development in relation to the home market, but focused on issues such as changes in product prices and the cost structure of the sawmills. The role of the home market for sawmills is therefore an unexplored aspect of the Swedish basic industry's modern development, which is based solely on the large export dependence of the pulp and paper industries. The aim of this paper is to study how small and medium sized sawmills in northern Sweden handled new competitive conditions after 1970. What characterized the development of the sawmills in terms of productivity, organization, technology, markets and profitability?

Eivind Thomassen (Universitet I Oslo)

**"Crude Oil for a Sophisticated Industry: Explaining State Involvement in Norwegian Oil"**



From the 1970s, Norway emerged as one of the most important oil producing countries around the North Sea, arguably at the time the most important new petroleum province of the world. While the other North Sea states came to rely primarily on the private sector for the exploration for and production of offshore oil and gas resources, Norway pursued a degree of state involvement unprecedented outside the Developing World - embodied in the fast-growing role of the Norwegian

State Oil Company, Statoil. While attempts at state involvement in other North Sea countries were reversed or reduced over the 1980s and 90s, the Norwegian state's involvement was maintained, even expanded.

The paper claims that the relatively strong role played by the Norwegian state in oil production can be explained by a more pronounced ambition among Norwegian policymakers than among North Sea state counterparts to create a Norwegian onshore petroleum-based industry. The ambition was rooted in beliefs about Norway's relative industrial and technological backwardness and in relatively strong concerns about national sovereignty in face of the multinational character of the oil industry. The findings of the paper contradicts previous accounts, claiming strong Norwegian state involvement followed primarily from domestic historical policy traditions.

Lars C. Bruno (Norwegian Business School)

#### **Palm oil industry 1970-2010: Do we see a flying geese pattern emerging?**

Palm oil has in the past 40 years grown from a minor vegetable oil to become the most traded vegetable oil in the world. Malaysia has been the driving force behind the huge increase in palm oil production and trade since 1970. In addition, Malaysia has increasingly moved into the higher value-added segment increasingly generating new industries, which use palm oil as their main input. However, in the past 10 years Indonesia surpassed Malaysia as the world's leading palm oil producer and exporter. Indonesia, with its larger labour force and lower wages has been able to rapidly expand its production since 1990. This aim of the paper is to analyse whether this pattern fits the Flying Geese theory of development, which emphasises changing comparative advantages over time.

The paper will analyse domestic and international factors behind the rise of the palm oil industry relating to Malaysia's and Indonesia's comparative advantage. At the domestic level, the analysis suggest that high degree of industrial policy especially the focus on increases in productivity and potentially shifting comparative advantages. The focus will be on whether the shift of industrial

leadership in the sector, and the most likely explanation of this shift in industrial leadership.

The sources used are statistics gathered from the Malaysian Palm Oil Board library, which included detailed data on costs and labour from 1968 onwards. Other sources include time-series data from the Malaysian Palm Oil Board, FAO data and the Directorate General of Plantations from the Ministry of Agriculture, Indonesia. Other sources include other studies conducted on the palm oil industry, including a doctoral thesis on the Malaysian palm oil processing industry by Jaya Gopal. The method employed is to test the main predictions of the Flying Geese theory such as increase in factor prices and how these predictions fit the Malaysian-Indonesian case.

The likely conclusion is that there is evidence for a Flying-Geese style of development, with Malaysia being the lead goose. However, another likely conclusion is that this pattern is unlikely to spill over to other countries.

Keywords: Agriculture, economic development, East Asia, economic policy

## Panel 2E

Room: B163

### **Arbete, fattigdom och medborgarskap ca. 1880–1950**

I många länders senmoderna historia har medborgarskapet varit nära sammankopplat med lönearbete och självförsörjning. I Sverige har detta tagit sig uttryck i bland annat olika former av arbetstvång för den som saknat lönearbete samt diskvalificering från rösträtten för den som försörjts av fattigvården. Just fattigvårdsunderstödet var dock samtidigt en rättighet som medborgarskapet medgav. I den här sessionen tar vi ett brett grepp på denna typ av frågor och diskuterar dem i relation till klass och kön, samt utifrån ett empiriskt fokus på bland annat samhällelig och privat organisering, statlig reglering samt samhällspolitiska diskussioner. Presentationerna, som rör sig inom perioden 1850–1950, inkluderar resultat från nya och pågående projekt.

1. Markus Lundström (Stockholms universitet) "The Community Kitchen"
2. Fia Sundevall, docent i ekonomisk historia, Stockholms universitet & Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och bibliotek: "Medborgarrätt heter pengar: ekonomiska rösträttsbegränsningar i Sverige efter 1921"
3. Yvonne Svanström, professor i ekonomisk historia, Stockholms universitet: "Prostitution as non-labour leading to forced labour – Sweden 1919–1939"

**Ordförande:** Carolin Uppenberg, fil. dr i ekonomisk historia, Lunds universitet.

**Kommentator:** Silke Neunsinger, docent i ekonomisk historia, Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och bibliotek.

**Organisatör:** Fia Sundevall

**Sessionsspråk:** svenska

## Panel 2F

Room: B139

### Geography and Economic Development: Historical Perspectives on the Growth of Cities and Regions I

Session organizer:

Jakob Molinder (Lund/Uppsala) [jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se)

National economic development masks significant diversity in the trajectory of different geographical places. Recent research in economic history has highlighted the diverse experiences of different regions and cities over the path of economic development, and the distinct functions played by various places for national economic progress. This renewed interest in regions and geography has been accompanied by an increased availability of micro-regional data allowing researchers to address these questions using modern quantitative empirical techniques. In this session, we aim to bring together researchers working on the determinants of regional growth, as well as the role played by factors such as human capital, migration, inequality, innovation, infrastructure, and/or urbanization in shaping the spatial economy and the process of economic growth. We welcome submissions dealing with any of these topics.

1. Jakob Molinder (Lunds universitet/Uppsala universitet) "Determinants of Migration in the Early-Modern and Industrial Era: A comparison for Sweden in the 17th and 20th Centuries" (with Martin Andersson)
2. Anna Missiaia (Lunds Universitet) "The more, the merrier? Urbanization and regional growth in Europe over the 20th century" (with Kerstin Enflo and Joan Rosés)
3. Thor Berger (Lunds universitet) "TBA"
4. Martin Söderhäll (Uppsala universitet /UKÄ) "The effects of historical urban planning on 21st century growth and innovation"
5. Alexandra Lopez Cermeño (Lunds universitet) "TBA"

6. Keith Meyers ( University of Southern Denmark) & Paul Rhode (University of Michigan and NBER): "Exploring the Causes of Driving Hybrid Corn Adoption from 1933 to 1935".
7. Jonathan Michael Feldman (Stockholm University), "The Industrial to Post-Industrial Shift in New York City: The Political Economy of Growth Regimes, 1954-1981".
8. Eric Melander (University of Warwick and CAGE) , "Mobility and Mobilisation: Railways and the Spread of Social Movements"

## Panel 2G – Fast track session I

Room: B153

*These sessions are chaired and organised by representatives of the Scandinavian Economic History Review. Participants may contact Editors-in-Chief Espen Ekberg/Francisco Beltran Tapia for closer details.*

Chair: Espen Ekberg

Comments by: Laura Ekholm and Paul Sharp

*Jakob Starlander, Self-management and Globalisation – Early Modern Forestry in Northern Sweden*<sup>1</sup>

Commentator: Paul Sharp

Notwithstanding harsh conditions such as war, a very cold climate, and state control, the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a time of great economic transformation with direct consequences for people's everyday life. Despite this, we know relatively little about how basic uses of the landscape affected cooperation between parts of the population. My research focus on one aspect of these processes: how peasants managed and carried out resource extractions from forests. As peasants' livelihood became increasingly dependent on what the forests provided as well as on a global market for their production, peasant-economy became more integrated and complex. The ownership structure was organized in such a manner that the freeholding peasants collectively owned their own forests and controlled the resource extraction themselves, with varying monitoring and regulation by the state. The norms and rules which limited as well as enabled a continuous withdrawal from the forests therefore continuously created and re-created concepts of sustainability and order within the local community.

The purpose of this paper is to explain how rules and norms concerning resource extraction from forest commons was organized in Sweden during the seventeenth century. The focus is put on Northern Ostrobothnia in Finland (then a part of the Swedish realm) where a large-scale tar-production and widespread timber-cutting took place during the period, which led to changed conditions regarding the peasants' utilization of forest resources. All this while other outside interest groups simultaneously claimed ownership and rights to the forest's natural resources.

*Klas Eriksson, "A market of tribes: Public and special interests in relation Private Ownership in Stockholm Real Estate Market 1874-2019"*<sup>2</sup>

Commentator: Paul Sharp:

The aim of this paper is, on the one hand, to examine the extent of public and special interest groups considerations in relation to real estate owners in institutions regulating land ownership and building activity in Stockholm from 1874 to 2019, and, on the other hand, to put this in relation to real estate price trend in Stockholm over the same period. By collecting, compressing and analyzing price data on real estate using RS and SPAR methods and tracing out planning and building laws directly and indirectly serving or hindering the public interest group, special interest groups in relation to individual real estate owners, this paper gives both a an long term institutional trend

---

<sup>1</sup> PhD student, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, [jakob.starlander@slu.se](mailto:jakob.starlander@slu.se)

<sup>2</sup> PhD student, Stockholm university, [klas.eriksson@ekohist.su.se](mailto:klas.eriksson@ekohist.su.se)

description to how the ownership of real estate has been changing in Stockholm housing and how it has correlated to the prices of real estate during the same time.

The definition of and relation between public and special interest groups and individual market actors are influenced by Mancur Olson's framework of "collective action" which also gives good ground for spotting institutional layering, path dependency and critical junctures by using comparative historical analysis (CHA). Different theories of externalities and market failures are also discussed in relation to the findings, including public choice theory, Coasean theorem, Hayekian price theory and Ostrom's theory of the commons. This paper might serve as part of a foundation to the questions how the market function in an environment where public and special interest groups often have relatively extensive power over private ownership.

## Panel 3A

Room: A138

### Klassamhället i Sverige, 1500–1900

Arrangörer: Erik Bengtsson (ekonomisk historia, Lund och Göteborg) och Carolina Uppenberg (ekonomisk historia, Göteborg).

Kontakt: [erik.bengtsson@ekh.lu.se](mailto:erik.bengtsson@ekh.lu.se) ; [carolina.uppenberg@econhist.gu.se](mailto:carolina.uppenberg@econhist.gu.se)

Denna session – som är ett andra steg i arbetet på ett temanummer av tidskriften *Arbetarhistoria* – kommer att lyfta upp nya forskningsperspektiv på det svenska klassamhället och dess motsättningar från 1500 till 1900. Sessionen har till syfte att öppna för diskussion av det övergripande och syntetiserande slaget. När vi ställer samman nya rön om lönearbete på 1500-talet, de jordlösa på 1600-talet, tjänstefolk på 1700-talet och lösdriveri på 1800-talet, vilka nya insikter kan vi nå om svensk historia? Sessionen har också till syfte att lyfta och diskutera historiematerialistiska förklaringsmodeller. Marxismen har i historieforskningen idag en så svag ställning att den tenderar att inte ens komma upp till prövning; därför vore det ett bidrag att förutsättningslöst diskutera relevansen av historiematerialistiska förklaringar och modeller – relativt till andra teoribildningars – på svensk historia 1500-1900.

Sessionen kommer att hållas på svenska.

Deltagare:

1. Martin Andersson (Södertörn), ”Träldomens nedgång och tjänar-institutionens uppgång” Mats Hallenberg (Stockholm), ”Bönder, jordlösa och staten på 1500- och 1600-talen” Jonas Lindström (Uppsala), ”Proletarisering och social struktur”
2. Carolina Uppenberg (Göteborg), ”Tjänstefolk och husbönder på den tidigmoderna arbetsmarknaden”
3. Theresa Johnsson (Uppsala), ”Arbetets reglering på 1800-talets arbetsmarknad”



## Panel 3B

Room: A144

### The Factory Censuses: data and applications II

The Factory Censuses (Fabriksberättelserna) are unique Swedish micro-level sources, containing annual reports on the universe of manufacturing establishments.

They were collected by the Board of Commerce (Kommerskollegiet), starting in the 1740s, and in a largely uniform way throughout two centuries: factory name, owner, type of production, production volume, production value, number of workers of different categories, taxes or taxable annual revenues, and from 1863, specification of machinery and power sources (man, beast, water, steam, electricity).

In a joint effort, researchers from the Department of Economic History in Lund and the Institute for International Economic Studies, Stockholm, is digitizing the Factory Censuses with the aim of creating a high quality database available for researchers. At this session, we will present the database under construction – so far, 1863–1914 – give account for its credits and limitations, present concerns and methods for data processing and linking, and show some early research applications.

Panel organizer: Mats Olsson, [mats.olsson@ekh.lu.se](mailto:mats.olsson@ekh.lu.se)

Bairoch at the Firm-Level – Firm Responses to Trade Protection in Sweden, 1873–1895

Vinzent Ostermeyer

Effects of returnees from the emigration to America on entrepreneurship

Björn Eriksson

Industry Statistics 1913–1952: An overview and some applications

Per Pettersson Lidbom

In the Shadow of the Factory. Craftsmen before and during the Industrial Breakthrough

Tobias Karlsson and Johanne Arnfred

Summary discussion

Mats Olsson, all

## Panel 3C

Room: A156

### Aktuell reklamhistorisk forskning II

Det reklamhistoriska fältet i Sverige växer. Vid dessa två sessioner presenteras och diskuteras exempel på den pågående forskningen. Ytterligare bidrag som antingen behandlar reklam, marknadsföringsbranscherna (i bred bemärkelse) eller använder annonser som empiriskt material, välkomnas varmt.

Sessionsansvarig: Nikolas Glover ([nikolas.glover@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:nikolas.glover@ekhist.uu.se))

Chair/Discussant: Elin Gardeström

#### Papers

1. Elin Åström Rudberg, "Sound and Loyal Business. The history of the Swedish advertising cartel 1915-1965"
2. Charlotte Nilsson: "Mellan reklam och arbete. Postorderagenter under tidigt 1900-tal"
3. Nikolas Glover & Andreas Hellenes: A 'Swedish offensive' at the world's fairs: Advertising, social reformism and the roots of Swedish cultural diplomacy, 1935–1939

## Panel 3D

Room: B115

### **Labour, wages and the welfare state**

Chairs: Jan Ottosson, Uppsala University & Maths Isacson, Uppsala University

*Papers:*

Maiju Wuokko (University of Helsinki), Niklas Jensen-Eriksen (University of Helsinki) & Elina Kuorelahti (University of Helsinki)

#### **“The strange non-death of Finnish corporatism”**

Finland is an excellent example of the so-called Nordic model of capitalism with an export-oriented economy and an extensive welfare state. It is also a country, where trade unions and employers' organisations have played a significant role in the society since the 1940s. Many claim that they even hold de facto veto power on various governmental economic and social policy choices, or at least have a strong ability to influence them.

The longevity of the Finnish corporatist system is surprising. After all, it has received a substantial amount of criticism over the decades, and observers and insiders have repeatedly predicated its collapse. Similar systems have disappeared in most other European countries, but the Finnish one survived even though the employers began already in the 1970s, and increasingly from the 1990s onwards, to advocate the end of tripartite agreements. Yet, they have repeatedly agreed to participate in new arrangements. In neighbouring Sweden, which is in many ways a similar society, collective bargaining was decentralized to a large degree already in the early 1990s, but it has continued in Finland almost to the present day.

In this paper, we focus on the employers' views on the corporatist system in Finland from the 1960s to the 2010s. Our goal is to find why the employers have repeatedly agreed to participate in centralised negotiations and agreements. We argue that centralised bargaining has brought tangible benefits for them as well. For instance, in the 1970s, income policy agreements served as a means of 'buying' social peace. And, especially since the 1990s, centralised bargaining has helped to maintain the price competitiveness of Finnish exports. At the same time, however, the corporatist system has made it more difficult to implement structural reforms in the Finnish labour market.

Laura Ekholm (University of Helsinki)

#### **The home-based industrial work and the garment industry in the Swedish and Finnish business censuses**

**Abstract**

My paper discusses how the Swedish and Finnish business censuses (“företagsräkningar”) addressed the appearance of *home-based industrial work*.

Sweden collected a general business census in 1931, 1951, and 1972. Finland came after similar censuses in 1953 and 1964. I analyze how these censuses of Sweden and Finland distinguished, discussed, categorized, and organized information concerning home-based work.

My focus will be on the garment industry, a field of industry customary to sub-contracted home based work. To what extent did the Swedish and Finnish ready-to-wear industry rely on home-based women employees in the 1930s to the 1960s?

I analyze a sample of primary material in business censuses concerning ready-to-wear companies from two cities, Borås and Helsinki. This part discusses the role of home-based work on a firm level demonstrating that salaried employees who worked at their own residence played a central role in the garment industry also in the “golden years” of Swedish and respectively Finnish garment industries, not just at the early stages of the production of standard-sized ready-made clothing.

Olle Jansson & Jan Ottosson

“Employment Transition Agreements and the Struggle over Redundancies in the Swedish Labour Market”

## Panel 3F

Room: B139

### Geography and Economic Development: Historical Perspectives on the Growth of Cities and Regions II

Session organizer:

Jakob Molinder (Lund/Uppsala) jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se

National economic development masks significant diversity in the trajectory of different geographical places. Recent research in economic history has highlighted the diverse experiences of different regions and cities over the path of economic development, and the distinct functions played by various places for national economic progress. This renewed interest in regions and geography has been accompanied by an increased availability of micro-regional data allowing researchers to address these questions using modern quantitative empirical techniques. In this session, we aim to bring together researchers working on the determinants of regional growth, as well as the role played by factors such as human capital, migration, inequality, innovation, infrastructure, and/or urbanization in shaping the spatial economy and the process of economic growth. We welcome submissions dealing with any of these topics.

The session will be held in English.

#### **Participans:**

1. Jakob Molinder (Lunds universitet/Uppsala universitet) "Determinants of Migration in the Early-Modern and Industrial Era: A comparison for Sweden in the 17th and 20th Centuries" (with Martin Andersson)
2. Anna Missiaia (Lunds Universitet) "The more, the merrier? Urbanization and regional growth in Europe over the 20th century" (with Kerstin Enflo and Joan Rosés)
3. Thor Berger (Lunds universitet) "TBA"

4. Martin Söderhäll (Uppsala universitet /UKÄ) "The effects of historical urban planning on 21th century growth and innovation"
5. Alexandra Lopez Cermeño (Lunds universitet) "TBA"
6. Keith Meyers (University of Southern Denmark) & Paul Rhode (University of Michigan and NBER): "Exploring the Causes of Driving Hybrid Corn Adoption from 1933 to 1935".
7. Jonathan Michael Feldman (Stockholm University), "The Industrial to Post-Industrial Shift in New York City: The Political Economy of Growth Regimes, 1954–1981".
8. Eric Melander (University of Warwick and CAGE) , "Mobility and Mobilisation: Railways and the Spread of Social Movements"

## Panel 3G – Fast track session II

Room: B153

*These sessions are chaired and organised by representatives of the Scandinavian Economic History Review. Participants may contact Editors-in-Chief Espen Ekberg/Francisco Beltran Tapia for closer details.*

Chair: Paul Sharp

Comments by: Francisco Beltrán Tapia

*Luis Felipe Zegarra, "Real salaries in Lima, 19th century"<sup>3</sup>*

Commentator: Francisco Beltrán Tapia

This article provides new evidence on salaries and living standards of low-skilled workers in Lima in 1825-75. It also calculates the cost of subsistence using a linear programming model. By relying on primary and secondary sources, I estimate the nominal wages of laborers, doormen, mailmen and servants. Salaries of laborers were collected from the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Lima and the National Archives of Peru. Salaries of doormen, mailmen and servants come from the national government's annual budgets and legal sources. I then compare nominal wages in Lima and the cost of the subsistence basket (composed of food and other basic goods) in order to examine the capacity of low-skilled workers to cover the basic needs of their families.

During this period, low-skilled workers in Lima could cover their basic needs. Real salaries increased in the early 1830s, but declined in the following decades. Real salaries declined during the Guano Era in spite of the commercial bonanza, to a large extent due to the increase in living costs. An international comparison shows that Lima had lower living standards than Northern Europe, but higher than Asia.

*Petri Roikonen, "Shocks and Violence as the only ways of the Great Levelling? Finnish Income Inequality from 1865 to 2016"<sup>4</sup>*

Commentator: Francisco Beltrán Tapia

Although a growing body of literature has investigated the impacts of economic shocks on inequality, long-term studies on the effects of shocks and the subsequent periods of recovery are still rare. This paper presents a new consistent series of before- and after-tax income inequality in Finland utilising income tax data from 1865 to 2016.

This study shows that industrialisation and the economic growth during the latter part of the 19th century gave a room for higher inequalities. However, the link between productivity and inequality disappeared with the advent of the civic society and independence (1917). In overall, the income inequality decreased during the first part of the 20th century, which was mainly the result of economic shocks (e.g. civil war, depressions, inflation, WWI & WWII). Furthermore, the institutional framework transformed from the estate society to the welfare state during the research period. Mainly due to the

---

<sup>3</sup> Associate Professor, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru, lfzegarrab@pucp.pe

<sup>4</sup> PhD student, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki, petri.roikonen@helsinki.fi

advent of the welfare state, from the 1960s until the late 1980s, inequality decreased further. After the recession in the 1990s, inequality increased until 2000 because of the increasing capital incomes of the top income groups as well as the changes made to the taxation and social transfer system. On the contrary, the inequality has remained relatively similar levels in the 21st century.

Saska Heino, *Stability and instability: relative income shares in Finland, 1960–2000*<sup>5</sup>

Commenator: Francisco Beltrán Tapia

The brief history of income distribution in Finland from the mid-1960s until the turn of the millenium is that of a U-shaped curve. A period of decreasing income inequality was followed by a steep increase after the 1991–3 depression. For the vast majority of Finnish taxpayers, these changes left their relative income shares relatively intact. For the very poor and the very rich, on the other hand, the era brought about, in relative terms, significant variation and variance. The relative income shares in Finland seem to have changed almost entirely at the tail-ends of the frequency distribution. The paper analyses taxable income distribution in Finland using a recent two-class distribution of income theory proposed by Drăgulescu and Yakovenko (2001). According to the theory, the probability distribution of around the first 95 % of taxpayers follow a stable exponential distribution, whereas for the remaining 5 %, the distribution follows an instable Pareto or power law distribution. This characterization seems to describe the distribution of taxable income in Finland quite well. It is proposed that changes in business profitability, via profit distribution, have affected the top fractiles' relative shares, thus explaining a great deal of the changes in the overall income distribution.

---

<sup>5</sup> PhD student, Economic and Social History, University of Helsinki,  
saska.heino@helsinki.fi



## Panel 4A

Room: A138

### Measuring long-term inequality trends in incomes and wealth: a global perspective

Session organizers: Erik Bengtsson (Lund/Gothenburg), Ellen Hillbom (Lund) and Jakob Molinder (Lund/Uppsala)

The sessions aim to provide a forum for discussions of labor markets, living standards, and social- and economic inequality across different periods and geographical contexts, bringing together researchers working within different subfields of economic history. This second session focuses on inequality. The first focuses on labor markets, wages, and living standards with the working title "An international approach to labor and wages."

#### **This session:**

Theorizing over the mechanisms behind long-term inequality trends has been a central question in economic history for decades. Despite this interest, we still lack a consensus on both the timing and the main drivers of economic disparities. The past decade has seen an increase in the number of estimates for inequality in pre-industrial and industrializing societies, mostly for the West, but increasingly also for other regions in the world. In this session, we aim to bring together a broad range of papers discussing economic disparities in a wide range of historical and geographical contexts and to highlight the common methodological challenges in estimating long-term inequality trends in wealth and income. As an example, many previous studies have relied on the construction of social tables, and while the method is becoming increasingly popular, there is yet no standardized methodology.

**Chair: Ellen Hillbom**

**Discussants: Ellen Hillbom & Jakob Molinder**

- Jutta Bolt, Erik Green and Ellen Hillbom (Lund), "A federation of inequality: A comparative study of colonial Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe"
- Klas Rönnbäck (Gothenburg), "Wealth Inequality in the Caribbean"
- Nina Boberg-Fazlic (University of Southern Denmark), Markus Lampe (WU Vienna), Paul Sharp (USD and CEPR), "Danish land inequality 1682-1895"
- Rolf Aaberge, Jørgen Modalsli and Edda Solbakken (SSB, Oslo), "Measuring long-run wealth inequality"

## Panel 4C

Room: A156

### Regional dynamik under den agrara revolutionen: kvantitativa skattningar av åkerareal och jordbruksproduktion i Sverige ca 1750-1900 I

Ett problem i studiet av de långa linjerna i Sveriges ekonomiska och agrara utveckling är att uppgifterna om åkerarealer och produktion i 1800-talets officiella jordbruksstatistik inte är tillförlitliga. Samtidigt föreligger ett högkvalitativt källmaterial i de många lantmäteriakter som utifrån storskifte, enskifte och laga skifte ca 1750–1900 täcker en stor del av rikets gårdar. I tre pågående projekt används detta material för att rekonstruera data om arealer och produktion under den agrara revolutionen: projektet Databasen Sveriges åkerarealer 1810 och 1870, vid Institutionen för historiska studier, Göteborgs universitet; Agrarekonomisk tillväxt eller stagnation i Mälardalen: Regionala produktionsdata 1750–1920 vid Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet; samt Tillväxt, institutioner och naturliga förutsättningar: den agrara revolutionen i ett regionalt perspektiv vid Avdelningen för agrarhistoria, Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet.

Syftet med sessionen är att presentera de olika projekten, jämföra och diskutera metodval och källor, samt även att presentera och analysera de resultat som nåtts så här långt. Vad kan de nya sifferserierna säga om den regionala dynamiken i Sverige under den agrara revolutionen? Vilka perspektiv öppnas upp i förhållande till de långa linjerna i landets ekonomiska utveckling? Även forskare utanför de tre projekten hälsas välkomna att inkomma med förslag på papers.

Organisatörer: Lars Nyström (Göteborg) och Marja Erikson (Uppsala).

*En preliminär skattning av jordbruksproduktionen i Uppsala län ca 1760-1920*  
Mats Morell & Marja Erikson, Uppsala universitet

Detta papper presenterar undersökningar av jordbruksproduktionen i Uppsala län avseende perioden ca 1760-1920 och framför allt de metodiska överväganden som görs. Basen för produktionsskattningen är skattningar av åker- och ängsarealernas utveckling, vilka bygger på beskrivningarna till ekonomiska kartan (1862-64), storskiftesakter, tidiga lagaskiftesakter samt lokalundersökningar till BiSOS (N) från ca 1875 och för SOS 1913-20. Skattningar av utsädesproportioner grundas på det tidiga 1800-talets tabellkommissionsuppgifter, primärmaterialet till FK 1848, BiSOS (N) fr.o.m. 1875 samt SOS 1913-20. Skördar skattas med utgångspunkt i äldre skördeomdömen (länsnivå) korntalsuppgifter från statskontoret (länsnivå), BiSOS N och SOS (församlingsnivå) samt sätäthetsuppgifter i FK 1858, BiSOS och SOS. Animalieproduktionen skattas grovt utifrån dels fodertillgång och

utfodringsprinciper, dels församlingsvisa uppgifter om kreatursmängder och tidigare insamlat bouppteckningsmaterial. Åkerarealen ökade enligt skattningen med ca 150 % mellan 1770 och 1920. Tillväxten var avsevärt snabbare från 1860-talet till 1880-talet än den varit tidigare, men den planade ut ifrån mitten av 1880-talet. Övriga skattningar är mer preliminära.

*Skifte och nyodling i Uppsala län 1640-1900*

Maja Lundqvist, Uppsala universitet

The enclosure movement is often considered to have been a central aspect of the agricultural revolution. In the Swedish case, it is commonly held that the transformation of the country from a net importer to a net exporter of grain, while population doubled 1750-1860, was conditioned or at least eased, by the change of the open field system, implying privatization of land use and new possibilities to raise output through land clearance. This hypothesis has, however, not been tested with the use of any larger amounts of data. Land clearance implied the transformation of extensively used pastures and meadows into arable. This meant an intensification of land use and more energy (or monetary value) could be produced on a given area, causing overall land productivity to increase. Using a large dataset based on enclosure acts, economic mapping and early official statistics covering the growth of arable land at village level in several parishes throughout East Central Sweden, this paper examines land clearance in relation to the radical enclosures and various village characteristics in the first half of the 19th century.

*Projektet Databasen Sveriges åkerarealer 1810 och 1870: preliminära resultat*

Erik Hallberg och Lars Nyström

Ett problem med i studiet av den agrara revolutionen i Sverige är bristen enhetliga, trovärdiga och lättillgängliga uppgifter över åkerareal och produktion. Redan i början av 1800-talet fick prästerna i uppgift att sammanställa uppgifter om åker, utsäde och skördar, men dessa uppgifter har bedömts som notoriskt opålitliga inom forskningen: kanske var den verkliga åkerarealen mer än dubbelt så stor som enligt statistiken. Också den statistik som senare samlades in av Hushållningssällskapen och publicerades i BiSOS har belagts med allvarliga brister. Även här anses statistiken underskatta de verkliga åkerarealerna. Men hur stor var missvisningen?

I projektet Databasen Sveriges åkerarealer 1810 och 1870 (RJ) används lantmäteriakter från hela Sverige för att rekonstruera åker och ängsarealer för 1810 och 1870. Så här långt i projektet har ca 9 000 kartakter gått igenom vilket gör det möjligt att följa nyodlingen på häradsnivå. Projektet ska resultera i en databas, fritt tillgänglig för forskning.

Detta paper innefattar en diskussion kring projekts metod samt en presentation av dess preliminära resultat. Något förvånande visade sig den tidiga präststatistik vara bättre än vad som antagits i tidigare forskning. Försök görs vidare att utifrån åkerarealerna uppskatta Sveriges spannmålsproduktion 1810 och 1870. Med hänsyn tagen till import och export sker bara en svag ökning av spannmålskonsumtionen per capita. Potatisen står för den stora ökningen i kaloritillförsel. Det stora språnget i jordbrukets produktivitet sker först efter 1870.

*Svensk jordbruksproduktion, 1800-1910. En studie av tre tidsperioder*  
Carl-Johan Gadd

I Sverige existerar sedan 1802 rikstäckande såväl som regional statistik som visar utsäde, skörd och, för långa perioder, även åkerareal. I stort sett lika länge som statistiken existerat, har det varit känt att den, särskilt i början av 1800-talet, varit kraftigt underskattande. Emellertid avtar underskattningarna med tiden, något som av tidigare forskning har visats särskilt beträffande siffrorna om åkerareal. Denna statistik har beräknats uppge en areal som varit ungefär hälften av den verkliga ca 1800, men kan anses ge i stort sett korrekt information om läget ca 1910. I uppsatsen prövas om det är möjligt att "kalibrera" utsädets och avkastningens storlek med ledning av skillnaden mellan den åker areal som anges i statistiken och den som beräknas ha funnits i verkligheten.

I uppsatsen diskuteras sambandet mellan siffrorna för åkerareal, utsäde och skörd. Särskilda undersökningar görs av perioderna 1802-05 och 1856-60. En kort jämförelse görs också med perioden 1906-10, då statistiken anses rättvisande.

För att undersöka resultatens hållbarhet görs beräkningar av vad den skattade produktionen skulle innebära beträffande kalorikonsumtion per capita. Jag visar att det finns vissa osäkerheter, bland annat i fråga om hur många kilo spannmål en tunna verkligen innehöll vid 1800-talets början, liksom beträffande antalet kalorier ett kilo spannmål innehöll. Osäkerheten härvidlag bidrar till att kaloriberäkningarna måste anses preliminära.

Jag jämför mina resultat med tidigare forskning, bland annat med det ekonomiska värdet av produktionen som anges i volymen om jordbruk i *Historiska nationalräkenskaper för Sverige (HNS:1=Schön 1997)*. Jag hävdar här, beträffande läget ca 1860, att den andel av nettoproduktionen av spannmål som i HNS beräknas ha förbrukats i form av kreatursfoder är för hög, varför jordbrukets bidrag till nationalinkomsten blivit för lågt beräknad. Även Schöns beräkning av jordbrukets bidrag till nationalinkomsten år 1800 anser jag vara för låg.

Sessionen hålls på svenska, papers kan vara på både svenska och engelska.

## Panel 4D

Room: B115

### **Rethinking Debt in Pre-Industrial Europe I**

Panel organizers: Elise M. Dermineur, Umeå University and Martin Almbjär, Uppsala University

Correspondence: [Elise.dermineur@umu.se](mailto:Elise.dermineur@umu.se)

Session language: English

#### **Panel Abstract**

Since the crisis of 2008, debt has increasingly become a major concern in our contemporary world. Abyssal public debt, ever growing student loans, credit card indebtedness and concern regarding the housing bubble regularly appear on the front page of newspapers worldwide. But what is exactly debt? Is it a financial tool sustaining growth or is it the evil of our modern societies auguring its downfall? The last financial crisis has clearly proven that the paradigm of debt was poorly understood, even -and perhaps above all- by economists. We clearly need a better comprehension of the mechanisms and threats associated with debt. In this respect, historians of early financial markets can highlight critical points.

Recently, David Graeber suggested a concept he labelled “everyday communism” in reference to the solidarity and norms of cooperation existing among people when it comes to the structure and organization of their traditional communities, from the management of common lands to neighbourly and daily mutual assistance (Graeber, 2011). With this concept in mind, he proposed studying the evolution of the paradigm of debt over the last 5,000 years, with special reference to the transition from “everyday communism” to “impersonal arithmetic”; this latter model based on inequality, oriented towards profit making and the de-personification of exchange, in other words our current situation. Craig Muldrew, on the other hand, adopts a less radical standpoint and proposes a model he called “economy of obligation”, where pre-industrial debt and credit were embedded in a large network of social and economic relationships (Muldrew, 1998). Parallely, Laurence Fontaine prefers the model of “moral economy” first proposed by E.P. Thompson, where social norms such as fairness and solidarity prevailed (Fontaine, 2014).

Our panel seeks to contribute to this ongoing debate on the meaning of financial exchange and debt. Participants are invited to reflect on the meaning of debt before banks in pre-industrial Sweden and in Europe in a broad fashion. The aim is to discuss debt mechanisms, informal debt versus formal debt character, private versus public debt, and the evolution of the concept of debt over time.

Considering the great interest for this topic, we would like to propose two sessions. If the panel is accepted, it would be our preference that these sessions do not take place on the same day. Each session will features three presenters, one commentator and one chair. Name of commentators and chairs can be added later.

**Paper 1: “Ambiguous Debt: The Meaning of Debt in Sweden and Finland, 1790-1910”**, Authors: Martin Almbjär, Sofia Gustavsson and Tiina Hemminki, all postdoctoral fellows at the Stockholm School of Economics, members of the research project Women and Credit Networks in Sweden and Finland, 1750-1900.

Abstract: This paper seeks to understand the meaning of debt in Sweden and Finland from 1790 to 1910. We have gathered around 2,000 probate inventories from Gävle, Uppsala, and Kristinestad for the years 1790, 1810, 1830, 1850, 1870, 1890 and 1910. We have carefully listed the various terms used to describe a debt. The aim of this paper is therefore threefold. First, it provides a new categorization of debt thanks to a meticulous attention of terminologies. To a lesser extent, it will help to understand how contemporaries understood private financial exchanges. Secondly, this paper aims to analyze the change in the concept of debt over time. Indeed, we locate our study in a period of transition where private exchanges competed with newly founded banks. How did this affect the meaning of debt and the perception of contemporaries? We will make hypothesis based on the analysis of our large sample. And finally, we will attempt to show how the networks of credit evolved over time. Strong homogeneity increasingly yielded to the benefit of intermediated exchanges and network of trust now migrated toward financial institutions. The de-personification of exchange affected social networks and did change the meaning of debt in turn.

**Paper 2: Informal Credit Networks in Pre-Industrial France**

Author: Elise M. Dermineur, Umeå University

In early modern France, before the ascent of banks, the volume of mortgage debt was equal to 10% of GDP in 1807, a percentage highlighting the vitality of early financial markets (Hoffman et alii, 2012). This figure, however, is only the tip of the iceberg, mostly because the calculation is based solely on transactions extracted from notarial records. In early modern France, as well as in Spain or Italy, the notary registered – and archived – several types of loan agreement, such as obligations and annuities. These records have helped historians to draw a sophisticated picture of early financial French markets, assuming that people lend and borrow money primarily via these notarial intermediaries. Lately, however, this picture has been nuanced (Ogilvie et alii, 2012). While notarial obligations and annuities played a critical role in the allocation of credit, in the circulation of capital, and the backing of investment, informal – and often undocumented – transactions have also appeared of significance. These private agreements, often between private individuals, were contracted outside of the notary’s scope. So far, however, these informal credit networks and markets have been unduly neglected.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it explores the world of informal financial transactions and informal networks, highlighting their characteristics and mechanisms. Often considered merely as simple daily transactions made to palliate a lack of cash in circulation and smooth consumption, the examination of private transactions reveals not only that they served various purposes, including productive investments, but also proved to be dynamic. This in turn prompts a rethinking of the meaning of debt and trust. Secondly, this paper proposes to compare informal transactions with formal ones through the study of probate inventories and notarial records respectively. It is possible, thus, to compare these two credit circuits, their similarities and different characteristics and their various networks features. I am especially interested in how the informal credit market compared to the notarial one in terms of volume, actors, purposes and networks. In order to explore these questions, I have selected the probate inventories and notarial records of a rural area in southern Alsace, between 1770 and 1790.

**Paper 3: The other fundamental of exchange: debtor protection in pre-modern economic history**

Author: Jaco Zuidjerduijn, Lund University

Economic historians following in the footsteps of Douglass North have paid much attention to the question of how securities allowed for commercialisation. This has led to an almost exclusive focus on creditors' possibilities to seek compensation from debtors. However, recent research has established that exposing debtors to harsh penalties for defaults severely reduced the use of credit. The paper will look at the role of debtor protection in the rise of market exchange in the pre-modern period.

**Paper 4: Banks before banks – the credit market(s) in Stockholm 1650-1700**

Author: Christopher Phil, Uppsala University

Early modern European credit markets are often described as being based on personal trust and private, or informal, credit. They are contrasted with the modern market, based on trust on institutions and formal credit relations. The dominant narrative of the Swedish credit market, as well as of many credit markets in continental Europe, is that it followed a linear development from personal to institutional credit during the long nineteenth century. However, new research has shown that institutions both pooled and lend money, activities commonly associated with banks, way before the nineteenth century and that the importance of institutional credit varied in time and between places in early modern Europe. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of Stockholm's banco, Riksbens ständers bank, and other institutional actors on the credit market in Stockholm 1650-1700 and to rethink the dichotomies of formal and informal debt, and of private and institutional credit.

**Paper 5: Dealing with the government's salary debts after the Great Northern War**

Author: Joakim Scherp, Stockholm University  
Abstract, TBA

**Paper 6: From liquidity crisis to honorable bankruptcy?  
The terms and implications of credit for small-scale production of consumer goods,  
Sweden ca 1755–75**

Author: Rosemarie Fiebranz

My paper deals with a topic, which so far not have been much researched: credit terms, risks and benefits for the small-scale producer of consumer goods outside the guilds. The context is my ongoing case study of an entrepreneur and official who established a manufacturing workshop for production of ersatz porcelain (faience) in the countryside near Uppsala: Kvarnbergs porslinsfabrik. The workshop was not granted any government loans, which was otherwise given to major manufacturers, mainly in the textile industry. Due to an initially well-functioning credit network and good access to raw materials and craftsmanship, the workshop managed to produce and sell significant quantities of faience goods in central Sweden, via various distribution channels, for a fifteen-year period from around 1755. The manufacturer's bankruptcy in 1773 was very small, when compared to previously investigated trade and manufacturing bankruptcies. Nevertheless, a large number of creditors are listed in the bankruptcy proceedings, major shares were held by institutions as Uppsala University and the Archdiocese, as well as the Uppsala burghers and the manufacturer's family, and two maintaining farmers in the neighboring hamlet. The value of the faience goods that had been circulated for sale on commission, but that had not been given account for – i.e. theoretically important resources, in practice



very bad claims – corresponded to just over 40 percent of the debts in the bankrupt's estate.

I want to start a discussion on issues like these:

- Did the small Swedish producer of consumer goods by the mid-18th century have conditions and arrangements for credit, that corresponded or deviated from the conditions for the large trading houses and manufacturing workshops? What was the importance of the system of commission sales in this context?
- Did the small scale credit network's composition and function correspond to the networks that major players used – or can we see other patterns for security and confidence in the small operator's financial network? Was the small business movement's network dependent on the larger ones, or was its network altogether built in a different magnitude?
- What was the significance of that the producer's bankrupt's estate were not having any assets in the form of land or wealth in any other form?
- Was it just as crucial for the small player without assets in land or wealth, to be credible, trusted and enjoy esteem and respect, as for the larger ones, when it came to getting credit? Or were the small ones to a larger extent depending on other collateral e.g. in the form of pledged objects?
- Could the workshop founder's lack of own land and fortune be to some extent compensated by trust, based on his tenure as a tax commissioner (mantalskommissarie), and his previous position at the Archbishop's Office?

## Panel 4E

Room: A144

### **The development of the political economy in the Nordic area, some scattered examples**

The historical development of the national economies of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland has been examined in considerable detail. However, there is less research comparing the Nordic economies, or mapping the transnational dimensions of the Nordic economic and political development, nor research into what (if anything at all) the Nordic or Scandinavian special path or “Sonderweg” consists of. This session has a collection of papers covering and comparing different aspects of the development of the Scandinavian and Nordic political economy before the Second World War. By comparing, using a birds’ eye-perspective and looking at transnational developments the session aims at instigating a discussion on the historical development of the so-called Scandinavian model.

Jari Eloranta, (Univ. of Helsinki and Jari Ojala, Univ. of Jyväskylä), *Public Debts and the Credibility of Democracies: Nordic Development Patterns in Comparisons*

Harald Rinde, (Univ. of Agder), *Technology & (political) culture: The organization and governance of Scandinavian telecommunications, 1850-1920*

Pål Thonstad Sandvik (Norwegian Univ. of Science and Technology), *The end of laissez faire? The rise of interventionist states in Scandinavia before 1914*

Andreas Dugstad (Norwegian Univ. of Science and Technology), *“Finders keepers” or “property of the people”? Swedish and Norwegian mineral regulations in international context 1870-1939*

## Panel 4F

Room: B139

### The Circulation of Financial Knowledge in Late Modern Sweden: Education, Popularisation, Embracement

Session organizers: David Larsson Heidenblad (david.larsson\_heidenblad@hist.lu.se) and Orsi Husz ([orsi.husz@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:orsi.husz@ekhist.uu.se))

This session will highlight how cultural historical approaches can enhance and challenge prevailing accounts of late modern Swedish economic history. The starting point is that financial markets and practices have come to play a greater role in the lives of the many. Scholarly discussion on this topic is shaped by analysis of quantitative data and macro-theoretical accounts of “neoliberalism” and financialisation”. Although there is a rich international scholarship about everyday finances and “popular finance” within e.g. sociology, anthropology, economic geography cultural economic research with a clear historical perspective is scarce. The session brings together scholars working on the circulation of financial knowledge by means of education and/or popularisation. It will focus on views and values, actors and organizations, as well as public debates and political and business initiatives in relation to small finance: savings, loans, investments and the use of financial services by ordinary people. Moreover, it will take an interest in issues of periodization by discussing if there are any particular phases and trajectories that deserve more attention. How did cultural practices on a micro level relate to the changes that have been described on a macro level? We also seek to spur the formation of new research networks.

Participants:

**Oskar Broberg (Dept. of Economic History, Gothenburg University) – chair/ discussant**

**Claes Ohlsson (Department of Swedish Language, Linnæus University, Växjö), “Saving as a new trend, a virtue or something self-evident? A study of the means and goals of persuasion in 150 years of bank advertisements”**

This presentation and the underlying project concern financial advertising to individual customers in Sweden from a historical perspective with emphasis on the persuasive performativity of advertisements as texts. A general goal of the project is to describe and discuss how the general public's possibilities to save and borrow money from banks and similar companies has become a modern institution in Swedish society over time. An important part in this process of institutionalization is then the marketing and advertising of banks and related firms towards households through means of text genres in discourses. The presentation reports the analytical framework and findings from the ongoing project where advertisements in newspapers and weekly periodicals from the period 1850–1980 are studied. The study focuses on advertisements as texts related to each other over time, as multimodal means for persuasion and as builders of trust between the advertising firm and the expected reader. The analysis is guided by the following questions: What does the bank or company want to sell through its advertising for savings and loan products or services? How are persuasive goals expressed in language and in relation to context, layout and graphic elements? Who is the expected recipient? Is it an individual or is the advertisement directed at a household? Is the recipient perceived as financially knowledgeable or ignorant? How should the intended recipient act and why according to the advertisement?

Private finance advertising is of interest from a discourse perspective because access to money is a crucial factor for both individuals and institutions. The texts used for marketing of personal finance products and services therefore have the potential to scrutinize contemporary societal roles of acting companies and also the nature of the relationships between the companies and the target groups they wish to reach. Advertising reaches out to and aims to convince an audience through complex and constantly updated sets of channels and genres where the assertion of advertising's "parasitic" traits can be used to describe the relationship between marketing and its context. Thus, advertising relates to its contemporary context by obtaining form, language and content from other social discourses of its time in order to be noticed and to have an effect. An analysis of advertising texts therefore has the potential to create a better understanding of a private economic discourse both during a single period and over time.

**Martin Gustavsson (SCORE, Stockholm) & Andreas Melldahl (Dept. of Education, Uppsala University), "Learning to loan. Financial aid to students as a disciplinary device, 1939-2019"**

In this presentation we discuss financialization within the social domain of higher education. When the current system for student financing was introduced in Sweden in 1965, a vehicle was created for two processes: (a) the commodification of education and (b) the transformation of a growing proportion of the population into borrowers, as "elite universities" turned to "mass universities". By extending the timeframe to include also the preceding system for student financing, three phases in how the relationship between higher education and the funding of students has been constructed can be discerned. During the first phase (1939–1964) education was framed as a right, and public financial support was in the form of gifts aimed towards certain groups (poor students with high grades). This phase was followed by a second (1965–1992) during which the introduction of loans as the bulk of the public support coincided with the framing of education as a private and public investment (i.e. human capital). This revised order introduced a new element of financial knowledge: the student/consumer was expected to carefully contemplate on how to spend/invest the borrowed money. The third phase (1993–2019) started with the economic crises of the early 1990s, when education increasingly was framed as an obligation. Even though the financial practice of being a borrower by now had become naturalized, dissatisfaction with how the students/borrowers actually chose to spend/invest their money caused new discussions: how can the system be adjusted in order to force/entice the students to make "better" choices? We analyze discussions and debates concerning the study aid systems as well as the actual usage of the gift/loan systems, during different periods.

**Orsi Husz (Dept. of Economic History, Uppsala University), "Turning the concept of financial knowledge upside down and inside-out. The marketing of credit cards in 1970s Sweden"**

We know that banks and finance companies in the post-war period often willingly engaged in financial education and the promotion of financial literacy among the broader population by means of informational publications, advice services, educational films or courses. Obviously, such activities were parts of the marketing efforts for selling new financial products and recruiting new customers (e.g. Husz 2015). The educational ambitions were also in accordance with official consumer policy which in different ways encouraged and obligated the financial services industry to provide accurate financial information to their customers. Although I believe this picture to be

valid, I propose here an additional and different approach to the history of the circulation of financial knowledge in the 1970s.

My first argument is that especially credit card companies were in the 1960s and 1970s more engaged in achieving unlearning than learning in financial matters. How to weaken or erase historically rooted knowledge (about saving, cash purchases etc) was a key concern, often more important than spreading of (new) knowledge.

My second argument is that along with the figure of the knowledgeable finance consumer we also have to consider that of the known consumer, which emerged long before our era of digitalized and personalized marketing. The “deplorable” lack of financial knowledge among the population often was on the lips of both bankers and credit card company representatives, and they were in the 1960s concerned about the knowledge their customers needed for accurate use of cheque accounts, credit cards and other financial products. However, their interest soon turned to a different kind of knowledge. They envisioned the possibilities of the knowledge about the consumers that the wide-spread use of the very same devices could offer. Archival material shows that the marketing departments of major commercial banks started to realize and problematize this “intimate” knowledge in the late 1960s and as early as in the 1970s, the owner of a major credit card company, explicitly defined knowledge about the card holders as the company’s most important future product – more important in fact than consumer credit itself.

My presentation is based on the insights gained from a larger project, and I mainly use examples from studies about the credit card company InterConto (formerly ContoFöretagen, est. 1971). Its owner Erik Elinder was a savings propagandist turned into a credit man and a former advertising agency owner and advertising expert who in his new venture opted for non ad-based marketing strategies. In the 1970s explosively growing Swedish card market he developed his company into the second most important one after Köpkort, which was jointly owned by the largest banks.

*Key words: financial knowledge, unlearning, knowledgeable consumer, known consumer, credit cards, consumer banking*

**David Larsson Heidenblad (Dept. of History, Lund University), “A nation of everyman investors? Embracing stocks as a savings form in Sweden 1978–2018”**

This paper will present a new research project which studies the profound transformation of the Swedish savings and investment culture, from the late 1970s up to the present. During this period, financial markets and practices have come to play an ever greater role in the lives of the many. Scholars have pointed out that the transformation of Swedish society has been especially thorough. However, despite this, we know surprisingly little about the actors and organizations who have sought to promote and strengthen popular engagement with financial markets. Consequently, scholarly understanding of this process is conspicuously void of historical agency. My project aims to redress the situation by analysing how the national organization Aktiespararnas riksförbund have circulated knowledge about stock saving by means of education and popularisation. By closely examining their activities over a 40 year period, the project aims to provide novel insights into how a society, marked by a widespread scepticism among the populace towards financial markets (Sweden in the

1970s), was radically transformed into a nation of everyman investors (Sweden in the 21st century).

Språk: Abstract, papper och presentationens bilder är på engelska. Sessionen hålls företrädesvis på svenska, men vid behov kan engelska användas.

## Panel 4G – Fast track session III

Room: B153

*These sessions are chaired and organised by representatives of the Scandinavian Economic History Review. Participants may contact Editors-in-Chief Espen Ekberg/Francisco Beltran Tapia for closer details.*

Chair: Laura Ekholm

Comments by: Espen Ekberg and Laura Ekholm

*Matti Hannikainen & Jarmo Peltola, "Finnish Unemployment in the Great Depression of the 1930s from a Comparative Perspective"<sup>6</sup>*

Commentator: Espen Ekberg

The global financial crisis of 2008–2010 increased interest in previous economic crises. The most important point of reference has often been the Great Depression of the 1930s. In this article we will analyse the extent of unemployment in Finland during the Depression from a comparative perspective. In addition to economy-wide unemployment, we present the unemployment figures in urban and rural areas/industries. Our new figures partially support the findings of previous studies. The annual average rate of unemployment was approximately 6–8 per cent in 1932, depending on how the status of relief workers is defined. At its highest, the unemployment rate did not exceed 11 per cent. Yet, in the urban areas and industries where unemployment was a relevant concept and where it was easier to measure it, the unemployment rate was much higher than in the economy as a whole and thus comparable to other Nordic and western countries. The proportion of the agrarian population and the system of unemployment assistance probably served to explain differences in unemployment rates between countries more accurately than labour market flexibilities.

*Cristián Ducoing & Jonas Ljungberg, "Machinery prices during the second industrial revolution. An international comparison of capital goods, 1850 – 1939."<sup>7</sup>*

Commentator: Paul Sharp

Machinery prices are a crucial part of the history of catching up, technological progress and the industrial revolution diffusion. However, the efforts to obtain an international price for capital goods have been scattered and the majority of the works dealing with this phenomena had a national scope mainly. In this paper, the authors have done an effort to homogenise the different national machinery prices available for the period 1850 – 1939, considering three European countries (Great Britain, Sweden and Germany) and five American countries (USA, Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Mexico). The

---

<sup>6</sup> Post-doctoral researchers, Department of Culture, Helsinki Institute of Urban and Regional Studies (Urbaria) & School of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Tampere, matti.hannikainen@uta.fi, jarmo.peltola@tuni.fi

<sup>7</sup> Visting research fellow & Professor, Department of Economic History, Lund University, cristian.ducoing@ekh.lu.se; jonas.ljungberg@ekh.lu.se

research value of these countries is the mix between producers and buyers, allowing us to understand the cost to implement new technologies in the core economies and the periphery.

The paper is also related to the discussion whether prices of comparable *tradables* differ between countries. The findings suggest that they may do so and over periods extending over more than a decade. The textbook case does not allow such slow adjustments of prices in tradable goods. However, friction is a phenomenon of real life and in an economic context this does mean that adjustments to change take time. With technological change production functions change and prices do not adapt immediately into an international equilibrium. Summing up, this paper will contribute with empiric results to the debate on the technological diffusion in the so called "Second industrial revolution" period.



## Panel 5C

Room: A156

### Regional dynamik under den agrara revolutionen: kvantitativa skattningar av åkerareal och jordbruksproduktion i Sverige ca 1750-1900 II

Ett problem i studiet av de långa linjerna i Sveriges ekonomiska och agrara utveckling är att uppgifterna om åkerarealer och produktion i 1800-talets officiella jordbruksstatistik inte är tillförlitliga. Samtidigt föreligger ett högkvalitativt källmaterial i de många lantmäteriakter som utifrån storskifte, enskifte och laga skifte ca 1750–1900 täcker en stor del av rikets gårdar. I tre pågående projekt används detta material för att rekonstruera data om arealer och produktion under den agrara revolutionen: projektet Databasen Sveriges åkerarealer 1810 och 1870, vid Institutionen för historiska studier, Göteborgs universitet; Agrarekonomisk tillväxt eller stagnation i Mälardalen: Regionala produktionsdata 1750–1920 vid Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet; samt Tillväxt, institutioner och naturliga förutsättningar: den agrara revolutionen i ett regionalt perspektiv vid Avdelningen för agrarhistoria, Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet.

Syftet med sessionen är att presentera de olika projekten, jämföra och diskutera metodval och källor, samt även att presentera och analysera de resultat som nåtts så här långt. Vad kan de nya sifferserierna säga om den regionala dynamiken i Sverige under den agrara revolutionen? Vilka perspektiv öppnas upp i förhållande till de långa linjerna i landets ekonomiska utveckling? Även forskare utanför de tre projekten hälsas välkomna att inkomma med förslag på papers.

Organisatörer: Lars Nyström (Göteborg) och Marja Erikson (Uppsala).

*How estimates on agricultural production and land use be employed in the study of climate adaptation and regional differentiation during the agricultural revolution*

Martin Skoglund, SLU, Uppsala

Historical estimates on agricultural production and the total arable land area (as well as the amount of pasture) are lacking for many regions and localities in Sweden during the agricultural revolution. National estimates are quite crude, based on a series of un-tested assumptions and mask regional differences. The specific patterns of historical change and periods of stagnation and growth in different regions that does not fit into a general national narrative therefore remains largely unexplored. Consequently, explanations regarding the underlying drivers that can account for apparent regional divergence within Sweden are also lacking, since the testing or even formulation of any such explanations are dependent upon data on agricultural production and land use. One such hypothesis is variations in natural conditions, including spatial and temporal variance in climate. Using production, land use and climate data, this paper aims to shed new light the underlying factors of agricultural change in Sweden during the agricultural revolution by focusing on one potential mechanism, namely climate adaptation, or put another way, the relationship between agricultural change and

climate. In the process, the paper will discuss possible new avenues or uses for production and land use data, for example how incorporating data from cadastral maps to tithe-based databases (like the Historical Database of Scanian Agriculture) can be used to test traditional assumptions regarding historical climate adaptation in Sweden as well as new hypothesis on climate adaptation practices.

*Den ursprungliga kapitalackumuleringen på svensk botten? En pilotstudie om utmarksskiften ca 1600-1900*

Erik Hallberg och Lars Nyström

Den process som vi brukar benämna skiften innefattade två sammanlinkade processer: 1) Upplösningen av bysystemet (open fields) och upprättande av individuellt brukade och rumsligt konsoliderade ägoenheter, det vill säga skiftet på inägorna; samt 2) privatiseringen av allmänningarna, dvs skiftet på utägorna.

Kännetecknande för svensk skiftesforskning är att den främst upprätthållit sig kring den första av dessa två processer. Detta har inneburit att enskiftet och laga skifte stått i fokus, då dessa reformer till skillnad från det tidigare storskiftet bröt upp open-fieldsstrukturen. Hur den andra processen, skiftet på allmänningarna, gick till har bara studerats fläckvis. Samtidigt finns inom den internationella litteraturen en omfattande teoribildning som tar skiftet på allmänningarna som utgångspunkt. Hit hör inte minst Marx' framställning över "ursprungliga kapitalackumuleringen" samt Hardings tes om "allmänningens tragedi".

I detta paper används lantmäterimaterial från ca 300 församlingar i södra och mellersta Sverige för att skapa en grundläggande kronologisk överblick över allmänningarnas privatisering. Fram träder ett geografiskt mönster som inte tidigare uppmärksammats i forskningen och som kan kopplas till större regionala förlopp i landets ekonomiska och sociala utvecklingshistoria.

Sessionen hålls på svenska, papers kan vara på både svenska och engelska.

## Panel 5D

Room: B115

### **Rethinking Debt in Pre-Industrial Europe II**

Panel organizers: Elise M. Dermineur, Umeå University and Martin Almbjär, Uppsala University

Correspondence: Elise.dermineur@umu.se

Session language: English

#### **Panel Abstract**

Since the crisis of 2008, debt has increasingly become a major concern in our contemporary world. Abyssal public debt, ever growing student loans, credit card indebtedness and concern regarding the housing bubble regularly appear on the front page of newspapers worldwide. But what is exactly debt? Is it a financial tool sustaining growth or is it the evil of our modern societies auguring its downfall? The last financial crisis has clearly proven that the paradigm of debt was poorly understood, even -and perhaps above all- by economists. We clearly need a better comprehension of the mechanisms and threats associated with debt. In this respect, historians of early financial markets can highlight critical points.

Recently, David Graeber suggested a concept he labelled “everyday communism” in reference to the solidarity and norms of cooperation existing among people when it comes to the structure and organization of their traditional communities, from the management of common lands to neighbourly and daily mutual assistance (Graeber, 2011). With this concept in mind, he proposed studying the evolution of the paradigm of debt over the last 5,000 years, with special reference to the transition from “everyday communism” to “impersonal arithmetic”; this latter model based on inequality, oriented towards profit making and the de-personification of exchange, in other words our current situation. Craig Muldrew, on the other hand, adopts a less radical standpoint and proposes a model he called “economy of obligation”, where pre-industrial debt and credit were embedded in a large network of social and economic relationships (Muldrew, 1998). Parallely, Laurence Fontaine prefers the model of “moral economy” first proposed by E.P. Thompson, where social norms such as fairness and solidarity prevailed (Fontaine, 2014).

**Paper 1: “Ambiguous Debt: The Meaning of Debt in Sweden and Finland, 1790-1910”**, Authors: Martin Almbjär, Sofia Gustavsson and Tiina Hemminki, all postdoctoral fellows at the Stockholm School of Economics, members of the research project Women and Credit Networks in Sweden and Finland, 1750-1900.

Abstract: This paper seeks to understand the meaning of debt in Sweden and Finland from 1790 to 1910. We have gathered around 2,000 probate inventories from Gävle, Uppsala, and Kristinestad for the years 1790, 1810, 1830, 1850, 1870, 1890 and 1910. We have carefully listed the various terms used to describe a debt. The aim of this paper is therefore threefold. First, it provides a new categorization of debt thanks

to a meticulous attention of terminologies. To a lesser extent, it will help to understand how contemporaries understood private financial exchanges. Secondly, this paper aims to analyze the change in the concept of debt over time. Indeed, we locate our study in a period of transition where private exchanges competed with newly founded banks. How did this affect the meaning of debt and the perception of contemporaries? We will make hypothesis based on the analysis of our large sample. And finally, we will attempt to show how the networks of credit evolved over time. Strong homogeneity increasingly yielded to the benefit of intermediated exchanges and network of trust now migrated toward financial institutions. The de-personification of exchange affected social networks and did change the meaning of debt in turn.

### **Paper 2: Informal Credit Networks in Pre-Industrial France**

Author: Elise M. Dermineur, Umeå University

In early modern France, before the ascent of banks, the volume of mortgage debt was equal to 10% of GDP in 1807, a percentage highlighting the vitality of early financial markets (Hoffman et alii, 2012). This figure, however, is only the tip of the iceberg, mostly because the calculation is based solely on transactions extracted from notarial records. In early modern France, as well as in Spain or Italy, the notary registered – and archived several types of loan agreement, such as obligations and annuities. These records have helped historians to draw a sophisticated picture of early financial French markets, assuming that people lend and borrow money primarily via these notarial intermediaries. Lately, however, this picture has been nuanced (Ogilvie et alii, 2012). While notarial obligations and annuities played a critical role in the allocation of credit, in the circulation of capital, and the backing of investment, informal – and often undocumented – transactions have also appeared of significance. These private agreements, often between private individuals, were contracted outside of the notary's scope. So far, however, these informal credit networks and markets have been unduly neglected.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it explores the world of informal financial transactions and informal networks, highlighting their characteristics and mechanisms. Often considered merely as simple daily transactions made to palliate a lack of cash in circulation and smooth consumption, the examination of private transactions reveals not only that they served various purposes, including productive investments, but also proved to be dynamic. This in turn prompts a rethinking of the meaning of debt and trust. Secondly, this paper proposes to compare informal transactions with formal ones through the study of probate inventories and notarial records respectively. It is possible, thus, to compare these two credit circuits, their similarities and different characteristics and their various networks features. I am especially interested in how the informal credit market compared to the notarial one in terms of volume, actors, purposes and networks. In order to explore these questions, I have selected the probate inventories and notarial records of a rural area in southern Alsace, between 1770 and 1790.

### **Paper 3: The other fundamental of exchange: debtor protection in pre-modern economic history**

Author: Jaco Zuidjerduijn, Lund University

Economic historians following in the footsteps of Douglass North have paid much attention to the question of how securities allowed for commercialisation. This has led to an almost exclusive focus on creditors' possibilities to seek compensation from debtors. However, recent research has established that exposing debtors to harsh penalties for defaults severely reduced the use of credit. The paper will look at the role of debtor protection in the rise of market exchange in the pre-modern period.

**Paper : Banks before banks – the credit market(s) in Stockholm 1650-1700**

Author: Christopher Phil, Uppsala University

Early modern European credit markets are often described as being based on personal trust and private, or informal, credit. They are contrasted with the modern market, based on trust on institutions and formal credit relations. The dominant narrative of the Swedish credit market, as well as of many credit markets in continental Europe, is that it followed a linear development from personal to institutional credit during the long nineteenth century. However, new research has shown that institutions both pooled and lend money, activities commonly associated with banks, way before the nineteenth century and that the importance of institutional credit varied in time and between places in early modern Europe. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of Stockholm's banco, Riksbankens ständers bank, and other institutional actors on the credit market in Stockholm 1650-1700 and to rethink the dichotomies of formal and informal debt, and of private and institutional credit.

**Paper 5: Dealing with the government's salary debts after the Great Northern War**

Author: Joakim Scherp, Stockholm University  
Abstract, TBA

**Paper 6: From liquidity crisis to honorable bankruptcy?  
The terms and implications of credit for small-scale production of consumer goods,  
Sweden ca 1755–75**

Author: Rosemarie Fiebranz

My paper deals with a topic, which so far not have been much researched: credit terms, risks and benefits for the small-scale producer of consumer goods outside the guilds. The context is my ongoing case study of an entrepreneur and official who established a manufacturing workshop for production of ersatz porcelain (faience) in the countryside near Uppsala: Kvarnbergs porslinsfabrik. The workshop was not granted any government loans, which was otherwise given to major manufacturers, mainly in the textile industry. Due to an initially well-functioning credit network and good access to raw materials and craftsmanship, the workshop managed to produce and sell significant quantities of faience goods in central Sweden, via various distribution channels, for a fifteen-year period from around 1755. The manufacturer's bankruptcy in 1773 was very small, when compared to previously investigated trade and manufacturing bankruptcies. Nevertheless, a large number of creditors are listed in the bankruptcy proceedings, major shares were held by institutions as Uppsala University and the Archdiocese, as well as the Uppsala burghers and the manufacturer's family, and two maintaining farmers in the neighboring hamlet. The value of the faience goods that had been circulated for sale on commission, but that had not been given account for – i.e. theoretically important resources, in practice very bad claims – corresponded to just over 40 percent of the debts in the bankrupt's estate.

I want to start a discussion on issues like these:

- Did the small Swedish producer of consumer goods by the mid-18th century have conditions and arrangements for credit, that corresponded or deviated from the conditions for the large trading houses and manufacturing workshops? What was the importance of the system of commission sales in this context?
- Did the small scale credit network's composition and function correspond to the networks that major players used – or can we see other patterns for security and confidence in the small operator's financial network? Was the small business

movement's network dependent on the larger ones, or was its network altogether built in a different magnitude?

- What was the significance of that the producer's bankrupt's estate were not having any assets in the form of land or wealth in any other form?
- Was it just as crucial for the small player without assets in land or wealth, to be credible, trusted and enjoy esteem and respect, as for the larger ones, when it came to getting credit? Or were the small ones to a larger extent depending on other collateral e.g. in the form of pledged objects?
- Could the workshop founder's lack of own land and fortune be to some extent compensated by trust, based on his tenure as a tax commissioner (mantalskommissarie), and his previous position at the Archbishop's Office?

### **Paper 6 "Luxury, Fashion and the Early Modern Idea of Credit."**

Author: Klas Nyberg

The aim of the paper is to discuss the transformation of the early modern idea of credit, primarily based on Swedish examples, but viewed in relation to an international comparative perspective. More specifically the paper will address how social and cultural ideas about credit and trust in the context of fashion and trade were affected by the growth and development of the bankruptcy institution.

The concepts of luxury and fashion and their connection to social standing and the assertion of rights for different groups in society are intimately connected to excessive consumption on credit. The paper seeks to answer how the concept of credit changed in Sweden towards the end of the early modern period (1500–1800) and in the beginning of the modern period, against an international backdrop that includes the rise of a growing economic realism, and a reformation of the bankruptcy institution. With inspiration from international scholarship the paper will address how and why the early modern concept of credit and the idea of bankruptcies was affected by the modernization of the preindustrial economy at the onset of the modern era. How did this development happen in Sweden specifically in areas and spheres related to fashion and trade, and how can the Swedish examples be viewed when compared to other parts of the world, or to different judicial traditions?

## Panel 5E

Room: A144

### Fantastiska verb och var man hittar dem: Vad olika källor berättar om mäns och kvinnors arbete

Brist på relevanta data har gjort att kunskapen om vad kvinnor och män i det förflutna egentligen gjorde för sin försörjning i länge har varit begränsad. Ett viktigt steg mot ökad kunskap har tagits av det kombinerade forsknings- och digitaliseringsprojektet Gender and Work genom att flytta fokus från yrkestitlar och egendomsinnehav till beskrivningar av konkreta försörjningsaktiviteter. Det stora antalet sådana beskrivningar som samlats in och analyserats i projektets databas (tillgänglig via [gaw.hist.uu.se](http://gaw.hist.uu.se)) utgör en ny empirisk grund för att besvara dessa frågor. Användbarheten hos dessa beskrivningar beror dock, som alla uppgifter om det förflutna, på de källor som de hämtats ur, på källornas tillkomstsituation och källproducenternas syften.

På denna session presenterar vi resultaten från en studie av hur bilden av kön och arbete påverkas av det material vi använder. Vilket arbete, och vems arbete, synliggörs i vilka källor? Underlaget består av olika typer av källor från Västmanland under perioden 1720–1880, bland annat domböcker från såväl stad som landsbygd, mantalslängder och ortsbeskrivningar. Presenterar gör några av forskarna inom Gender and Work.

Sessionen hålls på svenska.

Sessionsansvarig Jonas Lindström: Jonas Lindström [jonas.lindstrom@hist.uu.se](mailto:jonas.lindstrom@hist.uu.se)

Medverkande:

Caroline Lindroth

Jezzica Isralesson

Marie Ulväng

Hedvig Widmalm (Uppsala universitet) "Kvinnors krogdrift i Falun, 1710 – 1740"

## Panel 5F

Room: B139

# Foreign trade in the Nordic countries: New data and new perspectives

Session organizer: Henric Häggqvist, Department of Economic History, Uppsala University, [henric.haggqvist@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:henric.haggqvist@ekhist.uu.se)

### ABSTRACT

Foreign trade has for the longest time been a central feature of economic history, and an essential part of historical national accounts in many countries. While this importance is more or less uncontested and data on foreign trade is generally of good quality far back in time, there are still gaps in the research field that are yet to be filled. This session brings together researchers from several of the Nordic countries who will present opportunities and challenges for historical foreign trade data in the region. Arguably data on exports and imports carry even more weight in the Nordic countries, who all have been small economies highly dependent on international trade and the world market. The region is also one of the more poignant examples of where export-led growth and industrialization successfully went hand-in-hand. Data on foreign trade will be analyzed not only in of itself, but also in its applicability for other economic indicators, such as terms of trade, openness, and effects on economic growth. The session will mainly have a quantitative perspective, focusing on descriptive data as well as econometric methods.

### Participants and preliminary paper titles

Häggqvist, Henric. Hedberg, Peter. Karlsson, Lars. (Department of Economic History, Uppsala University.) "Long-run price- and trade-data: with application for terms of trade in Sweden, 1780– 2010".

Tiainen, Timo. (Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä.) "Finnish International Trade Flows in an Era Moving Towards a More Liberalistic Sate from a Mercantilist Trade Policy".

Jari Ojala (University of Jyväskylä), "Assessing the value of early modern Finnish shipbuilding industry"

Guðmundur Jónsson (University of Iceland) "The terms of trade of Iceland in comparison with other primary producers, 1870–2010"

Viesturs Pauls Karnups, "Latvian-Finnish Economic Relations 1918-1940"



## Panel 5G

### Public health and mortality

Room: B153

Chair: Liselotte Eriksson Umeå University

#### *Papers*

1. Karen Clay (Carnegie Mellon University and NBER), Peter Juul Egedesø (University of Southern Denmark), Casper Worm Hansen (University of Copenhagen), Peter Sandholt Jensen (University of Southern Denmark), Avery Calkins (University of Michigan):

#### **Controlling Tuberculosis? Evidence from the first Community-Wide Health Experiment**

This paper studies the immediate and long-run mortality effects of the first community-based health intervention in the world – the Framingham Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration, 1917-1923. The official evaluation committee and the historical narrative suggest that the demonstration was highly successful in controlling tuberculosis and reducing mortality.

Using newly digitized annual cause -of-death data for municipalities in Massachusetts, 1901-1934, and different empirical strategies, we find little evidence to support this positive assessment. In fact, we find that the demonstration did not reduce tuberculosis mortality, all-age mortality, nor infant mortality. These findings contribute to the ongoing debate on whether public-health interventions mattered for the decline in (tuberculosis) mortality prior to modern medicine. At a more fundamental level, our study questions this particular type of community-based setup with non-random treatment assignment as a method of evaluating policy interventions.

2. Sakari Saaritsa & Markus Ristola (University of Helsinki)

#### **The impact of early health care services on mortality and fertility at the municipal level in Finland, 1880-1913**

The paper provides first estimates of the effect of early health care services on mortality and fertility in late 19th century and early 20th century Finland using a new municipal level panel data. Prompted by the emergence of modern public health concepts and new kinds of state subsidies, municipalities and other local actors begun to hire trained health care professionals to provide services to the public at low or no cost from the 1880s. A network of district doctors had been set up under Swedish rule in the mid-18th century. The new providers included municipal doctors; ambulatory nurses and deaconesses; and midwives. The recruitment took place under varying regimes (municipal with or without

state subsidies, parish, private entities) at different times in different municipalities, generating broad local variation in supply. Our panel data covers all Finnish rural municipalities between 1880-1913 adjusting for border changes (n=439, 14 926 observations) with variables for the introduction of services, mortality (CDR) and fertility (CBR) by sex, as well as a growing set of controls. We are able to estimate econometrically the impact of the early services on mortality and fertility by sex, including interactions of services as well as variation over time and space.

3. Fransisco J. Béltran Tapia (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)

### **Missing girls in historical Europe”**

By reconstructing infant and child sex ratios, the number of boys per hundred girls at different ages, for over a thousand of sub-national regions in 19th-century Europe, this paper suggests that excess female mortality in infancy and childhood was much more important than previously thought, especially in Southern and Eastern Europe. This paper not only seeks to trace the importance of "missing girls", and thus the extent of discriminatory practices, in historical Europe, but also to address to what extent unbalanced sex ratios were the result of structural socio-economic features (such as the lack of labour opportunities for women and the prevalence of nuclear households) or temporary shocks (associated with famines, plagues and other mortality crises), as well as identifying the type of families that were more likely to be involved in this kind of behaviour. It should be noted that excess female mortality was not necessarily the result of female infanticide or ill-treatment of young girls. In high-mortality environments as those present in the past, a discrimination on the way girls were fed or treated when ill, as well as the amount of work which they were entrusted with, resulted in more girls dying from the combined effect of undernutrition and illness.

## Panel 6A

Room: A138

### Historical labor and wages: an international approach I

Session organizers: Erik Bengtsson (Lund/Gothenburg), Kathryn Gary (Lund), and Jakob Molinder (Lund/Uppsala)

Contact: [erik.bengtsson@ekh.lu.se](mailto:erik.bengtsson@ekh.lu.se) ; [Kathryn.gary@ekh.lu.se](mailto:Kathryn.gary@ekh.lu.se) ;  
[jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se)

#### **Abstract**

##### *Preface*

This session is the first of two that share an overall theme. The sessions aim to provide a forum for discussions of labor markets, living standards, and social- and economic inequality across different periods and geographical contexts, bringing together researchers working within different subfields of economic history. This first session focuses on labor markets, wages, and living standards. The second session focuses on inequality with the working title "Measuring long-term inequality trends in incomes and wealth: a global perspective." Both sessions aim to be double sessions.

##### *This session*

This session is devoted to the questions of labor, wages, and living standards. The core purpose is to allow for discussions that advance our understanding of work, wages, living standards, and incomes in the context of economic history. We aim for an international perspective and welcome papers on these topics covering a broad set of geographical areas as well as periods. The session is open for more paper proposals.

#### **Chair: Erik Bengtsson**

#### **Discussants: Erik Bengtsson & Svante Prado**

- Corinne Boter & Sarah Carmichael (Utrecht), "Long-term development of textile wages"
- Maria Fibaek (Lund), "Working poor? A long-run study of agricultural workers' wages and welfare, Kenya c. 1920-2017"
- Kathryn Gary (Lund), "Seasonality of building labor"
- Jakob Molinder and Christopher Pihl (Lund, Uppsala), "Wages in 16th century Sweden"

## Panel 6B

Room: A144

### Impacts of Education – a Session on Social Mobility and Economic Growth, 1820–1970

Scholars have for a long time stressed the importance of education on a number of factors in modern societies, for instance health, fertility, social mobility and economic growth – all aspects of interest for researcher within the field of economic history. But the history of education is not a common topic for sessions on the Swedish Economic History meetings.

The aim for this session is to remedy this in some way. Since there are several projects undertaken at the moment, concerning education and economic development, we will investigate aspects of the educational impact by discussing cases from different historical and geographical contexts.

All presentations and comments will be held in English.

#### Papers:

1. *Educational opportunity, formal education and practical learning in Scandinavia. A presentation of student biographies and their uses: 1820s-1975*, Kristin Ranestad (Lund University).
2. *A College for the People. Social mobility among the students of the first fifteen winter courses at Brunnsvik Folk College, 1906–1921*, Jonas Söderqvist, (Uppsala University)
3. *Missionary education under different colonial regimes. The historical roots of educational development in Cameroon, 1868 – 1960*, Nicolai Baumert, (Lund University)

Discussant: Professor Esbjörn Larsson, Department of Education, Uppsala University

Chair: Jenny Jansson, PhD, Department of Government, Uppsala University

## Panel 6C

Room: A156

### **En näring bland andra? Den agrara omvandlingen i tid och rum I**

Ordförande är Per Eriksson

Sessionsansvariga: [paulina.rytkonen@sh.se](mailto:paulina.rytkonen@sh.se) (Södertörns högskola) ;  
[per.eriksson@ksla.se](mailto:per.eriksson@ksla.se) (Kungl. Skogs- och Lantbruksakademien) ; [patrick.svensson@slu.se](mailto:patrick.svensson@slu.se)  
(SLU)

Den agrara omvandlingen sedan 1800-talet har inneburit en övergång från hantverksmässig till industriell produktion, från att vara en i huvudsak lokal näring där en stor del av produktionen avsåg det egna hushållet till att verka på en global marknad, samt en verksamhet vars kunskapsbas bestod av beprövad erfarenhet till att bli alltmer beroende av den vetenskapliga utvecklingen. I denna mening liknar de agrara näringarna andra näringar. Trots detta är en stor del av lantbruksföretagen relativt små och bundna till en specifik plats. Och förutom att vid händelse av kris kunna försörja befolkningen med livsmedel så antas den agrara sektorn också bidra till bland annat en bättre biologisk mångfald och spelar en viktig roll i förhållande till ett förändrat klimat. Så, är den agrara sektorn en näring bland andra? Kan den till exempel avregleras oavsett konsekvenser?

Vi vill med denna session försöka öka förståelsen kring denna dynamik och hur den förändrats historiskt. Det handlar å ena sidan om specifika agrara frågor, å andra sidan om att skapa förutsättningar för en dialog mellan olika ämnesinriktningar och angreppssätt. Vi ser gärna bidrag kring de agrara kärnverksamheterna *och* forskning där det agrara endast utgjort en delkomponent av undersökningen eller där kopplingen till det agrara kanske bara finns antydd, t.ex. i miljöhistoria, mathistoria och landsbygdshistoria.

#### Participants

1. Magnus Bohman
2. Inger Olausson
3. Hans Jörgensen
4. Anders Wästfält
5. Per Eriksson

## Panel 6D

Room: B115

### *The Economies of Research I*

Contact details: Carl Björvang ([Carl.Bjorvang@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:Carl.Bjorvang@ekhist.uu.se), 073-6269251) and Ylva Hasselberg ([Ylva.Hasselberg@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:Ylva.Hasselberg@ekhist.uu.se), 018-4715755)

Panel abstract: This panel explores various understandings of the economic relationship between scientific research and society. Acknowledging the varieties of research economies present over time in various parts of different societies, the panel will discuss the reasons for, and consequence of, these economies. How do changes in society affect the economic viability of research? How does the perception of science affect which research is seen as valuable? How do various economies of research affect the scientific work itself?

Language: English

1. Carl Björvang (Uppsala universitet): "Financing Swedish Antibiotics Research in the late 20th Century"
2. Daniel Normark(Uppsala universitet/KTH): "Research funding operating on the inner lines of medical science: the Swedish case of Thérèse & Johan Anderssons foundation 1922-1964.
3. Ingemar Pettersson & Per Lundin (Uppsala universitet/Chalmers): "The Swedish Research System – It's Growth, Political Economy and Anatomy"
4. Arvand Mirsafian (Uppsala universitet): "Science and money: A neoliberal turn?"

## Panel 6E

Room: B153

### Corporate internationalization and Nordic business systems

The Nordic countries are often grouped together in international comparisons. Across the Nordic region, the population is well-educated and benefit from high-income. The countries all have welfare states with large public sectors, and the states have a history of active industrial and agricultural policies.

The Nordic countries exhibit striking similarities, but nevertheless the national modernisation process have differed. Swedish economic modernisation is traditionally linked closely to the emergence and growth of large industrial enterprises. Danish modernisation by contrast is often ascribed to agricultural exports and a food processing industry dominated by firms of modest size. Norway in turn owed its wealth to shipping and fishing before oil was discovered, and Finland resembled Sweden with large industrial enterprises.

In this session, the ambition is to use the lessons from business history to discuss the differences between the Nordic business systems. Throughout the capitalist era, firms in all of the Nordic countries have internationalized, and some of them have become competitive on a global scale. By studying the internationalization processes of individual firms in the Nordic countries, we aim to engage in a debate about national differences and similarities. What has driven the internationalization processes – searches for larger markets, lower production costs, or domestic policies? And do the different driving forces behind the internationalization processes tell us something about variations in national economic systems, or are they rather the result of variations across industries and individual companies?

Session organisers: Kristoffer Jensen, Danmarks Industrimuseum [kristoffer.jensen@industrimuseet.dk](mailto:kristoffer.jensen@industrimuseet.dk) and Åsa Malmström Rognes, Uppsala University, [asa.rognes@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:asa.rognes@ekhist.uu.se)

Session members and tentative titles:

1. Susanna Fellman (Gothenburg University), "Institutional constraints and weak capabilities – The slow adaption of internationalization strategies in Finnish business."
2. Marcus Box, Mikael Lönnborg and Paulina Ryötkänen (Södertörn University), "Understanding the Internationalization of Cooperatives"
3. Kristoffer Jensen (Dansk Industrimuseum) and Jeppe Nevers, (University of Southern Denmark), "Danish corporate internationalization and public policies since 1945"
4. Åsa Malmström Rognes (Uppsala University), "Financing Internationalisation in times of Financial Repression"

## Panel 6F

Room: B139

### **Reklam och konsumtionskultur under andra världskriget**

Fredstida konsumtionssamhällen behöver köpvilliga konsumenter. Krigstida nationer kräver självupppoffrande medborgare. Hur hanterar marknadsaktörer – producenter, återförsäljare och marknadsförare – övergången från den ena typen av marknad till det andra? Vi vet relativt mycket om människors konsumtionsmönster historiskt, men konsumtionskultur har oftast studerats som ett fredstida fenomen. Krig och kriser har behandlats som parenteser snarare än påverkansfaktorer. Detta har problematiserats i internationell forskning under senare tid, där särskilt perioden 1939– 1945 lyfts fram som formativt för det moderna konsumtionssamhället. Den här sessionen sker i form av ett rundabordssamtal och presenterar ny och pågående svensk forskning på detta område, där särskilt reklambranschens anpassning till krigsåren studeras och problematiseras. I fokus för diskussionerna står även hur det svenska konsumtionssamhällets anpassning till krigets förutsättningar omformade sociala kategorier som klass, genus och medborgare.

Sessionsansvariga: Klara Arnberg och Nikolas Glover

Medverkande:

1. Klara Arnberg (Stockholms universitet)
2. Elin Gardeström (Södertörns högskola)
3. Nikolas Glover (Uppsala universitet)
4. Erik Lakomaa (Handelshögskolan, Stockholm)
5. Elin Åström Rudberg (Handelshögskolan, Stockholm)

Kommentator: Fia Sundevall (Stockholms universitet /Arbetarrörelsens arkiv)



## Panel 7A

Room: A138

# Historical labor and wages: an international approach II

Session organizers: Erik Bengtsson (Lund/Gothenburg),  
Kathryn Gary (Lund), and Jakob Molinder (Lund/Uppsala)

Contact: [erik.bengtsson@ekh.lu.se](mailto:erik.bengtsson@ekh.lu.se) ; [Kathryn.gary@ekh.lu.se](mailto:Kathryn.gary@ekh.lu.se) ;  
[jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:jakob.molinder@ekhist.uu.se)

### *Preface*

This session is the first of two that share an overall theme. The sessions aim to provide a forum for discussions of labor markets, living standards, and social- and economic inequality across different periods and geographical contexts, bringing together researchers working within different subfields of economic history. This first session focuses on labor markets, wages, and living standards. The second session focuses on inequality with the working title "Measuring long-term inequality trends in incomes and wealth: a global perspective." Both sessions aim to be double sessions.

### *This session*

This session is devoted to the questions of labor, wages, and living standards. The core purpose is to allow for discussions that advance our understanding of work, wages, living standards, and incomes in the context of economic history. We aim for an international perspective and welcome papers on these topics covering a broad set of geographical areas as well as periods. The session is open for more paper proposals.

**Chair: Kathryn Gary**

**Discussants: Kathryn Gary & Edda Solbakken**

- Johannes Westberg (Örebro) "How were nineteenth-century rural teachers paid?"
- Igor Martins (Lund) "Labor Markets in the Cape colony"
- Svante Prado (Gothenburg) & Yoshihiro Sato (European Institute of Japanese Studies), "The Role of ICT in Job Polarization: Evidence from Swedish Firm-Level Data, 2001–2015"
- Erik Bengtsson (Lund/Gothenburg), Jakob Molinder (Lund, Uppsala), and Svante Prado (Gothenburg) "Income Inequality in Sweden, 1870–1950"

## Panel 7B

Room: A144

### **Utbildning i Ekonomisk historia: hur, för vem och varför?**

#### Sessionsansvariga

Magnus Bohman (Ekonomisk historia, Umeå universitet)

Tobias Karlsson (Ekonomisk historia, Lunds universitet)

Peter Håkansson (Institutionen för urbana studier, Malmö universitet)

#### Abstract

Svenska universitet och högskolor har tre huvuduppgifter: att utbilda, forska och samverka. Den här sessionen syftar till att etablera utbildningsfrågornas naturliga plats på den nationella ämneskonferensen, och att öppna för erfarenhetsutbyten mellan institutionerna.

Som ett litet nationellt ämne ställs ekonomisk historia inför särskilda utmaningar. En är att bibehålla ämnets förmenta kärna genom ämnesspecifika kurser och program under inverkan av ett varierande söktryck. En annan är att uppnå framgångsrik diversifiering genom att etablera ämnet i nya sammanhang, men utan att urholka ämnesidentiteten. Den här sessionen välkomnar förslag på alla typer av korta inlägg och presentationer (snarare än *papers*) som berör utbildning i ekonomisk historia, i bred bemärkelse. Särskilt välkomnas historiska och jämförande perspektiv: hur har utbildningen präglats av föränderliga förutsättningar, och vad har fungerat bra respektive mindre bra?

Sessionsspråk: svenska (men även presentationer på engelska är välkomna)

#### Paneldeltagare och preliminära titlar på presentationer

1. Magnus Bohman, Umeå universitet: "Inte bara A-kursen - erfarenheter av hur kandidatprogram främjar studentrekrytering till högre nivåer"
2. Tobias Karlsson, Lunds universitet: "Ekonomisk historia och lärarutbildningen"
3. Helén Strömberg, Umeå universitet: "Utbildning och arbetsmarknadsanknytning"
4. Peter Håkansson, Malmö universitet: "Ekonomisk-historiska perspektiv för fastighetsmäklare och SYV:are"

## Panel 7C

Room: A156

### **En näring bland andra? Den agrara omvandlingen i tid och rum II**

Sessionen hålls på svenska. Ordförande är Per Eriksson

Sessionsansvariga: [paulina.rytkonen@sh.se](mailto:paulina.rytkonen@sh.se) (Södertörns högskola) ;  
[per.eriksson@ksla.se](mailto:per.eriksson@ksla.se) (Kungl. Skogs- och Lantbruksakademien) ; [patrick.svensson@slu.se](mailto:patrick.svensson@slu.se)  
(SLU)

Den agrara omvandlingen sedan 1800-talet har inneburit en övergång från hantverksmässig till industriell produktion, från att vara en i huvudsak lokal näring där en stor del av produktionen avsåg det egna hushållet till att verka på en global marknad, samt en verksamhet vars kunskapsbas bestod av beprövad erfarenhet till att bli alltmer beroende av den vetenskapliga utvecklingen. I denna mening liknar de agrara näringarna andra näringar. Trots detta är en stor del av lantbruksföretagen relativt små och bundna till en specifik plats. Och förutom att vid händelse av kris kunna försörja befolkningen med livsmedel så antas den agrara sektorn också bidra till bland annat en bättre biologisk mångfald och spelar en viktig roll i förhållande till ett förändrat klimat. Så, är den agrara sektorn en näring bland andra? Kan den till exempel avregleras oavsett konsekvenser?

Vi vill med denna session försöka öka förståelsen kring denna dynamik och hur den förändrats historiskt. Det handlar å ena sidan om specifika agrara frågor, å andra sidan om att skapa förutsättningar för en dialog mellan olika ämnesinriktningar och angreppssätt. Vi ser gärna bidrag kring de agrara kärnverksamheterna *och* forskning där det agrara endast utgjort en delkomponent av undersökningen eller där kopplingen till det agrara kanske bara finns antydd, t.ex. i miljöhistoria, mathistoria och landsbygdshistoria.

#### Medverkande

1. Ulrich Lange
2. Paulina Rytkönen
3. Ulf Jansson
4. Jesper Larsson & Eva-Lotta Päivi

## Panel 7D

Room: B115

### *The Economies of Research II*

Contact details: Carl Björvang ([Carl.Bjorvang@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:Carl.Bjorvang@ekhist.uu.se), 073-6269251) and Ylva Hasselberg ([Ylva.Hasselberg@ekhist.uu.se](mailto:Ylva.Hasselberg@ekhist.uu.se), 018-4715755)

Panel abstract: This panel explores various understandings of the economic relationship between scientific research and society. Acknowledging the varieties of research economies present over time in various parts of different societies, the panel will discuss the reasons for, and consequence of, these economies. How do changes in society affect the economic viability of research? How does the perception of science affect which research is seen as valuable? How do various economies of research affect the scientific work itself?

Language: Swedish

1. David Dellstig (Uppsala universitet): "The economics of bundling in the scientific publishing industry since 1995"
2. Ylva Hasselberg(Uppsala universitet): "Scientific judgement, demand and profit. A study of journal editing and the markets for scientific publication 2000—2015"
3. Sven Hellroth (Stockholms universitet), "Vad kan en enskild forskares arkiv berätta om ekonomisk-historia vid Stockholms universitet?"

## Panel 7F

Room: B139

### Corporate governance and ownership in Scandinavia

#### Abstract

Corporate ownership and governance structures are key factors in economic development: *Who owns businesses and how are companies guided by their owner's will, legislation and approved business practices?* These issues have impact on how companies operate and what kind of strategic choices they are inclined to make. According to general assumptions, different owners tend to have different priorities: a private investor expects high return; family prefers continuity and governments wants to pursue various political goals. How corporate management implements these goals depends, among other things, on the corporate governance system: sometimes, corporate management is very much committed to operating under strict rules, while sometimes management has a broad autonomy to implement its own visions. Although ownership and management structure go hand in hand, it is not clear that a particular ownership model would automatically lead to a particular governance model, or that this connection would be similar in the Nordic comparison.

In this panel, we compare the ownership-models and corporate governance systems in Nordic countries. In particular, we will highlight the differences between family and state ownership, and compare how these forms of ownership have adapted to increasing demands from owners and companies emerging since the 1990s.

Medverkande:

1. Hans Sjögren (Linköpings universitet): *Corporate governance within Nordic family dynasties*
2. Martin Jes Iversen (Copenhagen Business School) *A historical perspective of conflict, collusion and cooperation between the A.P. Møller group and the Danish state*
3. Paul Nevalainen and Sverre A. Christensen (University of Jyväskylä and Norwegian Business School): *State ownership in Finland and Norway: A comparison of the development of corporate governance*

The papers are in English.

## Panel 7 G

Room: B153

### **Ekonomisk miljöhistoria**

Sessionen välkomnar presentationer med miljöhistoriska problemställningar

Organisatör: Magnus Lindmark

#### **Presentatör**

1. Fredrik Olsson-Spjut (Umeå universitet): *The transformation of the organic energy system: the Swedish perspective* (with Magnus Lindmark)
2. Mattias Näsman (Umeå universitet): *Negotiating the Environment: Politics and business in the making of European automotive emission control standards.*
3. Magnus Lindmark (Umeå universitet): *The Growth of the Swedish Recycling Industry in Comparative Perspective 1970s-2010s.* (with Ann Kristin Bergquist & Nadezda Petrusenko)
4. Jenny Andersson *The global non reception of the Limits-to Growth report.*

## Panel 8A

Room: A138

### Transportsystemens utveckling - ett institutionellt perspektiv

Sessionsansvarig: Björn Hasselgren, Uppsala universitet

Transportsystemen (infrastruktur och transporter) utvecklas långsiktigt i ett samspel mellan olika förhållanden som sätter gränser för och möjliggör förändring. Ofta drivs förändring från teknologiska innovationer som kanaler, järnvägar, flyg och elektrifiering. Ekonomiska förhållanden och synsätt samspelar med teknologiska förändringsimpulser genom att å ena sidan verka hämmande för introduktionen av nya lösningar genom de stigberoenden som gjorda investeringar genererar. Å andra sidan verkar finansmarknaden för att driva fram nya lösningar där det finns förhoppningar om bättre avkastning på investerat kapital och högre produktivitet.

Politik och sociala/kulturella förhållanden är en annan källa till influenser över tid. Politiken kan driva fram t.ex. en jämn spridning av tjänster men också sätta stopp för introduktionen av ny teknik. Sociala och kulturella förhållanden inverkar på förändringstakt och förändringsbenägenhet. Det kan yttra sig i ett stöd från brukare för nyheter som förväntas leda till en bättre framtid med större möjligheter men också till att nyheter motarbetas genom att de bryter mot invanda mönster och kulturellt givna förhållningssätt på hur ett land eller relationer mellan t.ex. städer ser ut och definieras.

I denna session redovisas tre-fyra olika exempel på stora infrastrukturella/transport-system och förändringsprocesser över längre tid med utgångspunkt från perspektiven ovan. Vilka faktorer har varit avgörande för introduktionen av nya transportinfrastrukturlösningar och vad har hämmat introduktionen? Hur kan man förstå transportinfrastrukturen som uttryck för sociala förhållanden och förändringsprocesser?

1. Jan Ottosson och Lars Fälting, Uppsala University - *Friend or Foe? - The Chicago Conference 1944 on civil aviation and the conflicting position of the Nordic countries.*
2. Jörgen Burchardt, Danish National Museum of Science and Technology - *Transport dynamics. Technology and economy in road and rail freight transport 1900-2000*
3. Josef Taalbi och Hana Nielsen, Lund University - *What killed the electric car? Price, petroleum and Power infrastructure in the US automotive industry, 1895-1942*
4. Thomas Pettersson, Umeå University - *A barrier to Sustainable Transports? Path Dependence and the Swedish Tax Deduction for Commuting*
5. Björn Hasselgren, Uppsala University - *Göta Kanal - Technology, Financing and Politics of Sweden's early 19th Century Mega Project*

Ordförande: Lena Andersson-Skog, Umeå universitet

## Panel 8C

Room: A156

### **Wealth and Debt in Early financial markets.**

Research in financial history has primarily focused on the development and growth of the modern banking system through the use of official statistics, data often gathered in order to manage and control the evolving banking system.

However, even before the development of the “modern banking system”, an important and lively private capital market existed in Sweden as in other Northwest European countries.

This session will explore the capital market and its institutions, how it changed and evolved from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and during the 19th century.

Anders Perlinge

### **Female Financial Agency in Stockholm 1855–1880: Unequal Road to Democratization**

In this paper a sort of prosopographical approach is used to focus on the still rather unobserved but “catalytical” function of women’s wealth to the speed of economic change in society and contribution to industrialization. The main sources are probate inventories and the records of the Stockholm City Chamber of Guardians, which was a unique institute in the capital city that held unmarried women’s and other legally incapacitated individuals’ assets in trust. Even though there certainly were both institutional and cultural obstacles which limited their economic freedom during most of the nineteenth century, women did in fact become money lenders, investors and shareholders of their own right. Empirical evidence from this study seems to indicate that private investors even so added substantial capital, perhaps even fostered the resilience of the private credit market, which sector dominated the capital market for long even in the capital city. Also, female financial agency formed part of an even more important forthcoming change: Democratization.



Axel Hagberg

### **Financial Markets in Sweden - Household Assets and Liabilities 1800-1900**

The research question is how did the informal financial markets, in particular the private credit market, function on an aggregated level in 19th century Sweden. The absence of estimates on the “informal” provision of credits has most likely resulted in an incorrect measurement of the financial sector and its growth during the 19th century. Here, the financial market is analyzed via Swedish probate inventories and not through bank-related sources. Through the use of the method of inverted mortality rates, financial data collected from probate inventories can create new estimations of the economic conditions of the living population, the financial market and its structure. The aim is to present new estimates of the size of the Swedish credit market and its changed structure during the century, illustrating the market transformations from private debts, i.e. debts between natural persons, to debts to legal persons – commercial bank and savings bank debts, mortgage, and debts to other legal persons.

Sverre Knutsen

### **Private banking at the periphery – Norwegian private bankers in the 19th century.**

The newly published “A monetary History of Norway, 1816 – 2016” states that after the chartering of Norges Bank (1816) “credit outside the institutional channels is something of a black box: we know it is there , we know that it once was the thing that made the world go round, but we lack data on its size.” It is a task for new, future research to estimate the magnitude of private banking/other informal credit markets relative to total credit supply. The private bankers even played an important, but decreasing role in the financial markets during the second half of the 19th century, when the modern banking system was formed. The paper finds, however, that the private bankers had an important role in promoting the growing number of modern commercial banks, both as investors and members of the boards of directors. Finally, the paper shows that private banking in Norway followed a similar path as private banking in central and western Europe in developing modern capitalism.

Lili-Annè Aldman

### **Utvecklingen på Stockholms kreditmarknad fram till 1850**

Stockholm brukar beskrivas som en stagnerad stad fram till 1800-talets mitt. Beskrivningarna baseras på befolkningsutvecklingen och eller utrikeshandeln. Men, under perioden genomgick staden ett flertal konjunktursvängningar. Dessutom tas ibland upp den svaga etableringen av banker. Först sex år efter att Göteborg etablerade en sparbank kom den första sparbanken i Stockholm. Men, i Stockholm fanns sedan 1700-talet ett flertal formella utlånare, varav *Rikets ständers bank*, kanske var en av de viktigaste aktörerna. Ytterligare en faktor som sällsynt nämns är att staden genomgick strukturella förändringar från slutet av 1700-talet. Däribland kan nämnas utflyttningen av manufakturer strax utanför stadens tullar, vilka dock fortfarande fortsatte att vara beroende av staden för sitt behov av råvaror, försäljning och personal.

Detta paper har ett tvådelat syfte. Det första är att ge en generell beskrivning av Stockholms formella och informella kreditmarknads utveckling 1800-1850. Den andra är att presentera kreditmarknadens utveckling utifrån två olika aktörsgrupper baserat på fem faktorer; Civilstånd, kön, social tillhörighet, geografi samt deras fordringar och skulder i förhållande till varandra. Båda delarna är främst baserade på bouppteckningar upprättade för dem som avled åren 1800, 1820 och 1850.

## Panel 8D

Room: B115

### **Comparative and transnational Nordic business history**

There is a multitude of excellent research into the business history of each of the Nordic countries. However, much of this research examines business development from a national perspective. The papers in this session examine Nordic business history from a comparative and transnational viewpoint. To what extent has business in the Nordic and Scandinavian countries developed along similar or diverging paths? How can we explain the similarities and/or divergence? Is there a Scandinavian or Nordic way of doing business?

Session organizer:

1. Pål Thonstad Sandvik and Espen Storli, Norwegian Univ. of Science and Technology, *Small states and monopoly power, The international oil industry and the Scandinavian markets before 1940*
2. Micke Lönnborg, Södertörn University and Harald Espeli, BI Norwegian Business School, *Mutual insurance: Experiences from Sweden and Norway in the last 200 years*
3. Knut Sogner, *Bankrupted in the Baltic: The Fall of Nordic Leadership in the Nordic Wood Industry 1910-1928*
4. Oskar Broberg og Klas Rönbeck fra Göteborg: *Aednan och bolaget: Koloniala perspektiv på Grängesbolagets exploatering av norrländsk malm under 1900-talets första hälft*

## Panel 8E

Room: A144

### **Svenska intressegrupper och deras inflytande under 1900-talet**

Den svenska korporativa staten har inneburit samverkan mellan stat och intressegrupper under större delen av 1900-talet. Detta syftar på flera typer av samarbete, bland annat det mellan arbetsmarknadens parter likväl som traditionen av remissförfarande och utredningsväsendet. Trots den stora uppmärksamhet som den här modellen fått i såväl ekonomisk-historisk som annan samhällsvetenskaplig forskning finns många okända aspekter av hur enskilda intressegrupper arbetat för att uppnå inflytande, bland annat vid sidan om det korporativa samarbetet, samt hur olika gruppers inflytande förändrats över tid. Detta är två aspekter som diskuteras under denna panel."

Sessionsansvarig:

Cecilia Kahn (Cecilia.kahn@ekhist.uu.se)

Medverkande:

1. Rickard Westerberg, "Socialists at the Gate: Swedish Business' Campaign Against Planned Economy 1944-1948."
2. Cecilia Kahn, "Interest group influence in Swedish bank regulation 1900-2020 - some early results"
3. Susanna Fellman & Maiju Wuokko, "Detecting business interest groups' preferences: the case of industrial democracy in Finland in the 1960s and 70s"
4. Mikael Wendschlag "Politics and interests in bank crisis management – the case of the Allmänna savings banks in 1929"

## Panel 8F

Room: B139

### **Metod inom ekonomisk-historisk undervisning**

Panelen diskuterar metod inom ekonomisk-historisk undervisning. Tre utmaningar står i fokus. En första allmän utmaning är att balansera metodteori och praktik. All metodundervisning riskerar att upplevas som torrsim, av både studenter och lärare. Det är endast när man prövar de inlärdade teknikerna i eget forskningsarbete som man verkligen förstår hur man ska göra/borde ha gjort.

En annan utmaning är att hitta en vettig balans mellan metodundervisningen och undervisningen av nödvändiga ämneskunskaper. Den utmaningen framstår särskilt stor för Ekonomisk historia, som till skillnad från de samtidsorienterade samhällsvetenskapliga ämnena också måste lära ut kunskaper om historiska samhällsformationer, om utlärdade metoder ska kunna användas på ett meningsfullt sätt.

En tredje utmaning är att balansera kvantitativa och kvalitativa metoder. Inom ämnet har det blivit vanligare med kvantitativa metoder och avancerad ekonometri – en trend som kan ses även inom andra samhällsvetenskapliga ämnen. Hur ska en onödig polarisering mellan å ena sidan kvantitativa metoder och ekonomiska modeller och å andra sidan kvalitativa metoder och användning av annan samhällsvetenskaplig teori kunna undvikas inom undervisning (och forskning)? Hur påverkas ämnet av ett ensidigt fokus? Finns det t.ex. en risk att ett ökat fokus på avancerad ekonometri och användning av ekonomiska modeller innebär en rörelse bort från undervisning i hur noggrann empirisk insamling av egna arkivdata och kartläggningar av historiska sammanhang går till? Finns det en risk att ekonomhistoriker mer ensidigt skolade i kvalitativa metoder avkopplas helt från de internationella huvuddiskussionerna inom ämnet dominerade av en kluometrisk diskurs? Vad kan de respektive ansatserna lära av varandra?

En paneldiskussion mellan

Oskar Broberg, GU, Ylva Hasselberg, UU, Martin Gustavsson SU.

Moderator: Yvonne Svanström, SU.

## Panel 8G

Room: B153

### Representativa institutioner före demokratin

**Ansvarig:** Mattias Lindgren (Stockholms Universitet) [mattias.lindgren@ekohist.su.se](mailto:mattias.lindgren@ekohist.su.se)

**Ordförande:** Fia Sundevall

Representativa institutioner, både lokalt och nationellt, har en historia som börjar lång innan demokratin genombrott. I den här sessionen välkomnar vi alla bidrag som kan belysa denna historia, både artiklar som undersöker institutionernas karaktärsdrag, eller som försöker förklara dessa karaktärsdrag eller som undersöker effekterna av dessa karaktärsdrag. Artiklarna kan behandla vilket land som helst, inte bara Sverige.

#### *Preliminära deltagare*

1. Simon Davidsson (Statsvetenskap, Lunds universitet). Vägen till parlamentarism i Europa.
2. Per Petterson Lidbom (Nationalekonomi, Stockholms Universitet). Political Power, Resistance to Technological Change and Economic Development: Evidence from the 19th century Sweden
3. Hedvig Widmalm & Mattias Lindgren (Ekonomisk-historia, Stockholms Universitet). Vad bråkade man om vid valdispyterna på 1700-talet?
4. Erik Bengtsson (Lunds universitet) Peasant Aristocrats? Wealth and Social Status of Swedish Farmer Parliamentarians 1769–1895

Panelen är på svenska men artiklarna kan vara på engelska.