

Lotta Vikström

GENDERED ROUTES AND COURSES

*The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants
in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden*



Lotta Vikström, Gendered Routes and Courses: The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines migrants during a time of large-scale socio-economic transformations. These changes were particularly evident in the nineteenth-century town of Sundsvall, Sweden, to which thousands of men and women moved. The causes and consequences of their arrival are analyzed by considering migrants' geographical backgrounds, socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and their life-courses in the town. The results are explained by employing a micro-perspective focusing on individual migrants and a macro-perspective that, in addition to acknowledging the importance of structural socio-economic changes, also takes into account the current gender regime. The paths and experiences of women during the period of industrialization are particularly emphasized.

Computerized parish registers enable this study to clarify gendered patterns of socio-spatial mobility. It finds differences and similarities between male and female migrants and illuminates their features in pre-industrial and urban-industrial Sundsvall. The influx increased remarkably over time but its even gender distribution and the characteristics of migrants remained fairly constant even though the town's economic life was based on the surrounding sawmill industry that should have favored men's arrival. Female migrants traveled shorter distances but they responded to business cycles in much the same way as men did and paralleled their length of residence in the town.

The routes migrants took to Sundsvall were largely gendered and so were the consequences of their arrival. Life-course analyses show that a high level of social stability characterized most migrants during their stay in the town, but men particularly benefited from the economic transformation that was underway. Women seldom experienced upward social mobility although the additional sources used here such as local newspapers reveal they were very active in the urban labor market.

In addition to gender several factors influenced patterns of migration such as socio-economic transformations, the availability of social networks, improving transportation, and a growing supply of information. Migrants' multiple movements reveal that regional and larger migration systems brought people to Sundsvall but also encouraged them to leave. Their frequent travels illuminates the process of migration on individual and structural levels and shed light onto the slow process of urbanization in Sweden. Shifts in women's migration patterns are viewed both as a protest against gendered constraints and as a result of the wider public space and labor opportunities they achieved through the introduction of legal and socio-economic reforms in the late nineteenth-century.

This thesis shows the necessity to employ both micro- and macro-perspectives inspired by approaches used in different disciplines to conceptualize migrants and their experience of socio-spatial mobility. The use of a variety of methods and diverse array of sources benefits such efforts and helps identify gendered patterns and women's paths. These methodologies allow us to recognize migrants as agents of change who negotiated a turbulent time and setting that influenced their socio-spatial mobility.

Key words: emancipation, gender, geographical mobility, illegitimacy, industrialization, life-course, migration, nineteenth century, social mobility, women, Sundsvall, Sweden, urbanization

Report no. 21 from the Demographic Data Base, Umeå University 2003

Cover illustration: Sundsvall's harbor ca. 1900-1910. Photo: N.G. Nilsson, Archives of Sundsvalls Tidning, Sundsvall.

© The author and the Demographic Data Base

ISBN 91-7305-431-3

ISSN 0349-5132

GENDERED ROUTES AND COURSES

*The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants
in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden*

Lotta Vikström

GENDERED ROUTES AND COURSES
*The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants
in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden*

Akademisk avhandling
som med tillstånd av rektorsämbetet vid Umeå Universitet
för avläggande av filosofie doktorsexamen
offentligt försvaras i Humanisthuset, hörsal E,
fredagen den 9 maj 2003, klockan 10.15



Lotta Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses: The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden*

Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University, Sweden

Report No. 21 from the Demographic Data Base (DDB), Umeå University, Sweden
Umeå 2003

ISBN 91-7305-431-3

ISSN 0349-5132

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines migrants during a time of large-scale socio-economic transformations. These changes were particularly evident in the nineteenth-century town of Sundsvall, Sweden, to which thousands of men and women moved. The causes and consequences of their arrival are analyzed by considering migrants' geographical backgrounds, socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and their life-courses in the town. The results are explained by employing a micro-perspective focusing on individual migrants and a macro-perspective that, in addition to acknowledging the importance of structural socio-economic changes, also takes into account the current gender regime. The paths and experiences of women during the period of industrialization are particularly emphasized.

Computerized parish registers enable this study to clarify gendered patterns of socio-spatial mobility. It finds differences and similarities between male and female migrants and illuminates their features in pre-industrial and urban-industrial Sundsvall. The influx increased remarkably over time but its even gender distribution and the characteristics of migrants remained fairly constant even though the town's economic life was based on the surrounding sawmill industry that should have favored men's arrival. Female migrants traveled shorter distances but they responded to business cycles in much the same way as men did and paralleled their length of residence in the town.

The routes migrants took to Sundsvall were largely gendered and so were the consequences of their arrival. Life-course analyses show that a high level of social stability characterized most migrants during their stay in the town, but men particularly benefited from the economic transformation that was underway. Women seldom experienced upward social mobility although the additional sources used here such as local newspapers reveal they were very active in the urban labor market.

In addition to gender several factors influenced patterns of migration such as socio-economic transformations, the availability of social networks, improving transportation, and a growing supply of information. Migrants' multiple movements reveal that regional and larger migration systems brought people to Sundsvall but also encouraged them to leave. Their frequent travels illuminates the process of migration on individual and structural levels and shed light onto the slow process of urbanization in Sweden. Shifts in women's migration patterns are viewed both as a protest against gendered constraints and as a result of the wider public space and labor opportunities they achieved through the introduction of legal and socio-economic reforms in the late nineteenth-century.

This thesis shows the necessity to employ both micro- and macro-perspectives inspired by approaches used in different disciplines to conceptualize migrants and their experience of socio-spatial mobility. The use of a variety of methods and diverse array of sources benefits such efforts and helps identify gendered patterns and women's paths. These methodologies allow us to recognize migrants as agents of change who negotiated a turbulent time and setting that influenced their socio-spatial mobility.

Key words: emancipation, gender, geographical mobility, illegitimacy, industrialization, life-course, migration, nineteenth century, social mobility, women, Sundsvall, Sweden, urbanization

Lotta Vikström

Gendered Routes and Courses
The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants
in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden

Contents

Acknowledgments	9
Introduction	11
1. Challenging migration: the possibilities and obstacles to exploring and researching historical migration	14
1.1. Empirical findings and theoretical approaches to migration: A research survey	14
1.1.1. The nature, patterns and types of migration	
<i>The nature of migration – a matter of data and definitions</i>	
<i>From Ravenstein to general features of nineteenth-century migration</i>	
<i>Types of migration</i>	
1.1.2. Causes and consequences of migration	
1.1.2.1. <i>Deterministic macro-level approaches and individualistic aspects on migration</i>	
<i>Large-scale transitions and changing labor markets</i>	
<i>From modernization theories to historical-structural approaches</i>	
<i>Migration and social mobility</i>	
<i>Geographical determinants and the impact of information</i>	
1.1.2.2. <i>Dynamic multi-level approaches and humanist views of migration</i>	
<i>Contextualizing individuals at aggregate, cohort and individual levels</i>	
<i>Life-course and networking migration</i>	
<i>Women migrants and gendering migration</i>	
<i>From multi-disciplinary views of migration towards systems approaches</i>	
1.2. Modeling migration: Aims, data and methodology	40
1.2.1. Employing different perspectives and analytical categories of migration	
1.2.2. Aims and questions	
1.2.3. Sources and the quality of data	
<i>The computerized parish registers of Sundsvall</i>	
<i>The additional sources</i>	
1.2.4. Methodology	
<i>Quantitative and qualitative methods and considerations</i>	
<i>Social classifications</i>	
<i>Geographical categorizations</i>	
2. The town and general migration trends of Sundsvall	69
2.1. Sundsvall in a century of change	69
2.2. Main migration patterns to Sundsvall 1840–1892	73
<i>Expanding influx of migrants</i>	
<i>Economic development and migration patterns</i>	

3.	Socio-geographical characteristics of migrants on arrival: Comparing urban-industrial and pre-industrial patterns	80
	<i>Methodological considerations and cohort criteria</i>	
3.1.	Demographic characteristics of migrants to Sundsvall	81
	<i>Age on arrival</i>	
	<i>Marital status</i>	
	<i>Migration and marriage</i>	
3.2.	Socio-economic composition of the migrants	87
	<i>Social groups and occupations of female migrants</i>	
	<i>Social groups and occupations of male migrants</i>	
3.3.	Geographical backgrounds	94
	<i>Immigrants</i>	
	<i>Short-distance regional migrants</i>	
	<i>Long-distance migrants</i>	
	<i>Maps of the migrants' geographical backgrounds</i>	
	<i>Elaborating distance and gravity models or employing infra-structural improvements and information networks</i>	
	<i>Certain places, certain migrants</i>	
	<i>Gendered routes</i>	
	Concluding remarks	115
4.	Migrants' life-course in Sundsvall during urban-industrial times: Highlighting gender among other demographic characteristics	124
	<i>Methodological considerations concerning the longitudinal approach of the migrants</i>	
4.1.	Duration of residence	126
	<i>Changes in duration of residence over time</i>	
	<i>Duration of residence according to the migrants' different characteristics</i>	
4.2.	Social mobility and occupational changes	133
	<i>Potentials, problems and methodological issues in the analysis of social mobility</i>	
	<i>Occupational changes by social group and evidence of social mobility</i>	
	<i>The role of different characteristics upon migrants' social mobility</i>	
	<i>Social mobility of migrants and natives in Sundsvall</i>	
	<i>The migrants' occupational changes by gender and social groups</i>	
4.3.	Marriage and mortality	147
	<i>Marriage among migrants with different characteristics</i>	
	<i>Gendered mortality patterns</i>	
4.4.	Additional information about the life and work of a few migrants in Sundsvall	151
	<i>Occupational data offered by advertisements and announcements</i>	
	<i>Court cases and police reports</i>	
	Concluding remarks	156

5.	To stay, maybe marry or move away? Multiple movements, marital patterns and careers among young migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s and 1870s	165
	<i>Methodological considerations and cohort criteria</i>	
5.1.	The process of migration on an individual scale: Characteristics and consequences of migrants' multiple movements	168
	<i>Persistent and transient migrants</i>	
	<i>Sequential analysis of the migrants' multiple movements</i>	
	<i>Urban attachment and stepwise migration</i>	
	<i>Stay or leave and maybe head for home</i>	
	<i>Business cycles and genders</i>	
5.2.	Challenging socio-spatial barriers: Socio-geographical perspectives of migrants' marriage patterns and life-courses in Sundsvall	185
	<i>Some notes on marriage</i>	
	<i>Age at marriage</i>	
5.2.1.	Geographical perspectives of migrants' choice of spouse <i>Urban- or non-urban oriented partner preferences</i>	
	<i>Uniting counties</i>	
5.2.2.	Socio-economic perspectives of migrants' choices of spouses and careers <i>The impact of socio-economic status on partner preferences</i>	
	<i>Social mobility and occupational changes over time</i>	
	Concluding remarks	206
6.	Women's migration and illegitimacy: Correlation and consequences	217
6.1.	Migrating 'in the name of shame'? <i>Methodological considerations and cohort criteria</i>	218
	<i>Illegitimacy in literature and theory</i>	
	<i>Undesired pregnancy as a motive for migration</i>	
6.2.	Comparative perspectives of the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts on arrival	226
	<i>Geographical backgrounds</i>	
	<i>Family networks</i>	
6.3.	Longitudinal perspectives of women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts	229
	<i>Duration of residence</i>	
	<i>Marriage and marital mobility</i>	
	<i>The impact of illegitimacy on women's occupations</i>	
	Concluding remarks	238

7.	Different sources, different answers: Aspects of women's work and their labor market in Sundsvall	246
7.1.	Sources and theoretical concepts in conflict	247
	<i>Women's work in the quantitative sources</i>	
	<i>Diverging theories of the increase and emancipatory impact of women's work</i>	
	<i>Additional sources and some methodological considerations</i>	
7.2.	Women's actual work and their labor market in Sundsvall	253
	<i>Transgressing spheres and decomposing gender regimes</i>	
	<i>Pigor</i>	
	<i>Women in the fashion and catering trades</i>	
7.3.	Demographic description of the women in the additional sources	263
	<i>Geographical backgrounds</i>	
	<i>Socio-economic origin and family networks</i>	
	<i>Marriage patterns</i>	
	Concluding remarks	268
8.	Concluding discussion	279
	Capturing large-scale processes through migration patterns	279
	<i>Combining macro- and micro-perspectives</i>	
	Some major findings in relation to six fields within migration research	281
	<i>Migrant selectivity and its universality</i>	
	<i>Migrants' motivation</i>	
	<i>Migration systems</i>	
	<i>The impact of migration on Sundsvall</i>	
	<i>Individual consequences of migrating</i>	
	<i>Emancipatory perspectives on women's relocation and their experience of migration</i>	
9.	Appendix	293
	Sources and bibliography	307
	List of figures, maps and tables	323

Acknowledgments

A research project such as this incurs many debts of gratitude. First, I am most grateful to Lars-Göran Tedebrand who inspired me to take up the subject of migration and has since supervised me. I have benefited greatly from his advice, support and encouragement. He has patiently read my papers and has used his wide knowledge to provide thoughtful comments and perspectives.

Three other persons deserve special thanks. Sören Edvinsson has provided me with fruitful insights into statistical and methodological issues, and Ann-Katrin Hatje has proven helpful in my efforts to illuminate women migrants. This dissertation also owes a great deal to Stephan Curtis who has spent hours improving my English and providing me with constructive critique.

I would also like to thank colleagues and comrades at the Department of Historical studies and especially those who participated in the seminars in historical demography. Each of you, in your own way, has contributed to this book and made my life more enjoyable. Over the years you have read my papers and made detailed and insightful comments about my work. I have also had the pleasure to find some close friends among you.

Furthermore, I am grateful to Lars-Göran Carlsson who prepared data files for me with great skill and willingness to help. This also goes for all the staff at the Demographic Data Base (DDB) who have shared their knowledge of the material and contributed with technical support. Berit Eriksson deserves special thanks for preparation of the manuscript.

I must thank a few other people because of the encouragement they have given me over the years. Gunnar Thorvaldsen has been most supportive. As a guest researcher at DDB last spring, Alison Mackinnon inspired me at a stage when I most needed such motivation. I would also like to thank Göran Broström for helping me with his knowledge of statistical methods. The international network of Social Science History in Europe and the USA has given me many opportunities to present my research, establish contacts, and receive valuable comments that have inspired me to proceed with this work.

In addition to the economic support received from Umeå University, this thesis owes a great deal to the financial assistance provided by several funding bodies. I particularly wish to express my gratitude to the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation for a research position in the project 'The Swedish Urban Family 1840-1930'. I also want to thank the following for their financial support: Fredrika-Bremer-Förbundets Stipendiestiftelse, Helge Ax:son Johnsons Stiftelse, Knut & Alice Wallenbergs Stiftelse, Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien (Stiftelsen Hierta-Retzius

stipendiefond), Länsförsäkringar Västerbottens och Föreningssparbankens fond för ekonomisk och social forskning, Norrlandsförbundets Stipendienämnd, Stiftelsen Clara Lachmanns fond för befrämjande av den skandinaviska samkänslan, Stiftelsen JC Kempes Minnesfond, Stiftelsen Lars Hiertas Minne, Svenska Institutet, and Åke Wibergs Stiftelse.

Finally, I am most grateful to my family and friends outside the world of academics. By being near and sharing every other interest of mine but history you have all contributed to the completion of this thesis.

Umeå April 2003

Lotta Vikström

Introduction

In 1870, at the age of 18, the Finnish woman Anna Maria Bargelin arrived in Sundsvall, a Swedish town situated along the coast about 400 kilometers north of Stockholm. Her previous residence had been the town of Härnösand approximately 45 kilometers north of her new home. Shortly after her arrival in Sundsvall, Anna Maria found work as a brick carrier (*murerihantlångerska*) at Udén's manufactory and as a domestic servant for a man named Westerberg who was a master worker of tiled stoves (*kakelugnsmakare*). In the summer of 1878 Anna Maria took to the road again. She intended to make her living working along the railway track that was under construction in the north of Sweden at the time. She sold food and coffee until the fall of 1878 and lived for some time in Ånge. At this railway junction she met the railway worker Andersson. Soon, Anna Maria was pregnant. However, instead of marrying Andersson, who she claimed was the father of the unborn child, she considered moving to her Finnish parish of birth, Kvevlax. It seems as if Andersson had neglected to fulfill his responsibilities towards her and this probably explains why Anna Maria decided to return to Finland. Maybe she needed some emotional and financial help from her mother and father. If this was the case her hopes of a warm reception seemed to have been dashed because in the spring of 1879 Anna Maria returned to Sundsvall. This time she was great with child. On the 22nd of May, she gave birth to her daughter but only a few days later she committed murder by leaving her child in a water tank just outside the town. On the first of June the little body was found and, shortly thereafter, identified as being Anna Maria's daughter. The mother was tried, quickly convicted, and sent immediately to jail.

Few women found themselves in such dire circumstances as Anna Maria Bargelin but in many ways her story epitomizes the life of many nineteenth-century migrants. Anna Maria frequently changed her address and occupation but this does not make her particularly special. The nineteenth century witnessed an increasing proportion of people on their move all over Western Europe. Many sought their fortunes in North America but most migrants simply headed towards the growing towns and industrial centers in the 'Old World'. During the Swedish industrial breakthrough, a few thousand migrants entered the city limits of Sundsvall. Although they had a common destination, their ages, geographical backgrounds, and marital and social status might have differed greatly.

Of course all migrants to Sundsvall did not move or met a destiny resembling Anna Maria's. There are many ways and reasons to approach one place. Relocating can also result in markedly different consequences for the individual mi-

grants and the places they move between. Gender, age and social status are often believed to determine both their life-course and the impact of migration on an individual level. We cannot know why Anna Maria had to take to the road about 130 years ago. Probably the lack of work, an illegitimate child and social networks prompted her to move.

In addition to such individual circumstances, a changing world might affect the roles, routes and motives of migrants. Nineteenth-century Europe witnessed dramatic changes fueled primarily by the demographic transition and the industrial revolution. Declining death rates soon led to a population increase. More efficient agricultural processes resulted in widespread pauperization as the landowners no longer needed the services of farmhands and maids. Landless people simply had to seek employment elsewhere. Better communications and supply of information were also opening the outside world to people looking for a new place to live.

The intention of migrants is generally to improve life. They might not always like the thought of moving away but it often happens that their current social situation, or political or socio-economic conditions leave no alternative. The decision to migrate can be considered as an individual response to internal (personal) or external (socio-economic) changing circumstances. When realized, the migration implies changes both on an internal and external scale. Relocation often causes migrants to adopt new settings and occupations. Their arrival has also an impact on the structure and size of the new place and its population. Thus scholars investigating human migration face great difficulties identifying exactly what motives make people move and the consequences of it. For migrants who lived a long time ago such a task is made even more difficult.

In the nineteenth century industrialization and urbanization changed the socio-economic conditions. Seen from an international perspective, Swedish industrialization started late. However, when it finally began in the second part of the nineteenth century it made rapid progress. The importance of towns increased and they experienced a demographic change to which not least young migrants and their children contributed. Gradually, burghers lost their political and economic influence that fell instead into the hands of manufacturers, bankers and higher civil servants. The industrial working-classes dominated the labor market and gradually achieved political power. Bureaucratization followed in the footsteps of industrialization and urbanization and opened up the public and service sectors. This was particularly important for women who found greater possibilities to enter the urban workplace by becoming teachers, nurses, telegraphers, and post- and shop-assistants, or even running their own businesses. Nevertheless, most women continued to be employed as domestic servants.

By mid-century the impact of industrialization was becoming noticeable in the town of Sundsvall. The rapidly expanding sawmill industry situated in the surrounding region stimulated this economic transformation. People from all over Sweden and even abroad started to find their way to this region that became known as 'Little America' to find work and better prospects. The migrants who went to the town in this region are at heart of this thesis. The processes of industrialization and urbanization occurred in Sundsvall extremely quickly which makes it a perfect laboratory for analyzing socio-geographical mobility and individuals' life-course.

Computerized parish registers have greatly contributed to the research process. In particular this has facilitated the study of women's socio-spatial paths and urban lives in the past. This is especially important because most studies have focused almost entirely on male migration patterns. However, no data is perfect. The case of Anna Maria Bargelin illustrates how even the Swedish parish registers can fail to cover migrants. She is simply not reported as having ever lived in Sundsvall. Instead, the information about her is found in local newspapers.¹ Obviously there is good reason to investigate a multitude of other sources if we are to understand individuals' spatial movements in the past. The subsequent survey will further emphasize this.

This thesis focuses on women and highlights the importance of gender to explain differences in the patterns of migration and the causes and consequences of relocation. By describing the demographic and geographical characteristics of individual migrants and carefully studying their life-course and the society they lived in, it is possible to get clues to why they wanted to move to Sundsvall. The goal is to illustrate the various ways the dynamic nineteenth century transformed the opportunities available to individuals and how they responded to, and interacted with, these developments. By viewing migration as a visible and measurable result of human action and behavior, the life and world of past men, and particularly women, will become clearer.

1. Challenging migration: the possibilities and obstacles to exploring and researching historical migration

1.1. Empirical findings and theoretical approaches to migration: A research survey

The following section illustrates the fact that the study of migration is multi-disciplinary and therefore includes different findings, explanatory factors, models and theories. So far no one has been able to present the ‘meta-theory’ of migration. Geographical mobility is simply too complex to be completely explained by applying a single theoretical perspective. There is a need to regard a wide range of explanatory factors, and indeed there are many to choose from. Since this study is placed in the middle of the European demographic transition when industrialization and increasing ratios of spatial mobility also occurred, there is reason to emphasize nineteenth-century migration. To offer a theoretical framework for this study, some explanations for migration are considered shortly. Before doing this, the complex nature of migration and its first appearance as a subject of research is briefly discussed.

1.1.1. The nature, patterns and types of migration

As mortality and fertility plummeted in the nineteenth century, the life chances, marriage and labor market for people living in Europe changed dramatically. One chief factor at work was the demographic transition, i.e. the shift from high and balanced birth and death rates to lower rates. A new set of socio-economic relations appeared primarily caused by the population increase the demographic transition initiated. Economic transformations initiated by industrialization were also part of the development. Europe went from being a sparsely populated rural society into one consisting of crowded urban and industrial centers. Migration aided this process in channeling the intense flows of people. In the 1970s, the geographer Wilbur Zelinsky even found reason to call it a grand transformation and introduced the concept of mobility transition.² He argues that economic development was most responsible for the increasing rates of population movements. In particular, industrialization brought a break to the restricted ‘micro-mobility’ that characterized peasant society. There is soon reason to return to Zelinsky’s conclusion as migration is not always easily con-

ceptualized. To illustrate this some typical features of migration patterns during industrialization are discussed below. The appearance of the *homo migrans* is also described in demographic terms. First, however, what does it take to call spatial movement migration?

The nature of migration – a matter of data and definitions

Even though migration contributes just as much as mortality and fertility to population change, less attention has been paid to it in historical demographic research. This is not only because of a lack of sources. Compared to identifying migration patterns, births and deaths are single events that are generally easy to find and measure when data is available. You are only born once and then die after a shorter or longer period during which you likely have been on the move several times. Migration has, therefore, been regarded as a rather disturbing event, because migrants disappear from the sources, population, or area under consideration.

It is crucial to make clear what it actually takes to become a migrant.³ The time spent at the new destination and the distance between it and the place of departure are determining factors. Generally, migrants are recognized as those making geographical moves involving relocation from one unit to another. What defines these units is primarily a matter of available data such as census-takings and parish registers. These represent two main sources for analyzing historical migration. It should be remembered that these data were collected for administrative and policing reasons and not to let future scholars study the number and appearance of migrants who happened to enter or leave a parish, county or country. Therefore, the definition of migrants is restricted to individuals who made moves across administrative units. The Swedish migration data formed by parish registers are superior to most historical records abroad such as county-level censuses. In this study, the town of Sundsvall is the fundamental unit consisting of one parish.

However, relocation could also take place unnoticed within large administrative units such as the counties in a census. Because of the incomplete registration there is reason to believe that more migration occurred than past sources suggest. Just as did Anna Maria Bargelin, many migrants never reported their migration.

Bearing this complexity in mind, there is nevertheless a number of universal characteristics related to all kinds of spatial mobility. As Everett S. Lee put forward in the 1960s, every act of migration includes a place of origin/departure and destination. These places might offer the people living there different opportunities. Between these two places there is always a distance and a set of intervening obstacles to consider. Finally, personal factors such as characteristics and possible social networks connected to the individual migrant must be con-

sidered.⁴ Basically, Lee's schema helps organize the components involved in migration both in empirical and theoretical terms. However, his analytic components can, and will be, further explored.

Migration has a much deeper meaning than simple measurement suggests. The function and mediating character of migration is illustrated by Nancy L. Green who says that "the migrant embodies an implicit comparison between past and present, between one world and another, and between two sets of cultural norms..."⁵ In traversing time and space, migration simply takes people to different places. However, the question of how and why individuals experience this movement is difficult to assess especially for people of the past. The historian Steve Hochstadt summarizes the complexity of migration like this:

The nature of each migration depends on its socio-economic context, the structures of origin and destination, the distance of the move and its intended duration, and the decision-making process that preceded it. Thus migration is simultaneously a demographic, socio-economic, and psychological event.⁶

Hochstadt suggests that human beings are in a better position to control their migration than 'classical' demographic events as birth, death and marriage which to a larger extent are dependent upon cultural and biological preconditions.⁷ In cases where migration is not legally restricted, as was true in nineteenth-century Sweden,⁸ spatial mobility becomes an excellent indicator of human responses to demographic, socio-economic, political, familial or individual changes. Regardless of whether such changes primarily operate within or outside the individuals, they can exert pressure on people to seek betterment through migration.

Every single migration is preceded by a decision based on a great number of circumstances that an individual must consider. These circumstances originate from the migrant him- or herself, i.e. the agent, and/or from the socio-economic context, i.e. the structure.⁹ People's decision to move is likely based on the belief that they will be more satisfied at the new destination. However, just as we do, migrants do not perceive their world and possibilities in totally objective and rational ways. This jeopardizes every approach to conceptualize spatial mobility.

From Ravenstein to general features of nineteenth-century migration

Then why and when did the studying of spatial mobility first appear on the research agenda? Basically, interest began as people started to move around in greatly increasing numbers and by doing so caused population redistribution. This prompted increasing European urbanization but also growing emigration to North America. No wonder that many governments in Western Europe wanted to know what was going on and hired people such as the statistician

Ernest G. Ravenstein to identify migration patterns. After having statistically grasped the other phenomenon of the time, i.e. urbanization, Adna F. Weber found that the influx of migrants contributed greatly to the growth of cities.¹⁰

Ravenstein's pioneering work was comprehensive but by using decennial population censuses he had only information on county of birth and current place of residence. His classic 'laws of migration' are, therefore, regarded as too general and might better be seen as hypotheses.¹¹ Nevertheless they stimulated later research. You can hardly find any work about spatial mobility without references to Ravenstein so his laws need not be considered in detail here.¹² Despite their shortcomings they have been shown to be relatively accurate.

Sweden also had its statistical experts. Moreover, this country had a long tradition of collecting population data. At the beginning of twentieth century, Gustav Sundbärg led a large emigration investigation, *Emigrationsutredningen*, which measured and discussed migration overseas and linked it to the socio-economic conditions in Sweden.¹³ Similar to Ravenstein, he recognized the importance of industrialization and the decline in the rural economy as stimuli for migration. According to these pioneering and subsequent studies, patterns of migration seem impossible to grasp without taking economic development into some account.

Despite access to good data, further research on spatial mobility in Sweden would still take a while. In the 1930s a project directed by the Myrdals and the Social Science Institute in Stockholm was started. It was mostly concerned with studying economic business cycles and population development using Swedish censuses. This project generated some aggregated analyses on internal relocation for which Dorothy S. Thomas was responsible.¹⁴

In the 1940s and 1950s some Swedish geographers examined the flows of people abroad and towards towns and industrial districts in Sweden. Filip Hjulström et. al. explored the intense influx of migrants to the sawmill region near Sundsvall. The seminal work by Torsten Hägerstrand has made large contribution on the subject of spatial mobility.¹⁵ One of his many interesting discoveries reveals that migrants' path remained surprisingly unchanged over time.

In the 1960s and 1970s the study of migration was finally taken up by historians related to the 'Uppsala Migration Project' initiated at Uppsala University. By utilizing parish registers the project generated a lot of empirical work on the emigration to America although some efforts explored internal relocation.¹⁶ Comparatively few studies about historical internal migration have occurred in Sweden since then.

Ever since Ravenstein first presented his laws they have passed almost every empirical test. His discovery that most migrations occur in a series of steps that nevertheless end in a flow from the countryside to the metropolis has partially been confirmed in Sweden.¹⁷ Ravenstein was right to treat migration in terms

of a system rather than as a single unexpected event. Of similar importance was his elaboration of the distance and people involved in the flows towards cities. He introduced concepts such as short- and long-distance movements that are well known today. Furthermore, Ravenstein found that women generally move over short distances but are more likely than men to be heading for towns. Hence, the greater the distance the more men will be represented in the migration flow.¹⁸

Distance, however, is relative and migration is not exclusively a matter of kilometers, business cycles and physical obstacles like mountains, oceans or traveling costs. Many studies have underscored the significance of social support provided by family and friends that smoothed entry into new environments. Migrants that had settled somewhere often encouraged kin and acquaintances back home to join them. The historical demographer Gunnar Thorvaldsen labels this as the 'uncle-effect' (*onkeeffekten*).¹⁹ Such ties made remote destinations appear closer in the mind of migrants. These networks and more recent research are more thoroughly discussed below.

Industrialization and demographic change did have an impact on people's way of moving. Ravenstein's results support Zelinsky's concept of the spatial mobility transition that stipulates that people first began to challenge greater distances during the industrial breakthrough. Second, migrants' choice of destination was formed by towns and industrial areas. Third, they were more likely to remain at their new urban-industrial destination.

However, as the historian Leslie Page Moch clearly illustrates, this allegedly new nineteenth-century pattern had a long history and varied depending on time and place.²⁰ With the support of numerous scholars, she argues that already in pre-industrial times, and probably even long before, humans frequently took to the road.²¹ This was particularly true for young individuals and continued to be the case during industrial times. About 65-70 percent of the migrants were aged 15-35 when they set out on the road.²² Scarce pre-industrial data prevents comprehensive migration surveys for that period and has led to a misconception that pre-industrial societies were sedentary.²³

The routes might have changed over time but certainly not the experience of moving. It was, and still is, a normal process of the society and life of human beings. Therefore, James H. Jackson and Leslie Page Moch advise scholars to stop viewing migrants as isolated from their historical and socio-economic contexts.²⁴ Zelinsky's concept of spatial mobility transition must be considered as too predictable and not dynamic enough. Large economic development and industrialization brought much news with it but it definitely did not invent the migrant. Just like before, migrants' paths were chiefly determined by changing demographic, capital and labor structures. Moch concludes:

Generally, rapid population increase, the growth of urban capital, and ultimate loss of rural manufacturing or steady agricultural employment and proliferation of urban jobs promoted a shift away from local rural migration to circular migration systems, chain migrations to urban areas, and career migration.²⁵

Types of migration

The above quotation addresses the need to distinguish between different types of migration. First and foremost people either make autonomous or associational movements. Migrants either move alone or with a person, family or group. Women are particularly associated with these latter associational paths.²⁶

Charles Tilly introduced a number of additional migration types that pay attention to the socio-economic composition of the migrants involved in the streams during industrialization. Although sometimes overlapping, he identifies a fourfold migration typology.²⁷ His concept of local migration refers to short-distance movements. In this case, the break with one's past was likely not too dramatic. Migrants belonging to the lower social strata, such as the increasing number of landless people consisting of farmhands, crofters and maids primarily took part in local or regional migration as they sought new employment. Population growth, proletarianization, enclosures and improvements in agricultural production forced their decision to move. A second category that Tilly calls circular migration also operated over rather short distances. This type always led back to the migrants' place of origin or departure. It especially characterized the movements of seasonal laborers and domestic servants. The third migration type, chain migration, was guided by social arrangement that might reduce the impact of distance. Such chain processes facilitated the emigration to North America, but were also at work within Europe. Women are particularly perceived as having made use of established migrations chains to let them reunite with family. They seldom appear in Tilly's fourth category of career migration that primarily consists of long-distance movements. If kin and friends influenced the destinations of the chain migrants, colleagues and business partners were essential for the career migrants' choice of residence. As a result of economic and bureaucratic expansion, growing towns needed the skill of well-educated individuals such as lower and higher civil officials. Until the twentieth century women had no, or exceedingly few, possibilities to enter the professional labor market.

Individuals taking part in these types of movements during the nineteenth century did not mirror the average features of the population. Most migrants were unmarried young adults of low socio-economic status and thus were not representative of the population as a whole. Therefore, scholars suggest there is selectivity at work.²⁸ Changes in the geographical or demographic features of

migrants would indicate that reasons to relocate varied over both historical time and the individuals' life-course. To grasp the motivation for migration it is important to have information about both the geographical and demographic characteristics of migrants.

1.1.2. Causes and consequences of migration

Embedded in migration theory are, of course, efforts to answer the question why people leave certain places at a particular period in life or history. Since migration is directly or indirectly influenced by many phenomena linked to the historical context or individual, it is not an easy inquiry. One issue is whether to judge migration as a cause of change or rather as the consequence of it. Addressing this question involves different approaches shaped by the disciplinary tradition to which scholars belong.²⁹ As does Zelinsky, some scholars prefer to link changes in spatial mobility to large-scale changes. These explanatory factors are allocated to structural macro-levels. The reasons to migrate are either examined from the objective view of the observer or the migrant's perspective and assume he or she responded rationally to environmental conditions by relocating. On the one hand, such determinist approaches run the risk of overlooking individuals' chances to take charge of their own lives and make decisions whether to migrate or not. On the other hand, the latter point of departure might overestimate migrants as calculating individualists only moving for money.

Many scholars dislike contextual causality and rational individualism, and prefer more humanist approaches. They highlight the individual as an agent of change instead of a respondent to it, and suggest that he or she is capable of making migration decision him- or herself. This decision might be made on rational basis or not. The only way to find out is to delve deeper into the people involved. Such efforts are often recognized as micro-level approaches and have gained increased interest among scholars in recent decades. They often put emphasis on the social aspects of relocation.

Like every approach, micro- and macro-level analyses have their advantages and disadvantages. One problem especially linked to the latter is to find reasons for human behavior by only focusing on large-scale structural change and employing extensive demographic or economic statistics. Aggregated cross-sectional analyses based on imperfect quantitative data have their limitations when exploring migration strategies. Such studies are subject to the 'ecological fallacy' when incorrect inferences about individuals' behavior can easily be made out of large numbers and statistics. One way to escape this trap and simultaneously broaden the narrow lens of micro-approaches is to apply both perspectives.³⁰

How do these analytical tools help identify the chief factors responsible for the increase of migration during industrialization? What motivated migrants to move, and how did they choose, and adjust to, their new destination? The key

causes and consequences of spatial mobility are discussed in the light of largely deterministic approaches in an effort to answer these questions. This section is then followed by one examining approaches adopting more holistic and humanist perspectives of migration.

1.1.2.1. Deterministic macro-level approaches and individualistic aspects on migration

The first scholars to conceptualize migration at the end of the nineteenth century linked its path and pace to contemporary demographic and economic patterns. This seemed reasonable as there was evidence that industrialization affected many areas of society. For better or worse some of these traditional approaches still prevail in research. They have also initiated complementary and contrasting approaches that do not exclusively employ explanatory factors at the macro-level.

Large-scale transitions and changing labor markets

You can hardly find any survey on migration that totally denies the importance of linking it to economic and demographic development. Moch summarizes the conclusion many scholars of migration have reached.

I argue that the primary determinants of migration patterns consist of the fundamental structural elements of economic life: labor force demands in countryside and city, deployment of capital, population patterns (rates of birth, death, marriage), and landholding regimes. Shifts in these elements underlie changing migration itineraries.³¹

The correlation between the industrialization process and population pressure on the one hand, and the increase of spatial mobility on the other hand is not clear. Inspired by old Malthusian ideas about population change, the theory of optimum density was developed in the late nineteenth century.³² It suggests that specific areas at a given time are only able to supply a certain number of people. Although it is impossible to credit the optimum density theory with fully explaining migration trends, the nineteenth century witnessed a great deal of rural to urban movements that to some degree seems to support it.

Since the work of Ravenstein scholars have reached findings indicating the importance of connecting migration to industrialization, changing labor markets, and business booms and recessions in the sending and receiving areas. By introducing the dual forces of push and pull in the 1920s, Harry Jerome discovered relationships between emigration and business cycles in Europe and USA.³³ Arthur Redford found evidence that internal migration in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was particularly due to economic pull-factors.³⁴ Dorothy S. Thomas similarly identified considerable migration towards

towns and industrial centers during Sweden's economic booms.³⁵ Scholars of the Uppsala Migration Project also analyzed internal and overseas migration and verified the relationship between spatial movements and business cycles.³⁶ They emphasized that the rural proletarianization process was responsible for sending people to America or growing towns. Of course, many other scholars in Sweden discuss the impact of population growth in socio-economic and migratory terms.³⁷

Inspired by the work of economists, scholars investigate migration by measuring certain indicators of economic trends such as the development of wages and volume of export. For example, Tommy Bengtsson identifies higher urban wages and structural changes in agriculture as pull-factors that contributed to the urbanization of Scania (*Skåne*) in the south of Sweden.³⁸ To capture the process of leaving home in a similar area, Martin Dribe uses access to land and the fluctuation of grain prices to explain migration patterns.³⁹

Economists and other advocates of the macro-economic concept entrenched in neoclassical economics are often criticized by scholars in other disciplines who think that migration cannot be predicted in terms of booms and recessions, or explained by only focusing on high-and low-wage-areas or labor markets. A micro-economic version of this latter perspective is the more familiar human capital theory that is wedded to the idea of maximizing income.⁴⁰ By moving to well-paid areas and prosperous labor markets, migrants are seen as rational agents investing in themselves. Even though this theory puts the individual at the center of the investigation it is still deterministic. Among many others, Paul White & Robert Woods reject such approaches because migration is not only a matter of money.⁴¹ Past individuals did not always know the economic conditions at different places. Even if this information was available it was frequently ignored. Social networks and distance also were instrumental considerations when migrants were deciding the most favorable destination. Modern economists are somewhat better at encompassing emotional factors such as social or economic contacts. This is exemplified by their application of broad systems theories that take into account social networks, and political and ideological factors. Nevertheless, such approaches make generalizations about aggregated migration systems and the macro-level structures determining them.⁴²

Economists' theoretical assessments of the labor markets' impact on people's relocation and the work of migrants are manifold. Most scholars stress the economic pull factors and need of labor supply as the most responsible factors for the migration to one particular place. Certain available jobs in a town attract particular migrants. Industrial areas or cities based on mining or manufacturing exert a specific pull on male migrants or families, whereas women have a pref-

erence for garment producing towns.⁴³ Thus, local labor markets have a selective impact on the itineraries and demographic feature of migrants approaching them.

The labor market and its push and pull-factors differ from time and place. Historically the labor market has been largely segmented in gendered terms as men and women were seldom able to hold similar occupations. Therefore, they also had different reasons to leave an area depending on the current local labor market. Servants particularly faced harsh working conditions in rural areas.⁴⁴

The theory of the dual labor market recognizes another division consisting of two sectors, one primary and one secondary. The latter primarily includes poorly paid jobs at the lower part of the occupational hierarchy. The primary sector offers employment in the higher social strata that offers better salaries and career opportunities. Migrants were especially dependent on the secondary sector.⁴⁵ Another familiar division is the formal vs. informal employment sectors. There are indications that migrants, and particularly females, were absorbed into the latter sphere. It is difficult however to assess the informal job opportunities as these are not acknowledged in official statistics or regulated by governmental legislation.⁴⁶

One regulation markedly shaped the formal labor market and migratory behavior in nineteenth-century Sweden. The Hired or Household Servants Act (*tjänstehjonsstadgan*) regulated the relationship between the master and his employees. The latter were contracted on a yearly basis that ended or began around Michaelmas, the last week in October. As people were then free to change employment and residency, a great deal of movement among servants took place during this period.⁴⁷

From modernization theories to historical-structural approaches

The concept of modernization is enormous and confounded by imperfect definitions which inevitably welcomes sweeping generalizations. It refers to a set of changes including industrialization and urbanization that are perceived as the chief determinants to changes in spatial and social mobility.⁴⁸ For better or worse, these movements are believed to have a large-scale impact at both the individual and societal levels. Modernization theory is rooted in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the Western World was about to change. The growing towns worried contemporary social observers who thought that the increasing economic imbalance between rural and urban areas turned human beings into dislocated migrants. Modernization theory has continued to play a role in migration discussion probably because of a lack of competitive models. Two of its multifaceted theoretical implications are highlighted below.⁴⁹

Sociologists focused on the characteristics of city life and individual migrants but reached contradictory results about the consequences of migrants' relocation. On the one hand, social scientists related to the Chicago School stressed migrants' ability, or rather inability, to adjust to modernization and their new urban settings. They were considered disoriented city-residents and frequently treated in terms of cultural clash and urban anomie manifested by their over-emphasized involvement in theft, prostitution and drunkenness. In short, Georg Simmel, Max Weber and Louis Wirth shared Ferdinand Tönnies' view of society summarized in his dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*. Broadly conceived, they romanticized the countryside and family and argued that solitary city life was both biologically and psychologically unhealthy. Increasing rates of disease, mortality, illegitimacy, criminality and suicide in modern metropolises were often presented to illustrate the ongoing dislocation.⁵⁰

On the other hand, scholars have also interpreted the human experience and societal consequences of modernization in terms of success rather than failure. People who followed the rural-urban route are viewed as those best ready to fulfill their 'modern mission'. Therefore, they were the ones most likely to succeed in cities. Barbara A. Anderson uses Russian migrants' increasing rural-urban movements as evidence for a modern attitude.⁵¹ Having determined that they had to escape the poor countryside in favor of towns, nineteenth-century migrants appear as those most able to adjust to the modern times. Zelinsky stated in the 1980s, "it goes without saying that cities are universally regarded as more privileged than are rural areas".⁵²

This optimism is echoed in a dichotomy partly rooted in modernization theory. Some scholars observe societies in terms of their closure or openness. Instead of staying in the 'closed' rural world, people enjoyed and benefited from the 'opened' structure of towns and industrialized areas where the prospects of getting a job or marrying were better.⁵³ As is soon shown individuals were more likely to experience occupational mobility or even achieve careers in these opened labor markets.

Regardless of the method used to interpret the cause and consequences of migration, modernization theorists basically conceptualize it as an individual, rural to urban and permanent phenomenon determined by industrialization. These scholars have contributed to two contrasting images of the growing city. In their eyes it represents either 'Babylon' or 'Jerusalem'.⁵⁴ Towns might be dangerous for lone newcomers who had never before experienced the lure and life of cities. However, the urban lifestyle also symbolizes a potential liberation where individuals are offered options impossible to find in the countryside where they were "hemmed in by deference to authority and tradition".⁵⁵ From this perspective, movement to the urban centers might be regarded as a liberating strategy. Even though idealized and popularized, cities exerted a greater pull com-

pared to the appeal of villages or industrial districts. At least potentially, individuals could cut themselves loose from past confinements by seeking the opportunities and excitement that the towns offered. The well-known phrase “*Stadtluft macht frei*” also suggests this potential freedom.

Models of migration framed by modernization theory assume an asymmetric relationship between areas experiencing different types of development. Areas lacking capital but having abundant labor are compared to places where the opposite holds true and which, therefore, have greater appeal. In response to the excessive individualism of the economists’ human capital theory, this concept has inspired historical-structuralist approaches. People’s movements are explained exclusively by macro-level processes such as political and economic development, and especially by capitalism and labor markets. Historical-structuralists draw heavily on Marxist ideas of dependency and world-systems’ theorists who take the global development into account. External factors or underlying structures embedded in society and economy manipulate and even dictate people’s decision to migrate. Thereby streams are shaped and sustained to usually go from the periphery to the core, i.e. from countryside to cities, or from the Third to Western World. From this perspective migrants are perceived to be passive respondents to changing structural circumstances and not portrayed as active agents.⁵⁶

Migration and social mobility

As migration often includes occupational changes, social mobility concerns scholars looking for explanations to the causes and consequences of migration. They draw on the works of sociologists who assume different levels of social mobility to indicate the openness of societies. The higher the level of social mobility, the higher level of openness will be found.⁵⁷

Industrialization is largely regarded as responsible for the increase of social mobility. The sociologist John H. Goldthorpe argues that “high mobility appears as an invariable concomitant of industrialism”.⁵⁸ According to this view, people living in industrial societies were suddenly offered greater chances to improve their socio-economic status by changing occupation.⁵⁹ The industrial revolution caused occupational upheaval due to the rapid shift from an agricultural to industrial economy. The collapse of rigid social stratification led to a more mobile society including more equal opportunities in the labor market. Urban-industrial development eroded the pre-industrial ascription of people’s status that had been determined by inheritance. Instead, individuals’ social positions arose from occupational achievement based on qualifications.⁶⁰ Industrialization facilitated this process by introducing a wide range of new blue-collar jobs in industry and white-collar professions linked to civil administration such as teachers, lawyers, engineers, civil servants and managers.

Some scholars argue that liberalism also played a part in the expansion of social mobility associated with the nineteenth century. According to liberal thought, every individual had the right to occupy a place suited to his capacity. In opposition to the optimistic view of development just described, Marxists show the seamy side of industrialization by highlighting the process of proletarianization, class formation and exploitation under the pressure of modern capitalism. They also stress that social mobility does not mean upward mobility as many craftsmen and artisans saw their social status plummet.⁶¹

Over the years the optimistic interpretation has lost support but has not been entirely replaced by the more pessimistic view. Both perspectives presuppose that economic transitions created new social mobility patterns. Modern sociologists emphasize that a steady increase of upward mobility has occurred since industrialization but the trend is not as dramatic as first suggested. Social historians have contributed to this revision by studying past societies. In the 1960s, Stephan Thernstrom and the American interest in 'new urban history' opened up the field for historians.⁶² In challenging the economic impact on the occupational stratification as the only determinant of social mobility, Thernstrom draws upon demographic and socio-economic characteristics and constraints of the individuals and place under consideration. Despite analyzing the period 1880-1970 that was associated with economic advancement and social mobility, Thernstrom nevertheless discloses a strikingly stable process of occupational circulation. Men in Boston were offered significant opportunities to change jobs over the years but these changes only involved minor steps upward.⁶³

Thernstrom uses the urban-escalator model to explain the low levels of social mobility of migrants. On their arrival at their new destination they are expected to step onto a social upward escalator starting from the bottom of the social strata. Lacking the knowledge of the local labor market and a network of kin and friends at their new residence, most of them keep their low rank.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the urban-escalator model understates the possibility of a migrant possessing some innate sense of ambition. All migrants were not predestined to stay at the bottom. Scholars sometimes find they achieved much higher occupational positions. These scholars draw upon theories suggesting that migrants were either stimulated by entering into new environments, or positively selected in terms of being more talented and ambitious compared to those remaining at home.⁶⁵

Most studies devoted to the quantification of mobility rates now suggest that a modest and constant social mobility characterizes nineteenth- and twentieth-century society. Gösta Carlsson's and Robert Erikson's different studies on social mobility present similar results for Sweden.⁶⁶ Obviously, neither economic advancement nor industrialization and the openness associated with these transitions immediately overcame the societal traits that limited individuals' choice

of occupation. Hartmut Kaelble, who has summarized work on the history of social mobility in Europe and America, explains why industrialization did not create a great era of high social mobility with options open to all talents:

[The] expansion of social mobility must have been modest, since occupational change was undramatic; since population growth led to a strong demand for the available opportunities; since extensive geographical mobility often impeded rather than improved the use of occupational chances; and since the non-meritocratic mentality, that is the habit of handing down occupational positions within the family, was still unbroken⁶⁷

Kaelble's conclusion is not completely echoed in some Swedish studies of scholars related to the Uppsala Migration Project. They find that migration and industrialization stimulated the upward mobility of individuals. Migrants were especially likely to take the metaphorical upward escalator, although it seldom raised their socio-economic status greatly.⁶⁸ Social mobility must, therefore, be carefully interpreted in terms of either a society's openness or individual success.

Although social mobility has attracted the attention of scholars since the 1920s, no consensus regarding the subject has yet been reached. Similar to spatial mobility, measuring social mobility is much a matter of data and methodology. The sociologists Marco H.D. van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas discuss this topic, methods and hypotheses linked to social mobility. They also have an historical interest and show that ratios of mobility differ depending on when and how we measure it. To facilitate comparisons of different approaches over time and place, they call for a disciplinary cross-fertilization between sociology and history.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, individuals often vanish in all the statistics gathered to measure indicators of societies' openness and peoples' occupational options. In later chapters this thesis returns to the issue of both conceptualizing and measuring levels of social mobility.

Geographical determinants and the impact of information

By focusing on other contextual circumstances than the economic development, geographers' exploration of gravity models has stimulated the perception that migrants left the countryside or small communities to move to larger places or cities. In addition to the size of places, distance is also important in most gravity models.⁷⁰ These models are based on the idea that the flow of people from one place to another is correlated to the size of the two places, and inversely related to the number of kilometers between them. Gravity models presuppose a situation in which potential migrants are equally influenced by the supply of information about places and traveling costs. These models deal-

ing with aggregate flows have been rather successful in detecting general flows but spatial mobility has proven to be imperfectly regulated. The distance and size of places are not the only factors of importance to potential migrants.

Nevertheless, most migration studies display that the numbers of migrations decrease with increasing distance. For instance, urban areas usually gain most migrants from the hinterland regardless of where these towns are to be found. The Uppsala Migration Project and analyses from abroad confirm that the friction of distance and topography must be considered when conceptualizing geographical mobility.⁷¹

Hägerstrand has stimulated research by emphasizing the impact of information on spatial flows and migrants' choice of destinations. He views migration as a process of diffusion in which human connections between those in sending and receiving areas shape and sustain the flow between them. Personal visits, conversations and letters from kin and friends probably preceded some people's decision to migrate.⁷² By elaborating the concept of cognitive mapping, Holger Wester shows that social ties and spread of information make remote places appear closer in the mind of migrants than they are on the map.⁷³ The role of information must be added to the distance and other factors when determining individuals' decisions to relocate.

Hägerstrand and Wester identify those making the first move as active innovators who were usually young single men. Passive migrants, of which many were women, tend to be guided by the information and social networks offered by the pioneer migrants.⁷⁴ In this way Hägerstrand and Wester subscribe to the view of women migrants as dependent. Females only followed the course that their brave male friends and relatives had already established. Whether true or not, women consequently appear as having had little influence on their decision to relocate. Caroline B. Brettell recognizes such interpretations as relics of modernization theories where men represented the pole of modernity and women the traditional continuum they left behind.⁷⁵

Geographers who apply universal gravity models are in danger of overemphasizing rural-urban movements. People left larger places in favor of smaller areas and frequently moved back and forth. Seasonal laborers and servants often moved along or circulated between these tracks and established systems of migration.⁷⁶ Such patterns have also been found in Sweden where manufacturing had a long history of being located in the countryside.⁷⁷ These migration patterns have been masked by the huge flows highlighted by geographers yet they were instrumental to creating established links between different places. This illustrates the importance of moving beyond large flows and macro-level analyses to apply other perspectives that conceptualize spatial mobility and migrants. This theme is developed below.

1.1.2.2. *Dynamic multi-level approaches and humanist views of migration*

A wide range of causal explanations has been presented above that focused on external macro-levels where large-scale economic and demographic changes primarily set people on the move. Individuals responded to these changes by increasingly migrating to crowded towns. Results rejecting traditional concepts of migration were also briefly presented. Today, there is a substantial empirical basis to revise the many dominant and deterministic interpretations of historical migration. Traditions are, however, difficult to break. The rich body of literature referring to modernization or economic models of migration still exerts a persuasive pull on scholars' interpretations. Hochstadt, Jackson, Moch and Pooley are part of the attack on such traditional approaches. Interdisciplinary efforts have also examined the theories of different disciplines and illuminated the lack of a universal migration framework. To approach holistic concepts and escape the traditional ones, there is a need to cooperate across disciplines and share knowledge and theoretical insights. This conclusion is drawn from the latter years' efforts to investigate migrants at an individual level. In furthering this goal of applying micro-perspectives, scholars have moved from examining the large-scale structure to analyzing units below the macro-level such as the family, households or minor communities. These new approaches permit more detailed studies of women migrants. This section examines the *homo migrans* before discussing aspects of *femina migrans*. A summary of some interdisciplinary perspectives linked to migration approaches concludes this research survey.

Contextualizing individuals at aggregate, cohort and individual levels

In recent decades quantitatively explored data has not been exactly friendly to the contrasting assumptions of modernization theorists that have long preoccupied scholars' agendas. Towns cannot be recognized as either 'Babylon' or 'Jerusalem', and migrants cannot be regarded as either urban losers or successors. One major reason is that individual migrants now form the focal point and are no longer masked by the huge flows that moved in certain directions. The more we know about migrants and how they differed from each other and the average population, the more we can hypothesize about their movements. Charting past migrants' demographic characteristics has provided the opportunity to identify possible motives and human experiences of migration. Therefore, as Hochstadt argues, quantitative descriptions must be undertaken.

Numbers are the foundation of this social analysis, for they compress information and allow us to comprehend and discuss the collective experience of many individual people. Without numbers we are reduced to the vagueness of words like 'many' or 'most', or worse, to the implicit claim that particular individuals represent broader groups (a claim which, of course, could only be demonstrated with numbers).⁷⁸

William H. Sewell's study of migrants in Marseilles exemplifies the potential of exploring quantitative data for individuals.⁷⁹ His cross-sectional analysis challenges the negative anti-urbanism view of modernization theorists and shows there is little reason to place migrants at the edge of society. Sewell reveals a remarkable story of successful migrants. Obviously their lack of urban experience did not disadvantage them. This indicates that some migrants benefited from the more open structure of the labor market in Marseille. Moreover, Sewell suggests that migrants were more motivated than natives to make careers. Another explanation was probably the migrants' surprisingly large access to family networks.

Sewell is able to undermine the theoretical models previously discussed. His discovery of the networks' role in softening migrants' arrival to the city lends little credit to purely economic explanations. Moreover, it suggests why they were not more inclined than natives to stay at the bottom of the social ladder or commit crimes. Their decision to move and their upward mobility and relatively high literacy rates makes Sewell suggest that migrants were unique not only in terms of demographic characteristics such as age and social rank. Their socio-spatial mobility reveals they accepted, examined and exploited the opportunities that social and economic change offered. By being "competitive, ambitious, able and flexible", they were an extraordinary group: "not the scum, but the salt, of the earth".⁸⁰

Even though the Marseille migrants were able to handle their turbulent situations, Sewell does not turn them into self-made achievers. He refuses to rely on concepts included in human capital theories or the idea of equal opportunities linked to the opening up of nineteenth-century societies. First, the significance of social ties rejects that migrants' decisions were based only on economic calculations. Second, the increase of social mobility was primarily due to the rise of Marseille's commercial sector and, therefore, the expanding demand for clerical employees. Third, population increase created upward mobility as people from the countryside simply had to change occupations when moving from the agricultural economy into urban or industrial areas.

James H. Jackson also portrays migrants as actively responding to times of transition. He clearly shows that in Duisburg they were not marginalized and offers an explanation why this did not happen. "The characteristics that individuals brought with them to Duisburg - gender, kinship ties, life-cycle stage, occupational background, personal values, previous residential history, among others - located them in the city's social space..."⁸¹ Leslie P. Moch's multifaceted study of migrants in Eastern Languedoc shows that a myriad of networks and historical migration streams prepared newcomers for the urban life that awaited them in Nîmes. Moch's comparison of migrants and natives under-

mines the pessimistic model of urban migration that recognized migrants as alone, unattached and most susceptible to misfortune when they moved to the cities.⁸²

The surveys of Jackson, Moch and Sewell make migration during industrialization appear less disruptive than others have led us to believe. They show a more balanced picture of its consequences and socio-economic implications that neither support the theory of urban anomie nor that of success. Their conclusions are based on a mix of data centered around various population records but also criminal sources. Although they primarily consider aggregates or cohorts, individual migrants are key to their studies. Thus, a micro-perspective is linked to the large-scale development of society. Such surveys demand good data that is seldom available.

Colin Pooley, Jean Turnbull and Ian Whyte have also overcome such problems by utilizing a combination of sources and analyzing life biographies. By applying qualitative perspectives to past migrants they show how to widen the approach to migration studies and the benefits of it.⁸³ Although not entirely rejecting quantitative studies, they criticize the use of large data sets where flows replace people and motives are presupposed rather than proven and “individuals, with their hopes, fears and aspiration, become lost”.⁸⁴ However, if quantitative analyses run the risk of drawing upon generalizations, single life biographies cannot provide a representative sample of migrants’ behavior or experience. Biographical approaches nevertheless can suggest reasons to relocate and shed light on its impact at the individual level.

Similar to quantitative surveys, qualitative efforts stress that people primarily moved to obtain work. These approaches, however, are better suited to exploring social networks and offering deeper insights into how migrants’ experienced their relocation. Pooley and Turnbull show how family strategies determined migration particularly among young women as parents often sent them away. Migration also interacted with other life events such as marriage or death of a parent or spouse. Moreover, Pooley and Turnbull argue that personal crises such as illegitimate children, illness or divorce sometimes made people take to the road.⁸⁵ Such explanatory stress factors are difficult to uncover in decennial censuses for example. Yet, an advantage characteristic of some qualitative data is their extended documentation of individuals’ life-course. Applying longitudinal approaches has proven fruitful to exploring migration.

Life-course and networking migration

According to studies focusing on individual migrants there is always a process of selection at work. Those filling the flows were primarily young and single. If decisions to relocate were only based on rational choices with regard to business cycles, population pressure or underemployment at a certain place, these

factors would have affected every individual living there. Migrants, however, do not match the average characteristics of the population at either the place of departure or destination. The life-course concept suggests why.⁸⁶ Adolescence is a period in life when major transitions occur because young adults usually gain some occupational experience, broaden their pool of potential partners and maybe marry. Such transitions often call for a residential change. As age increases and in cases where there is a spouse and children to consider, this is no longer the case. Thus, migration peaks during people's different life circumstances and not solely because of external changes occurring at the macro-level.

Life-course approaches emphasize that people arrange their own path to a greater extent than was allowed for in deterministic concepts that only recognized them as respondents to structural changes. In so doing the life-course perspective upgrades migrants to agents of change but it does not downplay macro-level determinants entirely. The life-course is also a reflection of the society in which it operates under the influence of time and place. Unlike life-cycle concepts, the life-course does not strictly follow a biological timetable. In addition to biological restrictions it is shaped by societal norms, legal restrictions, and socio-economic and cultural contexts.⁸⁷ What is expected of men and women such as when or where to migrate or when or who to marry is of vital importance to their life-course. Age, gender, social status, education, and familial and ethnic background also determines the life-course. By identifying individual and historical time, life-course analyses place human beings in their geographic, socio-economic, cultural and political space. Migration can have a tremendous impact on the course that an individual's life might take.

Glen Elder was first to recognize the potential of utilizing life-course concepts in the late 1970s by studying personal biographies and event history.⁸⁸ It is, however, rooted in the development of the family-cycle that Peter H. Rossi introduced in the mid-twentieth century.⁸⁹ Therefore, families or households are often included in life-course models even though the individual always forms the central unit of analysis. This has further inspired scholars to explore the function of social networks in structuring patterns of migration. In particular, social and family historians have rejected the notion of a great break associated with industrialization and modernization. They reveal that continuity rather than change characterized human life in times of economic and demographic transformations. Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott introduced the time-lag model that recognizes the role of the family in smoothing rapid structural changes caused by industrialization. By continuing to pay attention to traditional family values and strategies, nineteenth-century individuals did not immediately change their behavior.⁹⁰

Numerous scholars stress the role of social ties that encouraged migration and helped migrants adjust to life at the new place.⁹¹ Apparently, the disruptive impact caused by migration was more modest in scale than concerned critics of the time suggested. These ties contradict the view of migrants as autonomous and individually acting agents. Many sons and daughters were most likely sent away as a result of their family's survival strategy.⁹² Still, the migrants appear to have behaved rationally but not exactly in terms of maximizing their individual income as human capital theories suggest. To explain such irrational behavior from an economic perspective, Julian Wolpert views migrants as socially 'satisficing agents'. Money is not everything to us. Our well-being depends on social interaction. Therefore, migration is also determined by individuals' access to social networks. According to Wolpert, this frames migrants' action space, which usually includes already familiar places, when it comes time to choose a destination. Family, friends, and information are important for shaping this action space.⁹³

Despite the use of a family focus, Alter argues that life-course approaches must never lose sight of the individuals. They must be viewed as responsible for their own actions even though the family forms part of the wider context in which decisions are made.⁹⁴ The life-course model thus incorporates three dimensions of time: individual, family and historical time.⁹⁵ Alter identifies the tension between family values and individualism and rejects the importance of the latter. Apparently industrialization did not free the Verviers women from constraints and obligations rooted in the patriarchal structure of peasant society. On the one hand, Alter's results point towards a continuity where family ties likely improved migrants' urban adjustment during times of relocation and economic transition. On the other hand, it reduced the potential of emancipation that female migrants hoped to find in the cities.

There is certainly a risk of letting a myriad of social networks replace the large-scale structure envisioned by those advocating macro-level approaches in determining migration particularly that of women. Nevertheless, by highlighting individuals and by dividing the structure into social and familial levels, the above scholars are more dynamic in explaining and contextualizing their findings than are those devoted to macro-level frameworks. Static economic concepts or typologies recognizing long distance male migrants as calculating pioneers and female migrants as passive followers might be empirically relevant but offers little in the way of explanation. Women migrants seldom fit into such models. More precisely, such modeling pays little attention to women. The reason for this oversight is that the *homo migrans* has been defined in male terms. He is often young, single, unattached and independent. Approaches focusing on the individual level have however allowed the *femina migrans* to come into view.

Women migrants and gendering migration

So far, as in most other studies, women's experience of migration has been relatively neglected. Women, however, have not been completely overlooked, either by collectors of statistics or by scholars. There is no doubt that nineteenth-century women frequently took to the road. This research survey shows that in comparison to men they migrated over shorter distances and were more inclined to seek urban destinations. Women tend to be especially dependent on chain migrations and social networks. Despite a long tradition including women in statistical data they often vanish in scholars' theorizing of causes and consequences of spatial mobility. Their role and position in general population change has been considerably underexplored but why?

In addition to insufficient data about female migrants, Kathie Friedman-Kasaba offers three explanations for this oversight in migration research.⁹⁶ First, women were made invisible in most studies. They were excluded because the prototypical migrants were, and sometimes still are, presupposed to be male breadwinners. Second, when finally recognized they were perceived within the framework of the family and only considered as dependent followers of the real migrants i.e. men. This interpretation parallels the ideology of separate spheres that has long prevailed in historical research. According to this belief, women were unproductive and by nature associated with the private sphere where they could perform domestic duties as decent wives. By working indoors employed servants had no opportunity to lose their pure virtue. Always linking women to house and home made it impossible to view them as active agents or autonomous migrants. Friedman-Kasaba argues that the women's movement of the 1960s and research on the Third World inspired the third framework for studies of women's migration. When scholars discovered that women had relocated they immediately linked this to their involvement in expanding labor markets. Female migration was simply explained by the higher wages they could earn at different places. Other motives were neglected. Such approaches were wrong to separate women migrants from their socio-cultural context that inevitably had a large impact. As is true for any group of migrants, women must somehow be contextualized and not only seen as being motivated by economic trends and goals.

Sølvi Sogner et. al. and Alison Mackinnon find the omission of women in demographic research surprising. The demographic transition was accompanied with democratic reforms and economic transformations that reshaped the consciousness concerning equality and authority during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁹⁷ This had an impact on the relationship between the sexes. As was the case elsewhere in Western Europe, Swedish women gained some social,

economic and civil rights during the latter decades of nineteenth century.⁹⁸ Gradually, their labor market widened as economic developments and bureaucratization enabled them to enter one profession after another.⁹⁹

That reality and practice differed from norms and legislation has been revealed in many studies dealing with the actual activities of women. Only by taking to the road could women in fact challenge feminine ideals telling them what to do. In towns they were better able to exert influence in their own right by taking up employment or transacting business on an equal footing with men. Sogner, for example, stresses that women's role in the urban economy paved the way to their emancipation.¹⁰⁰ That women were heading for towns in particular might indicate they tried to escape subordination under men's authority. Perhaps migrating was a strategy to seek emancipation.

Until the mid 1980s when Mirjana Morokvasic finally drew attention to the field, there was little progress in exploring gendered migration and the issue of why women move.¹⁰¹ Today, this is no longer the case. A recently published work entitled *Women, Gender and Labour Migration* presents recent efforts on the subject and further highlights women migrants as working and independent movers.¹⁰² In Sweden, Ann-Sofie Ohlander and Margareta Matovic have investigated the motivation of women emigrants.¹⁰³ Both of them emphasize that women set out to improve their own situation although kin often waited on the other side of the Atlantic. These women faced poor working conditions and low salaries in the Swedish countryside that acted as forceful incentives on them. Women who could only afford to relocate within Sweden and went to towns likely shared this motivation. Scholars also suggest that there were large differences in wages and working conditions between working as peasant maids and performing domestic service in nineteenth-century towns.¹⁰⁴

Lin Lean Lim also argues that women chiefly move for economic reasons just as did men.¹⁰⁵ However, sex-segmented labor markets make their motives and migrations appear different. She opposes traditional models that are often obsessed with linking women's movements to marriage as they overlook other explanatory factors. Lim admits there is only one biologically determined incentive unique to women. Illegitimate children and pregnancies might trigger their migration because growing towns could offer them anonymity and better job opportunities.

The familiar polarization between individual agency and various structural constraints is also a major obstacle in conceptualizing women migrants. Lim presents one theoretical suggestion. She highlights women's position relative to that of men and the socio-economic and cultural contexts. Regardless of time and place, the latter constitutes a social field made up of the family and kin, the community and the broader society and its socio-economic structure. This social field influences women's incentives and ability to move and how those

movements occur. Within this context women must be approached as individuals and autonomous decision-makers. Lim's gender concept invites life-course approaches and touches upon Wolpert's idea of action space.

In Lim's view spatial mobility reflects contextual conditions and the way they might change. Seen from a macro-level perspective, the context in which one lives broadly includes the labor market, ideology, religion, culture and the democratic, demographic and economic development that taken together affects an individual's life in various ways. In cases where societal preconditions differ markedly between men and women, gendered migration patterns are also found. Historically, women's relatively weak position compared to men did not enable them to challenge long distances. Therefore, societies in which women primarily travel short distances, make associational migrations and rarely set themselves on the move, might indicate low levels of emancipation. When women start moving farther afield it suggests they have also achieved higher social status.

Most scholars today are aware that every context includes a gender regime that implies unequal opportunities. Power, dependency and status differ between the sexes. Scholars have approached this uneven relationship differently. Some refer to concepts of patriarchy, and others apply the ideology of separate spheres. To use gender as an analytic category has proven to be most useful in locating individuals within their context.¹⁰⁶ Such gender analysis also suggests that societal inequality is not entirely biologically determined. Articulating feminist scholarship in the humanities and social sciences, Friedman-Kasaba sums up the gender approach with respect to migration patterns.

[Gender] – the socially constructed and historically situated relationships and practices patterned around perceived differences between the sexes - is a significant organizing principle of overall social life, one which shapes women's opportunities and life chances, as it does men's. Gender is thus 'a set of social relations which organize immigration patterns', in much the same way as other social institutions and practices are organized through gender relations, such as the economy and work, the family and mothering, ethnic communities and social network.¹⁰⁷

The belief that gender and migratory behavior of individuals reflects the society in which they live forms an interesting link that must be further explored. To employ gender as an analytic category that highlights women moving between different contexts can help to distinguish past structural constraints and options of which we know less than for men. Hypothetically, if individuals' relocation meant they markedly changed their socio-economic context, this would affect their gendered situation. This relationship is of vital concern to this thesis and will help illuminate whether women's migration can be considered an act of emancipation.

From multi-disciplinary views of migration towards systems approaches

To say the least, migration studies could be considered just as complex as the nature of the event itself. Today, migration occupies space and focus in many academic disciplines. According to Caroline B. Brettell, James F. Hollifield and Jan and Leo Lucassen who have investigated the huge field of migration studies to pave the way for more synthesizing efforts, this multi-disciplinary development is very beneficial.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, this approach has disadvantages. First, there are difficulties in integrating the sub-specialty of migration studies into the various disciplines. Migration still has not merged into general history although most historians probably have dealt with issues of migration without ever having noticed the impacts of it. Second, it has proven hard to establish an interdisciplinary dialogue to exchange results, models and methods. The reason is that scholars elaborate the causes and consequences of migration differently depending on their discipline. Degrees of theorizing and levels of analysis also differ between them. Students of migration must fight back the lack of interdisciplinary dialogue and learn from approaches originating from other disciplines than those they belong to themselves.¹⁰⁹

The most significant perspectives linked to six diverse disciplines are presented below to summarize vital perspectives and prepare the analytic framework for the subsequent study. The following discussion only covers a few aspects characterizing academic fields that have approached migration and the analytic advantages or disadvantages they bring to the subject.

Historians traditionally work close to their sources. In their efforts to treat the data correctly they run the risk of not theorizing their results. Instead, historians primarily focus on individual migrants and the way they settled in, coped with, and shaped their new settings. Hence, historians think of migrants as agents, not as marionettes who know nothing about why they are moving. Of course, time and place concern historians but they are less occupied with analyzing the extent to which socio-economic structures directly affect migratory behavior. By addressing different kinds of data, historians often reach interesting results regarding the human experience of migration. In recent decades they also have turned to quantitative data and methods that could add to their studies on single individuals or communities. The merging of history and demography exemplifies how fertile partnerships between disciplines is sometimes established.¹¹⁰

Demographers, on their hand, deal with aggregated data and document the direction of large migration flows. Together with geographers, they probably have the largest empirical grasp on the people crossing different boundaries. In all their efforts to quantify, demographers run the risk of losing sight of the impact migration had on individuals. Nevertheless, there is often a desire to describe the demographic characteristics of the migrants. The population structure in sending and receiving societies are aspects that demographers seldom

forget to analyze. As the results are primarily descriptive, demographers need theories from the social sciences, particularly sociology and economics, when it comes to explain their statistical findings. Demographers are also known for estimating the probability of migrating and then constructing models that forecast future flows. Such modeling sometimes tends to deter scholars. By having developed tools and methods to utilize quantitative data, demographers nevertheless have served many disciplines.¹¹¹

Similar to demographers, economists have a preference for building predictive models based on the economic preconditions at different places and on the assumption that individuals act rationally to maximize their income. Their inclination of viewing migrants in economic terms devoid of social ties has been rejected by historians and anthropologists. Individual migrants disappear in most economic macro-level approaches but the introduction of the push-and-pull model and the highlighting of labor markets in the sending and receiving areas has enabled economists to contribute much to migration studies.¹¹²

By paying less attention to money in their approaches to migration anthropologists have both criticized and elaborated the push-and-pull-polarity. They argue that social organizations such as family and friends are significant for migrants' choice of destination. Such networks might also facilitate the process of incorporation in their new settings. Rather than associating migration with economic conditions, anthropologists examine the different socio-cultural contexts migrants move between. Even though anthropologists believe that individual and migratory behavior is shaped by factors such as socio-cultural background and gender regimes, the individual migrants are always at the center. They are recognized as agents coping within the constraints imposed upon them by a certain structure. As migrants travel between different places they are likely to experience a new set of socio-cultural relations. Such changes interest anthropologists. Therefore, they are at the forefront of theorizing gendered migration as the implication of sex is governed by the socio-cultural context. Many of their fruitful insights emerged by studying rural-urban movements and the emigration of poor people in the Third World. Although such mobility is not completely comparable with the internal migration during industrialization in the Western World, the anthropological practice of combining macro- and micro-perspectives with ever-present comparisons can serve any student of migration.¹¹³

Sociology has a long tradition of discussing the impact of migration largely emanating from modernization theory. Similar to economists and demographers, they explain how the structure, primarily defined in socio-economic terms, determines migratory behavior. By analyzing social relations and the process of incorporation they share the interest of anthropologists but sociologists mainly focus on the receiving context that is usually urban. Migrants' development,

such as their occupational, criminal and marital path in their new setting is often examined. Unlike historians, sociologists like theorizing their results and in this way have contributed to migration concepts. As do economists, they model decisions to migrate by emphasizing human capital theories. In so doing sociologists have sometimes gone beyond their findings and have been criticized. Nevertheless, their focus on receiving areas is worth adopting to grasp possible determinants of migration. Analyzing migrants' social mobility is also essential for understanding both the causes and the consequences of relocation.¹¹⁴

Distance is inherent in spatial mobility and the subject has interested geographers in their analyzes of large migration flows at macro-levels. They discuss the function of space and place in determining the direction and volume of these flows and examine how they change over time. In observing that the number of migrants decreases as the distance increases, geographers elaborate the 'friction of distance'. They share many other scholars' interests about the sending and receiving areas and are inspired by the structural theorizing characteristic of the work of economists and sociologists. Although geographers rarely incorporate approaches at the micro-level, they are usually aware that distance and places are only two factors that many potential migrants might consider. Geographers have also shown that information and solid social ties can overcome distance and physical space.

The fact that migration concerns scholars of diverse disciplines shows that it is complex not only by nature but also has an impact on different aspects of society and human activity. Therefore, it can only be captured by applying macro- and micro-levels of analyses. Even though there is a lack of agreement between the disciplines regarding how questions and different aspects should be best framed, there is also a great deal of consensus. In the search for a holistic migration approach, the convergence between the different disciplines must be highlighted. Woods and White suggest:

[The] most complete analysis of migration can only be undertaken by adopting a systems framework in which the inter-relationships between the various phenomena involved in migration can be modeled, tested and more fully understood.¹¹⁵

Jackson and Moch echo the above call for a theoretical framework sometimes labeled systems approach.¹¹⁶ This seeks to integrate and demonstrate the many different perspectives that complex phenomena such as migration demands. They argue there is no alternative if we ever are to understand larger social processes. By both identifying and creating diversity linked to individuals and society, migration and studies on the subject have the potential to detect larger processes and their broad impact. Systems approaches can serve scholars by both distinguishing and understanding their findings.

However, there does not exist one universal systems approach. In light of the previous research survey the reasons are easily recognized. Comprehensive systems approaches are dynamic but pioneering efforts reveal that they also have their limitations.¹¹⁷ Inevitably, time and place in combination with access to data determine any application of a model. By considering such circumstances and earlier theoretical efforts it is largely up to the researcher him- or herself to develop a systems framework that fits into the material and approach in question.

1.2. Modeling Migration: Aims, data and methodology

No matter how we approach migration, from an individual or structural level, there is always a danger that one perspective will supersede the other. As individuals and society are closely inter-related, the micro and macro are not mutually exclusive. In light of the empirical findings and theoretical aspects previously discussed, this section first highlights perspectives included in the analytic framework applied to this survey. Second, aims and specific questions are presented. The sources used and their quality are then discussed. Finally, methodological issues are considered. Later chapters offer more thorough discussions concerning the data and methods used in this thesis.

1.2.1. Employing different perspectives and analytical categories of migration

The macro-level approach turns attention to the socio-economic structure at large as this has an impact on society and individuals' socio-spatial mobility. However, the socio-economic structure includes more than one dimension. Even though macro-level approaches cover general large-scale transitions such as economic and demographic configurations, such changes are also shaped by the local or regional setting in which they operate. Therefore, the macro-level is divided into one large-scale and one local-scale dimension. The first one considers the general socio-economic development in Sweden and Western Europe. General norms and values also originate from this scale such as the gender regime. Contextual conditions are gendered because nineteenth-century women were not on an equal footing with men. The other dimension refers to these large-scale features in, and impact on the town of Sundsvall and its surrounding region. These two levels serve as explanatory settings for the key figures of this study, i.e. the migrants themselves. Figure 1.1 illustrates how these two dimensions can be modeled. The macro-level implication on local-scale concerning the area left behind is only briefly considered in this thesis.

Figure 1.1 shows that the micro-level approach considers the individual migrants in detail such as their demographic characteristics and life-course. Either it operates at an individual level examining single migrants or at a cohort-scale formed by migrants having some demographic features in common. Occasionally these cohorts are gathered into aggregate groups to grasp general patterns.

Focusing on individuals raises the desire to distinguish the impact of gender on socio-spatial mobility. Thus, a gender perspective analyzes in what ways the migratory and demographic path and life-course of men and women differ. The underlying assumption for this approach is that women, or men, have something in common that cuts across other analytical categories and influences their experience of migration. Women migrants have been overlooked in research and gender analyses have helped explore their reasons for migration. This encourages a second dimension of the gender perspective that particularly seeks to discern women's relocation in terms of emancipation. This gender approach recognizes them as agents of change even though their actions and options are constrained by the current context.

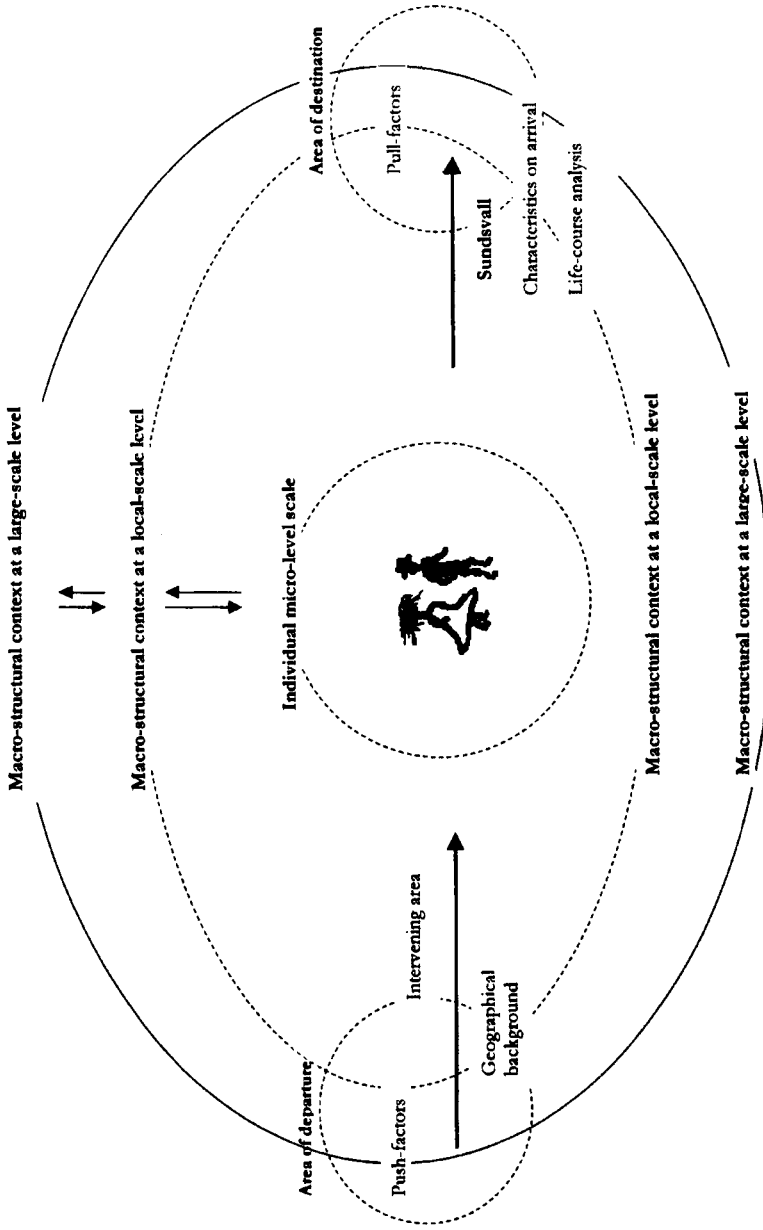
This is not to say that only gender makes a difference to patterns of migration. Comparative perspectives on the significance of socio-economic status and geographical background are also employed to explore the migrants' life-course and marital patterns. The findings generated for the period of industrial growth are compared to those preceding it to assess how industrialization and urbanization influenced migration.

The entire approach of this thesis calls for longitudinal life-course perspectives. It has been shown that if there is sufficient quantitative data available, longitudinal analyses offer excellent opportunities to capture migrants' life-course over time.¹¹⁸ Existing statistics, and not least the Swedish parish registers, form a reliable indicator of people's behavior in the past. Therefore, this book incorporates much statistical investigations. Tables, figures and even some regression analyses will compress information on the Sundsvall migrants while never losing sight of the individuals.

This study also incorporates a qualitative approach to the study of migration. Quantitative and qualitative methods are not mutually exclusive but rather are two ways of viewing similar phenomenon.¹¹⁹ Such an approach is partly inspired by post-modernists employing numerous methods in their rejection of grand narrative models. This survey uses local newspapers as they can tell us another story about individual lives and work in Sundsvall by hinting at possible causes for migration and its impact on individuals.

Anthony Giddens's structuration theory offers the means to deal with micro- and macro-levels and the manifold perspectives they generate.¹²⁰ His theory has been applied in migration approaches as it focuses on the intersection between individual actions and larger structural processes.¹²¹ Giddens's theory also en-

Figure 1.1. A model for conceptualizing migration.



Comments: The model resembles those presented by Lee and White & Woods. Cf. Lee E., p. 48; White & Woods, p. 44.

Explanations: Words placed above the bolded time-axis are general for most migration approaches. Words placed below especially concern the focus of this study. The push- and pull-factors refer to socio-economic conditions including personal ties and supply of information that might encourage relocation. Intervening obstacles mainly consider distance and communications. In addition to gender the individual characteristics concern the migrants' age, socio-economic and marital status. Their geographical background is considered in terms of place of birth or departure. The life-course approach refers to the migrants' lives in Sundsvall primarily in terms of their social mobility and marital patterns.

compasses recent gender theories. It addresses both the individual and society so it suits this study that seeks to combine micro- and macro-levels. Although individuals are in charge of their lives, they are not free to do whatever they want. Migrants are not in total control of making decisions about when or where to go. The structural setting shapes their goals. Personal, socio-economic and cultural factors influence individuals' options on both the macro- and micro-levels. However, according to structuration theory, individuals are not only responding to, or shaped by, the contextual circumstances. They are intrinsically involved in shaping the structure. Not many places in the past were unaffected by human relocation.¹²²

There are theoretical links between Giddens's theory and Hägerstrand's concept of time-geography.¹²³ Broadly conceived, the latter seeks to identify constraints over human agency given by the nature of the body and the physical settings in which activity takes place. By relocating, individuals travel through time and physical space. Migrants are therefore challenging the structural boundaries of which they are nevertheless part.

The different perspectives, comparative categories and analytic levels discussed above form the framework used to study the Sundsvall migrants. It also addresses the multitude of migration concepts that was previously introduced through its use of various sources and methods. In other words, by addressing multiple issues originating from macro- and micro-approaches this model aims to produce one comprehensive systems approach applicable to this study.

1.2.2. Aims and questions

The general aim is to analyze the character of migration in Sundsvall from 1840-1892 and to assess how processes of urbanization and industrialization affected the migrants involved in them. It employs a gender perspective and puts women migrants at the heart of this study, but for comparative reasons it also studies men. The gender approach also seeks to explore women's migration and societal position as steps towards emancipation.

This study analyses migration to Sundsvall and the migrants themselves from four perspectives and in different contexts. The first level of analysis examines the macro-level by considering the demographic and socio-economic structure of Sundsvall and the general influx of migrants from 1840-1892. What structural circumstances made men and women seek this particular destination? When and why did it turn up as favorite target for thousands of migrants and in what ways did industrialization change the characteristics of this influx over time? Quantitative data is utilized to suggest the answers.

The second approach analyzes the individual migrants on their arrival. The characteristics of migrants with regard to age, geographical background, social and marital status are studied in the light of whether gender and industrialization

influenced these features. The issue of how social networks operated is also addressed. The micro-level approach is used to explore these issues by examining the migrants as individuals or as a cohort. Quantitative data primarily offer the answers.

In addition to considering the migrants' length of residence in Sundsvall, the third area of interest focuses on the migrants' social and marital mobility. It considers whether and in what ways the migrants' age, gender, and socio-spatial background influenced their life-course or duration of residence. Did rapid industrialization stimulate or open up migrants' occupational mobility, marriage patterns or choice of spouse in Sundsvall? This and their choice of new destination will be regarded. Longitudinal life-course analyses based on quantitative data combined with qualitative approaches will shed light on the migrants' life-course. This third area of interest also explores migration at the micro-level by taking single individuals or cohorts into account.

The final research agenda focuses upon young female migrants during industrialization. One issue considers the impact of illegitimate children on their migration and life-course. This analysis examines differences in the socio-spatial backgrounds and demographic characteristics of women with and without illegitimate children. Longitudinal life-course analyses based on quantitative parish registers are key to this study. Another issue highlights the occupational options Sundsvall offered women migrants. Additional sources such as local newspapers, business statistics and patient records are used to provide additional information as parish records often give incomplete data on women's work. Micro-level approaches are used to elaborate minor cohorts and individual women.

After completing these above investigations it will be possible to approach the consequences of migration and the question of why individuals, and particularly women, migrated. This question is essential for linking spatial mobility to general history to get a better understanding of people's social position in past societies and the ways in which they responded to or interacted with the many changes the nineteenth century witnessed.

1.2.3. Sources and the quality of data

Scholars often stress the importance of combining different types of data.¹²⁴ Quantitative historians sometimes blame qualitative colleagues for neither paying statistics enough attention, nor including enough individuals in their studies. Scholars working mainly with qualitative material seldom find enjoyment reading the results of demographic historians because their work often lacks the life and breath of individuals who vanish into the aggregated data of figures and

tables. Despite an expressed desire to combine sources, such efforts are still relatively infrequent. The various sources used for this thesis and the reliability of them are discussed below.

The computerized parish registers of Sundsvall

In contrast to most quantitative data available abroad, Swedish parish registers lend themselves to dynamic surveys. Parish ministers each year had to visit their parishioners and report details concerning their biblical knowledge and ability to read and write in catechetical examination registers. This makes it possible today to analyze longitudinal changes at individual levels. When the Tabular Commission (*Tabellverket*) established in 1749 required more information about the inhabitants of Sweden these registers formed the basis for the general parish records. These records include information about migration, marriages, deaths and births. Taken together they give a general picture of the migration pattern and demographic path of individuals.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, the Swedish parish registers must be treated like every other source. They were created and collected for bureaucratic, political and religious reasons and must be viewed as part of that context. This has shaped and limited the possibilities of exploring them today.

The parish registers generally offer good data about people's movement between parishes. For the period under consideration migration was legally permissible and only slightly restricted.¹²⁶ Scholars have verified that with few exceptions migrants were able to settle wherever they chose. However, there were two categories of migrants: those who reported their relocation and those who did not. Seasonal laborers usually formed the latter category but it also contained women such as Anna Maria Bargelin. Estimations based on the late 1870s suggest that about 3,000 male laborers stayed in Sundsvall without having told the minister about their residence.¹²⁷

For the years 1803-1892 the Demographic Data Base (DDB) in Umeå, Sweden, has computerized the parish registers of Sundsvall and the surrounding parishes. This greatly reduces a time-consuming research process of collecting data.

Even though the Swedish sources are unique in delivering direct and continuous data about migration, they have shortcomings computer programs can never overcome. The disastrous fire that consumed Sundsvall in 1888 destroyed much valuable information. Fortunately, most of the material survived the flame, but for the period before 1860 only the catechetical examination exist. Second, despite bureaucratic instructions to the clergy about how to compile and record data, the comprehensiveness of it varies between the clergymen. Poor record keeping and illegible handwriting has sometimes reduced the amount of available information. Computerization cannot correct such errors. Third, the registers often report origin, date of departure, marital status and

occupation as unknown. In areas affected by rapid industrialization and intense migration the population was difficult to document. The tremendous influx of people also jeopardizes the chances of studying household structure.¹²⁸

Problems also arise because of how the ministers' recorded occupational changes. This information was not central to the interests of ministers or bureaucrats and was not recorded when people changed jobs but rather during catechetical examinations or when events such as marriage or migration occurred. Occupations allocated to the lower social strata and particularly those of women, are poorly documented. Married women usually lack any kind of occupational data and the vast majority of single women are simply labeled *pigor* (maidservants). Another undefined category consists of titled women reported as *fröknar*, *demoiseller*, *mamseller*, *jungfrur*. It is difficult to judge the socio-economic status of the latter. This issue is further explored when the social classification is discussed.

Swedish parish registers must be regarded trustworthy despite these faults. One clear advantage of these sources is that they allow us to study every member of society more so than do most others. It does not matter whether individuals were rich or poor, young or old, men or women. The sources generally provide satisfactory information with the exception of women's occupations. Therefore, it is possible to draw some assumptions about people's reasons to move and the consequences of migration from this demographic data.

The additional sources

Of course migrants' lives in Sundsvall consisted of so much more than the information available in the parish registers. Although shedding their unique light and knowledge, each group of documents also leaves dark shadows and raises further questions. It is particularly difficult to obtain sufficient data for ordinary people of the past at the individual level especially for women. Occupational information can offer clues to what their life was like. Three other kinds of sources are addressed to compensate for the poor quality of the parish records in these matters. From now on they are termed the additional sources. They have been manually linked to the parish registers usually using the women's names as the linking key. Sundsvall's computerized parish registers made this identification process possible. These sources are only briefly considered below. Chapter 7 offers further information.

The first additional source is the local newspapers *Sundsvalls Tidning* (ST) and *Sundsvalls-Posten* (SP).¹²⁹ They consist of four pages printed three times a week. As the thesis highlights the industrial era, the year 1879 was selected. The initial purpose was to get information about women's activities in the labor market primarily by studying advertisement and announcements but the reader is offered

snapshots of the town and its newcomers. The newspapers contribute much to our understanding of the town and the people living there so a few of these snapshots also appear in the thesis.

Further information about women's work is found in patient records for the period 1862-1889.¹³⁰ They tend to identify women's occupations better than the parish registers. Studies using the patient records from the Sundsvall hospital have shown them to be trustworthy and capable of providing a fair socio-economic picture of the town's population.¹³¹

The National Board of Trade's business statistics for selected years from 1860-1893 represents the final source used in this study.¹³² It annually registered individuals who owned a trade or crafts business. These lists had two purposes. First, they formed the basis for the countrywide published statistics. Second, they were the basis for personal taxation for businessmen. There is a risk of not finding men and women engaged in the business life in Sundsvall because of their desire to avoid taxation. Nevertheless, businesswomen emerge somewhat more frequently in these records than in the parish records.

1.2.4. Methodology

Different sources demand different methods and these are briefly discussed with regard to the parish registers. Methodological issues are further developed in later chapters.

On the whole, this study covers every migrant who settled in Sundsvall from 1840-1892 according to the parish registers. It would be impossible to account for every single migrant and year under consideration. Therefore, two large cohorts have been drawn from the computerized parish registers stored at the DDB. They have then been constructed to fulfill several purposes. First, because the industrial breakthrough and its impact on the socio-spatial mobility in Sundsvall is at center of this study, migrants arriving in 1865-1880 form the cohort covering urban-industrial time. Individuals coming to Sundsvall in the 1840s represent the pre-industrial cohort that serves to give a background to the urban-industrial era. Because of the Sundsvall fire in 1888, the data of the pre-industrial cohort is less complete.

Second, special attention is placed on young adults as they form the majority of migrants and also have large parts of their life-course still ahead of them making them possible to analyze. Two minor cohorts consisting of young unmarried men and women have been drawn from the larger ones. They are closely studied over time to examine their paths especially during industrialization. One cohort covers the 1870s and the other is for the 1840s.

Third, as women migrants are at the very heart of this survey, two female cohorts have been constructed. One is composed to shed light into the possible relationship between women's migration and illegitimacy during industrializa-

tion. The other cohort is based on women found in the additional sources who have then been linked to the computerized parish registers. It is constructed to shed light on the work and labor market of women in Sundsvall. The above cohorts will be described more thoroughly in later chapters.

Quantitative and qualitative methods and considerations

The advantages of applying longitudinal perspectives to migrants have already been presented. The longitudinal data of the Swedish parish registers facilitate life-course analyses. There are tremendous possibilities to link changes during individual lives to other demographic characteristics that could help explain migratory behavior or social mobility. In this study the longitudinal analysis begins with the event of in-migration and continues until the migrant leaves Sundsvall or dies, or until the computerized registers are closed down in 1892. As long as the migrants remain in town the researcher can study them. When individuals leave Sundsvall there is information about their destination.¹³³ Such cases are analyzed to different degrees depending on the cohorts under consideration. However, due to incomplete data, it is more difficult to analyze the migrants of the 1840s in longitudinal terms.

It has repeatedly been stated that the individual migrant forms the fundamental unit of analysis in this study. Certain migrants can illustrate and expand our understanding of the statistical data. Along the thesis some individual migrants will be introduced to portray the quantitative information compressed in all the statistics. These individuals are not necessarily typical migrants although they often are. They sometimes have been chosen because there is interesting data in the additional sources.

However, to draw general conclusions about migrants' behavior and demographic patterns, they must be analyzed in larger cohorts or aggregates. Variables likely to affect a person's path such as age, gender, social status, and geographic background, must be considered to grasp whether events such as spatial, social or marital mobility occur. All migrants are treated in the SPSS-program making it possible to quantify and describe a large number of individuals with regard to their different characteristics. This computer program also allows for advanced statistical life-course analyses such as regression models.¹³⁴ Such analyses originated from mortality studies that aimed to evaluate medical treatment by determining factors that led to death.¹³⁵ We might think of the duration of residence as survival time, i.e. the time between in- and out-migration. As there is an analogy with mortality studies, events such as migration can be measured in regression models. This also holds true for occupational changes. Basically only a number of individuals, a span of time and events linked to the individuals during that period are needed to make life-course analyses.¹³⁶

Unlike most quantitative efforts, qualitative approaches can seldom claim to be representative but they are essential nonetheless. In this study newspaper accounts of migrants appear for two reasons: to identify women's occupations, and offer a view of migrants' life in Sundsvall. The latter perspective came about in the search for women's work. Generally, only those people possible to identify in the computerized parish registers are used. Except from the advertisements and announcements where the name is usually available, nineteenth-century newspapers printed personal details about people who faced criminal prosecution. These newspaper accounts are particularly valuable as most of the court material was destroyed by the fire in 1888.¹³⁷

There is not enough space to let every identified migrant found in the newspapers come to light. The method of choosing which ones are incorporated in this study can be disputed but those that have been chosen provide vital information that helps identify their path in Sundsvall. The means of introducing these individuals in the wider context are manifold. Instead of choosing one method of integrating them, I have decided on several.

Social classifications

Social status influences many human activities. The research survey showed it also affects migratory behavior. Scholars usually agree that economic resources shape individuals' life path but the question of how to place individuals into social groups has been disputed. Insufficient sources contribute to this problem and many theoretical discussions of what constitutes an individual's status have occurred. Max Weber, Walter G. Runciman and Anthony Giddens defined social status in terms of class and modes of production.¹³⁸ More recently, Robert T. Erikson & John H. Goldthorpe have categorized occupations and developed theories about social status. Social mobility also concerns them as classifications form the foundation for measuring this mobility.¹³⁹ In Sweden these topics of group formation and transformation were widely debated in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁴⁰ In short, scholars agree that income and occupation can indicate individuals' status.

Occupation forms the basis for the socio-economic classification used in this study. It employs the system of classification developed by researchers in the Uppsala Migration Project and thus parallels many other efforts of Swedish urban historians.¹⁴¹ At heart, the classification is based upon Thernstrom's categorization although the Swedish model is more detailed.¹⁴² This lends itself to the stratification presented below. It helps to group the migrants hierarchically, but is sometimes modified to distinguish social mobility and women's work more accurately.

Table 1.1. The basic social classification used in the study.

The general model	The modified model of women
Upper strata	
1. Large-scale business entrepreneurs	
2. Higher civil officials	
Middle strata	
3a. Small-scale entrepreneurs in trade and industry, master artisans and craftsmen	1. Small-scale entrepreneurs & lower civil officials
3b. Farmers, tenant farmers	
4. Lower civil officials	
Lower strata	
5. Skilled laborers, craftsmen and artisans below the rank of master	2. Skilled laborers
6a. Unskilled laborers	3. Unskilled laborers
6b. Farmhands, <i>pigor</i> (maidservants)	4. <i>Pigor</i> (maidservants)
Undefined occupations (titles)	Titled women (<i>demoiseller, mamseller, jungfrur, frökna</i>)
Occupation unknown	Occupation unknown

As does any classification, the one applied here demands some methodological comments. The first issue concerns whether individuals with a given occupation performed that particular work at the given point in time. As was discussed when describing the parish registers, the occupational information is not perfectly updated. We might also wonder what kind of occupation the migrants reported on their arrival - the job left behind or the new one. Second, in cases in which individuals have more than one occupation registered at the time used for analysis the first is given priority. Third, many occupations such as laborer, servant or tradesman are poorly defined. These occupational titles might mask different levels of skills and status that the parish registers cannot reveal. The occupational data are more complete after 1860 as the records from then onwards survived the disastrous fire of 1888. The final abolition of the guild system in 1864 makes it hard to separate master artisans from journeymen and artisans and illuminates a problem inherent in this classification scheme.¹⁴³ The fifth category in Table 1.1 might, therefore, cover men that could be labeled masters and placed in the third social group (group 3a).

The most difficult task is to classify women's occupational status as the sources often lack sufficient information. One way to solve the problem partially is to link women to male relatives. In this study those lacking occupational information are linked first to the husband and then to the father. Scholars apply this method as it also makes it possible to place women in the social classification.¹⁴⁴ In cases where there is occupational data on women there is reason to let them speak for themselves. This usually is the case for single women but their work is poorly defined in the parish registers. Therefore, they are sometimes placed in the modified stratification of women in Table 1.1. As so few women appear in the upper social strata there is little reason to account for every single occupation presented in the general classification. The fourth category covers most women, i.e. *pigor* (maidservants). Whether *piga* was only a title identifying daughters to men in the lower social strata has been discussed. Most likely, they performed domestic work but of what kind is never or rarely reported.¹⁴⁵ From now on, these women are called *pigor*. Another broad category consists of women reported as *fröken*, *demoiselle*, *mamselle* and *jungfru*. Even though it is impossible to judge whether they worked, their titles indicate some kind of social status although it is difficult to define.¹⁴⁶ They will keep their titles in this study, which labels them as titled women.

The social classification makes it possible to find and measure social mobility. This study shows two methods of identifying occupational changes but neither considers mobility occurring within a single group even though this could happen. First, changes by social group are explained. Second, to call such changes social mobility that also includes a shift in status requires more dramatic changes of occupation. When social mobility is discussed the six basic social groups are modified into four.¹⁴⁷ The two methods of defining occupational mobility are developed in later chapters.

One general problem concerning the limits of the hierarchical classifications must be emphasized. Once placed at the bottom, as are *pigor* for example, it is impossible to go further down. Bearing this complexity in mind, the major aim is to analyze to what extent occupational changes occur and to distinguish in what directions they worked, i.e. downwards or upwards. The social status on arrival is usually compared with occupational changes that might take place during the migrants' residence in Sundsvall. Women migrants are again linked to male relatives if this is possible when there is no other occupational data available.

Geographical categorizations

This study and the parish registers recognize migrants as those people who crossed the parish borders of Sundsvall. Parishes are thus the foundation for geographical categorization which requires complete data on the migrants' geographical background. Unfortunately, this is not always available.

In this study migrants' parish of departure and not their parish of birth is generally given priority. To let the latter display the distance or geographical background distorts the results as people seldom stayed a lifetime in one particular place. It is more reasonable to focus on the area left immediately behind especially as the Swedish parish registers provide such information. This method is somewhat hazardous, as migrants might just have made a short stay in the parish left behind. Therefore, sometimes both the place of birth and departure are considered.¹⁴⁸

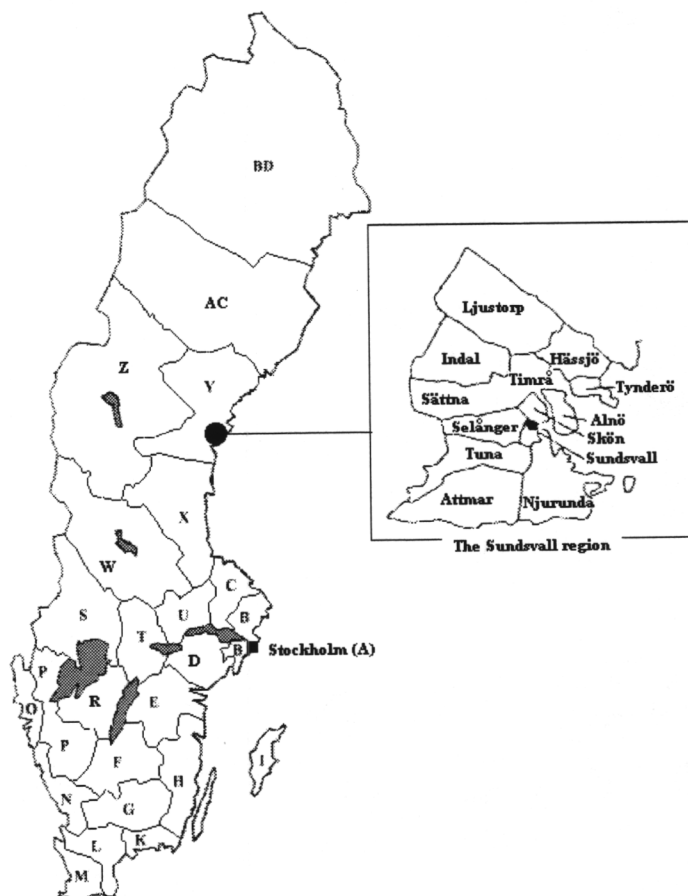
The migrants' geographical background is separated into three basic categories: immigration/emigration, internal long distance and regional short distance. It is needless to explain the first one, and the limit of short distances is confined to within the borders of the Sundsvall region. People living in the most remote regional parishes only had to travel about 40 kilometers to reach the town. Migrations from other parts in Sweden define long distance movement.

Table 1.2. The basic geographical categorization used in this study.

1. Immigration/emigration	- places situated abroad
2. Internal long distance migration	- parishes placed all over Sweden outside the Sundsvall region
3. Internal short distance migration	- parishes placed within the Sundsvall region
Unknown	- place of departure unknown or impossible to locate

Basically, this geographical categorization parallels those presented in most other migration studies.¹⁴⁹ The comprehensive category covering Swedish parishes outside the region must be explained because of the distances involved. It is separated into minor geographical units based on either the migrants' county or parish of departure. These sub-categories are more thoroughly discussed when the results are presented. Computer generated maps of Sweden will illustrate the geographical findings.

Map 1.1. Map of Sweden showing Sundsvall, the Sundsvall region and the counties in Sweden.



Explanations: The counties

A. Stockholm city

B. Stockholm's county

C. Uppsala

D. Södermanland

E. Östergötland

F. Jönköping

G. Kronoberg

H. Kalmar

I. Gotland

K. Blekinge

L. Kristianstad

M. Malmöhus

N. Halland

O. Göteborg & Bohus

P. Älvsborg

R. Skaraborg

S. Värmland

T. Örebro

U. Västmanland

W. Kopparberg

X. Gävleborg

Y. Västernorrland

Z. Jämtland

AC. Västerbotten

BD. Norrbotten

The migrants' background is sometimes elaborated upon to find out to what degree they had experienced urban environments prior to their arrival in Sundsvall. Such approaches appear in a few other migration studies.¹⁵⁰ In this study urban migrations are defined as towns that in 1870 had a population of at least 1,000 inhabitants according to official statistics.¹⁵¹ If this is not the case, the parishes are labeled non-urban. Seen from an international horizon this urban-criterion for recognizing towns might appear peculiar. Nineteenth-century Sweden however had a small population of which an overwhelming majority lived on the countryside and the rest in small towns with the exception of Stockholm. For Sweden these definitions are justified.

Notes

- 1 *Sundsvalls Tidning* (ST) 1879-06-10, 1879-07-19.
- 2 Zelinsky, W. "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition". *Geographical Review* 1971:61, pp. 219-249.
- 3 For some literature on the issue of defining migration, its nature and data, see Tilly, C. "Migration in Modern European History". Sundin, J. & Söderlund, E. (Eds.). *Time, Space and Man: Essays on Microdemography*. Stockholm 1979, pp. 175-197; White, P. & Woods, R. *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. London 1980, pp. 3-7; Hochstadt, S. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989*. University of Michigan Press 1999, pp. 7-14; Boyle, P., Halfacree K. & Robinson, V. *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. New York 1998, pp. 34-56.
- 4 Lee, E.S. "A Theory of Migration". *Demography* 1966:3, pp. 47-57.
- 5 Green, N.L. "The Comparative Method and Poststructuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies". Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999, p. 57.
- 6 Hochstadt, p. 7.
- 7 *Ibid*, pp. 7 f.
- 8 Until mid-nineteenth century migration was slightly restricted with regard to migrants' employment and physical status. Old and poor people, for instance, were denied relocation in case there was nobody who could care for them at the new destination. For further information, see under the headline concerning sources at the end of this chapter, cf. footnote 126.
- 9 Scholars often, but somewhat differently, view migrants and migration in the light of agent vs. structure. Such approaches are discussed in greater detail below. Cf. White & Woods, pp. 42-56; Pooley, C. & Turnbull, J. *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century*. London 1998, pp. 19 ff.

- 10 Weber, A.F. *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics*. New York 1899.
- 11 Cf. Grigg, D.B. "E.G. Ravenstein and the 'Laws of Migration'". *Journal of Historical Geography* 1977:3, pp. 41-54; Boyle, P., Halfacree K. & Robinson, V., p. 60; White & Woods, pp. 34-39, Thorvaldsen, G. "Teorier fra historisk migrasjonsforskning: sosialpsykologi eller økonomi?". *Tidskrift för samfunnsforskning* 1996:7, pp. 459-484; Myhre, J.E. "Historiske perspektiver på flytning". Lovoll, O.S. (Ed.). *Tid og Tanke: Migrasjon og tilpassning*. Ingrid Semmingsen. Et seminar. Skriftserie fra Historisk institutt 3, Oslo Universitet. Oslo 1998, pp. 55-71.
- 12 His eleven laws are as follows:
- The majority of migrants move only a short distance
 - Migration proceeds step by step
 - Migrants going long distance generally move to one of the great centers of commerce or industry
 - The native populations of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas
 - Females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently travel larger distances
 - Most migrants are adults, families rarely migrate out of their county of birth
 - Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase
 - The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centers of industry or commerce
 - The major causes of migration are economic
 - Each current of migration produces a compensating counter-current
 - Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transportation improves
- See Ravenstein, E.G. "The Laws of Migration". *Journal of Royal Statistical Society* 1885:48 & 1889:52. Ravenstein's laws were first published in the *Geographical Magazine* of 1876. His results are based on the British census place of birth tables for 1871 and 1881. They were then supplemented by similar data from censuses in North America and Europe.
- 13 *Emigrationsutredningen. Betänkande med bilagor*. Stockholm 1908-1913; cf. Sköld, P. *Kunskap och kontroll: Den svenska befolkningsstatistikens historia*. Umeå 2001, pp. 308-18.
- 14 Thomas, D.S. *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933*. New York 1941; Thomas, D.S. *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*. New York 1938; Myrdal, G. et. al. (Eds.). *Population Movements and Industrialization. Swedish Counties, 1895-1930*. (By the staff of the Institute for Social Sciences). Stockholm 1941.
- 15 Hägerstrand, T. "En landsbygdsbefolknings flyttningsrörelser. Studier över migrationen på grundval av Asby sockens husförhållanden 1840-1944". *Meddelanden Ser.C*, no. 251, Geografiska Institutionen, Lunds Universitet. Lund 1947; Hägerstrand, T. "Migration and Area." Hannerberg, D., Hägerstrand, H. & Odeving, B. (Eds.). *Migration in Sweden*. Lund Studies in Geography, 13 B. Lund 1957, pp. 27-158; Hjulström, F., Arpi, G. & Lövgren, E. *Sundsvallsdistriktet 1850-1950*. Uppsala 1955; Nelson, H. *Studier över svenskt näringsliv, säsongarbete och befolkningsrörelser under 1800- och 1900-talen*. Acta Reg. Societas Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 63. Lund 1963.

- 16 Usually, this is called the "Uppsala Migration Project", but the official name was "Sweden and America after 1860: Emigration, Remigration, Social and Political Debate". For a summary of the generated results, see Runblom, H. & Norman, H. (Eds.). *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration*. Uppsala 1976. Concerning the surveys on internal migration, see particularly Norman, H. *Från Bergslagen till Nordamerika: Studier i migrationsmönster, social rörlighet och demografisk struktur med utgångspunkt från Örebro län 1851-1915*. Uppsala 1974; Kronborg, B. & Nilsson, T. *Stadsflyttare: Industrialisering, migration och social mobilitet med utgångspunkt från Halmstad 1870-1910*. Uppsala 1975; Eriksson, M. & Åkerman, S. "Geografisk och social rörlighet. Resultat från Trestadsstudien". *Scandia* 1974:No.2, pp. 261-309; Åkerman, S. "Intern befolkningsomflyttning och emigration". In *Emigrationen fra Norden indtil I. Verdens krig. Rapporter Til Det Nordiske Historikermøde i København, 9-7 August*. Köpenhamn 1971, pp. 69-107.
- 17 Cf. footnote 12 concerning his laws. Step migration in Sweden is evident but also found to be more complex than Ravenstein suggested. Moore, J. *Cityward Migration: Swedish Data*. Chicago 1938, pp. 13-60, 128-131; Thomas 1941, 19-31, 221-298; Langton, J. & Hoppe, G. "Urbanisation, Social Structure and Population Circulation in Pre-Industrial Times: Flows of People through Vadstena (Sweden) in Mid-nineteenth Century". Corfield, P. & Keene, D. (Eds.). *Work in Towns 850-1850*. Leicester 1990, pp. 138-163.
- 18 Cf. footnote 12. Thomas 1941, pp. 28-31; Norman 1974, pp. 155 ff, 165 ff; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 55 ff., 86. As is later discussed, the gendered distribution in migration flows depends on the destination under consideration. Hochstadt finds, for instance, that men are sometimes more mobile. Hochstadt, pp. 145, 151. In nineteenth-century northern Sweden men generally challenged longer distances than women whereas the latter were especially attached to urban areas. See, Andersson, T. *Den inre omflyttningen. I Norrland*. Malmö 1897, pp. 56 ff.
- 19 Thorvaldsen, p. 468.
- 20 Moch, L.P. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington & Indianapolis 1992.
- 21 Moch 1992, pp. 22-160; Hochstadt, pp. 35 ff. Also in Sweden and the area of Sundsvall people had long experienced relocation. Egerbladh, I. "Flyttningar på landsbygden i 1800-talets Norrland". Layton, I. (Ed.). *Då, nu och sedan: Geografiska uppsatser till minnet av Ingvar Jonsson*. Umeå 1995, pp. 31-47; Harnesk, B. *Legfolk – drängar, pigor och bönder i 1700- och 1800-talens Sverige*. Umeå 1990, pp 161-180; Langton & Hoppe.
- 22 Thomas 1938, p. 10; Åkerman 1971, p. 80; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 64 ff.
- 23 Nevertheless, still in the 1970s Edward Shorter regarded pre-industrial societies as static because he believed that hardly any movement, whether social or geographical, took place. Shorter, E. *The Making of the Modern Family*. New York 1975, p. 47.
- 24 Jackson, J.H. & Moch, L.P. "Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe". *Historical Methods* 1989:22, pp. 27-36; Moch 1992, pp. 1-21
- 25 Moch 1992, pp. 159 f.
- 26 When women show a preference for making associational migrations or when kin ties tend to determine their movements, this is usually explained by females' commitments to their family. Joan W. Scott and Louise A. Tilly have especially examined such obligations in the light of their family wage model. The forthcoming section on migration, social networks and gender will develop this issue. Scott, J.W. & Tilly, L.A. *Women, Work and Family*. New York

- 1978, see particularly "Part II", pp. 61-145; cf. Sewell, W. H. *Structure and Mobility: The Men and Women of Marseille, 1820-1870*. Cambridge 1985, p. 176; Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 213, 224.
- 27 Tilly C. 1979, pp. 175-197; cf. Peterson, W. "A General Typology of Migration". *American Sociological Review* 1958:23, pp. 256-266.
- 28 White & Woods, pp. 12-18; Jackson & Moch, p. 29.
- 29 Regarding means and levels of migration approaches, see particularly Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. "Introduction". Brettell C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory. Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000, pp. 1-26; Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999, pp. 9-84. See especially "Part I" and the contributions made by the two editors, Leslie Page Moch, Nancy L. Green and Dirk Hoerder; Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 57-82; White & Woods, pp. 42-56; Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 1-22; Åkerman, S. "Theories and Methods of Migration Research". Runblom, H. & Norman, H. (Eds.). *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration*. Uppsala 1976, pp. 19-75.
- 30 Langholm, S. "On the Scope of Micro-History". *Scandinavian Journal of History* 1976:1, pp. 3-24; Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 299 ff.
- 31 Moch, L.P. "Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization. Lucassen & Lucassen (Eds.). *Migration, History Migration, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999, p. 43.
- 32 Overpopulation only triggers migration. This mechanical view of spatial mobility has garnered much criticism for not taking improvements in agricultural technology, and the subdivision and enclosure of farms into account. These factors also shape the means of subsistence and affect individuals' decisions to stay or migrate. Grigg, D.B. "Migration and Overpopulation". White & Woods (Eds.). *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. New York 1980, pp. 60-64; Hicks, J.R. *The Social Framework: An Introduction to Economics*. Oxford 1971, pp. 297-299.
- 33 Jerome, H. *Migration and Business Cycles*. New York 1926. Brinley Thomas's study of the 1950s is another classical example of an economic push and pull approach. Thomas, B. *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge 1954.
- 34 Redford, A. *Labour Migration in England 1800-1850*. Manchester 1976. Originally published in 1926.
- 35 Thomas 1941, pp. 166 ff., 304-322.
- 36 Norman 1974, pp. 74-100; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 53-58.
- 37 See for instance Winberg, C. *Folkökning och proletarisering. Kring den sociala strukturomvandlingen på Sveriges landsbygd under den agrara revolutionen*. Göteborg 1975; Eriksson, I. & Rogers, J. *Rural Labor and Population Change. Social and Demographic Developments in East-central Sweden during the Nineteenth Century*. Uppsala 1978; Rolén, M. *Skogsbygd i omvandling: Studier kring befolkningsutveckling, omflyttning och social rörlighet i Revsunds tingslag 1820-1877*. Uppsala 1979; Harnesk.
- 38 Bengtsson, T. "Migration, Wages and Urbanization in Sweden in the Nineteenth Century". Woude, A. van der, Vries, J. de & Hayami, A. (Eds.). *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*. Oxford 1990, pp. 186-204.
- 39 Dribe, M. *Leaving Home in a Peasant Society: Economic Fluctuations, Household Dynamics and Youth Migration in Southern Sweden, 1829-1866*. Lund 2000.

- 40 Sjaastad, L. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *Journal of Political Economy* 1962:60, pp. 80-93.
- 41 The same criticism holds true for the place-utility matrix that posits that people's choice of place to live is determined by similar calculations of economic advantage. Cf. White & Woods, pp. 10-12; Hochstadt, p. 30.
- 42 Keely, C.B. "Demography and International Migration". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000, pp. 43-60; Massey, D.S. et al. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal". *Population and Development Review* 1993:20, pp. 431-466.
- 43 Moch 1992, pp. 131-143; Warg, S. *Famijen i gruvmiljö: Migration, giftermålsmönster och fertilitet i norrbottniska gruvindustri 1890-1930*. Umeå 2002, pp. 88-95.
- 44 Harzig, C. "Introduction: Women Move From the European Countryside to Urban America". Harzig, C. (Ed.). *Peasant Maids – City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*. New York 1997, pp. 6-10.
- 45 Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 69, 94 f.; Chiswick, B.R. "Are Immigrants Favorably Self-selected? An Economic Analysis". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000, pp. 61-76.
- 46 Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., p. 101.
- 47 The first Act was initiated in 1686 and ended in 1926 but was revised several times. Harnesk, pp. 32-39; Eriksson & Rogers, pp. 27 f; Lundh, C. "Youth Migration in a Life-Cycle Perspective". *Lund Papers in Economic History* 1996:No.52. pp. 12 ff. For information on how this regulation affected migrants' relocation, see under the headline concerning the computerized parish registers at the end of this chapter and footnote 126.
- 48 For a general definition of modernization, see "modernisering" in the sociological dictionary compiled by Bengtsson, M. & Hjern, B. *Sociologisk uppslagsbok*. Stockholm 1973.
- 49 It is impossible to consider modernization theory in detail here. In addition, students of migration have already examined this difficult issue and also criticized its theoretical implications. Some of their efforts are referred to later. Regarding the concept of modernization and some of its most central founders, see Park, R. E. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man". *The American Journal of Sociology* 1928:33, pp. 881-93; Tönnies, F. *Community and Society*. Loomins, C.P. (Ed.). New York 1957; Weber, M. *The City*. New York 1958; Wirth, L. "Urbanism as a Way of Life". *The American Journal of Sociology* 1938:44, pp. 1-24. Lewis A. Coser has gathered the most essential contributions made by these sociologists and others. Coser, L.A. *Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas in Historical and Social Context*. New York 1971.
- 50 Ibid. According to Jackson, this negative view of modernization and migration was common among Western social scientists in the early twentieth century. Since then it has more or less lost appeal among those studying migration. See Jackson, pp. 244-248. In their article from 1989, Moch & Jackson give a critical overview of modernization theories. This also holds for numerous other scholars, see Lucassen & Lucassen, pp. 9 ff.; Brettell, C.B. "Theorizing Migration in Anthropology". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000, pp. 102 ff; Schmitter Heisler, B. "The Sociology of Immigration". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000, pp. 77 ff. Hochstadt offers excellent insights and references to the anti-urban ideology that went hand in hand with industrialization in Germany and was closely related to social conservatism, social Darwinism but also German nationalism. See Hochstadt, pp. 107 ff. The historiography of migration and modernization show a great many assimilation

models. Even though they might be applied to the adaptation process of internal rural-urban migrants, these models mainly concern international migration and ethnic issues. Regarding the Sundsvall migrants, such models are of little relevance.

- 51 Anderson, B.A. *Internal Migration During Modernization in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Princeton 1980, p. 3.
- 52 Zelinsky, W. "Impasse of Migration Theory. A Sketch Map for Potential Escapes". Morrison, P.A. (Ed.). *Population Movements: Their Forms and Functions in Urbanization and Development*. Liège 1983, p. 20.
- 53 The two Dutch sociologists Marco H.D. van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas have discussed this concept of openness and empirically tested it. They argue that "modernization theorists often claim that a historical drive can be witnessed towards such an open society", but show that this issue is a complex one. Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Maas, I. "Social Mobility in A Dutch Province, Utrecht 1850-1940". *Journal of Social History* 1997:30, pp. 619-644, see quotation, p. 619.
- 54 Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson, pp. 128-134; Low, S.M. "The Anthropology of Cities: Imagining and Theorizing the City". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1996:25, pp. 383-409; Girouard, M. *Cities and People*. London 1985.
- 55 Short, J.R. *Imagined Country: Environment, Culture, and Society*. London 1991, p. 37.
- 56 Cf. Brettell 2000, pp. 102-106; Friedman-Kasaba, K. *Memories of Migration. Gender, Ethnicity, and Work in the Lives of Jewish and Italian Women in New York, 1870-1924*. New York 1996, pp. 24-29; Wallerstein, I. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York 1974.
- 57 Many scholars, in particular sociologists, have dealt with the issue of social mobility. For a review, see Erikson, R. & Goldthorpe, J.H. *The Constant Flux. A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford 1992; Kaelble, H. *Historical Research on Social Mobility: Western Europe and the USA in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London 1981.
- 58 Goldthorpe, J.H. *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. New York 1980, p. 15. See particularly his introduction and conclusion, pp. 1-37, 251-280.
- 59 Ibid. This view represents the logic of industrialism school. Cf. Leeuwen & Maas 1997, pp. 619-644; Kerr, C., Dunlop, J.T. & Meyer, C.A. *Industrialism and Industrial Man*. New York 1960.
- 60 Erikson & Goldthorpe, see especially pp. 20-26.
- 61 Goldthorpe, pp. 1-37; Heek, F. van. "Some Introductory Remarks on Social Mobility and Class Structure". In *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology. Vol. III*. London 1956, pp. 130 ff.; Dijk, H. van, Visser, J. & Wolst, E. "Regional Differences in Social Mobility Patterns in the Netherlands and Between 1830 and 1940". *Journal of Social History*, 1984:17, pp. 435-452. It should be mentioned that the issue of social mobility has attracted ideological attention that is impossible to elaborate upon in this context. Some of this discussion is found in the references above.
- 62 Thernstrom, S. *Poverty and Progress in a Nineteenth Century City*. New York 1969; Thernstrom, S. & Sennett, R. (Eds.). *Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in New Urban History*. New Haven 1969.
- 63 Thernstrom, S. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis 1880-1970*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1973, pp. 45-75.

- 64 According to the urban-escalator model, the arrival of new migrants stimulates the upward mobility of the prior migrants as the latter have greater experience in the town. This theory offers an explanation for the social persistence of particular migrants during an extended and intense human influx. When discussing this issue, Thernstrom draws upon theories developed by sociologists such as Lipset and Bendix. Thernstrom 1973, pp. 29 ff.; cf. Lipset, S.M. & Bendix, R. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley 1959. More recently, Anthony J. Fielding has introduced another escalator model. He identifies particular regions that attract young migrants at the beginning of their career. Fielding, A.J. "Migration and Social Mobility: South East England as an Escalator Region". *Regional Studies* 1992:26, pp. 1-15.
- 65 Sewell, for instance, suggests this type of selectivity explains the upward mobility of migrants in Marseille. His results are discussed more thoroughly in the following section focusing on the more dynamic macro-level perspectives and humanist approaches. Thernstrom also discusses the more optimistic view of migrants' mobility particularly represented by Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan. Cf. Blau, P.M. & Duncan, O.D. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York 1967.
- 66 Carlsson, G. *Social Mobility and Class Structure*. Lund 1958, pp. 90-120; Erikson, R. "Changes in Social Mobility in Industrial Nations: the Case of Sweden". *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 1983:2, pp. 165-195.
- 67 Kaelble, H. "Eras of Social Mobility in 19th and 20th Century Europe". *Journal of Social History* 1984:17, p. 494.
- 68 Norman discovers that about 38 percent of migrants and only 17 percent of native residents moved upwards in late nineteenth-century Örebro. Similar to Kronborg & Nilsson, he finds that migrants moving over long distances experience upward social mobility the most. Norman 1974, pp. 176-188; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 195-210; Eriksson & Åkerman, pp. 296 ff.
- 69 Leeuwen & Maas 1997, pp. 619-644; Leeuwen, M.H.D van & Maas, I. "Long Term Social Mobility: Research Agenda and A Case Study (Berlin, 1825-1957)". *Continuity and Change* 1996:11, pp. 399-433.
- 70 Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 59 f; White & Woods, pp. 21-47
- 71 Cf. Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 85-105; Åkerman 1971, p. 77 ff.; Hägerstrand 1947, pp. 123 ff.; Moch 1992, pp. 127-131; Sewell, pp. 159-212.
- 72 Hägerstrand, T. *Innovationsförloppet ur korologisk synpunkt*. Meddelanden från Lunds universitets geografiska institution. Avhandlingar, 25. Lund 1953; Hägerstrand, T. *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process*. Chicago 1967. In the latter work, see particularly Allan Pred's Postscript, pp. 299-324.
- 73 Wester, H. *Innovationer i befolkningsrörligheten. En studie av spridningsförlopp i befolkningsrörligheten utgående från Petalax socken i Österbotten*. Uppsala 1977. Wester's interest of cognitive mapping originates from Roger M. Downs and David Stea. He is also devoted to Richard L. Morrill's spatio-temporal model. Cf. Downs, R.M. & Stea, D. (Eds.). *Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behavior*. Chicago 1973, see the preface; Morrill, R.L. "The Shape of Diffusion in Space and Time". *Economic Geography* (Supplement) 1970:46.
- 74 Hägerstrand 1957, 142-144, 266; Wester, pp. 13 ff., 147-164; White & Woods, p. 17.
- 75 Brettell 2000, p. 109. Cf. Brettell, C.B. *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton, N.J. 1986.

- 76 By focusing on single regions in France, Moch shows how migration systems operated and stimulated social and spatial connections between individuals and certain places that encouraged further migration. Moch, L.P. "The Importance of Mundane Movements: Small Towns, Nearby Places and Individual Itineraries in the History of Migration". Ogden, P. & White, P. (Eds.). *Migrants in Modern France: Population Mobility in the Later 19th and 20th Centuries*. London 1989, pp. 97-117. For further discussions on migration systems, see Moch, L.P. *Paths to the City: Regional Migration in Nineteenth-century France*. Beverly Hills: Sage 1983, pp. 24 ff.; Moch 1992, pp. 13-18; Pooley & Turnbull 1998, see particularly chapter 3; Hochstadt, pp. 40 ff.
- 77 Moore, pp. 1-10, 21-27; Thomas 1941, pp. 221-235; Nelson.
- 78 Hochstadt, p. 49.
- 79 Sewell, see particularly chapter 7, 8, 9, 10.
- 80 Sewell, p. 267.
- 81 One of Jackson's major results shows that migrants remained in Duisburg for only a few years. On departure they often sought rural destinations. He suggests such findings indicate that migrants kept contact with their rural roots despite ongoing industrial changes. To go to towns or even America during the nineteenth century could even have been a strategy to save money that would allow migrants to return to a traditional way of life based on agriculture. Jackson, J.H.. *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley 1821-1914*. New Jersey: Humanities Press 1997, see particularly chapter 4 and 5, see quotation, p. 282.
- 82 Moch 1983, see particularly chapter 4, 5 and 6.
- 83 Pooley & Turnbull 1998, see particularly pp. 16 ff., 221-227, 257-317; Pooley, C. & Whyte, I.D. "Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and Social Change". Pooley, C. & Whyte, I.D. (Eds.). *Migrants, Emigrants, Immigrants*. London 1991, pp. 1-15; Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 71 ff; Halfacree, K. & Boyle, P. "The Challenge Facing Migration Research: The Case for Biographical Approach". *Progress in Human Geography* 1993:17, pp. 333-348; Moch 1983, pp. 27 f., 73-78.
- 84 Pooley & Whyte, p. 5.
- 85 Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 193-204, 221-227, 257-265.
- 86 Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 205-221; Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 105-127; Lundh 1996, pp. 1-27; Oris, M. "The Female Life Course in the Industrial Cities of the Liège Area in the 19th Century. First Results". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L.-G. (Eds.) *Population Dynamics During Industrialization*. Umeå 2000, pp. 143-225.
- 87 The timing of marriage and the European marriage pattern that John Hajnal discovered is an example of how contextual influences affected the life-course. Most people did not marry until they could afford it. Hajnal attributes their late marital age to a socio-cultural system that demanded economic self-sufficiency. Hajnal, J. "European Marriage Patterns in Perspectives". Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. (Eds.). *Population and History*. London 1965, pp. 101-143; Lundh, C. "The World of Hajnal Revisited. Marriage Patterns in Sweden 1650-1990". *Lund Papers in Economic History* 1997:No.60, pp. 1-28.
- 88 Elder, G. "Family History and the Life Course". Hareven, T.K. (Ed.). *The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective*. New York 1978, pp. 19-64.
- 89 Rossi, P.H. *Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Residential Mobility*. New York 1955. At heart, both the life- and family-cycle approaches are connected with Rowntree's pioneering interest in analyzing stages and cycles of both families and individuals about hundred years ago. See, Rowntree, B. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*. London 1902.
- 90 Scott & Tilly, see particularly "Part II", pp. 61-145.

- 91 Some network-oriented students of migration such as Jackson, Moch and Sewell were just considered. Concerning the issue of individual agency and family obligation in historical research, see especially Moch, L.P., Folbre, N. et. al. "Family Strategy: A Dialogue". *Historical Methods* 1987:20, pp. 113-126. Because social networks form the intermediate institution that help people adopt to overall society, Dirk Hoerder urges for 'meso-level' approaches of the household and family that encompass every migrant. Hoerder, D. "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Function of Migration Processes". Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, History Migration, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999, pp. 73-84. Family historians have approached the mediating role of kin in the process of migration. Anderson, M. *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. London 1971; Hareven, T.K. *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*. Cambridge 1982; Janssens, A. *Family and Social Change: The Household as a Process in an Industrializing Community*. Cambridge 1993. See particularly her summary and critique of previous structuralistic approaches, pp. 1-30.
- 92 Dribe, pp. 81-87, 116-145; Pooley, C. & Turnbull, J. "Leaving Home: The Experience of Migration From the Parental Home in Britain since ca. 1770". *Journal of Family History* 1997:22, pp. 390-424.
- 93 Wolpert, J. "Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate". *Papers of the Regional Science Association* 1965:15, pp. 159-169; Boyle, P., Halfacree, K & Robinson, V., pp. 62-64.
- 94 Alter makes clear that life-course approaches require advanced methodological tools and longitudinal records. With such resources Alter can apply hazard models based on event history analysis. His approach emphasizes the strength of social ties that bound women to their family of origin. Women usually migrated in family groups even if unmarried. They shared households with kin and often returned to their place of departure. Their work, status, and marital behavior largely depended upon their parents. This sometimes postponed or even stopped them from migrating and marrying. His statistical approach is further discussed when the methods related to this thesis are introduced. Alter, G. *Family and the Female Life Course: The Women of Verviers, Belgium, 1849-1880*. Madison, Wisconsin 1988, pp. 9-15.
- 95 Alter, p. 12; Hareven 1991, p. 107.
- 96 Friedman-Kasaba, pp. 15 ff. Also Karen Oppenheim Mason discusses the paucity of efforts to conceptualize women's status in demographic research. See Oppenheim Mason, K. "The Impact of Women's Position on Demographic Change during the Course of Development". Federici, N., Oppenheim Mason K., & Sogner S. (Eds.). *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford 1993, pp. 19 ff.
- 97 Mackinnon, A. "Were Women Present at the Demographic Transition?". *Gender & History* 1995:2, pp. 222-240; Sogner, S. "Historical Features of Women's Position in Society". Federici, N., Oppenheim Mason K., & Sogner S. (Eds.). *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford 1993, pp. 245-258. See also the editors' "Introduction".
- 98 When the Swedish government introduced full freedom of trade in 1864 women formally had the same rights to do business as men. In general, the prerequisite for running trades was that they had attained the age of majority. In 1863, this happened to unmarried women at the age of 25. In 1884, they became legally competent at the age of 21, just as did men. However, if a woman married her position drastically changed in favor of her husband. Until 1921, men represented their wife in public and were generally in full control of the property and income of their spouse. Widerberg, K. *Kvinnor, klasser och lagar 1750-1980*. Stockholm 1980, pp. 37-72. For a discussion concerning the legislation and traditional norms linked to marriage, see Matovic, M. *Stockholmsäktenskap: Familjebildning och partnerval i Stockholm 1850-1890*. Stockholm 1984, pp. 29-47.

- 99 The reasons for women's inclusion in the labor market in nineteenth-century Sweden has been debated. Instead of focusing on women's own emancipation efforts, Gunnar Qvist argues that the increasing ratio of unmarried women in the population made the reforms necessary in the eyes of men. Since neither the state nor the males related to all these unmarried women could afford to have them unemployed, the government introduced reforms allowing them greater working possibilities. Qvist, G. "Kvinnan i yrkesliv och kamp för likställdhet". Qvist, G. *Konsten att bli en god fläcka: Kvinnohistoriska uppsatser*. Stockholm 1978, pp. 13-36 [Qvist 1978a]; Qvist, G. "Ett perspektiv på den s.k. kvinnoemancipationen i Sverige". Qvist, G. *Konsten att bli en god fläcka: Kvinnohistoriska uppsatser*. Stockholm 1978, pp. 162-211 [Qvist 1978b]; Göransson, A. "Från hushåll och släkt till marknad och stat". Furuhausen, B. (Ed.). *Äventyret Sverige: En ekonomisk och social historia*. Stockholm 1993, pp. 135 ff;
- 100 Sogner 1993, pp. 253 ff.
- 101 Although Morokvasic's analysis stemmed from twentieth-century international migration, her request to view women as independent actors has general relevance. Morokvasic opposes the stereotypical portraying of women either as migrants' wives or prospective wives, or as inefficient workers and prostitutes. Morokvasic, M. "Birds of Passage are also Women...". *International Migration Review* 1984:18, pp. 886-907. This is a special issue titled "Women in Migration"; Morokvasic, M. "Women in Migration: Beyond the Reductionist Outlook". Phizacklea, A. (Ed.). *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*. London 1983, pp. 13-31.
- 102 Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001; cf. Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 83-104. Donna Gabaccia has also contributed a lot to make women visible in migration research. Gabaccia, D. *From The Other Side: Women, Gender and Immigrant Life in the U.S. 1820-1990*. Bloomington, Indiana 1994.
- 103 Ohlander, A-S. "Kvinnors utvandring och självständighet". Ohlander, A-S. *Kärlek, död och frihet: Historiska uppsatser om människovärde och livsvillkor i Sverige*. Stockholm 1986, pp. 105-148; see Matovic's two contributions in the volume edited by Harzig. Matovic, M. "Maids in Motion: Swedish Women in Dalsland" & "Embracing a Middle-Class Life: Swedish-American Women in Lake View". Harzig, C. (Ed.) *Peasant Maids – City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*. New York 1997, pp. 99-141, 261-297.
- 104 Cf. Losman, B. "Kvinnoliv på landet". Kyle, G. (Ed.). *Handbok i svensk kvinnohistoria*. Stockholm 1987, pp. 58-79; Kyle, G. "Kvinnoliv i staden II". Kyle, G. (Ed.). *Handbok i svensk kvinnohistoria*. Stockholm 1987, pp. 93-110.
- 105 Lim, L.L. "Effects of Women's Position on Their Migration". Federici, N., Oppenheim Mason K., & Sogner S. (Eds.). *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford 1993, pp. 225-242.
- 106 Scott, J.W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis". Scott, J.W. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York 1988, pp. 28-50; Hirdman, Y. "Genussystemet - reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning". *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* 1988:No.3, pp. 49-63; Carlsson Wetterberg, C. "Från patriarkat till genusystem - och vad kommer sedan?". *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* 1992:No.3, pp. 34-48. Karina Nilsson employs Hirdman's gender theory in her study on the relocation of young adults in Sweden during the 1990s. Nilsson, K. *Migration Among Young Men and Women in Sweden*. Umeå 2001, see particularly pp. 8 ff.
- 107 Friedman-Kasaba, p. 10. Even though she focuses on women immigrants her definition of gender has relevance for migration approaches in general.
- 108 Lucassen & Lucassen, see particularly pp. 9-38; Brettell & Hollifield, see particularly pp. 1-26.

- 109 Frank Thistlethwaite advocated this in the early 1960s while he was reporting at the Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm. He encouraged scholars to treat migration for what it is, i.e. a natural and structural part of general life and society, which requires knowledge from various academic fields. Historians should broaden their view and consider important perspectives on migration generated from the social sciences, demography, anthropology and geography, among others. Thistlethwaite, F. "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries". *Rapports. Vol. V, XI:e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*. Uppsala 1960.
- 110 Cf. Diner, H.R. "History and the Study of Immigration. Narratives of the Particular". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000, pp. 27-42.
- 111 Cf. Keely, pp. 43-60.
- 112 Cf. Chiswick, pp. 61-76.
- 113 Cf. Brettell 2000, pp. 97-135.
- 114 Cf. Schmitter Heisler, pp. 77-96.
- 115 White & Woods, p. 49.
- 116 Jackson & Moch, p. 32.
- 117 Harzig et. al. discuss and employ such an approach in their comparative study *Peasant Maids – City Women* which examines women heading to America. Cf. Harzig's "Introduction" and particularly p. 4. For further examples see Lucassen, J. *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600-1900: The Drift to the North Sea*. London 1987; Mabogunje, A. L. "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-urban Migration". *Geographical Analysis* 1970:2, pp. 1-18; Massey, D. "Social Structure, Household Strategies and the Cumulative Causation of Migration". *Population Index* 1990:56, pp. 3-26. For some discussion and further references other than the article by Jackson and Moch, see Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., pp. 76-79; White & Woods, pp. 42-56.
- 118 Hochstadt argues that students of migration must necessarily incorporate quantitative perspectives. In contrast to Alter, he is not as fond of employing advanced statistical analyses such as regression models. Both approaches provide different means of quantifying causes and consequences of migration. Hochstadt, pp. 47-54.
- 119 Efforts previously discussed exemplify this. Cf. Moch 1983; Pooley & Turnbull 1998.
- 120 Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge 1984; cf. Nygaard, T. *Sociologisk handlingsteori: En introduktion*. Lund 1996, pp. 117-127.
- 121 Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 19-21; Morawska, E. *Insecure Prosperity: Small-town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940*. Princeton, N.J. 1996, pp. XVII f. Without referring to Giddens, Friedman-Kasaba discusses the difficult relation between structure and individual agency. She suggests historical individuals must be viewed as agents and reflective thinkers. Their acts and experience nevertheless must be contextualized and thereby linked to hierarchically organized households, communities and broader structures of society. Friedman-Kasaba, pp. 24-30. Giddens's structuration theory also resembles Wolpert's concept of action space. Both theories aim to distinguish the structural and individual context in which people act out and make their decisions.
- 122 Regarding the application of structuration theory the following simple example might be elaborated. In nineteenth-century Europe migrants might have needed both money and friends in North America to cross the Atlantic. However, without the invention of steam ships there would not have been as many emigrants. Technological and economic development influences peoples' possibilities not least in migratory terms and the way they perceive the

world. The availability of information also affects migrants' choice of destination just as the increasing supply of information about America encouraged further emigration. When settled there, migrants largely contributed to build and shape this continent.

- 123 Giddens himself discusses the theoretical connections between him and Hägerstrand. Giddens 1984, pp. 110-161; Hägerstrand, T. "Space, Time and Human Conditions". Karlqvist, A., Lundqvist, L & Snickars, F. (Eds.). *Dynamic Allocation of Urban Space: Documentation of the Stockholm Conference on Dynamic Allocation in Space*. Farnborough: Saxon house, 1975. Numerous scholars have discussed the application of Hägerstrand's model. Pred, A. "The Choreography of Existence: Comments on Hägerstrand's Time-geography". *Economic Geography* 1977:53, pp. 207-221. Holm, E., Mäkilä, K. & Öberg, S. *Tidsgeografisk handlingsteori: Att bilda betingade biografier*. Umeå 1989, see especially Chapter 1, 2 & 5. Pooley & Turnbull also touch upon Giddens's structuration theory and Hägerstrand's concept of time-geography. Pooley & Turnbull 1998, p. 20.
- 124 Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 23-30, 327-334. Hareven also discusses the need for multi-dimensional efforts regarding methods and sources connected to the family history. See, Hareven 1991, pp. 119-124.
- 125 The validity of Swedish parish registers in general, and those of Sundsvall and its region in particular, has been frequently tested and verified. For an overview, see Norberg, A. "Med betyget på fickan. Den svenska folkbokföringen under industrialiseringskedet". *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* 1979, pp. 151-178. Regarding the parish register of Sundsvall, see Alm Stenflo, G. *Demographic Description of the Skellefteå and Sundsvall Regions during the 19th Century*. Umeå 1994, pp. 17-34; Edvinsson, S. *Den osunda staden: Sociala skillnader i dödlighet i 1800-talets Sundsvall*. Umeå 1992, pp. 27 ff.
- 126 Those wishing to leave one parish for another first had to fulfill their employer's contract and sign a migration certificate (*flyttingsbetyg*) distributed by the local parish minister. Then the migrant was required to notify the minister at the place of destination. Thereafter it was up to that parish council to approve every in-migrant. This was usually done in case the migrants had a 'certificate of means' (*laga försvar*), i.e. that they were ready to take up employment in the parish, owned or leased land, or had somebody supporting them there. Those denied admittance were very poor, old and disabled or in trouble with the law. Until 1847 people were turned away on these grounds. From then onwards judicial hindrance for migration was limited. However, the practices of these recommendations could vary between regions and parishes. Seasonal laborers and short-term migrants seldom registered their movements. Lext, G. *Studier i svensk kyrkobokföring 1600-1946*. Göteborg 1984, pp. 242-282; cf. Norberg 1979, pp. 151-178; Eriksson & Rogers, pp. 180 f.
- 127 Åslund, D. *Beskrifning öfver Westernorrlands län*. Härnösand 1878, p. 271
- 128 Therefore, it is impossible to figure out where in Sundsvall the migrants lived. It also is not possible to link women to the particular households in which they might have served. As the poll tax registers only cover the heads of households who paid taxes, they fail to provide information for live-in servants of which many were female migrants.
- 129 For further information on *Sundsvalls Tidning* and *Sundsvalls-Posten*, see Petersson, B. *Sundsvalls Tidning 150 år: 1841-1991*. Sundsvall 1990; Petersson, B. "Från Alfvar och Skämt till moderna massmedier". Tedebrand, L.-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls Historia. Del 3*. Sundsvall 1997, pp. 152-202.
- 130 The DDB has preliminary linked the patient records to the parish registers. As this linkage is not fully completed, it was manually checked, modified and completed to get the necessary information for this analysis.

- 131 Brändström, A. "Myt eller verklighet? Patienter på Sundsvalls lasarett 1844-1900". Brändström, A., Ericsson, T., Guillemot, A. & Lundmark, L. (Eds). *Historia nu: 18 Umeåforskare om det förlutna*. Umeå 1988, pp. 9-28; Brändström, A. "A Life After Dismissal? Patients' Life Histories at a Swedish County Hospital, 1845-1890". Jütte, R. & Woodward, J. (Eds.). *Coping with Sickness: Historical Aspects of Health Care in a European Perspective*. Sheffield 1995, pp. 93-119; Lundberg, A. *Care and Coercion: Medical Knowledge, Social Policy and Patients with Venereal Disease in Sweden 1785-1903*. Umeå 1999, pp. 46-49.
- 132 For the 1860-1893 period certain years per decade have been selected in the following order: 1860, 1863, 1865, 1868; 1870, 1873, 1875 and so forth until the year of 1893. Many thanks to Mikael Svanberg, who has supplied me with this material. In his thesis, he focuses on the work and life of tradesmen living in Sundsvall during the second part of the nineteenth century. Svanberg, M. *Företagsambet föder framgång: Yrkeskarriärer och sociala nätverk bland företagarna i Sundsvall 1850-1900*. Umeå 1999, pp. 57-65.
- 133 Since the surrounding parishes are also computerized, it would be possible to extend the longitudinal analysis for those either departing from or moving to the region. However, this thesis focuses on the urban environment of Sundsvall and usually does not consider migrants' life-course if it took place in these parishes.
- 134 In Sweden, historical demographers at Umeå University, and economic demographers at Lund University, have adopted statistical methods by co-operating with the statistician Göran Broström at Umeå University. He has also been consulted regarding the statistical analyses presented in this thesis. Regarding his cooperation with historical demographers, see Bengtsson, T. & Broström, G. *A Comparison of Discrete Time and Continuous Time Survival Analysis with Application to Data from the EAPP Project*. Kyoto 1997; Broström, G., Bygren, L-O. & Edvinsson, S. "Change in Food Availability During Pregnancy: Is it Related to Adult Sudden Death From Cerebro- and Cardiovascular Disease in Offspring". *American Journal of Human Biology* 2000:12, pp. 447-453; cf. Alter, pp. 25-62.
- 135 Cf. Cox, D.R. & Oakes, D. *Analysis of Survival Data*. London 1984; Kalbfleisch, J.D. & Prentice, R.L. *The Statistical Analysis of Failure Time Data*. New York 1980.
- 136 Of course life-course statistical analyses are much more complicated than described above. For instance it is crucial to know when changes of the migrants' residences and occupations occur. Even though the quality of the computerized parish registers in Sundsvall generally meet such demands, a number of methodological issues must be considered before applying advanced statistical analyses. Unless the data is arranged correctly the results could be flawed. In contrast to constant variables such as gender, individual characteristics that might change over the life-course must be carefully considered. Changes in age, occupational or marital status might govern individuals' inclination to leave a place or make a career. For an example of how migration is treated in statistical survival analyses, see Dribe, pp. 106-145.
- 137 Comprehensive court cases or investigations escaped the flames as they were reported to Stockholm. These are available today at the National Archives (*Riksarkivet*).
- 138 Gerth, H. & Wright Mills, C. (Eds). *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London 1991, pp. 180-195; Runciman, W.G. "Class, Status and Power?". Jackson, J.A. (Ed.). *Social Stratification: Sociological Studies I*. London 1968; Giddens, A. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London 1980.
- 139 Eriksson & Goldthorpe.

- 140 Carlsson, S. *Yrken och samhällsgrupper. Den sociala omgrupperingen i Sverige efter 1866*. Stockholm 1968; Gustafson, U. *Industrialismens storstad: Studier i Stockholms sociala, ekonomiska och demografiska struktur 1860-1910*. Stockholm 1976; Fredriksson, G. "Social förändring eller historisk förändring. En studie av svensk socialhistoria". *Häftet för kritiska studier* 1980:No.1, pp. 15-49.
- 141 Norman 1974, pp. 171-210, 325-30; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 192-95, 278-81; Edvinsson 1992, pp. 39-43, 279; Matovic 1984, pp. 107, 225-228, 281-287
- 142 Basically, Thernstrom uses four social groups: 1. High white collar; 2. Low white collar; 3. Skilled workers; 4. Unskilled workers. See, Thernstrom 1973, pp. 45-52, 289-302. In most Swedish classifications the first category has been divided into two. The occupational data in the computerized parish registers is based on this classification scheme. DDB's occupational codes have connections with the EGP-class scheme (EGP=Eriksson, Goldthorpe & Portocarero). Cf. Erikson & Goldthorpe, pp. 35-47.
- 143 Edvinsson and Carlsson discuss the impact of this reform on the registration. Before the revision in 1864 the master artisans could easily be separated from other artisans. If 'master' is not reported in Sundsvall's parish records, artisans are allocated to the fifth social group. Cf. Edvinsson 1992, pp. 39 f.; Carlsson S. 1968, pp. 64 f.
- 144 Cf. Kronborg & Nilsson, p. 174; Sewell, pp. 270-312; Erikson & Goldthorpe, pp. 231-277; Matovic 1984, pp. 227 f.
- 145 *Piga* was a widely applied title or occupation which sometimes included daughters of farmers or even small-scale entrepreneurs in towns. This jeopardizes the identification of their status although most of them likely were placed in the lower social strata and earned their living by performing domestic duties. Harnesk, p. 176; Hanssen, B. "Samhällsklasser i de svenska småstäderna under 1850- och 1860-talen: Kontext och material". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1978:98, pp. 243-262; Carlsson. S. *Fröknar, mamseller, jungfrur och pigor: Ogifta kvinnor i det svenska ständssamhället*. Uppsala 1977, p. 16; Artacus, I. *Kvinnorna som blev över: Ensamstående stadskvinnor under 1800-talets första hälft – fallet Västerås*. Uppsala 1992, pp. 49, 63-65, 71-45.
- 146 On the one hand, their titles reveal they were daughters of men belonging to the middle or upper strata. This suggests that titled women should be allocated to the higher social strata. On the other hand, at the end of nineteenth-century Sweden these titles were inflated as working class girls started to identify themselves as *jungfru* or *mamsell*. They probably did so to improve their status and prospects in the labor market. This suggests that the titled women should rather belong to the category of *pigor*. Carlsson S. 1977, p. 16; Artacus, pp. 49, 63-65, 75-78; Harnesk, p. 173; Hanssen.
- 147 The first and second social groups form the top strata. Below this, social group 3a and 3b are modified into one category followed by lower civil officials (4) and skilled laborers (5). The bottom strata is made up of the two social groups 6a & 6b. The categories 3a and 3b are combined as this study considers an urban area where farmers etc. (3b) were rarely found. For women the two social groups of laborers (2 & 3) are sometimes merged because few women were labeled unskilled laborers. These methodological issues are further developed in Chapter 4.
- 148 This thesis addresses the issue whether place of birth or that of departure primarily constitutes migrants' geographical background. Cf. Chapter 5.

- 149 Cf. studies related to the Uppsala Migration Project. Kronborg & Nilsson, p. 47; Norman 1974, p. 154. In densely populated countries there is sometimes reason to include even shorter distances. In their study of British mobility Pooley and Turnbull explore the spatial distribution by considering distance bands covering less than 5 kilometers. See Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 120 ff.
- 150 By categorizing and linking the sending and receiving areas, Jackson traces both the distance and the urban element of departures and destinations related to Duisburg. See, Jackson, pp. 253-263. The Swedish research group connected to the Myrdals undertook a similar approach. They developed a community typology that considers the degree of rural, industrial or urban characteristics of parishes in Sweden based on the years 1904, 1914 and 1924. Hence, it does not fit into this study covering the period of 1840-1892. See Thomas 1941, pp. 201-220; Moore, pp. 28-42. To grasp the process of urbanization and the extent of step migration Kronborg & Nilsson related to the Uppsala Migration project employed an hierarchical typologies based on the socio-economic structure and population size of parishes in Sweden. See, Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 105-113; cf. Åkerman 1971, pp. 78 ff.
- 151 See *Historisk Statistik för Sverige. Del 1. Befolkning 1720-1967*. Stockholm 1969. Table 12, p. 61 ff.

2. The town and general migration trends of Sundsvall

Although sometimes overemphasized, the industrial revolution and the demographic transition had an impact on people's movements and the nineteenth-century landscape where growing towns and chimneys became more common sights. This chapter analyzes what these large-scale changes brought with them regarding the town and migration to Sundsvall 1840-1892. It is of vital importance to know the structural context with which migrants interacted or to which they responded. In this chapter the macro-level economic and social structures at the local-scale of the town and its surrounding region is examined and linked to the general influx of migrants.

2.1. Sundsvall in a century of change

Sweden contradicts some typical features associated with economic modernization. For a long time it looked as if the industrial revolution would never arrive in Sweden. While the urban-industrial process affected almost every part of nineteenth-century Western Europe, there was nothing but small towns in Sweden except for the capital of Stockholm. Manufactories were seldom found and often located in the countryside. Sweden thus experienced the industrial revolution rather late but from the 1870s onwards the economic modernization proceeded quickly.¹

Urbanization proceeded at a slow pace. In 1845, ten percents of Swedes lived in rural parts of the country. Thirty years later this ratio had increased slightly to 14 percent. Nonetheless, in 1900, only one person in five lived in urban areas.²

However, high rates of literacy characterized the Swedish population in the nineteenth century. The religious and bureaucratic tradition of ministers' church examinations that went back to the seventeenth century had seen to that. People's ability to read and write likely contributed to that Sweden from the late nineteenth century onwards rapidly experienced another phenomenon linked to modern society, i.e. secularization.³

Free trade and Sweden's abundance of natural resources, such as water and forests were key to this industrial breakthrough. In the county of Västernorrland to which Sundsvall belonged, these were not hard to find. This place was perfect for establishing sawmills, particularly since Sundsvall's harbor and the Gulf of Bothnia just waited to carry the sawn timber to industrializing Europe where

the demand for such products was increasing. In combination with improving technical knowledge such as the invention of the steam-driven mill, these conditions made the Sundsvall region one of the fastest growing areas in Europe in the 1870s.⁴ In times of population pressure and increasing emigration due to the famine years in the 1860s, this region became known as “Little America”. From an international perspective Sundsvall could hardly be considered a large town. However, from a demographic point of view, it has been shown that this small town generally functioned as would any large city placed elsewhere in industrializing Europe.⁵

Figure 2.1. Population development by gender in Sundsvall 1840-1892.



Source: Basstatistik 1, Sundsvall stad, The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

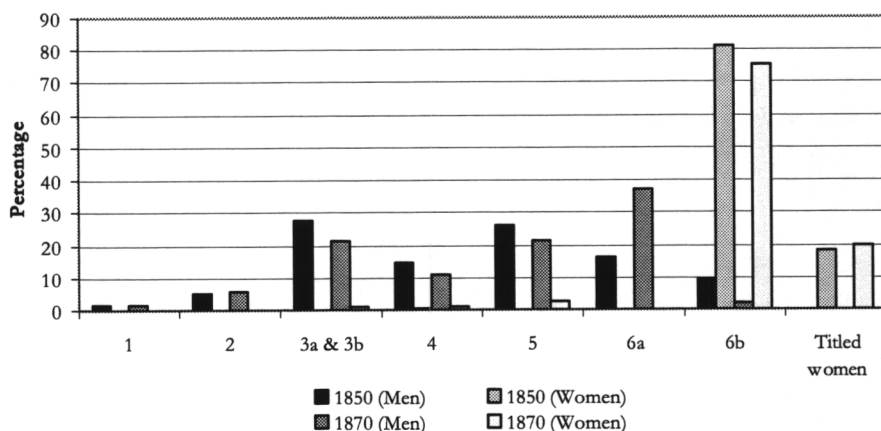
In only a couple of decades the economic transition and population growth caused a dramatic change to the town’s socio-economic structure. Figure 2.1 shows that only about 2,500 people lived in Sundsvall in the mid-1840s when it was a semi-agrarian town characterized by fishing, handicraft and shop-keeping.⁶ About thirty years later the population consisted of slightly more than 8,000 inhabitants. Migrants arrived in tandem with economic development and dramatically contributed to the population growth in the town, although no sawmills were in the town itself. However, a few of those established in the most adjacent parishes were close to it and easily reached by walking.

Not only migrants but also timber went through the town. Trading and shipping became prosperous sectors of the economy. Since Sundsvall provided the necessary banks and the harbor, it was the center of trade and commerce for the surrounding sawmill industries.⁷ The labor market for small-scale busi-

ness entrepreneurs and white-collar workers expanded as did the needs for laborers in industry and urban commerce. The pre-industrial dominance of occupations connected to fishing and trading was rapidly replaced by new occupations linked to the white- and blue-collar sectors.⁸

Because of all the under-reported seasonal laborers who lived temporarily in the town, the large number of unskilled workers was probably even more pronounced. Estimations based on the late 1870s, suggest that about 3,000 male laborers stayed in Sundsvall without having told the minister about their residence.⁹

Figure 2.2. The socio-economic structure in Sundsvall 1850 and 1870. A comparison between gender and social groups. Only women and men aged 15 years or older are included.



Source: Poll taxes and parish registers, The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.

Comments: Poll taxes are used in the case of men and based on compilations made by Lars-Göran Tedebrand. See Tedebrand 1996, p. 204; Tedebrand 1997, p. 124. Computerized parish registers are used to give a fairer occupational picture of women's occupational structure as the poll taxes only include heads of households of which few were females. When recorded, they were often widows. N(men in 1850)=517; N(women in 1850)= 331; N(men in 1870)= 1124; N(women in 1870)= 849.

Explanations:

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises

2. Higher civil officials

3a. Small-scale business entrepreneurs in trade and industry

3b. Farmers, tenant farmers

4. Lower civil officials

5. Skilled professional laborers

6a. Unskilled workers in industry and urban commerce

6b. Farmhands, *pigor* (maidservants)

Due to the development of sawmills, a predominately male demographic profile characterized the town. Usually, the urban demand for domestic servants caused a surplus of females in urban areas. In Sweden, 121 women for

every 100 men were living in towns in 1870.¹⁰ This typical surplus was not seen in Sundsvall and especially not during the latter period of the nineteenth century. In 1870 there were only 111 women in 100 men in the town. In the age group 30-49 there was even a surplus of men.¹¹

Although the sawmills mainly supported men's labor market, the economic development probably also generated favorable job opportunities for Sundsvall women. In addition to taking up domestic employment in the increasing numbers of middle- and upper class households, the town was crowded with young and solitary men who needed a woman's services. Basically, the female labor market consisted of one single but broad field - the service sector. Except for a minor brewery and some tobacco production there were no industries such as a garment industry, ready to employ them. As the business and professional sectors developed and offered employment at the end of the century, women were not only limited to domestic service. Gradually, they began to take up employment as traders and teachers.¹²

Even though Sundsvall offered its inhabitants and newcomers improved occupational options and most likely greater prospects for the future, it was also a dangerous town. The massive population increase caused unhealthy housing conditions. Migrants were often blamed for widespread alcoholism, prostitution and criminality. Local authorities especially viewed unregistered migrants as a moral threat to the established order in society.¹³ Themes of urban anomie were also echoed in Sundsvall.

In many ways the population growth primarily caused by migrants reflected the economic rhythm of the town itself. Business life and labor markets in Sundsvall depended on the economic transformation in the sawmill parishes. Therefore, the town and its newcomers must be studied in a regional context.¹⁴ The general development of Sundsvall and the region was also associated with international industrialization and commercialization. This study shows how regional patterns can reflect broader factors operating within large general structures.

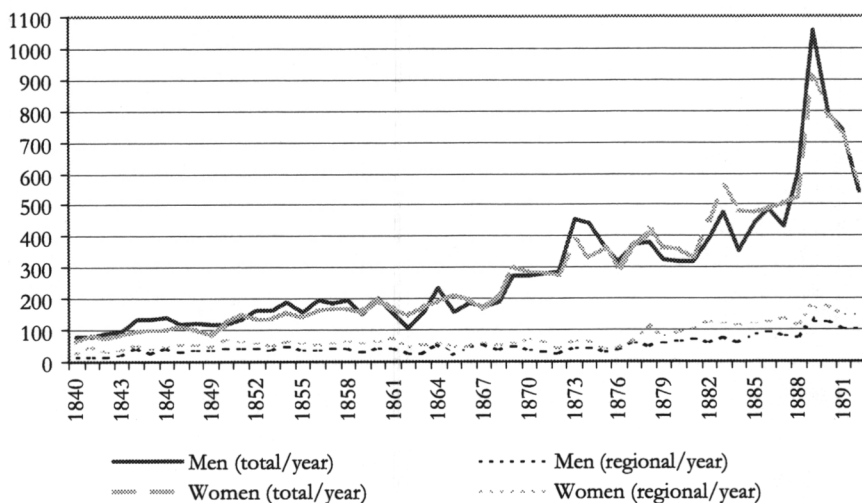
2.2. Main migration patterns to Sundsvall 1840-1892

This section analyzes the wavelike influx of migrants to nineteenth-century Sundsvall to add information about the socio-economic development in the town and the surrounding region. Some explanations to the patterns are briefly presented but will be further developed in later chapters. Migrants are studied at an aggregated level by employing macro-level perspectives operating on the large- and local-scale approaches.

Expanding influx of migrants

Figure 2.3 includes the total numbers of in-migrations during the period 1840-1892. It supports the notion that the dramatic population increase was linked to the industrial breakthrough in the late 1860s. Despite some large fluctuations, the pattern of women generally reflects that of men. In all, there are only about 200 more male in-migrations than female (15,041 versus 14,850).

Figure 2.3. Total influx of migrants by gender to Sundsvall 1840-1892. Regional in-migrations are included but separately considered.



Source: Basstatistik, Sundsvalls stad, The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Although male migrants slightly outnumbered women in the 1840s, Figure 2.3 offers little reason to recognize them as the great pioneers initiating and leading the way for families and women who would later join the stream.¹⁵ It is

possible that male laborers, many of whom were never reported, started and stimulated the increasing in-migration to the town. Although being closely connected to the sawmill industry, Sundsvall was an urban environment to which women were known to have been especially attached. Nevertheless, the influx to Sundsvall does not show the typical surplus of females usually identified in flows towards towns.¹⁶

The patterns for male and female migration over time resemble the 'S'-shape characterizing some studies on migration.¹⁷ Despite minor fluctuations, the general trend shows the influx starts at a low level and gradually increases to higher levels. The year 1889 marks the peak of total migration when almost 2,000 individuals arrived in the town. In the early 1890s the timber economy slowed down and migrants rapidly lost their interest in going to Sundsvall.

The flow of migrants changed markedly over time but not as much among those originating within the region. Sundsvall recruited most of its migrants from elsewhere. This contradicts most migration studies that show how urban centers often drained their hinterlands during the process of urbanization.¹⁸ People in the neighboring parishes witnessed increasing job opportunities in the sawmills and this reduced the reasons to seek employment in Sundsvall. Regional parishes characterized by agricultural production also benefited from the lumber industry. Farmers and cottagers living off the land there had close access to an expanding market formed by all the migrants heading for the town or the sawmill parishes.¹⁹ Similar to other parts in northern Sweden, small-scale farmers and freeholders characterized the typical landowner in the surrounding countryside.

On the whole, however, the agrarian sector lost its importance for many people living in the surrounding region. In addition to the increased opportunities of finding alternative occupations linked to the industrial sector, agricultural improvements reduced the number of people necessary to hire to meet the growing demand for farm products.²⁰ In 1850, 54 percent of the regional labor force was engaged in this sector. Thirty years later, the figure was only 14 percent.²¹

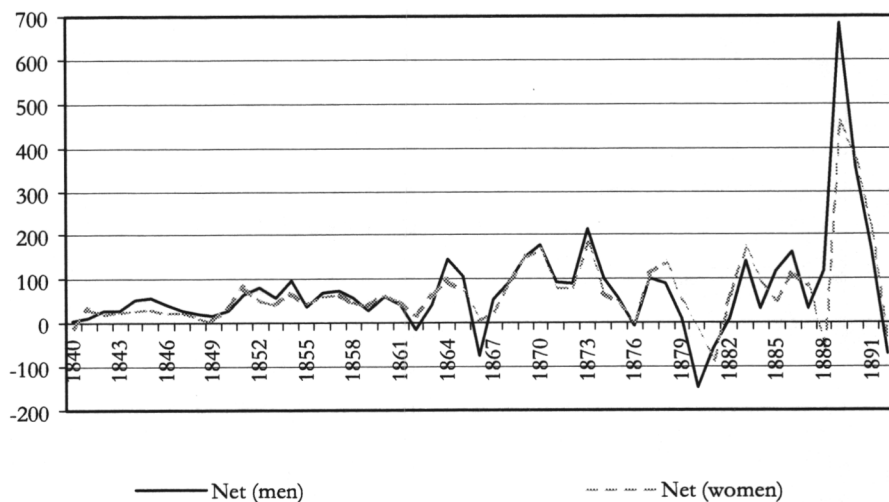
Figure 2.3 suggests that women in the surrounding parishes did not benefit from the economic changes the region outside the town witnessed during the latter part of the century because they dominated the regional influx to Sundsvall. There, they likely hoped to find better employment.

Economic development and migration patterns

It was just shown that the influx of migrants was largely governed by the economic development and contributed to the population growth of Sundsvall. In what ways the net-migration was influenced by both the regional and large-scale economic development is shown in Figure 2.4.²²

With the first steam driven sawmill established in Tunadal, Skön, in 1849, Sweden took a major step towards industrialization. However, the years of famine in 1867-1868 revealed that people still depended on an agricultural sector unable to support them. A growing shortage of jobs jeopardized survival in the countryside and probably contributed to the flow of migrants that occurred in Sundsvall during the latter 1860s. This trend lasted through the first part of the 1870s and was also stimulated by the growing demand for wooden products in Europe after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. At this time other necessary conditions for industrialization had emerged in Sweden such as enclosures, production specialization, and free trade. In the early 1870s about 25 steam driven sawmills were distributed through the region surrounding Sundsvall representing the breakthrough of industrialization.²³

Figure 2.4. Net-migration by gender in Sundsvall 1840-1892.



Source: Basstatistik, Sundsvalls stad, The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

However bad times were on their way and in 1879 they caused a large strike. Figure 2.4 reveals people's lack of interest in moving to, or staying in Sundsvall between 1879-1881. Instead, they began to emigrate to America.²⁴ Generally

the 1880s brought good times with it and this decade attracted migrants as never before. The reconstruction of the town after the disastrous fire in 1888 caused a growth in demand for labor of various kinds. This explains the rising curves for 1889.

Although people were more inclined to move to rather than leave Sundsvall, Figure 2.4 indicates the town frequently changed its population. The large turnover suggests that Sundsvall might have been a transitory destination for migrants on their way to begin employment in the surrounding sawmill parishes.²⁵ However, Figure 2.4 does not reveal whether the migrants who came also were those who left. This thesis later explores whether they stayed for lengthy or even permanent periods.

Similar to Figure 2.3, the net-migration of females generally mirrors that of men. According to Figure 2.4 a marked change in the patterns takes place from the mid-1860s onwards probably because migration was increasingly associated with economic change. Of course there were some gender differences such as in the years of 1864, 1878-1880 and 1888-1889 but both women and men responded similarly to the strike of 1879. Male migrants only appear to have been slightly more likely than women to respond to business booms and economic reversals as the pattern of female migration was more constant.

The equal gender distribution in the two latter figures questions one typical statement concerning migration. As was discussed in the first chapter, scholars have primarily associated men's relocation with business booms and crises linked to economic life in the industrial or business sectors. Women, on their hand, were usually employed in the domestic sector that implied low salaries but supplied them with room and board. Women's labor market and migrations are therefore perceived as being unaffected by business cycles.²⁶ Figure 2.4 indicates there were great similarities between the migratory behavior of men and women to Sundsvall. This suggests that women's work also depended on booms and recessions linked to general economic conditions in the town and region.²⁷ However, there is reason to suspect that the equal gender distribution masks many seasonal laborers who were never registered. The gender similarity could also be that the result of primarily married couples or families having entered or left the town. Whether this was the case is discussed in the next chapter.

In short, the fluctuating patterns shown in the two latter figures echo those of long-term economic growth and short-term booms and crises. These included the famine of 1867-1868, the strike of 1879 and the fire of 1888. This shows how very local events and patterns operating within a larger structure interact and can contribute to an understanding of wavelike migration patterns. Links between the above findings and factors located on levels other than the macro-levels of general urban-industrial development in Western Europe, Sweden and the Sundsvall region remains to be examined. Beyond the quantitative

information about aggregates of migrants offered in this chapter, it is also necessary to examine some individuals in demographic and geographical terms. It is time to focus less on contextual conditions and turn to the migrants themselves.

Notes

- 1 Samuelsson, K. "Industrisamhällets framväxt 1850-1914". *Sveriges Industri*. Industriförbundets förlag. Stockholm 1985, pp. 14-31; Olsson, U. "Industrilandet". Furuhausen, B (Ed.). *Äventyret Sverige: En social och ekonomisk historia*. Stockholm 1993, pp. 49-73. Thomas 1941, pp. 112-166.
- 2 *Historisk Statistik för Sverige. Del 1. Befolkning 1720-1967*, pp. 45 ff. The process of Sweden's urbanization began in the 1840s. The slow process is explained primarily by the establishment of rural industries. Cf. Thomas 1941, pp. 19-23; Nilsson, L. *Den urbana transitionen: Tätorterna i svensk sambällsomvandling 1800-1980*. Stockholm 1989, pp. 139-213, 247-302; Andersson, R. *Den svenska urbaniseringen: Kontextualisering av begrepp och processer*. Uppsala 1987, pp. 61-121.
- 3 There are some indications that the Sundsvall region epitomised this secular trend. Anders Bäckström has analyzed the development of communion practices and parish catechetical meetings in the Sundsvall region from 1805-1890. According to Swedish law, all citizens were expected to participate in communion and be present at the catechetical meetings until the years 1863 and 1888 respectively. Bäckström argues that as long as the unified agricultural parishes were functioning these practices persisted at high levels. During the second part of the nineteenth century people participated less in them especially in the town and industrial parishes. Therefore, Bäckström suggests that faith and values are linked to various social groups who were especially engaged in agriculture i.e. farmers. There emerged a contrast between a peasant culture on the one hand and an ever industrial and more pluralistic culture of workers and migrants on the other. Compared to other parts in Sweden, the urban-industrial areas in the Sundsvall region rapidly witnessed this secular trend because of the economic transformation occurring there. Bäckström calls this process "small globalization". He also argues that the organization of popular movements (*folkrörelser*) stimulated people to change old faiths and values and this paved the way for secularization. Bäckström, A. *När tros- och värderingsbilder förändras: En analys av nattvards- och husförhållningens utveckling i Sundsvallsregionen 1805-1890*. Stockholm 1999, pp. 5 f., 83-103; Alm Stenflo, pp. 19 f.
- 4 Samuelsson; Olsson; Jörgen Björklund has thoroughly investigated the industrial development and business life in the town. Björklund, J. "Tillväxt och differentiering. Näringslivet 1870-1940". In Tedebrand L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997, pp. 7-65.
- 5 Numerous studies based on the town and surrounding region show that socio-demographic components typical for urban-industrial times such as rising mortality and illegitimacy rates, rapid population growth led by increasing rates of migration are also seen in this tiny area. Cf. Edvinsson 1992; Lundberg; Svanberg.

- 6 Tedebrand, L-G. "Människor och strukturer intill 1860". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996, pp. 192-210; Tedebrand, L-G. "Gamla och nya stadsbor efter 1860". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2* Sundsvall 1997, pp. 121 ff.; Jonsson, H-O. "Fiskerskapet". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996, pp. 211-228; Nyström, M. "I väntan på sin stora roll: Näringar och handelskapitalism 1624-1865". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996, pp. 175-191.
- 7 Björklund, pp. 7-39; Ericsson, T. "Välstånd och välmåga: Borgerskapet 1850-1900". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997, pp. 137-154 [Ericsson 1997a]; Svanberg, pp. 76-92, 171-208.
- 8 Tedebrand 1996, pp. 204 ff.; Tedebrand 1997, pp. 121 ff. Tedebrand has shown that migrants, and not natural growth, contributed most to Sundsvall's population growth. Tedebrand 1997, pp. 102 f.
- 9 Therefore, both Figure 2.1 and 2.2 must be regarded with some caution. Cf. Åslund, p. 271.
- 10 Thomas 1941, pp. 28-31, 46 ff.; *Historisk Statistik för Sverige. Del 1. Befolkning 1720-1967*, pp. 46 ff.
- 11 Tedebrand 1997, pp. 126 ff.
- 12 The reform allowing free trade also facilitated women's participation in business. However, not until the 1890s did female traders emerge on a broader scale. In 1892, every fifth tradesmen was female in Sundsvall. Women were less represented among craftsmen. Björklund only identifies 16 women in such occupations at the turn of the century. Björklund 1997, pp. 16-18, 24-29. From the 1880s onwards, Tedebrand discovers a small but evident increase in the number of women in the lower civil service. The economic recovery after the fire of 1888 seems to have stimulated women's inclusion in sectors previously dominated by men. Tedebrand 1997, pp. 123-127. Cf. Ericsson 1997a, p. 138.
- 13 In his study of mortality in Sundsvall, Sören Edvinsson discusses poor relief and unhealthy housing conditions caused by the massive population increase. Edvinsson 1992, pp. 87 ff. The county governor who made reports every fifth year also documented this. His reports mainly concerned the sawmill parishes but poor living conditions also characterized the town. *Landshövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1871-75*, p. 7; *Landshövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1881-85*, p. 8. Together with Anders Brändström, Sören Edvinsson has investigated health conditions and mortality patterns in Sundsvall. Brändström, A. & Edvinsson, S. "Folkhälsans utveckling – tiden före 1870". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls Historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996, pp. 229-260; Brändström, A. & Edvinsson, S. "Folkhälsans utveckling – tiden efter 1870". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls Historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997, pp. 190-227. Inez Egerbladh has analyzed the residence patterns in Sundsvall. After the devastating fire of 1888, the town became more segregated because wealthier sections of the population settled in the center where the new fashionable stone buildings were built. Laborers and their families dominated the unplanned areas. Egerbladh, I. "Boendemönster och segregation före och efter branden 1888". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997, pp. 155-189.
- 14 Scholars often emphasize the importance of studying a town's regional role and socio-economic character, as this influences the influx and types of migrants. Cf. Moch 1983, p. 25; Moch 1992, p. 132-143; Hochstadt, p. 54.
- 15 Björn Rondahl distinguishes different phases in the pattern of in-migration and agrees with Hägerstrand that male migrants are the first to arrive and are later followed by families and women. Regarding the influx to industrializing areas, Rondahl identifies three phases of migration determined by the pace of the forest industry. The first wave formed by male

laborers is gradually replaced by a larger degree of permanence among them and families following in their footsteps. In the third phase there is no longer need for the recruitment of migrants as the local labor force can supply the sawmills' demand for workers. Rondahl, B. *Emigration, folkomflyttning och säsongarbete i ett sågverksdistrikt i södra Hälsingland 1865-1910: Söderala kommun med särskild hänsyn till Ljusne industrisambälle*. Stockholm 1972, pp. 263 f.; Hägerstrand 1957, 142-144, 266.

- 16 In late nineteenth-century Halmstad and Örebro for example, 55 percent of the in-migrants were women. Kronborg & Nilsson, p. 60; cf. Norman 1974, pp. 156 f. Cf. Thomas 1941, pp. 31, 288-298.
- 17 Åkerman distinguish four phases of the slightly idealized 'S'-shaped curve describing the expansion of migration over time. These phases are applicable on the emigration to America, for example, and consist of: introductory phase, growth phase, saturation phase and regression phase. Åkerman 1976, pp. 25-32. Holger Wester discusses this migration phase model when conceptualizing the out-migration from a Finnish parish, Petalax, in the late nineteenth century. Wester, pp. 14 ff., 127-179.
- 18 Åkerman 1971, pp. 77-80; Cf. Hochstadt, p. 75; Nilsson L. 1989, pp. 18 f.
- 19 Selånger was one of those parishes that especially benefited from the urban-industrial development and growing markets in the neighboring parishes. Tedebrand, L-G. *Selånger: En sockens historia*. Sundsvall 1983, pp. 112 ff., 135-147.
- 20 On the issue of the agricultural revolution in nineteenth-century Sweden, see Morell, M. "Bönderna, marknaden och staten". Furuhausen, B. (Ed.). *Äventyret Sverige: En ekonomisk och social historia*. Stockholm 1993, pp. 189-195; Samuelsson, pp. 20 f.; Thomas 1941, pp. 68-88.
- 21 Björklund, p. 15.
- 22 The following information about the economic development of the town in relation to that of Sweden and Western Europe is based primarily on Björklund's results. Björklund, pp. 7-65.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Tedebrand 1997, pp. 108-117.
- 25 Studies of the region have suggested that the town functioned as a place of transit for migrants who sought jobs in the surrounding sawmill parishes. Tedebrand 1997, p. 107.
- 26 Nilsson, F. *Emigrationen från Stockholm till Nordamerika 1880-1893. En studie i urban utvandring*. Stockholm 1970, pp.132 ff.; Thomas 1941, pp. 138 ff., 166 ff., 305-317. Cf. the research overview in Chapter 1.
- 27 After having investigated the sex distribution of Swedish and Norwegian emigrants, Ohlander and Sogner raise doubts towards linking only men's migration to work and labor markets. Ohlander discovers that women's emigration paralleled the pattern of men. This suggests they were as little or much depending on fluctuating business cycles. Ohlander 1986c, pp. 118-120; Sogner, S. *Ung i Europa: Norsk ungdom over Nordsjøen til Nederland i tidlig nytid*. Oslo 1994, pp. 59-79, 140 f.

3. Socio-geographical characteristics of migrants on arrival: Comparing urban-industrial and pre-industrial patterns

The influx of migrants was more or less constant in the 1840s and 1850s but the economic development and growth of the sawmill industry initiated an increase in migration in the mid-1860s. Despite minor fluctuations this increase continued until the late 1880s. Therefore, the period of industrial breakthrough in Sundsvall is especially worthy of study.

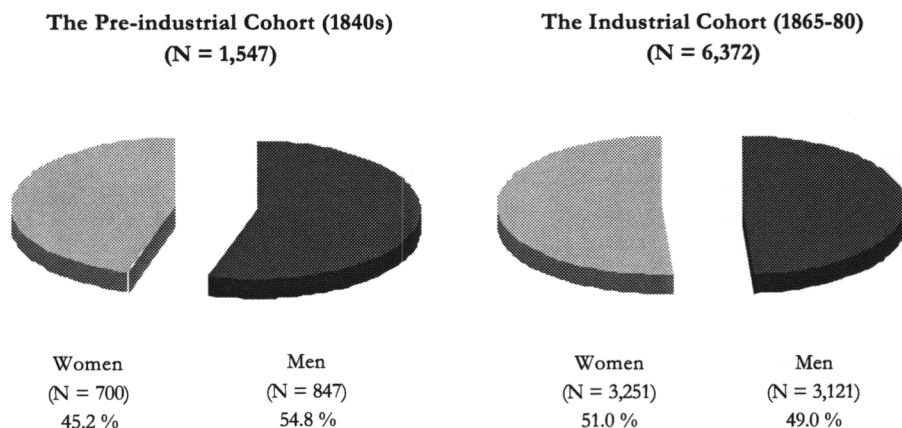
This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the migrants to Sundsvall. Other than some gender comparisons, the aggregated analyses in Chapter 2 did not tell us much about the demographic characteristics of the migrants. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on the individuals behind the patterns just shown in the figures above.

A micro-level approach employing demographic ‘snapshots’ helps identify key characteristics of many migrants to Sundsvall. Such a strategy seeks to answer three key questions. Did industrialization and urbanization have any dramatic impact on the demographic characteristics and geographical backgrounds of migrants to Sundsvall? What gender differences or similarities appear over time and how can these be explored? Why did the migrants choose Sundsvall as their destination? Although the emphasis of this chapter is clearly on the migrants themselves, it also adopts a macro-perspective that examines the socio-economic development of the town and its region.

Methodological considerations and cohort criteria

A comparison between two cohorts guides the analysis to help reveal the impact of industrialization at the individual level. The pre-industrial cohort examines migrants moving to Sundsvall in the 1840s. The industrial cohort includes migrants arriving between 1865-1880. Only migrants aged 15 or older on arrival are included in the analysis. If migrants have more than one in-migration reported during each period, information linked to their first migration is given priority. Figure 3.1 shows the number of migrants in the two cohorts.

Figure 3.1 Comparison of the gender distribution of the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

It is often argued that too little is known about migrants at the individual level so a few migrants belonging to the latter cohort are especially highlighted to illustrate the quantitative results. These individuals are typical in some ways and sometimes atypical of the thousands of migrants who arrived in Sundsvall during the process of industrialization.

Two comparative perspectives are emphasized. The first examines changes and similarities over time between the two cohorts. The second identifies changes and similarities between male and female migrants. This study first investigates migrants' age and marital status on arrival before moving on to discuss their socio-economic status and geographical background.

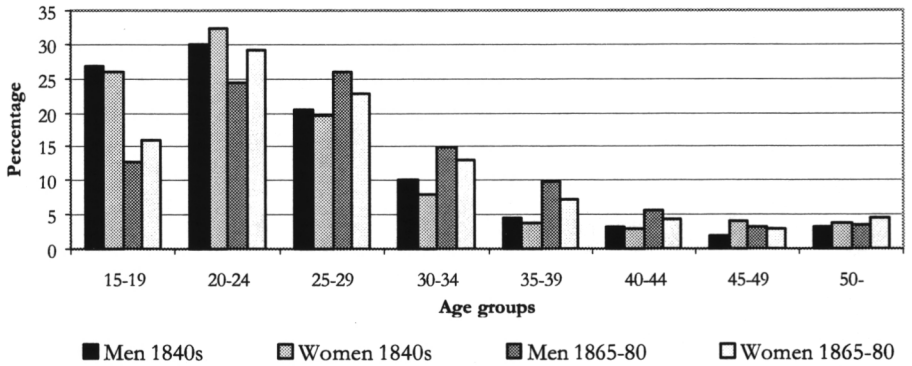
3.1. Demographic characteristics of migrants to Sundsvall

The research survey in Chapter 1 showed that industrialization affected migrants' routes and choice of destination but, regardless of time and place, migrants often shared the characteristics of being young, unmarried and from the lower social strata. Therefore, migration is selective. It was also revealed that men and women sometimes exhibited different migratory behavior and that researchers often assume that men dictated women's patterns. To what extent did the migrants to Sundsvall resemble one another and support earlier findings?

Age on arrival

Figure 3.2 displays that industrialization had an impact on the age structure of the migrants. In the 1840s every fourth migrant was 19 years or younger and more than 50 percent of the migrants had not yet reached the age of 25. Thirty to forty years later the proportion of young migrants had decreased regardless of gender. Sundsvall attracted older migrants in 1865-1880 than it had earlier in the century.

Figure 3.2 Age structure of the migrants on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

As the age of the migrants increased, the total number of migrants declined and the differences between the number of men and women was less pronounced. The difference between the genders is slightly more pronounced among younger migrants in the industrial cohort. Table 3.1 confirms the above findings by considering the mean and median age on arrival.

Table 3.1. Mean and median age on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.

Age on arrival	The pre-industrial cohort		The industrial cohort	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mean	25.90	26.35	28.64	27.95
Median	23.90	23.15	26.94	25.07

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

The youth of the Sundsvall migrants was similar to migrants in other migration surveys regardless of the time or area under consideration. This suggests that their relocation was closely linked to their life-course. However, the change over time that showed an increasing percentage of women and slightly older migrants indicates that the influx of people to Sundsvall became more complex and possibly related to other explanatory factors of which industrialization, not only age, was likely involved.

Even though the young migrants had the same destination in common, they differed in many other ways. A few individual migrants illustrate this diversity.

These include the two *pigor* Sigrí Backlund, 22 years of age, and the 17-year old Maja Norrback.¹ They moved separately towards Sundsvall in 1865. The latter shared the Finnish background of Anna Maria Bargelin who we met in the Introduction. Maja Norrback also crossed the Gulf of Bothnia to try her luck in Sundsvall. Sigrí Backlund, on the other hand, only moved a couple of kilometers from the neighboring parish of Selånger. In addition to being older, the 39-year old *piga* Kristina Hansdotter differed from the other two women in one particular respect.² In 1878 when she left the parish of Dorotea (Västerbotten's county), approximately 300 kilometers northwest of Sundsvall, she was not alone but had just given birth to her daughter.

A lot of young men also found their way to this town. After a journey initiated in Kläckeberga (the county of Kalmar), the 25-year old farmhand Nikolaus Svensson reached Sundsvall in 1874.³ By then he had traveled no less than 700 kilometers. This was not the case for the 22-year old apprentice Bengt Larsson.⁴ He departed from the neighboring town of Härnösand in 1870 and only had to move 45 kilometers. The unskilled laborer Lars Lundsten was yet another young man who moved to Sundsvall.⁵ In 1869 and at the age of 20 he migrated from Hällesjö parish in the neighboring county of Jämtland about 100 kilometers from Sundsvall. Unlike the above migrants, Daniel Åkerblad was born in the town.⁶ He was the son of a lieutenant and ship pilot (*lots*). After having spent some years in Stockholm, Åkerblad returned to his hometown in 1879 and was recorded as being a 34-year old unmarried shop assistant (*handelsbejänt*).

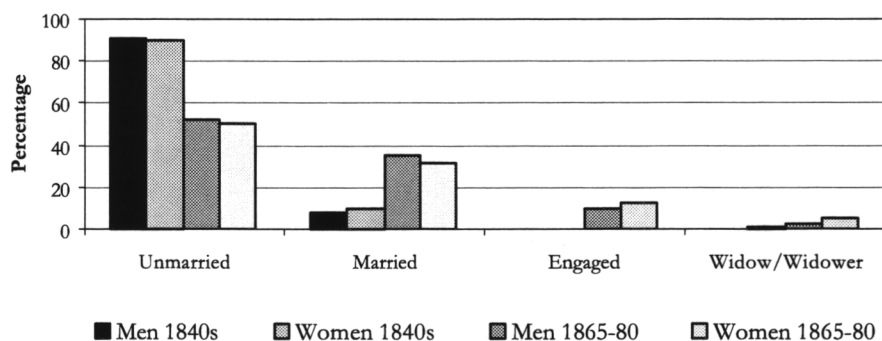
These seven migrants reveal some of the ways in which migrants differed. They did not share occupational or geographical backgrounds but were all unmarried on their arrival. To what extent this was true for the other migrants is examined below.

Marital status

Figure 3.3 shows that the unmarried migrants presented above were typical of the average Sundsvall migrant.⁷ In particular, pre-industrial migrants did not enter the city limits in the company of children or a spouse. As might be expected from the older age structure of the migrants in the industrial cohort, the percentage married tripled over time. About every third migrant between 1865-1880 was married.

As was the case regarding the migrants' age on arrival, industrialization more than gender shaped their marital status. Men were only slightly more often than women unmarried. Almost every second woman was single on her arrival so there is little reason to perceive females as passive migrants who primarily accompanied their husbands. The percentage of migrants reported as making associational in-migrations, i.e. arriving in the company of one, two or several other migrants, confirms the small gender difference. This type of in-migration accounts for 25 percent of male migrants and 28.5 percent for females in the industrial cohort.⁸

Figure 3.3. Marital status on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Due to better data regarding the latter period it is even possible to identify engaged migrants (*fästefolk*).

The change of the migrants' marital status over time was probably linked to the changing labor market in Sundsvall. As this market developed it was better able to meet the demands of different kinds of migrants and not only that of unmarried youths who usually took up short-term employment. Industrialization is sometimes perceived as having weakened social and economic ties and

thus stimulated single people to undertake longer distances and move often.⁹ Some might find the large proportion of married migrants in the second cohort surprising as they are generally recognized as being stationary. However, increasing ratios of family migrants have also been found elsewhere in studies on late nineteenth-century Sweden and taken to indicate the industrial and commercial development of the urban destination.¹⁰ The different marital characteristics of the two migrant cohorts reflect that Sundsvall experienced similar development.

The marital status of the migrants in the industrial cohort contrast findings from Duisburg that was also characterized by 'male' industries but based on coal and iron production instead of timber.¹¹ Unlike that town, Sundsvall attracted unmarried women to a substantial degree. Their arrival can neither be explained by manufacturing typically associated with women such as textile or tobacco production, nor by husbands who searched for employment in this town. Nevertheless, during urban-industrial times almost every third female and male migrant was married on arrival so there is reason to have a closer look at some of them.

It was late in October 1874 when the Edlund family left Stockholm in favor of Sundsvall.¹² A goldsmith in the town immediately employed Carl, the 40-year old journeyman and head of the family. His 33-year old wife, Matilda, has no occupation recorded in the parish registers but in addition to her domestic duties she had three children for which she had to provide care.

In January 1874 the engaged couple of the 36-year old tradesman Johan Hillerström and Margareta Svendsdotter, a seamstress born in 1841, arrived and married in the town.¹³ They had left Östersund in the neighboring county of Jämtland about 200 kilometers west of Sundsvall. Johan was born in Sundsvall and was heading home after eleven years of residence in Östersund where he had probably met the love of his life. In Sundsvall his mother, a widow of a tanner, was expecting them.

To reach Sundsvall in 1867 the Borin family had to make a shorter journey than did the Edlunds and Hillerström couple. They left the parish of Borgsjö only about 100 kilometers west of Sundsvall.¹⁴ Jöns was a 27-year old unskilled laborer and arrived with his one-year old son and 25-year old wife Lovisa. As is usually the case with married women, she has no occupation reported in the parish registers. Before living in Borgsjö, both Jöns and Lovisa had stayed in Sundsvall for a couple of years. In 1867 it was time to give the town a second try.

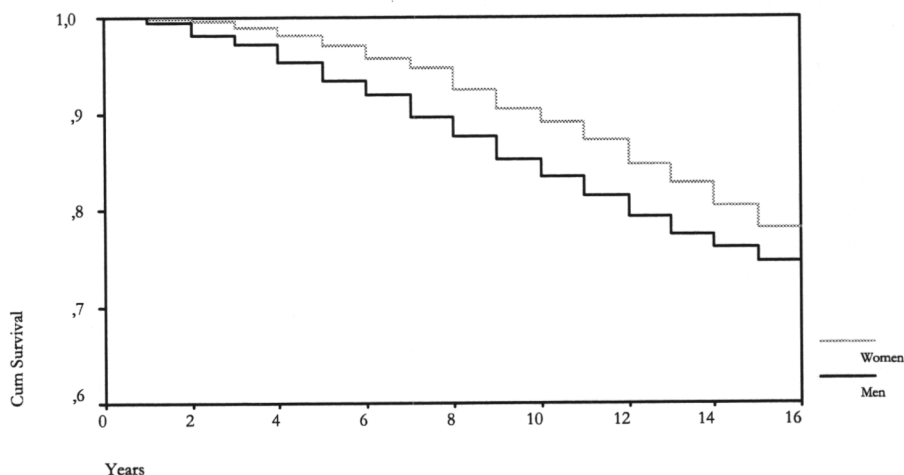
Migration and marriage

Sundsvall migrants were usually young and unmarried and it is possible that many came for the reason to marry. Perhaps a mate already living in the town exerted a certain pull on them. If so, the migrant likely married shortly after arrival and this would be an indicator that social ties brought him/her to Sundsvall. As was discussed in the research overview, women are often perceived as having changed residence for marital reasons but men's migration is mainly explained by push- and pull-factors based on business cycles and labor markets. Scholars also find a correlation between migration and marriage as spouses often started a household of their own by relocating in connection with their marriage. Women were generally expected to migrate to their husband's parish.¹⁵

A man and marriage were awaiting the demoiselle Constantia Rundqvist. At the age of 28 she entered the city limits of Sundsvall in 1869. She had left Björsäter, a parish near the town of Linköping, and traveled approximately 600 kilometers. Her fiancé Johan Tjernberg probably encouraged her to challenge such a long distance.¹⁶ He was a native of Sundsvall and engaged to Constantia on her arrival. He was also a sailor and engineman (*maskinist*), and about two years younger than his beloved. Johan's occupations suggest that his ocean traveling might have brought the two together. As Constantia was born in Stockholm and probably had kin or friends there, they might have first met in the capital. Johan was probably working on one of the many steamboats that regularly traveled between Sundsvall and Stockholm. Whatever the case they married in October 1870. A month earlier Constantia had given birth to their son. The issue is whether she is representative of young females heading for Sundsvall and whether this desire for marriage was an important motive for women but not men. Considering all the men that were living in Sundsvall it is plausible to assume that at least some women came for love and not labor.

Figure 3.4 rejects the notion that women primarily went to Sundsvall for marital reasons. By marrying so quickly Constantia Rundqvist was not typical. Instead, men were slightly more eager to marry after their arrival.¹⁷ The curve for the male migrants indicates this by being lower than that of women.¹⁸ The larger and more rapid the decline of the curve, the more marriages are found. However, the influx of single Sundsvall migrants cannot be associated with marriage as the decline of the curves is small. About 90 percent of the single men and 95 percent of the women were still unmarried six years after their arrival. These results reinforce the European marriage pattern identified by Hajnal. Working class people in particular married rather late in life when they were about 27-28 years old. This was also the case in nineteenth-century Sundsvall.¹⁹ As is shown below, most migrants to Sundsvall were placed in the lower social strata.

Figure 3.4. Life table of the time between in-migrating and marrying by gender. Only migrants in the industrial cohort reported as not married on their arrival in Sundsvall are included. $N(\text{men})=2,030$ & $N(\text{women})=2,214$.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Because of incomplete data for the 1840s, the pre-industrial cohort cannot be considered. Migrants in the industrial cohort identified as engaged on arrival are not included. They likely planned to marry on their arrival and this would influence the results.

Migrants appear to have moved for reasons other than marriage. Figure 3.4 also indicates that the desire for a spouse seldom determined women's migration. They must have had other incentives to move to Sundsvall. Women likely shared many of the motives that scholars usually ascribe to men when they emphasize the impact of economic transformation and labor markets or individuals' desire for better working conditions.²⁰ Similarities between men and women migrants regarding their demographic characteristics on arrival and their marital behavior as described above indicate that they had several motives in common.

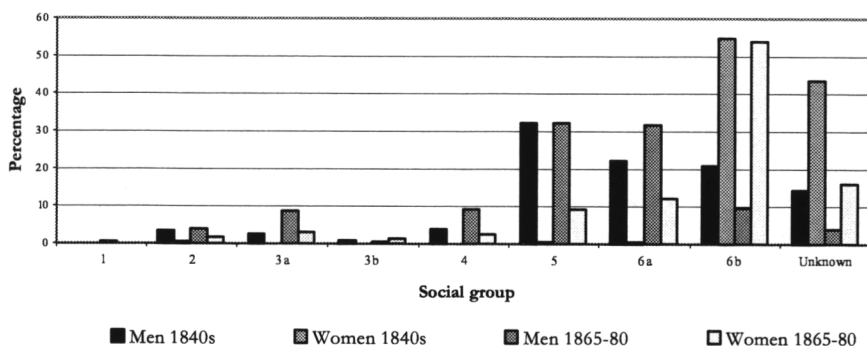
3.2. Socio-economic composition of the migrants

The development of Sundsvall as a major port created the need for a more diversified workforce. It has been argued earlier that Sundsvall attracted many male manual laborers during the period of timber expansion. The economy of the town rapidly expanded which in turn might have acted as a temptation for

migrants in other social categories such as lower civil servants and business entrepreneurs. Women, too, would have been more interested to move to the town as the female urban labor market had more jobs and varied occupations to offer because of the economic expansion and commercialization.

Thus far the chief differences between the migrants have been examined based upon to whether they belonged to the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts. Figure 3.5 shows that gender determined the migrants' social status. The urban-industrial era did not change that to any great degree. Unfortunately, the lack of accurate pre-industrial data makes it impossible to identify the occupations of many migrants in the 1840s.²¹ There is always the problem of classifying women but when possible those lacking occupational data are linked to their husband or father. This explains why some women show up in the upper social strata, which was a position impossible for them to achieve on their own. Nevertheless, in many cases their status still remains obscure.

Figure 3.5. Social group on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The unknown category also includes migrants reported with titles impossible to classify such as *demoiselle*, youth, girl and boy. Table 9.1 in the Appendix displays frequent titles and occupations related to the above categories.

Explanations:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Owners of large-scale enterprises | 4. Lower civil officials |
| 2. Higher civil officials | 5. Skilled professional laborers |
| 3a. Small-scale business entrepreneurs in trade and industry | 6a. Unskilled workers in industry and urban commerce |
| 3b. Farmers, tenant farmers | 6b. Farmhands, <i>pigor</i> (maidservants) |

The socio-economic composition of the migrants mirrors the town's social structure as a whole. There is an overrepresentation of the lower social strata though because most migrants were too young to achieve higher positions. The percentage of small-scale business entrepreneurs was more pronounced among Sundsvall's population than among its newcomers for instance.²²

It is possible to capture large-scale structural changes by analyzing the Sundsvall migrants' occupational composition. Despite the persistence of occupational differences between the genders over time, the socio-economic composition of the industrial cohort is more varied than it was among the earlier arrivals.²³ This suggests that there were a greater variety of jobs to choose from in Sundsvall in the latter period. Table 9.1 in the Appendix offers additional evidence of this. The increase in the percentage of males engaged in small-scale businessmen and lower civil officials (groups 3a & 4) is plainly evident. This supports the hypothesis that the business and service sectors in Sundsvall benefited from the economic development rooted in the surrounding region. Economic reforms initiated in Sweden in the 1840s and 1860s also facilitated trading, banking and industrial production.²⁴ The findings shown in Figure 3.5 confirm the more open structure usually associated with industrialization and urbanization. This might be considered as a pull-factor because it meant better employment possibilities. It fostered a belief that better prospects awaited migrants heading for this center of a rapidly industrialized region.

Despite the ability of Sundsvall to attract a wide array of migrants, the large number of those belonging to the lower strata (groups 5, 6a & 6b) suggests that they were also being pushed towards the town. The many maidservants and farmhands must have faced great difficulties finding work in the countryside as the improving agricultural production made landless people less wanted.²⁵ Although the agricultural concentration of land was not as pronounced in the northern parts of Sweden where small-scale farmers had long dominated the countryside, people living there were also affected. The cold climate and less fertile land restricted the possibilities to improve production and live off the land in times of agricultural rationalization. In these areas farmers largely depended on the forests, but as the sawmill companies confiscated this for timber production farmers and their families found their incomes reduced.²⁶ The sawmill exploitation eroded the long-term subsistence of many farmers that had been fooled by the companies' buyers. In desperate need of money they sold their forest holdings for next to nothing. This dampened farmers' ability to hire a helping hand and maidservants and farmhands had to seek employment elsewhere. The land and inheritance some of them expected from their fathers' small holdings were seldom enough to support a farming lifestyle especially not if there were many siblings. The famine of the late 1860s made things even worse and probably pushed many migrants to Sundsvall. However, the agricul-

tural areas most adjacent to Sundsvall and the sawmill region benefited from its economic advancement. All the people who went there needed to be supplied with food.

With only one major and one minor exception, men outnumber women in each social group. First, there was a large surplus of female migrants at the very bottom of the social structure. About 55 percent of them were *pigor* (group 6b). Second, women in the industrial cohort show a minor excess over men in the small social group consisting of farmers and tenant farmers (group 3b). They were their wives, widows or daughters. It is true that linking female migrants to their closest male relative makes them visible particularly in the higher social stratas but this might cause some peculiarities that must be explained. Take the few women in the industrial group labeled small-scale businessmen (group 3a) for example. They usually obtained this position by marrying a tradesman as was the case of Margareta Svensdotter mentioned above who moved to Sundsvall and married Johan Hillerström in 1874. It is possible that like other wives she helped her husband in his work to increase the family wage economy.²⁷

Even though industrialization brought a few stimulating changes with it, Figure 3.5 illuminates the sex-segregated labor market of Sundsvall. First, few women were employed in the surrounding sawmills simply because they had the gender tied to domestic duties and males were regarded as breadwinners.²⁸ Second, the male monopoly in commerce and craft production was almost complete as these had long been regulated by the guild system. When migrants in the pre-industrial cohort entered the city limits of Sundsvall only widows could carry on their husbands' businesses as they had attained the legal competence. To some extent women busied themselves with baking, brewing, butchering and sewing. Certain trades such as selling household goods, furniture, and second hand clothes did not require one to serve first as an apprentice. Women could practice these trades but only after having been subjected to a means test. Those seeking poor relief were the first to receive permission to sell such things to support themselves.²⁹

However, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards the employment possibilities for women began to change. There was a wholesale revision of laws regulating economic activity initiated by the abolition of the guild system in 1846. The previous year, daughters were declared to be on an equal footing with sons regarding inheritance. In 1864, the government introduced full freedom of trade and women were formally granted the same rights as men to conduct business when they reached the age of majority. In 1863 this was at the age of 25 but in 1884 it was lowered to that of men, i.e. 21. From then onwards as long as the woman remained unmarried she had the right to dispose of her property and income as she saw fit.³⁰

All these changes came about because the economic transformation demanded women's involvement in industry and commerce. This development encouraged them to move and take up employment outside home as never before. Another explanation for these legal changes was the growing surplus of single women in Sweden. In 1850, 12.3 percent of women and 9.0 percent of men aged 45-49 were still unmarried. In 1900 the corresponding ratios were 19.4 and 13.5.³¹ The increase in both the age of marriage and the number of people remaining unmarried were responsible for these figures. The emigration of potential male spouses to America also contributed to this pattern. In other words, to ensure they would not become a burden on the state or to their male relatives, unmarried women were offered a wider labor market so they could support themselves.³² However, the most common occupation of females remained unaffected by all these changes. The majority of women were employed as domestic servants throughout the nineteenth century. Regardless of the cohort under consideration in Figure 3.5, *pigor* were dominating among female migrants to Sundsvall. Other types of occupations were extremely infrequent among these women.

To grasp the sex-segregated labor market and the information compressed in Figure 3.5 more completely, the different social groups and some frequent occupations linked to them are examined below. A closer look at a few migrants will illustrate the results and its gendered dimensions.³³

Social groups and occupations of female migrants

In light of previous migration research the predominance of *pigor* comes as no surprise. Being a *piga* was not necessarily equal to domestic employment even though this must usually have been the case among those who supported themselves.³⁴ By having no manufacturing suitable for women Sundsvall offered them few options outside the service sector. The great influx of bachelors must have contributed to the need for the services *pigor* performed. Who would otherwise have cooked the men's meals, scrubbed their floors and done their laundry. Probably, a *piga* was not always employed by a middle- or upper-class master. Whether they served men and households of lower social status is more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 7.

According to the extensive literature about women's work, those living in the countryside had good reason to try their luck as domestic servants in nineteenth-century towns or America.³⁵ Some scholars suggest this was one strategy to escape or protest against rural gender systems and exploitative working conditions. By improving their salary and status they would enhance their chances on the labor and marriage market. Women became better able to determine their own fates in towns. They were usually aware of this and acted by taking to the

road.³⁶ Although *pigor* did not change occupation by moving to towns, taking up employment in an urban center most likely implied a change in qualitative terms.

One unique survey based on interviews of single Swedish women heading for America emphasizes their bad working conditions and their great expectations of their new destination.³⁷ Women heading for Swedish towns likely shared many of these women's reasons. Rural servants were seldom offered rooms of their own and the food was bad. Their work began at five or six o'clock in the mornings with the milking of cows. It lasted until nine or ten o'clock in the evening. According to the Servants Act the employer was able to exert total control over his servants that were contracted on a yearly basis. If they became ill they could expect their employer to take care of them. They worked seven days a week and were only free one week in October to resign or sign a new contract.³⁸

The domestic skills most working-class women had learned since childhood made them especially well-prepared to take up employment in other households whether they were in towns or the countryside. According to Figure 3.5, industrialization did not change their preference for moving to Sundsvall. The percentage of *pigor* was equally high among migrants in both cohorts. When considering what they might have left behind, their migration was probably no coincidence. In towns there were at least fewer cows to milk and the working conditions were not as harsh as those in the countryside. In the 1870s the county governor reported that women in Västernorrland were particularly attached to the county's two towns, i.e. Sundsvall and Härnösand. He argues that urban employment usually required less physical efforts and that particularly servants could easier earn their living there. In addition, he suggests that towns offered better leisure and pleasure.³⁹ Most likely, such push-and-pull incentives stimulated the migration of the young *pigor* Sigri Backlund and Maja Norrback mentioned above. The 22-year old Maria Forsslund was also typical for *pigor* because she had only migrated the short distance from Skön parish in 1873.⁴⁰

Many wives appear in the large social group of unskilled laborers (group 6a). When unmarried women with an occupation appear in this category they are identified as housekeepers and ironing-women. They were not many though. In contrast to men, women are rarely recognized simply as unskilled laborers (*arbetare*). Those few women that were identified as such perhaps unloaded ballast at the harbor or cleaned around the saws. These were the only sawmill related occupations they were allowed to hold.⁴¹

The large influx of *pigor* also overshadows the skilled women migrants who were cooks and seamstresses (group 5). In addition, many women such as Matilda Edlund married into this social position. When she arrives her husband Carl was reported as being a journeyman and thus she achieved the same social status.

The marital and migration lists indicate that had Margareta Svensdotter not married Johan Hillerström on her arrival in 1874 she would have been recorded as being a seamstress instead of wife to a tradesman. Even fewer employed women belonged to the middle social strata. They were not totally unaffected by the structural changes that took place in Sweden and Sundsvall. When identified as lower civil officials (group 4) they worked mainly as teachers, nurses or midwives ready to serve Sundsvall's inhabitants. None of these professions are found in the pre-industrial cohort.

Despite the economic reforms discussed above, only eight unmarried female migrants were identified as businesswomen (group 3a) in the industrial cohort. Four were involved in trading, one was a photographer, and three were owners of a restaurant, tavern, or coffeehouse. Maybe Maria Bruse exemplifies one woman who took advantage of her new opportunities. In the fall of 1875, this 30-year old woman left the town of Hedemora (the county of Kopparberg) and traveled about 300 kilometers to start a business in the town.⁴² The reform of 1864 that had brought freedom of trade contributed to the increase in women's business activity also in Sundsvall, but few female tradesmen appear to have moved to the town to start up their own businesses.⁴³

No single women are found in the social group of large-scale entrepreneurs or among higher civil officials. All of them appear here because of their husbands' or fathers' occupation.

Social groups and occupations of male migrants

Figure 3.5 indicates that economic development brought little change to the occupational structure of female migrants. This was not the case for men. The decline in percentage of male migrants identified as cottagers and farmhands (*torpare, drängar*) shows the declining importance of the agricultural sector (group 6b). This confirms the structural shift of the labor market in Sundsvall and the region. Farmhands such as Nikolaus Svensson were replaced by growing numbers of unskilled laborers (group 6a) such as the previously mentioned Lars Lundsten who was probably working in one of the surrounding sawmills. This social group also includes sailors, those working as carpenters and masons, and several iron and metal laborers. Daniel Åkerblad who we met above, returned to Sundsvall from Stockholm in 1879 and was recorded as a shop assistant (*handelsbiträde*), belongs to this category. There are also a large number of apprentices in group 6a but the need for them decreased over time. The abolition of the guild system and increasing demand for industrial workers turned most of these men into unskilled laborers.

The growth and specialization of industrial production kept the demand for skilled laborers (group 5) at high levels during urban-industrial times. They worked as shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, masons, painters, machinists, butch-

ers, bakers, and journeymen like Carl Edlund, the husband of Matilda. In contrast to the 1840s, this category compresses a variety of different occupations among men who arrived between 1865-1880. This reflects the diversity of men's labor and skill over time.

Those labeled small-scale entrepreneurs (group 3a) mostly busied themselves with trading. A few of them worked at the market or were master builders. Johan Hillerström, the 36-year old tradesman from Östersund who arrived and married the seamstress Margareta in 1874, exemplifies tradesmen's growing interest in Sundsvall. Tycho Trybom shared this interest. In February 1879 he left the town of Linköping (the county of Östergötland) to move to Sundsvall.⁴⁴ By the age of 22 he already had reached the position of tradesman in books (*bokhandlare*).

The general increase in occupational diversity also appears among lower civil servants (group 4). It looks as if the economic development in Sundsvall encouraged migration and improved the possibilities for these individuals to pursue their profession. In the 1840s there were very few lower civil servants but their percentage among male migrants doubled over time. The majority worked as clerks or bookkeepers. One of the latter was the 23-year old Peter Calissendorff.⁴⁵ Similar to Trybom, he had an urban background. In 1874, he departed from Visby on the Swedish island of Gotland. Other frequent occupations linked to this fourth social group are supervisors and policemen.

There are only a few male migrants at the top of the social structure. These men held positions as manufacturers, sea captains, inspectors, pharmacists, and engineers and bankers. Of course, the sawmill industry did not only need the work of thousands of laborers. There was also a need to hire competent people who could run these companies. There was also a growing demand for bank and clerk services. The labor market for domestic servants probably depended on men and households from the middle and upper social strata.

3.3. Geographical backgrounds

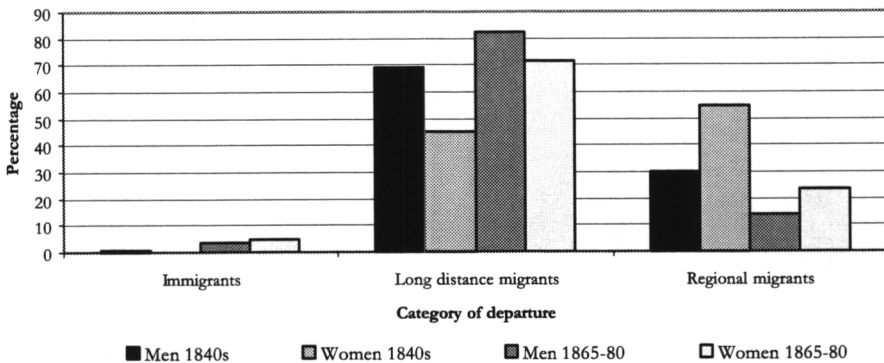
After having studied the migrants' age, marital and socio-economic status on arrival and discussed the differences between the cohorts and gender, their geographical background is captured below to complete the portrayal of them. The question is whether large gender differences are also apparent when examining migrants' geographical background or whether the changes are rather located to the two cohorts. Migration literature argues that industrialization either offered migrants the opportunity or forced them to challenge longer and longer

distances to reach towns and industrial regions. Studies also suggest women mainly moved short distances. Whether this also applies to migrants to Sundsvall is examined shortly.

Before dealing with these issues, it is necessary to discuss means of communication as these helped dictate geographical mobility. Steam did not only transform the sawmill industry it also revolutionized the transport of goods and people on boats and trains. In the mid-nineteenth century regular steamboats frequently visited the harbor of Sundsvall. If not walking or going by horse and carriage, which was most common, people traveled by sea as it became increasingly fast and cheap. Migrants could not reach the town by railway until the 1870s as construction went slowly. From the early 1880s onwards it was possible to go by train all the way from Stockholm, or even Norway, to Sundsvall by making a stop at the railway junction Ånge, about 100 kilometers west of the town.⁴⁶

Migrants' places of departure are separated into three broad categories: immigration, internal long distance and regional short distance to identify patterns of geographical distribution. It is needless to explain the first one. Regional migrations are those confined within the borders of the Sundsvall region. Migrations from all other parts of Sweden define a long distance migration.

Figure 3.6. Category of departure on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

To identify the differences between the cohorts and gender each category shown in Figure 3.6 is examined. Some of the migrants already presented will illustrate the findings. To better grasp the variety of geographical backgrounds

compressed in the broad category of long distance migrants, maps are employed to elaborate the significance of distance, gravity models, and social networks.

Immigrants

Even though the percentage of immigrants increased over time, Figure 3.6 reveals that there were very few of them. During the nineteenth century Sweden was primarily a country sending migrants not receiving them. Lars-Göran Tedebrand shows that the mass emigration to America did not start until the 1880s. The strength of the sawmill industry reduced the interest to emigrate.⁴⁷ People in the northern part of the country could also consider migration to the Swedish 'Klondike' formed by the rapidly industrialized mining district in the very north of Sweden.⁴⁸

In the nineteenth century men predominated most immigrant flows, but females were more numerous among the immigrants in Figure 3.6.⁴⁹ The short distance between their Finnish home parish and Sundsvall explains this. They made a shorter journey to settle in the town than did many internal migrants. As most of them left the Finnish county of Ostrobothnia where people usually spoke Swedish, they did not need to overcome a language barrier. For a long time and primarily because of trade, the sea had brought Sundsvall together with the town of Vasa on the Finnish side of the Gulf of Bothnia.⁵⁰ The extensive business contacts were even manifested in a Finnish square (*Finntorget*) in Sundsvall. Labor contacts and migrations were encouraged by the sawmill companies that frequently advertised for workers in the local newspapers in Vasa.⁵¹

During industrialization over 90 percent of the women immigrants arrived from Finland. Interestingly, a number of single Finnish parishes were outstanding in sending women to Sundsvall.⁵² This suggests that information and chain migration encouraged many of them to move. Even though the 17-year old *piga* Maja Norrback departed from Närpes on her own according to the parish registers in 1865, she probably knew someone from the same parish living in the town. At least her sister, Stina Norrback, did when she arrived five years later.⁵³ However, the Sundsvall minister did not indicate that they were sisters.⁵⁴ Social networks and contacts between kin did not only lead people to America but also brought immigrants to Sundsvall. That women frequently left similar Finnish parish behind suggests that they depended on, or made use of, chain migration.

Although fewer in number, male immigrants generally had traveled farther to reach the town. They left from different Finnish parishes and several came from Norway and Denmark or even Poland, Germany or Russia. Among those from the latter three countries were some male Jews and their families of whom

many contributed to the business life in Sundsvall.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, in terms of religion or ethnicity the composition of the newcomers from abroad must be regarded as homogenous.⁵⁶

Short distance regional migrants

Scholars sometimes define short distance movements differently but here they include migration within about 40 kilometers of Sundsvall.⁵⁷ One look at Figure 3.6 shows that the town did not depend on migrants from the immediate hinterland, and especially not during industrialization. By then the lumber industry had spread into the surrounding region where people could find employment in the sawmills. Therefore, they were unlikely to leave their homes. Even the adjacent agricultural parishes benefited from the economic development in urban Sundsvall and the industrializing parishes. The many migrants in the town and sawmill parishes meant that the demand and market for agricultural products also increased.⁵⁸ The better means of supply both in the agricultural and industrial parishes stimulated people to stay there.

Nevertheless, although the percentage of regional women declined over time they more than men found reason to leave the hinterland in favor of its urban center. This indicates females were less able to participate in the other two types of regional labor markets. Parents were probably less willing to let their daughters seek remote destinations than they were their sons. Moreover, women likely had less money to make long journeys. In addition to the industrial and agricultural nature of the regional labor markets such factors might explain the migration of the two young *pigor* Sigri Backlund and Maria Forsslund. Both of them left nearby parishes to move to Sundsvall.

The sharp drop in the percentage of short distance migrants over time might illustrate the decline of circular migration that frequently operated in pre-industrial times and in these parts of Sweden.⁵⁹ Whether individuals rooted somewhere in the region continued to circulate even during urban-industrial times is discussed in Chapter 5. Figure 3.6 primarily shows that regional migrants were outnumbered by those from farther afield.

Long distance migrants

The most striking finding regarding migration patterns appears in the percentages of long distance migrants. This category is briefly introduced by considering some general features and a few migrants and then it is thoroughly explored by using maps.

Except among women arriving in the 1840s, this category covers the majority of migrants. Similar to most migration studies, men are most frequently found in this group. However, during the years of industrialization women in this category also appear in large numbers. It looks as if they, too, regarded Sundsvall as a worthy destination despite its distance.

This increase emphasizes the attractiveness of the town. The young tradesman Tycho Trybom, for example, came all the way from Linköping in 1879 – a journey well over 550 kilometers. Trybom could very well have migrated to other towns that were closer to serve his ambitions in business. Compared to northern Sweden there were many towns in the middle and south of the country. Nevertheless, Trybom chose Sundsvall. Five years earlier, the bookkeeper from Visby, Peter Calissendorff, had made a similar decision.

Despite having the gender usually linked to short distance movements, many female migrants appear in this long-distance category. One such woman was the 30-year old businesswoman Maria Bruse who arrived in Sundsvall in 1875. She moved from Hedemora (Kopparberg's county) approximately 300 kilometers south of Sundsvall. Similar to Trybom, she could easily have chosen a closer urban destination. Maybe social networks or commercial contacts made civil officials and tradesmen travel to Sundsvall. A prosperous growing market and a large number of potential customers in the town might have worked as forceful incentives for them.

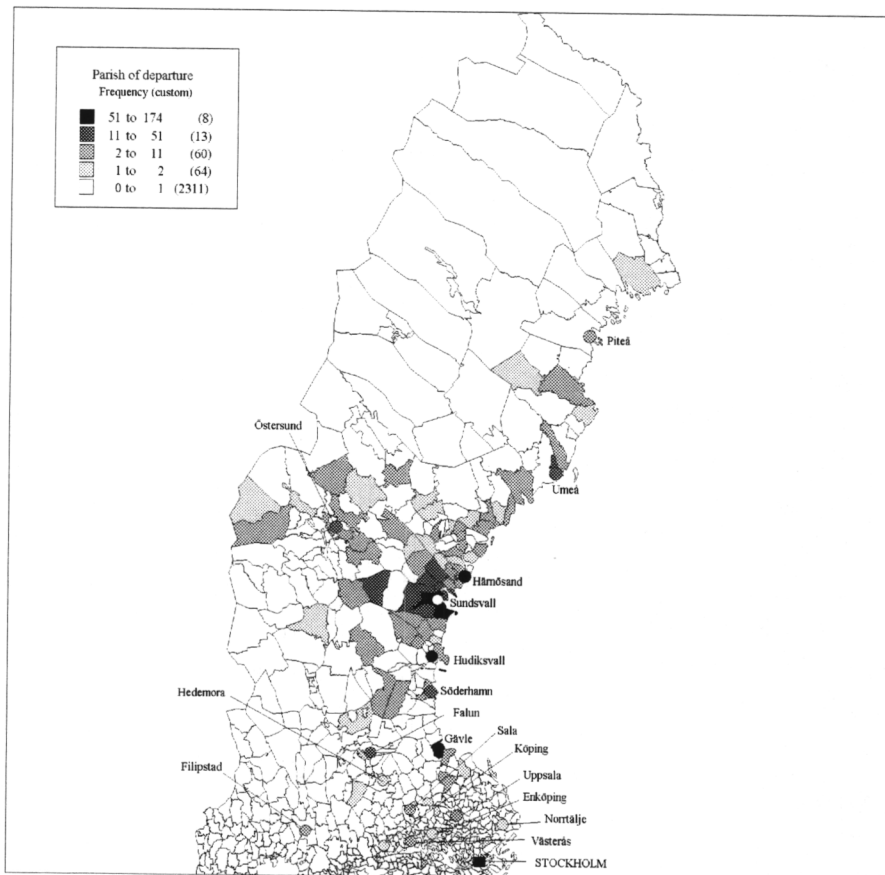
It first appears as working circumstances encouraged the 39-year old *piga* Kristina Hansdotter to travel about 300 kilometers to reach Sundsvall in 1878. However, remember that she arrived with her illegitimate daughter. Maybe this child triggered her migration.⁶⁰ Kristina and her little Olivia departed from the parish of Dorotea in the county of Västerbotten. The birth of her daughter and rather long distance suggests Kristina might have moved 'in the name of shame'. By moving to a town she perhaps hoped to easier find a job despite being a single mother.

Despite the difficulties involved in distinguishing the exact motivation of the migrants, there is no doubt that especially those moving long distances planned their journey and carefully considered where to start their new lives. The high percentage of long distance migrants that Figure 3.6 and the forthcoming maps illustrate suggests that these migrants did not turn up in Sundsvall by accident. That is not to say that those travelling only a short distance did not also consider their choice of destination. In addition to living near Sundsvall they just might have had less material resources or lacked social ties necessary to challenge longer distances. Such factors might explain why women in Sundsvall dominated the category of regional but not long distance migration.

Maps of the migrants' geographical backgrounds

Everett S. Lee argues that distance and topographic obstacles must be considered even though money or social ties might overcome them.⁶¹ Until the transportation revolution of the twentieth century, oceans, lakes or watercourse impeded long distance migration. Personal attributes in terms of material resources and professional or social contacts also determined migrants' choices of destination.

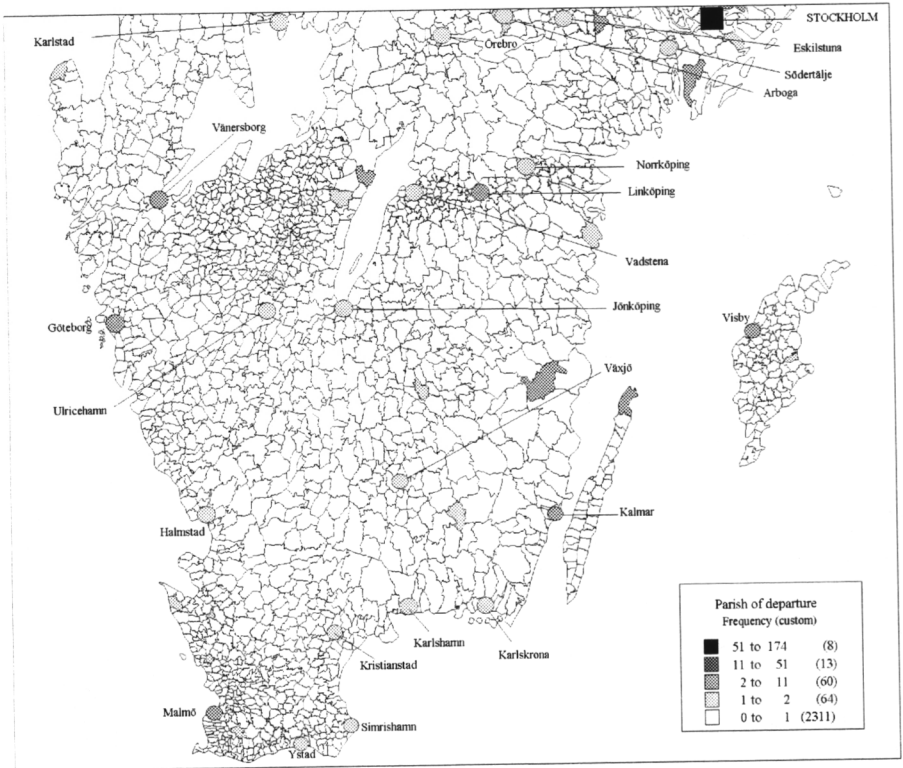
Map 3.1. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the pre-industrial cohort. Northern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



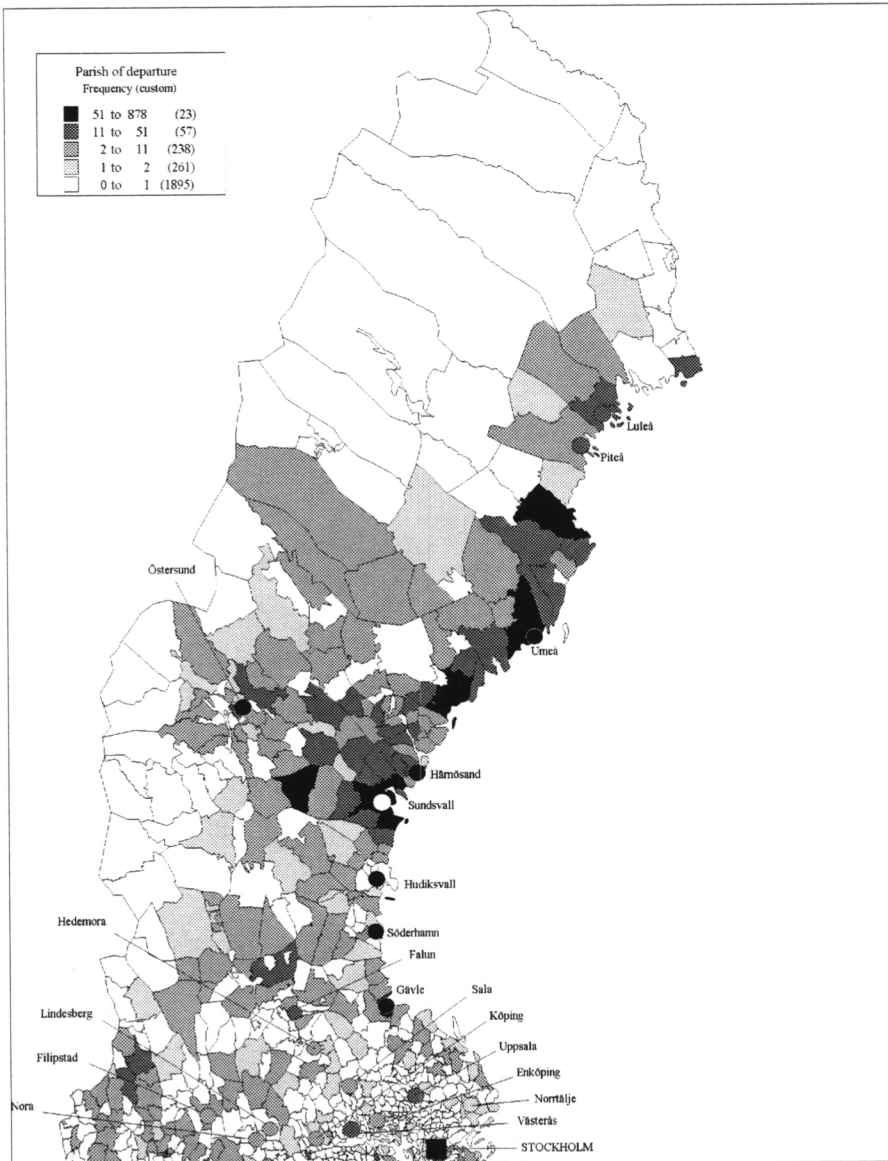
Explanations: Figures in brackets show the number of parishes belonging to each category. The eight parishes that are solid black are those that between 51-173 migrants left behind. The 2,311 parishes that are not shaded (group 0-1) did not send any migrants to Sundsvall. Between these extremes are parishes from which only one migrant left (group 1-2), parishes from which 2-10 migrants left (group 2-11), and those parishes from which 11-50 migrants (group 11-51) left to move to Sundsvall.

Mapping spatial mobility helps identify reasons for migrants' relocation. Maps 3.1 to 3.4 display towns and parishes of Sweden from which migrants traveled to Sundsvall to shed some light on this topic. These maps consider the two cohorts for which complete information about the Swedish parishes of departure is available.⁶² Towns with a population of 1,000 inhabitants in 1870 are specially marked to illustrate the degree of urban background among migrants to Sundsvall.⁶³ Because women were sometimes married and their husbands may have determined their migration, the gender distribution of young unmarried migrants is later mapped.

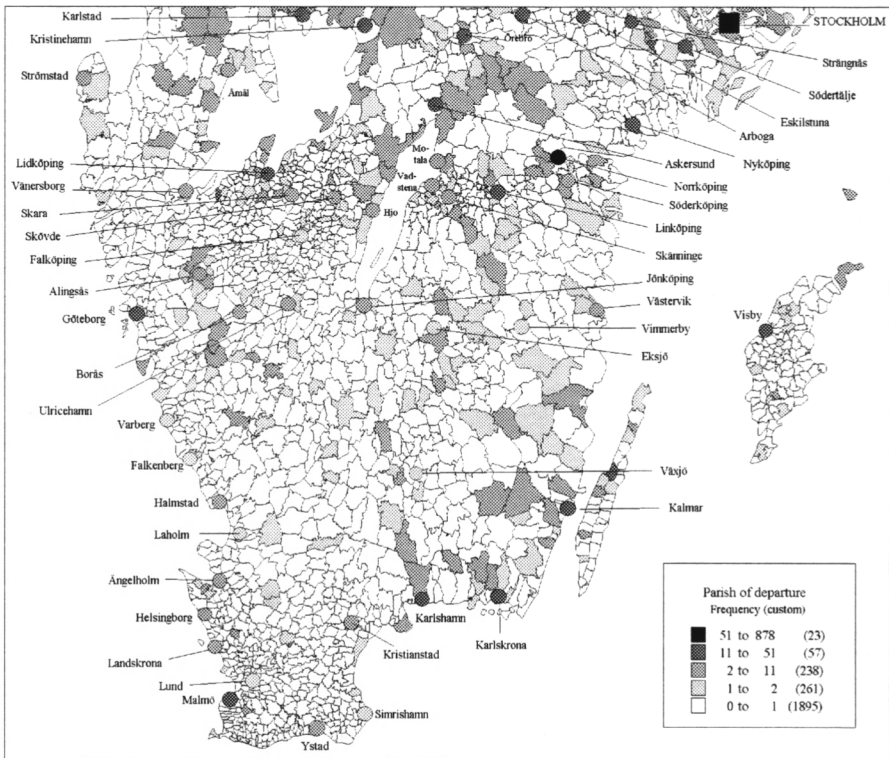
Map 3.2. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the pre-industrial cohort. Southern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



Map 3.3. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the industrial cohort. Northern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



Map 3.4. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the industrial cohort. Southern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



As was the case regarding the migrants' socio-economic level on arrival, a more varied geographical pattern of sending parishes appears over time. Migrants of the industrial cohort left from a larger number of parishes than migrants did thirty to forty years earlier. Compared to 579 unique parishes identified during the period of industrialization, only 145 different parishes are linked to Sundsvall in the 1840s. This further indicates the increasing popularity of the town.

Elaborating distance and gravity models or employing infra-structural improvements and informative networks

The migration patterns displayed by the maps, particularly these for the industrial cohorts, are too complex to easily define. Nevertheless, a friction of distance was clearly at work. The number of migrants increased with proximity to Sundsvall. Some impact of gravity is found in analyses of spatial mobility but the maps reveal that this was not determined solely by distance or the size of the places migrants left behind. Gravity models often fail to explain migration streams for two reasons. First, they do not consider the socio-economic contexts that might explain why people move between places. Second, they neglect the impact of social ties. If it is possible to detect signs of gravity, these primarily appear in parishes in Västernorrland county where Sundsvall is situated. However, sources of information and social networks were likely operating in these areas as well. For a long time the town also exerted a pull on people living in rural parts of the province of Medelpad and more remote areas of the county of Västernorrland.

The number of migrants linked to particular Swedish parishes uncovers possible flows of information that help confirm the theoretical approaches put forward by some scholars.⁶⁴ Having information about a place when living in another increases the probability that individuals leave the latter for the former. In turn, chain migrations appear and 'amoeba-like' fields and clusters replace the normative symmetric flows based on distance or the different size of the places linked by migrants. The diverse geographical backgrounds of the industrial cohort display amoeba-like patterns and concentrations of clusters that suggest the migrants approached Sundsvall by adopting information and following a path of chain migration. However, many parishes sent only single migrants to the town especially during urban-industrial times. This indicates people moved to Sundsvall without considering networks or at least those possible to identify by the maps employed here.

Improvements to modes of communication facilitated the journey to Sundsvall but it is difficult to assess the significance of modern transportation among migrants.⁶⁵ On the one hand, it seems reasonable to let the diversity of migrants' geographical backgrounds verify the importance of improving communications. We just have to recall the effects of steamboats regarding the overseas migration to America. On the other hand, the migration to the urban center of "Little America" called for less dramatic travels. The growth of Sundsvall did not depend on the recruitment of migrants living thousands of kilometers away. Most migrants left areas situated within a distance easily crossed with or without ample roads, steamboats or trains. Poor people could neither afford tickets nor were they expected to use comfortable and fast transport. Migrants from southern Sweden who often departed from coastal towns, probably went

by ships that brought them along the coast to Sundsvall. Canals or trains might first have taken them to a coastal town. Migrants in the industrial cohort from the most remote areas would probably not have arrived if these forms of communications had not been developed. However, these forms of transportation had likely little impact upon the sheer number of migrants to Sundsvall.

Improvements of another kind of communication, namely the increasing access to information supplied by prior migrants, newspapers and letters, was probably more important in explaining the increasing number of migrants to Sundsvall and the diversity of their geographical background. The production and distribution of newspapers, industrialization, and improving transportation stimulated the flow of information. The postal service and telegraph also developed. Therefore, there is reason to accept the concept of distance compression put forward by some scholars.⁶⁶ As people could easily read or hear about the increasing life and labor prospects caused by the peaking sawmill industry in "Little America", they probably began to think about going there. Established Sundsvall migrants and seasonal laborers probably encouraged kin, friends and neighbors by telling them about life and work in the town. They could also offer shelter and help the new migrants to find employment. The 'uncle-effect' was probably operating also in Sundsvall.⁶⁷ It is impossible to tell exactly how this worked but the maps and individual migrants presented above indicate networks and supply of information existed.

Certain places, certain migrants

To discuss networks and characteristics of the setting migrants left behind, some of the clusters on the maps are deeper analyzed. The socio-economic characteristics of the migrants' home parishes help explain the selectivity of migration and why some of people chose to leave these places and move to Sundsvall. First, the persistence and development of some clusters are briefly discussed with regard to the two cohorts.

The maps show that some clusters remained unaffected over time. During the urban-industrial period migrants chose previously established tracks originating from the countryside rather close to Sundsvall. The reasons for leaving the countryside in northern Sweden were previously discussed. Certain streams of urban migrants were maintained by a long tradition of tradesmen's itineraries. Towns such as Gävle and Östersund exemplify such a history of trading and exchange of migrants of whom many were merchants, craftsmen and apprentices. This also held true for the neighboring coastal towns of Hämösand and Hudiksvall from which many migrants departed both in the 1840s and 1865-1880. Sundsvall was tied to Stockholm through the tremendous transportation of both goods and people. The Edlund family contributed to this stream when they left the capital in favor of Sundsvall in October 1874. The head of the family, the journeyman Carl Edlund, would soon see Stockholm again.

During the course of the nineteenth century people who left remote areas in the north of Sweden initiated a new migration path. In contrast to those living in the southern parts of the country, people in the north did not have many towns to choose from if they sought an urban destination. The maps of northern Sweden display that few towns had a population of more than 1,000 inhabitants in 1870. These circumstances likely strengthened Sundsvall's position among potential migrants ready to leave these northern parts in favor of a reasonably accessible urban area.

The number of towns that migrants left behind grows most markedly during industrialization. Most urban migrants departed from the middle and south of Sweden. This is of particular interest as they had great possibilities to move to much closer urban areas. Such findings emphasize the pull of Sundsvall but also suggest that improving communications, chains of migration and information smoothed long distance travel. Male migrants especially might have used collegial contacts as the sawmills and businesses became prosperous in Sundsvall.⁶⁸ By being members of the business and bureaucratic sectors and having departed from towns in the south of Sweden, the bookkeeper Peter Calissendorff and the businessman Tycho Tryborn might be regarded as career migrants.

Minor concentrations of parishes that sent migrants to urban-industrial Sundsvall also appear in the province of Värmland situated north of Lake Vänern. Studies about migration to some surrounding sawmill parishes detect similar spatial contacts of in-migration. These migrants were primarily male laborers and their families.⁶⁹

Just as the migrants' geographical background varied, their socio-economic background also differed greatly. Some of them left towns while others left parishes in the countryside. In addition to the different local socio-economic structures that migrants left behind, the size and character of the population at the place of departure probably helped determine their likelihood of leaving. It is possible to uncover reasons for migration by investigating the socio-economic structure of certain towns and parishes that frequently sent people to Sundsvall.⁷⁰ The most general results are discussed below with regard to gender distribution and networks to determine how these differed depending on whether the migrants left an urban or rural area behind.

Those leaving rural areas were largely females from the lower social strata and somewhat younger than males on their arrival in Sundsvall. This emphasizes women's trouble finding work in the countryside compared to men. Occasionally, this was the case even when the distance was similar. This is seen in the migration patterns from the town of Östersund and its surrounding countryside situated about 200 kilometers northwest from Sundsvall (cf. Map 3.3). The agricultural context stimulated the departure of women bound for Sundsvall whereas Östersund primarily sent men to the town.⁷¹

The impact of the socio-economic structure of the place left behind on male and female migrants is further illustrated by the town of Norrköping situated in the county of Östergötland in southern Sweden. Map 3.4 shows that several migrants to Sundsvall departed from this town during industrialization despite the long distance of about 500 kilometers. There were few single women among them because the rapidly growing textile industry offered women employment in this town called "Sweden's Manchester". This meant that single women had little reason to leave Norrköping for "Little America" to find work. Men living in Norrköping obviously had incentives to move. Some of them arrived in Sundsvall with their wives and children.⁷² In general, however, migrant families slightly more often left non-urban rather than urban areas.

This type of associational migration did not characterize the pattern many young women followed who departed from the rural parish of Nättra about 150 kilometers north of Sundsvall (cf. Map 3.3). Nättra was special because the production of linen dominated agricultural and economic life. Because of the rapid progress of garment industries in towns such as Norrköping, linen production became less lucrative and young women in Nättra were forced to seek employment elsewhere. Apparently they regarded Sundsvall as a suitable destination.⁷³

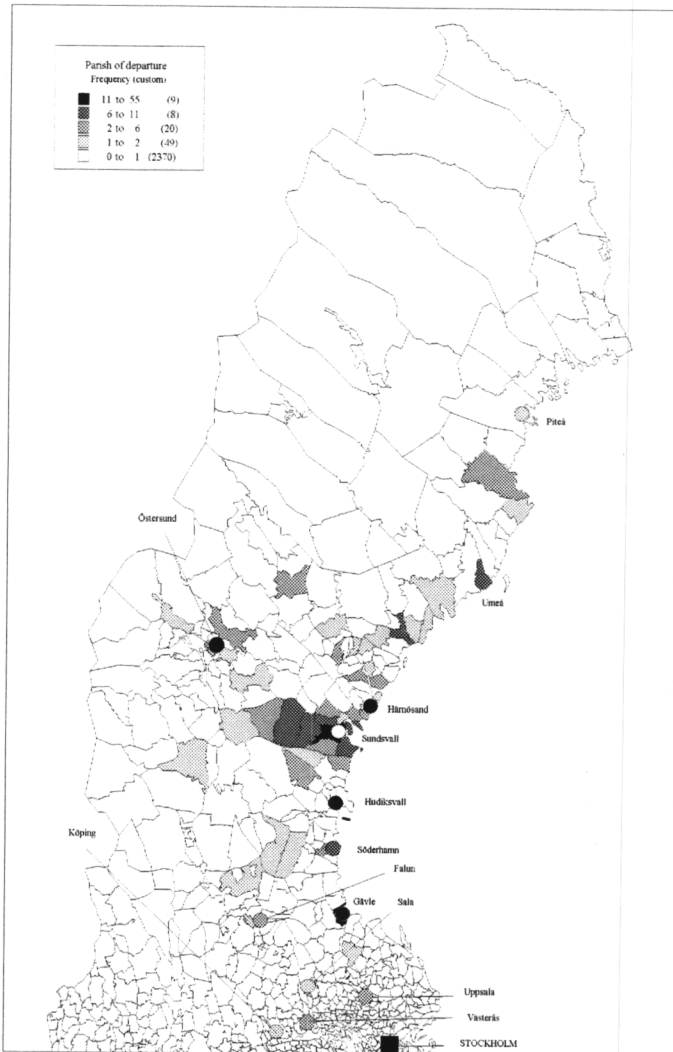
The above findings highlight the importance of taking the socio-economic structure that Sundsvall migrants left behind into consideration when trying to determine why they took to the road. Macro-level economic development was operating on many local scales and shaped the means of subsistence at different places. Potential migrants to Sundsvall likely weighed their local prospects against those they hoped to find in Sundsvall and access to information and networks likely encouraged their departure. Such local circumstances cannot be further elaborated upon here but undoubtedly they explain some of the patterns of migrants displayed by the maps. Social networks, improvements of communication, distance and the economic transformation on large- and local-scale all serve to explain migration patterns to Sundsvall.

Hägerstrand has discussed the relativity of distance and how migrants perceive it.⁷⁴ A distance of 100 kilometers might be perceived differently depending on who you are asking. In the nineteenth century a distance of 200 kilometers was more easily realized if you lived at the end of the century instead of at the beginning of it, were aged 28 instead of 18, single instead of parent with small children, a clerk instead of a servant, and a man instead of a woman. The above section just showed that men and women often took different roads to Sundsvall. Examining the impact of gender on the geographical background of migrants concludes this chapter.

Gendered routes

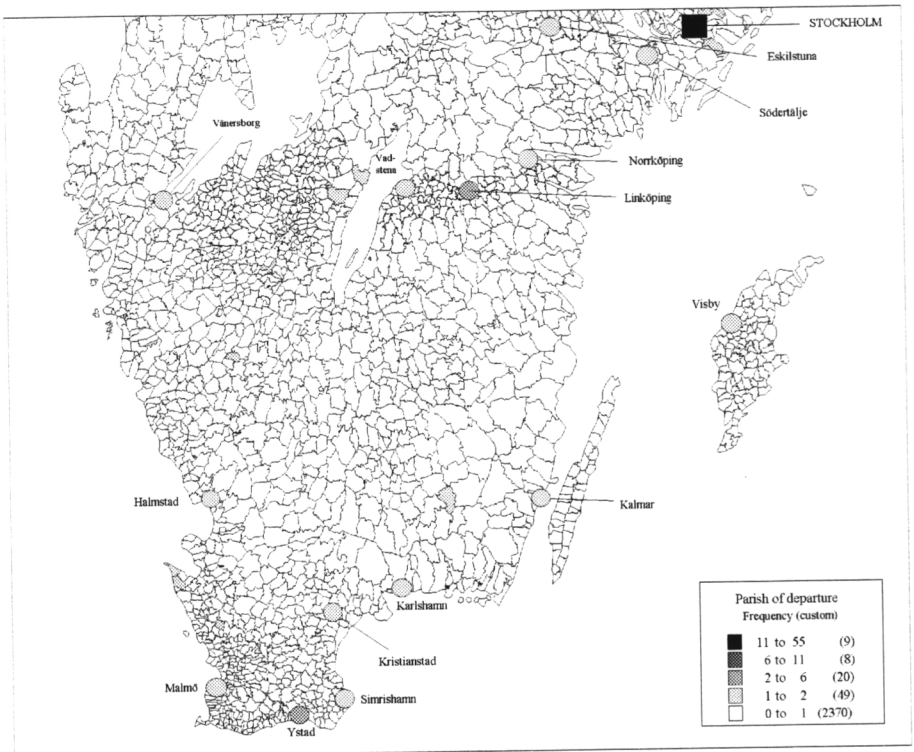
The following maps show the geographical backgrounds of young unmarried migrants arriving in Sundsvall in the 1840s and 1870s.⁷⁵ Hence, no spouses determined their migration. These maps illuminate in detail the gendered patterns discussed above.

Map 3.5. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Northern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.

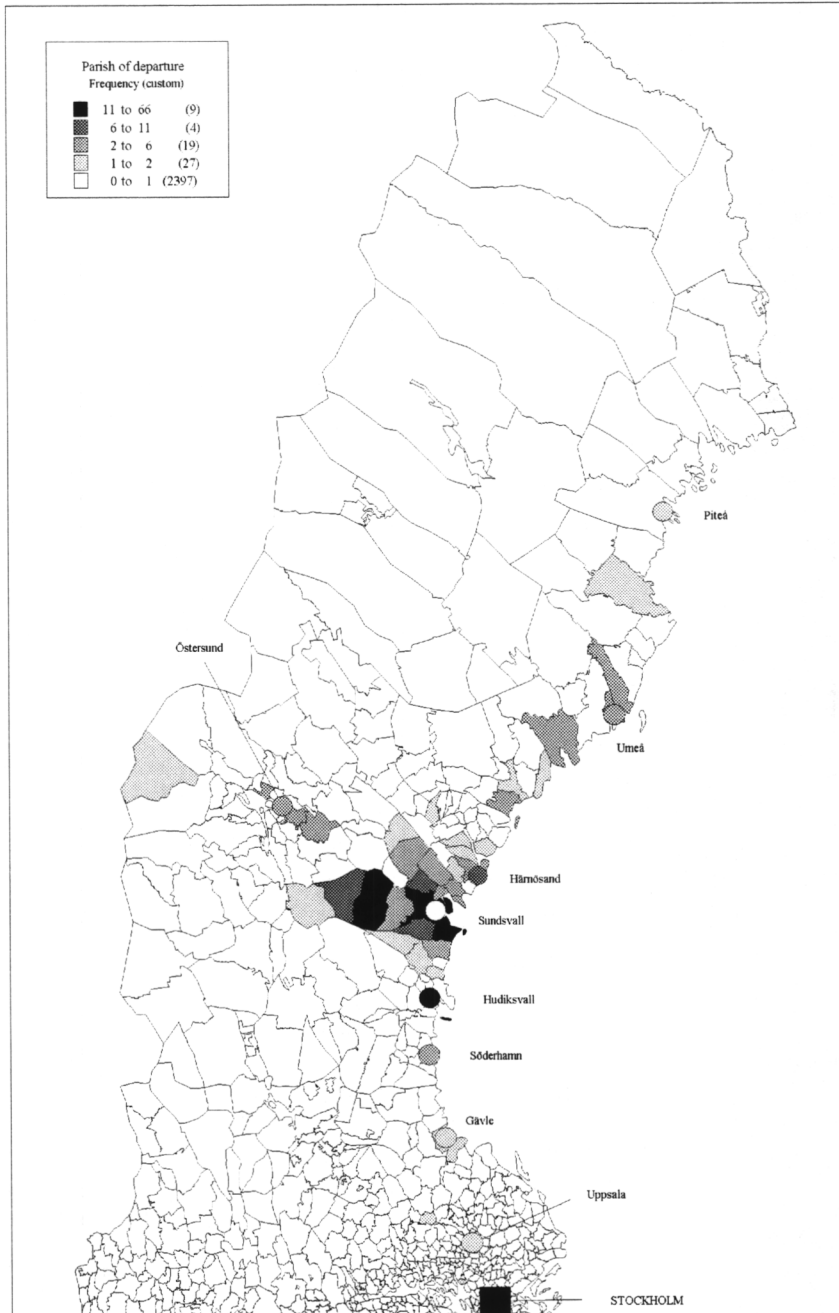


The young age of the migrants has reduced the geographical diversity among them but the gendered differences become evident because men and women are single and separately considered. Although men also departed from the northern parts of Sweden and areas near the town, this pattern holds particularly true for women. In contrast to women, men came from the south of Sweden and left more often towns behind. Although there is a general increase of geographical diversity among migrants arriving in the 1870s, the urban-industrial period emphasizes a gendered path that recognizes women as short distance movers who lacked men's experience of urban areas and southern Sweden.

Map 3.6. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Southern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



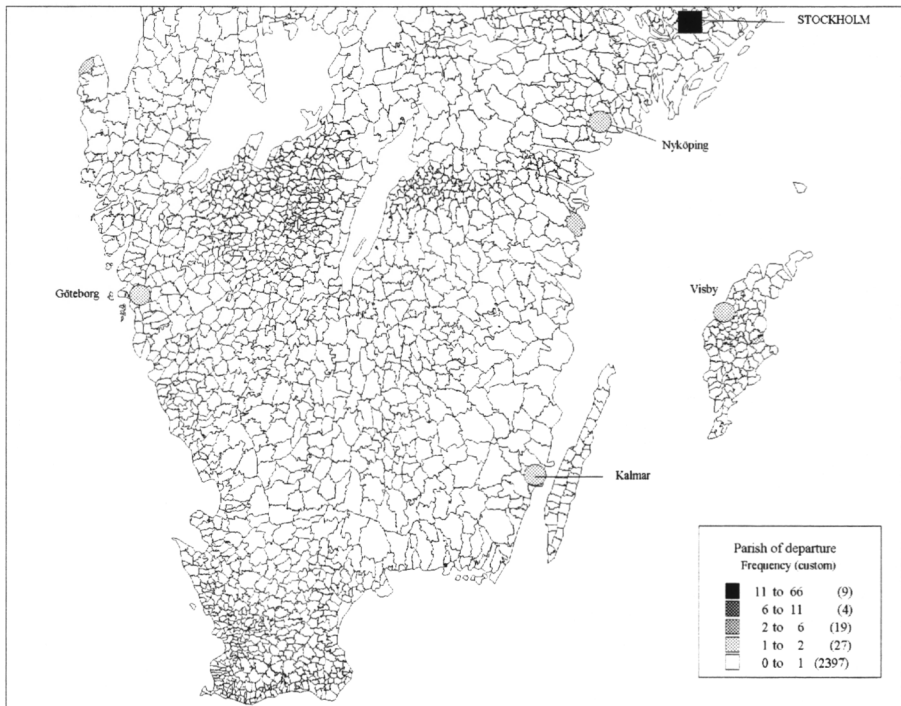
Map 3.7. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Northern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



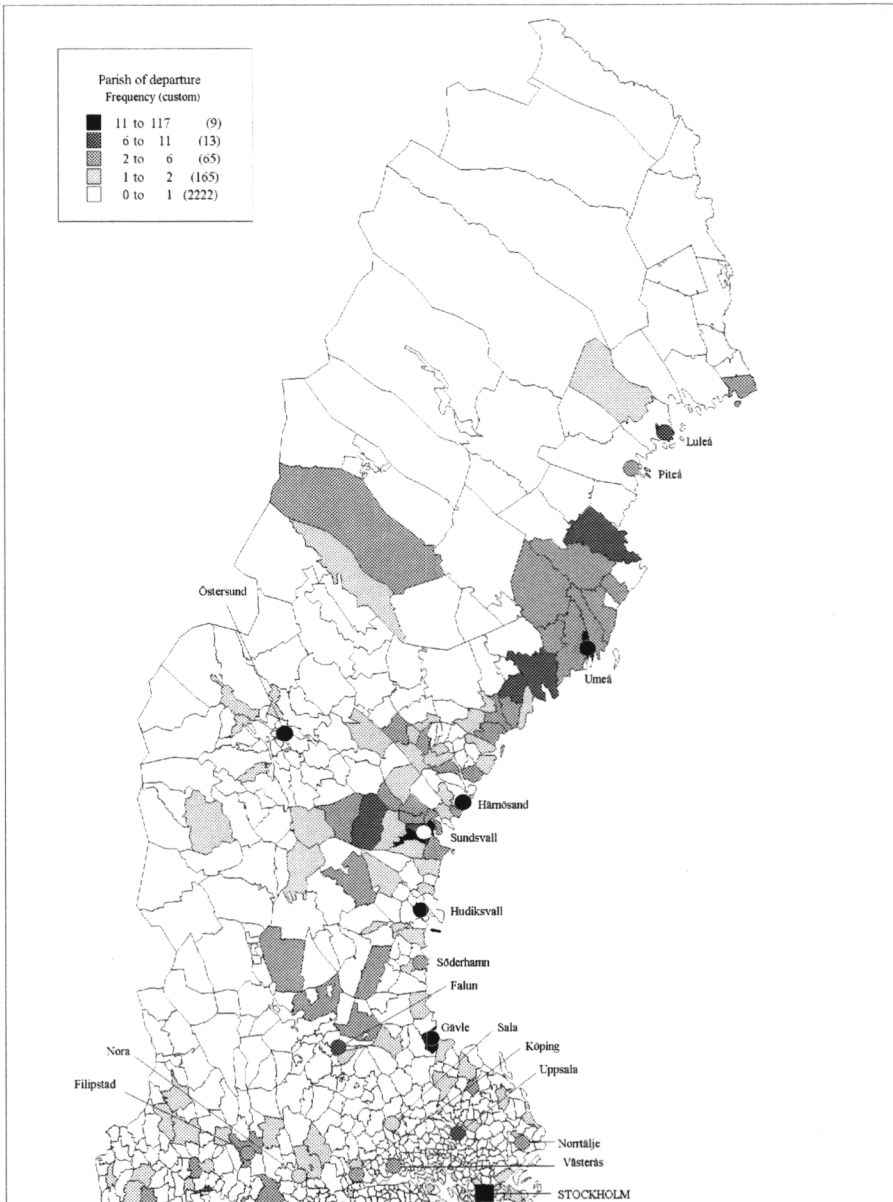
Women's backgrounds were from fewer parishes and significant clusters. Again this emphasizes they depended on, or made use of, chain migrations. However, compared to female migrants in the 1840s, young women challenged considerable distances to reach the town in the 1870s.

Explicit gender perspectives must be applied on the gendered routes to Sundsvall and changes in migrants' geographical diversity over time. After having analyzed the maps there is reason to agree with Lim who argues that women's geographical movement reflect their relative position, degree of dependency, and access to power in society at large.⁷⁶ On the one hand, this sheds light onto why women made shorter migrations to Sundsvall than men. It also suggests why they were able to challenge longer distances over time. During the latter part of the century unmarried women attained the age of majority. Industrialization, commercialism and economic reforms gradually improved their wage-work and labor market. As a result, women achieved a more independent position that is indicated by their more complex migrations patterns.

Map 3.8. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Southern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.

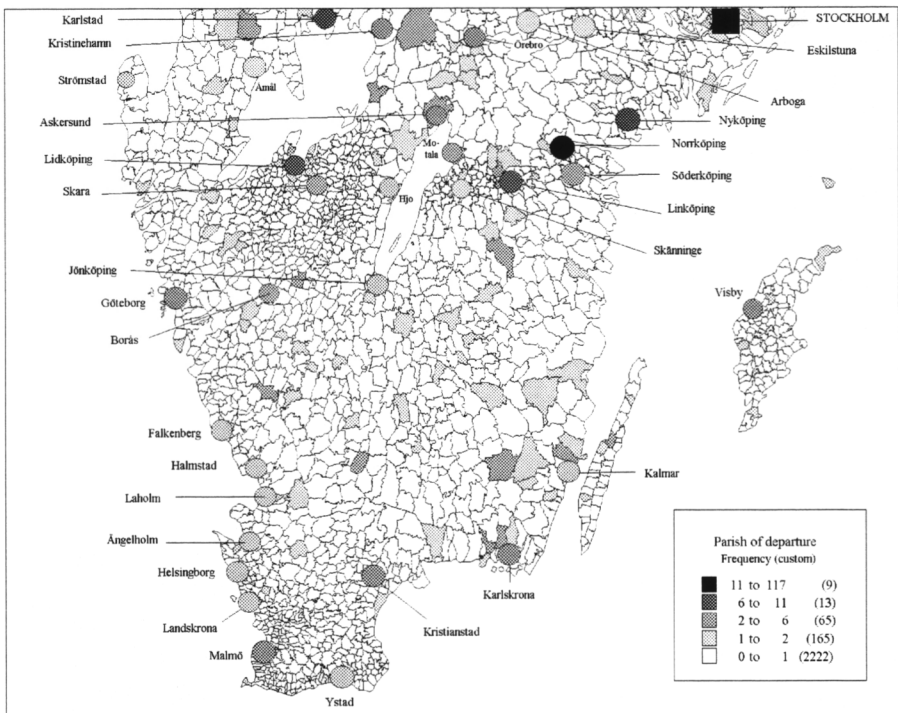


Map 3.9. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Northern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.

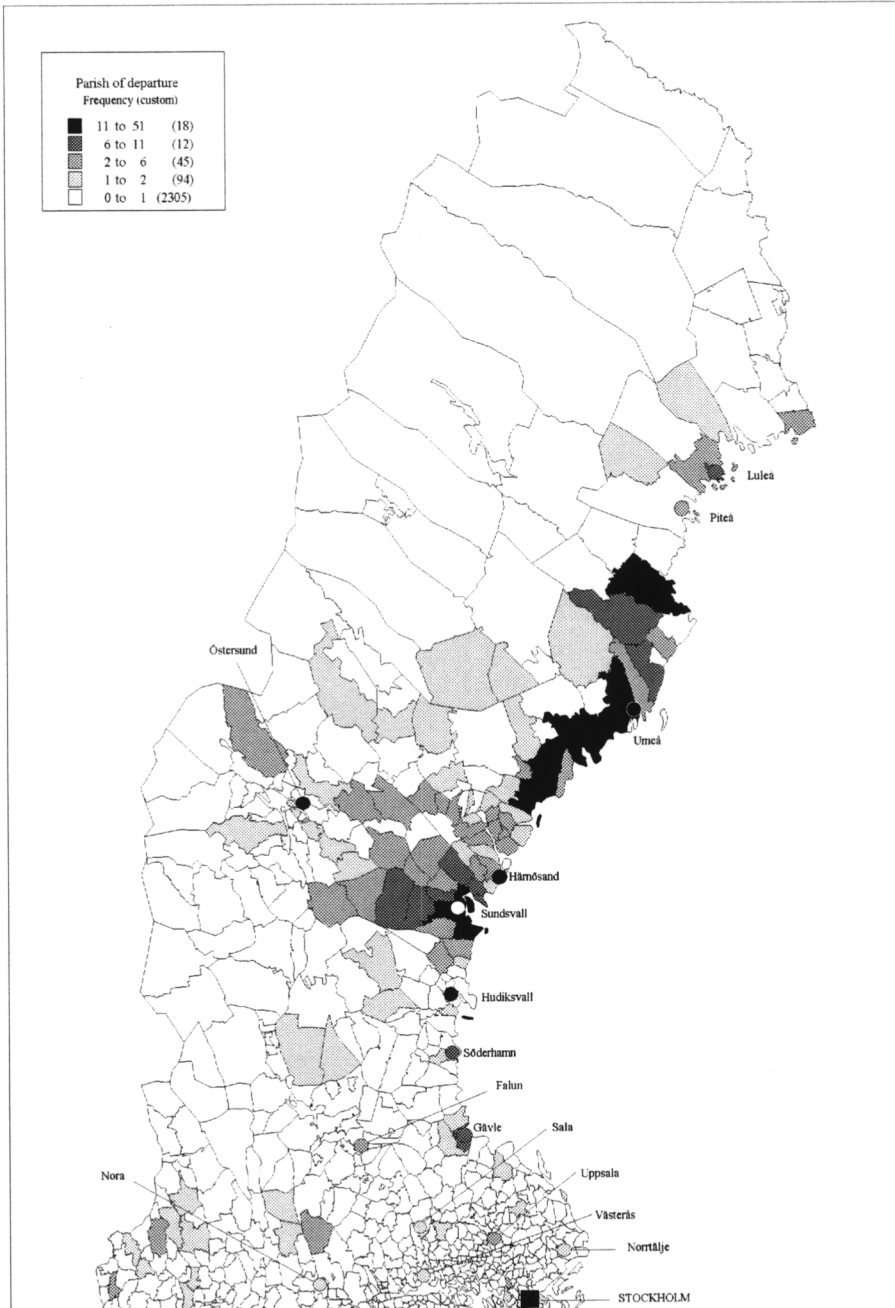


On the other hand, the increase of diversity and distance evident in women's geographical backgrounds might be interpreted in terms of an increased desire to escape gender constraints that particularly held them back in the countryside.⁷⁷ Maybe the belief that they could find employment with better salary and status in Sundsvall provided powerful incentives for them. The increasing supply of information made them more aware of the life and labor options in other places. In that case, women's migration would not indicate they were given a wider geographical area in which to achieve their goals or that they were considered more equal to men in social terms. Rather, a higher degree of emancipation was exactly what they were seeking in towns such as Sundsvall.

Map 3.10. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Southern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.

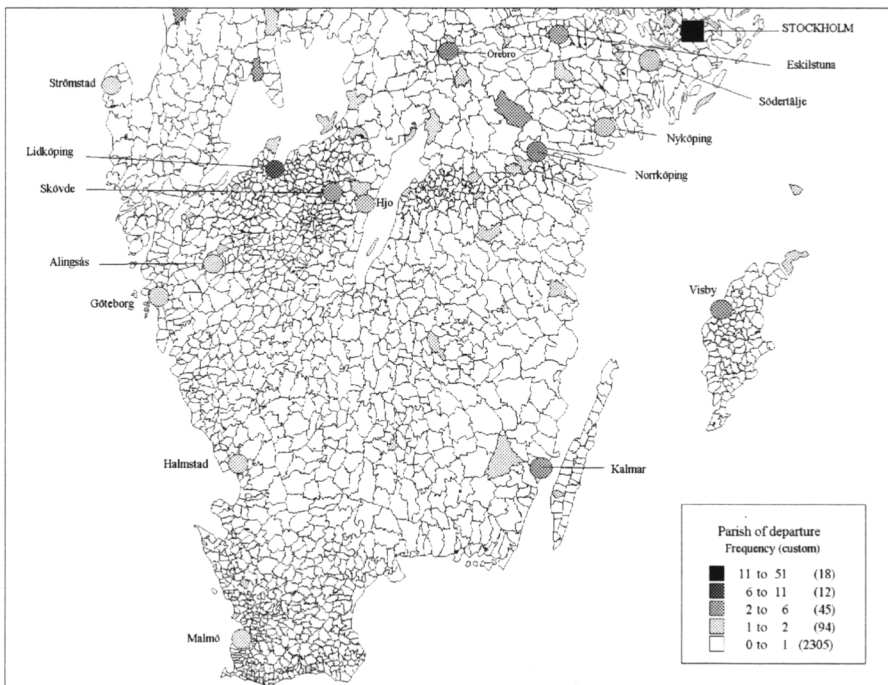


Map 3.11. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Northern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



In this way, patterns of migration could help identify the socio-economic constraints placed upon people in the past. These inevitably shaped the options and expectations migrants had to consider when they moved. That men had generally fewer structural constraints to consider is revealed by their migration patterns, although other factors such as economic resources also framed men's possibilities to go wherever they wanted. Of course, there are many explanations to choose from when it comes to determining women and men's reasons to relocate and their choice of destination. Nevertheless, migration behavior must be linked to the inequality between genders in society at large.

Map 3.12. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Southern Swedish parishes. *Source:* The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.



Concluding remarks

This chapter has chiefly employed two comparative perspectives by considering individual migrants gathered in two cohorts heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s and between 1865-1880. One perspective analyzed how urban-industrial times influenced the demographic, socio-economic and geographical characteristics of the migrants on arrival. The other examined to what extent these men and women had similar characteristics. To better grasp their motives to relocate, the migrants were studied on a micro-level paying particular attention to their age, geographical background, and marital and socio-economic status. This micro-level analysis was combined with macro-level perspectives. These focused on the general economic transformation and its development on a local-scale primarily represented by Sundsvall and its surrounding region.

Highlighting gender in migration studies involves an assumption that men and women followed different paths and experienced them differently. Such claims are based on the belief that women have something in common that cuts across other analytic categories such as status. It was, however, shown that men and women heading for nineteenth-century Sundsvall shared a great many characteristics. Regardless of gender the migrants were usually young, unmarried and migrated on their own. In general, differences between the two cohorts were greater than between the two genders.

To judge from these snapshots of the migrants' demographic features when they entered Sundsvall, the women were as little or much moving independently as were the men. Even though migrant families appeared more frequently during industrialization, men and women made such associational in-migrations to a similar degree. The results also discount the idea that women moved for marital reason alone. For the most part the migrants' arrival in Sundsvall occurred during a phase of their life-course when young adults usually took to the road to work, contribute to a dowry, gain skills and prepare for a marriage that was still a few years ahead. Gender did not affect the selectivity of migrants to any large degree so there is little evidence that women arrived in Sundsvall because they 'belonged to the baggage' of men. Regardless of gender, migrants moved primarily to try their luck in Sundsvall's labor market.

The nineteenth-century labor market was, however, sharply gendered and this affected the town of Sundsvall and the occupational composition of the migrants. Therefore, men and women almost never held similar occupations. Neither the industrial breakthrough nor urbanization changed that but other changes occurred. These were reflected by increasing number of migrants from the middle social strata who approached the town in 1865-1880. This indicates that the structure of the labor market was about to open up because of the

rapid urbanization and economic transformation that Sundsvall underwent. Nonetheless, most migrants and especially women were from the very bottom of the social strata.

It is a bit surprising to find that women migrants actually outnumbered men in 1865-1880. Sundsvall depended on the sawmill industry that primarily would have attracted men. Many non-reported laborers were likely living there as well but the large number of women migrants nevertheless comes into stark view. Most were *pigor* who were able to find work as a result of a booming economy that attracted laborers and middle-class families alike. The large number of *pigor* indicates that they could easily find employment in Sundsvall and suggests that they faced problems finding jobs in the places left behind.

The geographical findings offered the most interesting information about migrants upon their arrival. During the period of industrialization the number of places from which migrants came grew remarkably. This was primarily explained by improving communications, Sundsvall's increasing attachment to other areas, social networks, and an expansion of pre-industrial paths. In all, this made migrants of both genders challenge longer distances over time.

Basically, the geographical background forms the only feature of the migrants that sharply differed between both the two cohorts and the two genders. The difference between male and female migrants persisted during the nineteenth century although women also started to challenge longer distances to move to Sundsvall. Two explanations that hint at women's relative position in society at large and elaborate the plausible link between the degree of emancipation and female migratory behavior were discussed. Both explanations likely serve to justify women's more complex migration patterns during urban-industrial times. First, the longer distances they moved might indicate that the gendered regime that particularly constrained women's activities was loosening. This might have allowed women from farther afield to move to Sundsvall between 1865-1880 but not in the 1840s. Second, a similar increased diversity concerning women's geographical backgrounds also suggests that they migrated longer distances to escape gender constraints that particularly confined them in the countryside. The spread of information about what might await them in towns regarding possible employment and things to do during the time off duty might have contributed to women's increasing desire to seek towns that could meet their expectations of greater freedom. By exploring the life-course of migrants from various points of view, the following chapters shed light onto whether women found significant independence in Sundsvall.

By studying individuals' migratory behavior, and their demographic and geographic features this chapter has shown that migrants' relocation cannot be explained by only considering simple push-and-pull-polarities resulting from large-scale economic development. True, such macro-perspectives are needed but

they must also go beyond pure economic analysis and consider such factors as the current gender regime. In addition, there is definitely a demand for analyzing the migrants at an individual level to find clues about how and why they responded to the structural setting by taking to the road.

Notes

- 1 DDB-ID (Sigri Backlund): 843001182; (Maja Norrback): 848001160.
- 2 DDB-ID (Kristina Hansdotter): 837001233.
- 3 DDB-ID (Nikolaus Svensson): 849001323.
- 4 DDB-ID (Bengt Larsson): 848001172.
- 5 DDB-ID (Lars Lundsten): 849001175.
- 6 DDB-ID (Daniel Åkerblad): 845001269.
- 7 The parish registers cannot always tell whether migrants were married or not on arrival. As the flames in 1888 destroyed the ministerial lists up to 1860, the 1840s are especially badly covered in this respect. The thorough analysis of the young migrants discussed in Chapter 5, indicates that migrants lacking information about marital status were unmarried. Therefore, these migrants are included in the category of unmarried. About 75 percent of the migrants in the pre-industrial cohort and 40 percent in the industrial cohort lack complete information about their marital status.
- 8 Because of the fire in 1888 there are no migration lists for the 1840s to compare with those of the period 1865-1880.
- 9 This concept is most often applied to migration overseas but is also applied on internal movements. Cf. Hochstadt, p. 93.
- 10 About one migrant in four is usually recognized as married in other studies. The socio-economic structure of the destination sometimes influences these ratios. Cf. Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 62 ff. The increase of married migrants over time also matches Rondahl's second phase in which families gradually replace the pioneering males of whom many were seasonal laborers. Rondahl, pp. 263 f.
- 11 Regarding late nineteenth-century Duisburg, Jackson finds a slightly lower percentage of married migrants consisting of 18-20 percent. There were two to three times as many male migrants as women. Jackson, pp. 202-209.
- 12 DDB-ID (Carl Edlund): 834001067; DDB-ID (Matilda Edlund): 841001186.
- 13 DDB-ID (Johan Hillerström): 838001227; DDB-ID (Margareta Svendsdotter): 841001334.
- 14 DDB-ID (Jöns Borin): 840001189; DDB-ID (Lovisa Borin): 842001388.
- 15 Ogden, P.E. "Migration, Marriage and the Collapse of Traditional Peasant Society in France". White P. & Woods R. (Eds.). *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. London 1980, pp. 161 ff. Sogner argues that a marriage shortly after arrival indicates that the migrant primarily searched for the marriage market and not the labor market at the new destination. Sogner 1994, p. 74; Kronborg & Nilsson, p. 183; Moch 1992, p. 14; Tilly C. 1979, pp. 191 f.
- 16 DDB-ID (Constantia Rundqvist): 841001122; DDB-ID (Johan Tjernberg): 843001498.

- 17 The pronounced annual decline of the curves in Figure 3.4 resembles the profile of a step because the date of either in-migration or marriage are not always complete. Only the year, not the exact date of either event is sometimes only recorded. If this was the case, the time passing between in-migration and marriage is based on entire years, not periods of years. In Chapter 5 that thoroughly considers the marriage pattern of migrants, every union has been analyzed in detail and exact dates were usually identified. Figure 5.5 develops the results of Figure 3.4. Until then, the mean and median times between date of in-migration and marriage confirm the pattern stated above. Whereas the women display mean and median values of 5.62 and 5.02 years, the corresponding figures for men are 4.93 and 4.00.
- 18 As men were often older than women were when they arrived they were closer to the phase in life where transitions like marriages usually occurred. On the one hand, this would explain the gender differences in the curves shown in Figure 3.4. On the other hand, it does not because men generally married at an older age as well. Therefore, the gender differences put forward are of significance.
- 19 The marriage patterns are more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 5. Brändström, A., Sundin, J., & Tedebrand, L-G. "Marriage and Urban Adaption: Sundsvall and Linköping in XIXth Century Sweden". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1999:No. 2, pp. 97-114; Brändström, A., Sundin, J., & Tedebrand, L-G. "Two Cities: Urban Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Sweden". *The History of the Family* 2000:4, pp. 415-429; Lundh 1997.
- 20 As discussed in the research overview, scholars focusing on women's migration increasingly argue that women's migration must be linked to the availability of labor opportunities and not to men who often have been assumed to have determined females' relocation. In her study of Norwegian emigrants to Holland in the eighteenth century, Sogner discovers that most young women did not go abroad to marry but rather to work. Sogner 1994, pp. 74-76, 131-134.
- 21 It is difficult to obtain complete occupational information for the year of the migrants' arrival as the migration lists are missing. To make up for that, the first occupation reported within two years after the arrival in the 1840s has been used. Nevertheless, the loss of occupational information is extensive but impossible to handle as many migrants did not settle long enough to have an occupation reported.
- 22 Cf. Chapter 2. Brändström, Sundin & Tedebrand 2000, p. 419; Alm Stenflo, p. 107.
- 23 To some degree, the better sources for the 1865-1880 period likely contribute to the more varied occupational structure identified among migrants in the industrial cohort.
- 24 The guild system was abolished in 1846 and the government introduced free trade in 1864. Olsson and Samuelsson discuss these reforms and others but also take the accumulation of capital in banks and through joint stock companies into account to explain the economic advancement of late nineteenth-century Sweden. Olsson, pp. 49-73; Samuelsson, pp. 25-31. Björklund has analyzed the impact of economic reforms and the large-scale economic development on Sundsvall. Björklund, pp. 7-16. In his study of merchants and craftsmen in Sundsvall, Svanberg also discusses the reforms of 1846 and 1864. Svanberg, pp. 85-90.
- 25 As discussed in Chapter 2, enclosures and specialization within agricultural production occurred during the course of the nineteenth century. The agricultural revolution jeopardized the possibilities for youths to establish themselves with a piece of land and increasingly turned them into migrants heading for towns and industrial areas to find means of subsistence. Cf. Samuelsson, pp. 16, 20 f.; Morell, pp. 189 ff.

- 26 For small amounts of money sawmill companies systematically bought large pieces of farmers' forest and land to expand timber production. This phenomenon is called 'Baggböleri' and named after the mansion of a sawmill owner living near Umeå, (*Baggböle herrgård*). This way of confiscating forest was frequently used in northern Sweden when sawmill industries were rapidly established. Cf. Olsson, pp. 55; Gaunitz, S. "Baggböleriet: Om konsten att avverka norrlandsskogarna utan att bryta för mycket mot lagen". *Västerbotten: Västerbottens läns hembygdsförbund* 1980:No.1, pp. 2-14.
- 27 Cf. Scott & Tilly, pp. 123-145.
- 28 The implications of gender, the breadwinner ideal and the sex-segmented labor markets is more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 7. Lasse Cornell has examined the wage and working conditions of sawmill laborers in the region. There were few women workers but sometimes they assisted stevedores in the harbor and laborers at the lumber yard. They also cleaned away sawdust. Captains of various ships also offered employment to some women. As females were rarely identified in salary lists, Cornell suggests they were related to employed men and only took up occupations temporarily. Cornell, L. *Sundsvallsdistriktets sågverksarbetare 1860-1890: Arbete, levnadsförhållanden, rekrytering*. Göteborg 1982, pp. 115-121.
- 29 Göransson, A. "Från släkt till marknad: Ägande, arbete och släkt på 1800-talet". Hirdman et al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Stockholm 1992, pp. 104-111; Widerberg, pp. 37-72.
- 30 Unmarried women in Sweden attained the aged majority rather late compared to other countries in Western Europe. Göransson suggests this was because land holdings continued to play an important part in Sweden as it experienced industrialization comparatively late. Göransson 1992, p. 108.
- 31 Hofsten, E. *Svensk befolkningshistoria*. Stockholm 1986, pp. 61 f., 168.
- 32 In particular Qvist argues for such an explanation to women's legal progress. Qvist 1978a & 1978b; Göransson 1993, pp. 135-155.
- 33 A great many women have no occupation reported. Sometimes there is a title given as in the case of demoiselle Constantia Rundqvist who married Johan Tjernberg soon after her arrival in 1869. It is difficult to judge the status and possible occupation of such women. As is discussed in Chapter 7, they probably worked occasionally even though their 'elegant' title does not suggest it.
- 34 As discussed when the social classification was presented in Chapter 1, those labeled *piga* covers a wide range of women. Most were daughters to working-class men but also to farmers, cottagers or sometimes even to small-scale businessmen.
- 35 Some examples include: Losman, pp. 58-79; Kyle, pp. 93-110; Matovic 1997a, pp. 99-141.
- 36 Harzig 1997, pp. 1-21; Matovic 1997b, pp. 261-298.
- 37 In her study about female emigrants, Ohlander discusses the examination that Kerstin Hesselgren conducted as part of the Emigration investigation (*Emigrationsutredningen*). In 1907 Hesselgren contacted 46 Swedish women in Liverpool to ask them about their decision to emigrate and found out that harsh working conditions had set most *pigor* on the move. *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga VII. "Utvandrarnas egna uppgifter"*; Cf. Ohlander 1986c, pp. 129-136; Matovic 1997a, pp. 114 f.
- 38 Cf. the three footnotes above.
- 39 *Landsbövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1871-75*, pp. 6 f. On page 6 the governor argues: "Skälet härtill torde företrädesvis vara den lättare tillgång på arbetsförtjänst, som erbjödes i en stad, jämförelsevis med den å landsbygden, hvartill måhända kan läggas det vida

mindre ansträngande kroppsarbete, som affordras tjenstehjonen i städerna, äfvensom i någon mån de lockelser, som det mera omväxlande livet och nöjena i städerna kunna utöfva." *Pigor* were generally not paid very much but live-in servants were offered board and lodging. The county governor confirms the wage difference between male and female servants in Västernorrland. On average *drängar* (farmhands) earned 175 kronor per year, whereas *pigor* only achieved 75 kronor. *Landsbövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1876-1880*, p. 10. As a matter of fact, the gender difference concerning servants' salary in Västernorrland was larger than generally stated. According to Qvist, *pigor* and women workers earned between half or two thirds of the wages of men. Cf. Qvist 1978a, p. 105. Although towns could also be dangerous places and women's urban options should not be idealized, they were able to take part in public life to a large degree in towns than in the countryside. Students of female migration often show how women interacted with their new urban setting in terms of widening their experience and action space that likely stimulated their sense of independence. This was usually expressed through employment and organizational activities. Cf. Harzig, (Ed.), see particularly "Part II: Urban Life". In Sundsvall, women involved themselves in the free churches and temperance lodges. They contributed to the town's life by arranging bazaars to raise money for charity and missionaries abroad. The newspapers show several announcements of women who were behind such events. Margareta Zackrisson has briefly documented such activities associated with women in Sundsvall. Zackrisson, M. "Kvinnorna i Sundsvall ca. 1830-1880: Villkor och verksamheter vid början av den stora tillväxtens tid". Medelpads arkiv. Sundsvall 1999. Scholars argue that activities such as those related to temperance lodgers, charity and free church allowed women some public space in times when this was not easily achieved. Cf. Jordansson, B. "Hur filantropen blir kvinna: Fattigvård och välgörenhet under 1800-talet". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1992:112, pp. 468-487.

- 40 DDB-ID (Maria Forsslund): 851001446.
- 41 Cornell, pp. 115-121.
- 42 DDB-ID (Maria Bruse): 845001403.
- 43 In Sundsvall, female shopkeepers increased their ratio from one woman in five male tradesmen to one in four during the period 1870-1910. Björklund, p. 16.
- 44 DDB-ID (Tycho Trybom): 853001419.
- 45 DDB-ID (Peter Calissendorff): 851001549.
- 46 Not until the 1920s was it possible to go directly by train along the coast from Stockholm to Sundsvall. Björklund, p. 14; Godlund, S. "Vägar, järnvägar och flygplatser". Wik, H. (Ed.). *Västernorrland – ett sekel 1862-1962*. Stockholm 1962.
- 47 Tedebrand 1997, pp. 108-120.
- 48 Warg, pp. 49-66, 83-142.
- 49 Most likely, the number of male immigrants from Finland were far in excess to of what parish registers acknowledge.
- 50 Wester, pp. 111-123; Tedebrand 1997, p. 120.
- 51 Nykvist, R. "Pass till utrikes ort: En provinstidnings bild av emigrationen och arbetsvandringar från Vörå socken i svenska Österbotten". Unpublished paper. Högskolan i Härnösand/Sundsvall 1985.
- 52 Some of the most dominant Finnish parishes of departure were Vasa, Kvevlax, Vörå and Närpes. All of them are situated in the county of Ostrobothnia.

- 53 DDB-ID (Stina Norrback): 849001671. The information on the Finnish parish of Närpes is based on the church examination lists. Generally, only the country is available in the migration lists.
- 54 Generally, the minister only acknowledges networks established in the town such as marriages and births and families or kin migrating together. Only by carefully analyzing single individuals, their names and dates of demographic events such as in-migrations is it possible to uncover relationships like those between Maja and Stina. Cf. Kling, S. "Invandrarkvinnor i Sundsvall: Om giftermålsmönster och utomäktenskaplighet bland särskilt österbottniskor i Sundsvall ca. 1860-1890". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University 2000 [Kling 2000b]. Kling discovers several women immigrants who appear to have established chains that linked Sundsvall to single Finnish parishes. Jukka Liakka has examined male immigrants in similar respect. See Liakka, J. "Manliga invandrare i Sundsvall: Giftermålsmönster och social mobilitet bland Sundsvallsinvandrarna under andra hälften av 1800-talet". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University 2002.
- 55 In 1838 the Jews were free to settle in any Swedish town. In 1870 they attained majority on an equal footing with Swedes and with only a few exceptions were welcome to hold similar professions. See Valentin, H. *Judarna i Sverige*. Stockholm 1964, pp. 53 ff., 83. There were not many Jews in Sundsvall but a few men became important for the commercial and economic life in the town and the sawmills companies. They even established their own church in Sundsvall. In 1880, it held about 60 Jews, of whom most were men. The repeated frequency of similar surnames and the high percentage of family migrants indicates that blood ties and business contacts brought the Jews to Sundsvall. See, Eriksson, J. "Sundsvalls mosaiska församling: In- och utflyttning 1880-1911". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 1998; cf. Tedebrand 1997, pp. 120 f.
- 56 Unlike USA and many European countries, nineteenth-century Sweden lacked large populations of other nationalities, Catholics or Jews. As so few of them were among the migrants to Sundsvall, of whom most were assigned to the Lutheran Church, it is impossible to explore ethnic or religious reasons that set individuals on the move.
- 57 Cf. studies related to the Uppsala Migration Project. Kronborg & Nilsson, p. 47; Norman 1974, p. 154. In densely populated countries there is sometimes reason to include even shorter distances. In their British mobility study, Pooley and Turnbull explore the spatial distribution by considering distance bands covering less than five kilometers. Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 120 ff.
- 58 Cf. Chapter 2.
- 59 To gain some skill and build the dowry before marrying and starting a household on their own, young individuals had long adopted these traditional migration patterns in these parts of Sweden. Egerbladh 1995, pp. 35 ff.; Harnesk, pp. 161-180.
- 60 The fact that Kristina and her illegitimate child arrived in April 1878 lends credence to this motive exclusively linked to women. The Hired or Household Servants Act made many servants change employment as well as residency in the fall. Chapter 6 addresses the issue of linking women's migration to illegitimate children.
- 61 Lee E., pp. 47-57; cf. under the headline dealing with the nature of migration in Chapter 1.
- 62 This holds in 90.5 percent of the cases for the pre-industrial cohort. Similar figure for the industrial cohort reaches 91.8 percent.
- 63 Concerning the urban criterion of 1,000 inhabitants in 1870, see under the headline of geographical classifications in Chapter 1.

- 64 Both Hägerstrand and Morrill discuss and explore the influence of information by using a normative concept called M.I.F (Mean Information Field), which Wester also takes into consideration in his thesis. Wester, pp. 11-22, 79-84, 143 f., 176-179, 186-192; Hägerstrand 1967; Morrill, R.L. *Migration and the Spread and Growth of Urban Settlement*. Lund Studies in Geography, 26 B. Lund 1965; cf. White & Woods, pp. 32-34.
- 65 The complexity of identifying the impact of improving communications upon spatial mobility makes it hardly surprising that scholars present results both supporting and rejecting the importance of these innovations. While Hägerstrand recognizes a remarkable stability over time regarding the geographical movements of migrants, A.K. Cairncross shows the opposite by linking the rural depopulation in Britain to the building of railways. However, Pooley and Turnbull argue that the revolution in transport did not affect the spatial mobility of British migrants until the twentieth century. These contradictory results depend upon the data, location and socio-economic structure of the area under consideration. See, Hägerstrand 1947; Cairncross, A.K. *Home and Foreign Investment, 1870-1913: Studies in Capital Accumulation*. Cambridge 1953, pp. 75 f.; Pooley & Turnbull 1998, pp. 65-71.
- 66 In the process of globalization, this social theory assumes time-space compression which began to be pronounced during industrialization. Pooley and Turnbull support this theory. Pooley & Turnbull 1998, p. 67.
- 67 Thorvaldsen, p. 468.
- 68 Anders Brändström and Tom Ericsson argue that the town's economic development exerted a pull upon potential migrants in the middle social strata. Brändström, A. & Ericsson, T. "Social Mobility and Social Networks: The Lower Middle Class in the Late Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Swedish Urban Demography During Industrialization*. Umeå 1995, p. 255.
- 69 Lövgren, E. "Befolkningsutvecklingen – en demografisk studie". Hjulström, F., Arpi, G. & Lövgren, E. (Eds.) *Sundsvallsdistriktet 1850-1950*. Uppsala 1955, p. 373; Norberg, A. *Sågarnas Ö: Almö och industrialiseringen 1860-1910*. Uppsala 1980, pp. 27-48; Hedman, I. & Tjernström, G. "Migration och äktenskapsmarknad i Timrå socken 1865-1899". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of History. Uppsala University 1970.
- 70 These investigations have been designed by me and undertaken under my supervision. For further information, see the following papers of which all are unpublished and presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University: Brännström, P. "Den geografiska betydelsen för migranter i Sundsvall 1860-1892: En demografisk undersökning av inflyttade män och kvinnor från Norrköping och Nordmaling". Umeå University 2001; Kling, S. "Jämter i Sundsvall: En studie i migration, social mobilitet och giftermålsmönster". Umeå University 2000 [Kling 2000a]; Vahnapiha, M. "Från Gävleborgs län till Sundsvall: Den geografiska bakgrundens betydelse i fråga om migrationen och den demografiska utvecklingen i 1800-talets Sundsvall". Umeå University 2000; Engstrand, P. "Social och geografisk rörelse: En demografisk studie av inflyttare till Sundsvall under 1800-talet från Nätra och Göteborg". Umeå University 2002.
- 71 Kling 2000a.
- 72 Brännström.
- 73 Engstrand.

- 74 By employing the so-called double-log Pareto function Hägerstrand discovers that a place situated 100 kilometers from the place of departure is perceived to be only twice as far away as a destination placed 10 kilometers from similar point. See Hägerstrand 1967. White and Woods also discuss the matter of distance, gravity and literature on the subjects. White & Woods, pp. 21-41.
- 75 These two cohorts formed by young unmarried migrants have been drawn from the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts analyzed in this chapter. These migrants were aged 18-27 on arrival and did not make associational in-migrations. In contrast to the two larger cohorts the parish of departure has been manually traced in the church examination records when this information is lacking in the migration lists. There, the minister sometimes made notes about migrants' parish of birth or departure. Chapter 5 discusses more fully the cohort criteria and results generated from the two cohorts of young migrants. The pre-industrial cohort of young migrants consists of 807 individuals and the industrial cohort includes 1,510 migrants.
- 76 Lim, pp. 225-242. In her study on men and women emigrants to Holland, Sogner offers some empirical findings to support Lim's theoretical discussion by recognizing that female emigrants in the eighteenth century were acting independently when they moved to Holland. Sogner 1994, pp. 59-62.
- 77 Lim also calls for an approach focusing on the desire for emancipation that might be embedded in women's wish to relocate. Lim, pp. 225-242. As does Ohlander, the volume edited by Harzig elaborates upon the topic of emancipation involved in European women's search for America. See particularly Harzig's Introduction, Harzig, pp. 6-19; Ohlander 1986c, pp. 121-139.

4. Migrants' life-course in Sundsvall during urban-industrial times: Highlighting gender among other demographic characteristics

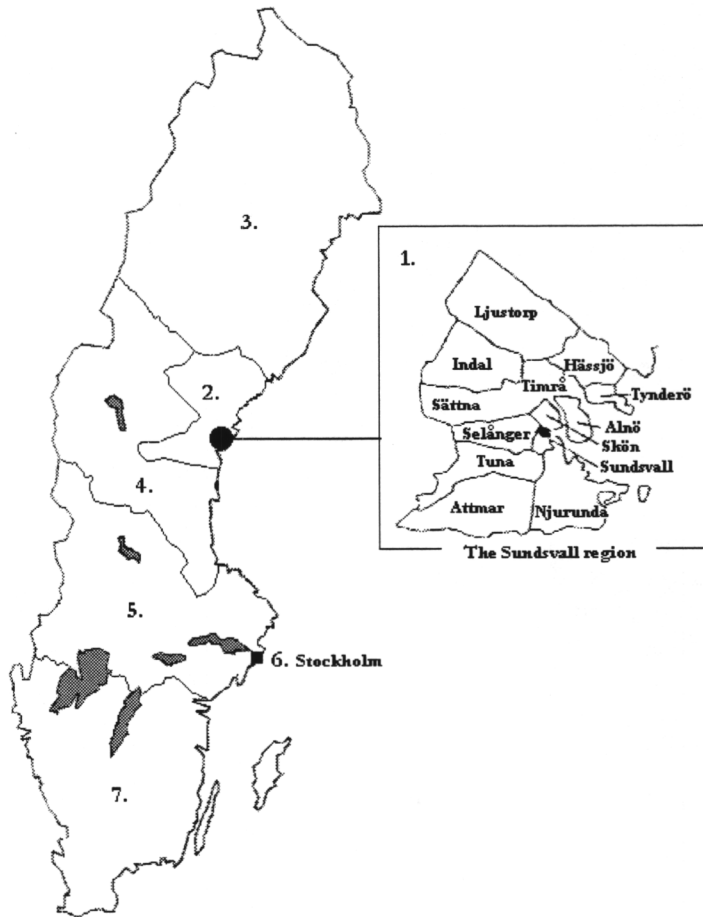
After having discussed the migrants' features when they arrived in Sundsvall and made clear how gender and urban-industrial times had an impact on their demographic and geographical characteristics, it is time to turn to the consequences of their relocation. Demographic events documented in parish registers make it possible to examine the migrants' urban experience by studying occupational changes and social mobility. The migrants' life-course is not only described but also viewed with regard to their different demographic and socio-geographical characteristics on arrival because these might have determined the paths of the newcomers in Sundsvall. Whether such characteristics including gender also influenced the migrants' duration of residence, their likelihood of marrying or experience an untimely death in the town, are also analyzed. Some additional information generated from the local newspapers then concludes this chapter.

Again, the focus on migrants as individuals represents the micro-level approach of this study as a whole. Their behavior and life-course are, however, also viewed from a macro-level that considers the contexts to which they responded and with which they interacted.

Methodological considerations concerning the longitudinal approach of the migrants

In this chapter a quantitative approach is combined with deeper reports on the migrants previously portrayed at the time of their arrival. Qualitative information is added for a few individual migrants as they turn up in local newspapers for various reasons. For the most part multiple statistical analyses are employed to examine the life-course in Sundsvall. They help to distinguish whether some socio-economic or demographic characteristics, or the geographical origins of the migrants would influence their duration of residence or increase their likelihood of finding a career, marrying or dying. The greatest advantage of applying multiple statistical analyses such as regression models is that they control and evaluate several covariates simultaneously. The migrants' characteristics on arrival form these covariates. As demographic features such as gender, age, geographical background, social and marital status might affect the life-course, it is important to consider all these characteristics at the same time to identify what really matters. By also paying attention to other features, regression models can better recognize the impact of gender.

Map 4.1. Map of Sweden displaying the geographical categorization applied in the longitudinal study.



Explanations:

1. The Sundsvall region
 2. The county of Västernorrland outside the region
 3. Northern part of northern Sweden (*Norra Norrland*)
 4. Southern part of northern Sweden (*Södra Norrland*)
 5. Middle of Sweden (*Svealand*)
 6. Stockholm, the capital
 7. South of Sweden (*Götaland*)
- Abroad
Unknown

Unfortunately, the poor quality of sources covering the pre-industrial era jeopardizes the application of advanced statistical analyses.¹ Therefore, the focus must be placed on the migrants of the industrial cohort.

As it is impossible to take into account every parish or county when judging the longitudinal effects of the migrants' geographical background, Sweden has been divided into seven categories. These are largely determined by distance but Stockholm represents a category of its own. There are two reasons for this. First, compared to most other Swedish towns at the time, the capital was especially urbanized. Second, because many migrants departed from there it would jeopardize the accuracy of the conclusions to include all of them in another category. Immigrants are not distinguished according to their national backgrounds.

4.1. Duration of residence

This section analyzes whether the migrants chose Sundsvall as their final destination or soon took to the road again. The theoretical and empirical overview in Chapter 1 shows that scholars devoted to modernization theory believe that migrants were primarily responsible for the demographic growth of cities. They are convinced that the newcomers settled permanently. More recent migration studies reveal that this was not the case for many migrants. The nature of the migrants' stay in Sundsvall and possible reasons for it is explored below by comparing the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts. This is followed by a more comprehensive analysis of the latter cohort.

Changes in duration of residence over time

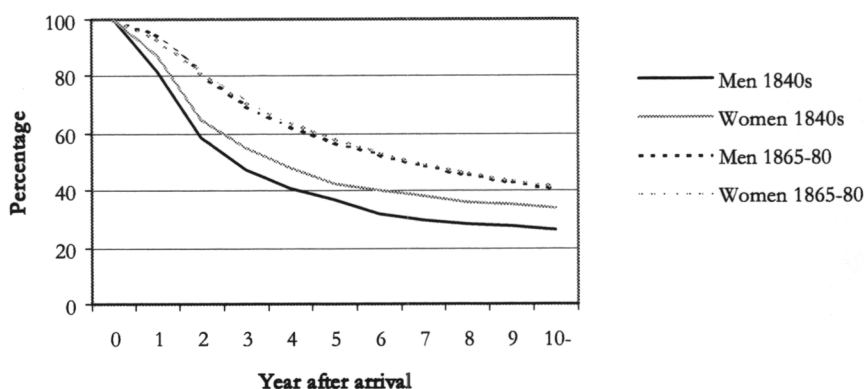
Figure 4.1 indicates there were few permanent settlers among the migrants. Those arriving during industrialization were, however, more inclined to stay in Sundsvall. Significant gender differences only appear during pre-industrial times when men were more eager to move yet again. Migrants of both genders in the industrial cohort found reason to stay for more extended periods.

The distinct demographic characteristics of the two cohorts largely explains these results. In contrast to the industrial migrants, those arriving in the 1840s approached Sundsvall earlier in their life-course. Consequently they had more years ahead of them to move around before it was time to marry and establish themselves somewhere. The larger percentage of married migrants in the industrial cohort also explains why they were less interested in leaving right away.

The short duration of the pre-industrial migrants' stay in Sundsvall also reveals the traditional pattern of circular migration over short distances in pre-industrial society. The fact that more than one migrant in ten belonging to the

pre-industrial cohort arrived in Sundsvall three times or more further confirms the high geographical mobility often operating over short distances. In contrast, fewer than one in twenty migrants in the industrial cohorts revealed a similar pattern. In accordance with one of Ravenstein's laws, women were most mobile in this respect regardless of the period under consideration. In the 1840s, 43 percent of women but only 28.5 percent of men settled more than once in Sundsvall. During the urban-industrial period the corresponding percentages were only 22.5 and 19.5 percent respectively.² These measurements indicate that migrants in the industrial cohort found lesser reasons to leave and probably because Sundsvall offered better means of subsistence during urban-industrial times.

Figure 4.1. Duration of residence by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Migrants having more than one in-migration reported in the 1840s or 1865-1880 are not included. This has reduced the number of cohort members to the following figures: Men 1840s (N=605); Women 1840s (N=399); Men 1865-80 (N=2,760); Women 1865-80 (N=2,842).

The longer distance traveled and larger diversity of geographical backgrounds that characterized migrants in the industrial cohort probably contributed to their extended stay. It was previously shown that migrants in the 1840s seldom moved from remote areas. Therefore, they had rather close access to their home parish. This might have exerted a pull on them by encouraging them to return to already familiar places where perhaps kin and friends awaited them. Migrants in the industrial cohort did not have similar close access to the families and areas they had left behind. Challenging long distances also indicates they had thoroughly considered their choice of destination. Perhaps this contributed to their long-term stays.

In addition to the different demographic features and geographical origins of the migrants in the two cohorts, the macro-level economic structure of Sundsvall played an important role. In the 1840s Sundsvall was relatively unable to support its newcomers despite their small numbers. Except for short-distance *pigor* it mostly attracted journeymen and apprentices. These men were frequent movers between towns and parishes so they could gain experience and skill. Most certainly their migratory behavior was responsible for the rapid loss of migrants Sundsvall witnessed in pre-industrial times.

About thirty years later Sundsvall offered an expanding labor market and improved prospects caused by urbanization and the surrounding sawmill industry. Thanks to the introduction of steam power, the sawmills were kept going even during wintertime and this improved the possibilities for laborers to take up extended employment and stay for a longer period than before.³ The labor market and businesses life in Sundsvall benefited from the more solid establishment of the sawmills and allowed its newcomers to take up long-term employment and settle. Therefore, migrants arriving in 1865-1880 had better chances to find work, particularly employment that was not necessarily contracted on a short-term or yearly basis. The pattern for women in the industrial cohort, of whom a majority were *pigor*, paralleled the prolonged residence of men of whom most were laborers. This suggests that women's stay and their labor market was also stimulated by the economic transformation that the town and the surrounding sawmills experienced. In addition, it was previously shown that Sundsvall and its labor market acted as a magnet for other kinds of migrants such as small-scale entrepreneurs and lower civil officials. They were probably prepared to give the town more than only one or two years of their lives before assessing the result of their relocation. Tradesmen, for example, may have made investments in Sundsvall that prevented them from opening up business elsewhere.

Figure 4.1 also addresses the issue of urban acceptance and suggests that this was more easily achieved among migrants in the industrial cohort. The factors discussed above help to explain this. Compared to migrants in the 1840s, urban-industrial migrants and especially the men had experienced towns prior to their settlement in Sundsvall. This might have favored their length of residence. The general shape of the four curves in Figure 4.1 indicates, however, that all migrants were affected by the temporal phenomenon called 'cumulative inertia'.⁴ The longer individuals stay at one particular place, the less likely they are to migrate again because social ties develop over time. Figure 4.1 clearly shows that migrants were most likely to leave Sundsvall shortly after their arrival. The slope of the curves generally decline just as the migrants' interest in departing. Most likely, new social networks were key to this pattern.

Duration of residence according to the migrants' different characteristics

Table 4.1 sheds further light on the industrial cohort's length of residence by examining the time between arrival and departure. This approach hints at how migrants experienced their stay in Sundsvall. If migrants stayed for an extended period it suggests that they were rather comfortable with life in the town.⁵ Whether the urban adjustment depended on migrants' age, gender, socio-economic and geographical background is discussed below.

It was just shown that migrants in the industrial cohort were more likely to settle for longer periods than were those who arrived before the development of the lumber industry. Table 4.1 shows the differences within the industrial cohort and also illustrates that gender seems to have played little role in determining the duration of stay.⁶ Other characteristics had a larger impact on the migrants' tendency to stay or leave. Moreover, these features influenced men and women differently. Therefore, they are treated separately in Table 4.1. By measuring out-migration this table suggests which migrants were most likely to remain in Sundsvall.

Every covariate but the first indicating type of migration is significant for determining the migrants' inclination to leave. Those who experienced Sundsvall prior to their in-migration in 1865-1880 were less inclined to leave again. Returning migrants probably knew the town better and were more certain to stay than were those who saw Sundsvall for the first time. Maybe the latter had less access to social networks and, therefore, were more willing to take to the road again. Women were more affected by these circumstances than were men.

Marital status also affected the length of time migrants stayed in the town. Single individuals were more eager to leave Sundsvall. Of course having no children or property to bother about made it a lot easier to move. Spouses might also have smoothed the adjustment to Sundsvall.

Age is a major factor necessary to consider when studying migrants and determining their length of residence. Since Ravenstein presented his results, scholars have found that people on the move are usually young. The importance of linking spatial mobility to individuals' life-course has often proven fruitful to identify the migrants and their reasons for moving.⁷ Table 4.1 shows that the older the migrants were on their arrival, the more likely they were to remain for extended periods. This general pattern is slightly less pronounced for male migrants than for females. This may be because men and women competed in different labor markets.

Table 4.1. Cox regression of the time between the in-migration and departure from Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the migrants' arrival in 1865-1880. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort. N(men)=3,121 & N(women)=3,251.

Covariates Categories of characteristics on arrival	N		B-value		P-value		Relative risk	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sex								
1. Single or associational in-migration (<i>ref: single</i>)	2,331	2,325			<i>0.183</i>	<i>0.767</i>		
Couple (N=2)	205	304	0.145	-0.053	0.186	0.576	1.156	0.948
Family or group (N>2)	585	622	-0.068	-0.054	0.403	0.538	0.934	0.947
2. Previous residence reported (<i>ref: N>1</i>)	260	343						
First time in Sundsvall	2,861	2,908	0.187	0.420	<i>0.049</i>	<i>0.000</i>	1.206	1.523
3. Marital status (<i>ref: unmarried</i>)	1,635	1,633			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
Married	1,091	1,037	-0.475	-0.461	0.000	0.000	0.622	0.630
Widower/widow	89	163	-0.486	-0.559	0.006	0.000	0.615	0.527
Engaged	306	418	-0.991	-0.705	0.000	0.000	0.371	0.494
4. Age group (<i>ref: 15-19</i>)	399	513			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
20-24	765	945	0.137	0.005	0.092	0.946	1.147	1.005
25-29	809	746	0.067	-0.070	0.419	0.354	1.070	0.933
30-34	463	419	-0.049	-0.238	0.612	0.009	0.952	0.788
35-39	304	233	0.029	-0.238	0.786	0.034	1.029	0.788
40-44	172	151	-0.405	-0.480	0.006	0.001	0.667	0.619
45-49	101	99	-0.404	-0.286	0.025	0.090	0.667	0.756
50-	108	145	-0.586	-0.708	0.003	0.000	0.557	0.493
5. Social group (<i>ref: 6a. Unskilled laborers</i>)	995	401			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
1. Large-scale entrepreneurs	16	7	0.049	1.320	0.892	0.002	1.050	3.743
2. Higher civil officials	120	56	-0.077	0.202	0.592	0.354	0.926	1.224
3a. Small-scale entrepreneurs	265	100	-0.286	0.000	0.006	1.000	0.751	1.000
3b. Farmers, tenant farmers	20	38	0.735	0.207	0.010	0.411	2.086	1.230
4. Lower civil officials	282	87	-0.132	0.376	0.168	0.027	0.876	1.457
5. Skilled laborers	1,008	298	0.336	0.535	0.000	0.000	1.400	1.708
6b. Farmhands, <i>pigor</i> (maidservants)	299	1,748	-0.040	0.401	0.671	0.000	0.961	1.493
7. Unspecified	76	405	0.369	0.368	0.012	0.002	1.446	1.445
Unknown	40	111	0.451	0.281	0.020	0.082	1.570	1.324
6. Geographical category (<i>ref: The Sundsvall region</i>)	437	767			<i>0.002</i>	<i>0.001</i>		
The county of Västernorrland outside the region	358	526	0.031	-0.035	0.759	0.641	1.032	0.966
Northern part of northern Sweden (<i>Norra Norrland</i>)	197	334	0.016	-0.163	0.895	0.060	1.016	0.849
Southern part of northern Sweden (<i>Södra Norrland</i>)	358	331	0.294	0.008	0.003	0.927	1.342	1.008
Middle of Sweden (<i>Svealand</i>)	413	279	0.193	0.118	0.044	0.199	1.213	1.125
Stockholm, the capital	493	385	0.140	0.203	0.143	0.017	1.150	1.225
South of Sweden (<i>Götaland</i>)	502	219	0.007	0.128	0.943	0.195	1.007	1.137
Abroad	114	163	-0.062	-0.266	0.683	0.030	0.940	0.766
Unknown	249	247	-0.142	-0.167	0.222	0.105	0.868	0.846

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: P-values in italics refer to the covariate as a whole, not to the specific sub-categories linked to it. Regarding the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years, see the methodological considerations discussed in the next section dealing with social mobility.

Explanations: A positive B-value indicates that the likelihood of leaving the town is higher than for the reference category. Consequently, a negative B-value indicates the opposite. For example, the B-value for marital status shows that every other sub-category under consideration is less likely than the reference category (i.e. those reported as being unmarried on arrival) to leave the town. In other words, married migrants were more likely to stay. The reliability of these B-values depends on the P-value. The lower the P-value, the more reliable the results are. Results when the P-value is above the five-percentage level (0.05) must be considered with some caution. The relative risk gives information on the relationship between the reference group and the comparable category. In the case of marital status, unmarried male migrants are about 38 percent ($1.0 - 0.622 = 0.378$) more likely to leave Sundsvall than are men reported as married on their arrival.

Table 4.1 emphasizes that the type of work individuals performed to pay for their daily bread offers a key to understanding human activity such as migration. Especially men allocated to the middle social strata (groups 3a & 4) were less likely to seek another destination shortly after their arrival than was the reference group of unskilled male laborers. This suggests that they benefited from Sundsvall's economic transformation and commercial development because it created a particular need for their skill and service. Goods, property or networks of customers might have discouraged businessmen from leaving right away. Skilled laborers, however, seem to have had the least reason to stay. This may be because mobile journeymen are included in this social group. This group of skilled laborers were 40 percent more likely to leave Sundsvall than were their unskilled brothers. That unskilled laborers and even farmhands were not the ones most eager to relocate suggests that Sundsvall's labor market and the sawmills situated on the outskirts of the town offered them relatively good opportunities of employment.

The impact of socio-economic status on the duration of women's stay in the town did not exactly parallel the pattern for men. Women in every other social group left Sundsvall more rapidly than those in the reference group of unskilled laborers. Similar to men, women identified as skilled laborers were keenest to leave. Although there were some seamstresses, many of these women belong to this social group because they were married to journeyman, shoemakers, tailors, or those engaged in similar occupations. Presumably their husbands had much to say regarding when they would leave Sundsvall and where they would go. Only the category of small-scale businesswomen was nearly as stationary as the reference group of unskilled laborers. Women in business had similar reasons to stay in Sundsvall as the male tradesman. However, as they had married into this group their husbands might also have determined the duration of their stay. This holds true for most women allocated to the middle and upper social classes.

Despite the increasing occupational opportunities that awaited *pigor* heading for Sundsvall during urban-industrial times, Table 4.1 shows they did not come with the intention of staying for extended periods. They were about 50 percent more likely to leave than unskilled female laborers.⁸ The kind of domestic service they performed was often linked to short-term employment in different households and this often necessitated migration. In addition, this sort of service was generally a temporary stage in a woman's life and not a lifetime occupation. These circumstances had long shaped *pigor's* working conditions and turned them into frequent movers. Although a prosperous labor market made them migrate to Sundsvall, this did not end their past migratory behavior. Social ties that called them back to their home parishes might also explain their short-term residence. Issues linked to the labor market, work and migratory behavior

of *pigor* will be further addressed along the thesis. It must be remembered that Table 4.1 only suggests that *pigor* compared to the few women of other occupational status urged to leave Sundsvall. As previously mentioned, no significant gender differences were identified.

The migrants' geographical background also has a significant impact on how long they stayed in Sundsvall. Again some differences between the genders appear. In particular, men departing from *Södra Norrland* (southern part of northern Sweden) and southward left Sundsvall more rapidly than those from the northern parts of the country and the regional male migrants, i.e. the reference group. Interestingly, moving a long distance did not incline men to stay in the town longer than those who in-migrated from shorter distances. Male immigrants were most eager to stay in the town. Generally, however, men's adjustment to urban Sundsvall did not largely depend on their geographical past.

Women were slightly differently affected by their geographical backgrounds. Similar to male immigrants, females from abroad, i.e. mainly Finland, did not seek an early departure. Women from *Norra Norrland* (northern part of northern Sweden) also stayed in Sundsvall for longer periods than did women from the surrounding region. The opposite was the case for women from Stockholm who generally took to the road again quite quickly. Although not as pronounced, this pattern also characterized that of female migrants who left from the middle or south of Sweden. Perhaps, these women were less satisfied with what Sundsvall offered compared to their counterparts from the surrounding areas and the north of Sweden. The latter had less experience with urban environments because there were not many towns situated in these parts of the country. Hypothetically they had little reason to move back and lacked the social networks found in the south that probably exerted a pull on women from Stockholm and the middle and southern parts of Sweden. These women had seen more of Sweden and had likely other urban centers to compare with Sundsvall. Maybe the availability of alternative destinations enabled women from the south of the country to relocate more quickly than Finnish women and female migrants rooted in the surrounding region, county or northern parts of Sweden.

In short, the multiple analysis of Table 4.1 makes clear that there is no simple or linear correlation between the distance that the migrants traveled and their duration of residence or ability to adjust to Sundsvall. The migrants' occupational characteristics on arrival also did not completely correspond to their inclination to stay in the town. Several other demographic features must be examined including the impact of age and marital status. Having a particular mix of all these characteristics might trigger an early departure from the town. If you were a young, unmarried skilled laborer, seamstress, or shoemaker from Stockholm, you would probably not stay in Sundsvall for very long. Gender alone would have had little impact on the decision to leave. Instead, the duration

of men and women's residence in the town was determined by other characteristics such as their socio-economic status, age, marital status and geographical background.

Beyond the information drawn from the parish registers other factors were of course operating such as invisible social networks that might either have made migrants stay in Sundsvall or move. Nevertheless, by having identified their individual characteristics and linked them to the economic conditions in the town and region, the previous analysis has offered some possible explanations for their migratory behavior. After all, the parish records and the various statistics generated from them say a great deal about the migrants. What their Sundsvall residence brought with it is examined below as knowing this would further contribute to the understanding of their stay and reasons for moving.

4.2. Social mobility and occupational changes

It was outlined in Chapter 1 that scholars present divergent opinions about what would happen to migrants in a new urban environment. The urban-bound flow of people of the past has also inspired several authors to write on the subject. Works of fiction and fact have built upon the themes of individual failure and success. Most scholars strongly reject any of those stereotyped perceptions. Migrants heading for nineteenth-century towns were not urban losers predestined to stay at the bottom of the social ladder or denied the opportunity to move upwards. However, neither was the road wide open for making remarkable careers. Instead, scholars emphasize that social stability characterized most migrants in the nineteenth century despite ongoing economic transformation.⁹

This section investigates whether the Sundsvall migrants in the industrial cohort took advantage of the economic changes by frequently changing occupation and, if so, whether it affected their status. The town experienced industrialization so rapidly there is reason to assume that the socio-economic structure began to open up through the creation of new occupations.¹⁰ Results in the previous chapters have also supported such a suggestion. Nevertheless, it might happen that migrants also went astray among the many streets and alleys of an unfamiliar town.

In addition to describing how the migrants reacted to the macro-level economic transformations that operated on the local-scale in Sundsvall, there is reason to analyze how their individual characteristics enabled them to respond to changing circumstances. Therefore, their social mobility is approached primarily from the micro-level by studying the demographic and geographic fea-

tures of the individual migrants. This allows us to illuminate how gender, age and geographical background determined their chances of making a career. It is first necessary to identify some difficulties with identifying and quantifying the status and social mobility of past individuals from the occupational data provided in parish registers.

Potentials, problems and methodological issues in the analysis of social mobility

Scholars of social mobility have concluded that occupational data is a reliable indicator of an individual's social standing.¹¹ Most people think that the kind of work we perform is important. By providing us with money it contributes at the very least to our well-being and survival. In the nineteenth century one's occupation and the wage associated with it shaped an individual's status and ability to find new employment or a spouse. However, social status is not just something that one achieves through hard work. It is also something given to the individual by the community and one's fellow residents. In past societies status would increase with age and marriage. In the church examination registers the Sundsvall minister occasionally made comments about his parishioners' personal characteristics.¹² This type of information also reflects an individual's status or how church authorities viewed this person.

Occupational changes can result in upward or downward social mobility or social stability. What these occupational changes brought with them in terms of an individual's status has been and will be discussed. Of course upward mobility can be as little equal to success as downward mobility can be equated with failure. The parish registers can show us occupational change but not the actual meaning of it. The major intention here is to reveal what the occupational shifts and the social mobility looked like and not to judge the migrants' career in positive or negative terms. These results can shed light onto their lives and ability to adjust to the urban environment of Sundsvall during a time of large-scale transitions.

In addition to these analytical problems a number of methodological issues are part of studies about social mobility. Inter-generational mobility considers changes in social status between two generations. The method of measuring intra-generational or career mobility is to examine the occupational changes within an individual's lifetime or during periods of it.¹³ In this study occupational data is gathered at two times for each migrant. The first is when the individual arrives in the town and the second is the last notation during a residential period covering a maximum of fifteen years in Sundsvall. Migrants who either lack complete occupational data on arrival or at the last notation usually are not included in this examination.¹⁴ Again, it should be remembered that the occupation of women without any reported occupation of their own are identified by that of their husbands or fathers.

Only changes that showed mobility between different social groups are considered. However, horizontal mobility that might have involved changes in salary and status probably occurred within each social group or profession.¹⁵ The frequency and quality of such changes cannot be explored in the parish registers.

The system of social classification used has a large impact on identifying status change and the direction of it. First, changes occurring within one social group can be masked by the method of categorization. Second, the hierarchical position of the social groups determines whether occupational changes are defined upwards or downwards. Third, the career change could be more or less pronounced as social mobility can cover one single step or several steps along the social ladder. The change of status is likely more significant when farmhands or maids managed to find positions as clerks or teachers rather than unskilled laborers. Regardless of their being different in nature these occupational changes would imply upward mobility according to the social classification. Therefore, it has been necessary to modify the number of social categories by combining the two lowest social groups (6a & 6b) to recognize better the type of social mobility. The possible differences in status were likely very limited although a change of occupation change took place. For similar reasons the two uppermost social groups in the original classification have been merged. In addition, few migrants belonged to those groups.¹⁶ Following, occupational changes that produced movement from one modified social group to another are evidence of social mobility. Changes from the original social classification are labeled changes by social group.¹⁷

Scholars have developed various strategies to study social mobility. Total mobility estimates the number of individuals changing status as a percentage of the total number of individuals. Such rates are first employed on the Sundsvall migrants. Relative mobility, also called social fluidity, considers the number of individuals in a certain class/social group who change their status as a percentage of the total number of individuals in that class/group.¹⁸ The results of such measurements are below discussed.

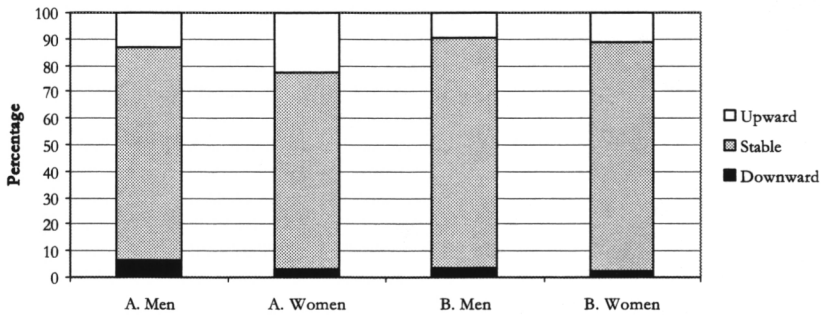
Occupational changes by social group and evidence of social mobility

Figure 4.2 displays the total mobility of migrants who arrived in Sundsvall during industrialization using the two methods of measuring occupational changes. What first appears is the pronounced social stability. Second, the two different classifications used to separate social group changes from social mobility show different percentages of migrants who move upwards or downwards. According to the modified social classification migrants, and especially men, remained more stable than the original classification suggest. This indicates that the changes were rather modest and occurred between social groups immedi-

ately next to one another. Third, women experienced upward mobility more frequently than did men. The latter went slightly more often in the opposite direction.

The different gender distribution by social groups has somewhat affected the findings. Women migrants, of who most were identified as *pigor* on their arrival, were at the bottom of the social hierarchy and could not go further downwards. Having this low starting point meant that a marriage often implied upward mobility for women as they achieved the status of their husband.¹⁹ Men's status was less affected by marriages. In addition, since their occupations were more varied and to a larger extent allocated to higher social strata they run a larger risk of experiencing downward social mobility.

Figure 4.2. Changes in social mobility and by social groups during the stay in Sundsvall. Social group on arrival compared to that reported on the migrants' departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after the arrival. Only migrants with an occupation reported at both times of measurement are included. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Only migrants with an occupation reported on their arrival and with a last available notation are included. The original number of migrants in the industrial cohort has been reduced from 6,372 to 5,437 individuals. Men (N=2,946) & Women (N=2,491). Cf. Figures 3.1 and 3.5.

Explanations: Column A refers to occupational changes according to the basic social classification. Column B refers to social mobility changes according to the modified social classification.

A. Original social classification

(concerning social group changes)

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises
2. Higher civil officials
- 3a. Small-scale business entrepreneurs in trade and industry
- 3b. Farmers, tenant farmers
4. Lower civil officials
5. Skilled professional laborers
- 6a. Unskilled workers in industry and urban commerce
- 6b. Farmhands, *pigor* (maidservants)

B. Modified social classification

(concerning social mobility changes)

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises & higher civil officials (1 & 2)
2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers (3a & 3b)
3. Lower civil officials (4)
4. Skilled professional laborers (5)
5. Unskilled workers, farmhands & *pigor* (maidservants) (6a & 6b)

The results shown in Figure 4.2 reveal that migrants had little chance of improving their social status in Sundsvall. Regardless of their gender, only about every tenth migrant experienced upward social mobility ('B-bars'). This lends credence to the works of scholars who suggest that low social mobility characterized nineteenth-century society despite the large-scale demographic and economic transformations it witnessed. Of course the period of observation is truncated because many migrants left Sundsvall. This reduced the time they had to make a career resulting in social mobility.

By analyzing the intra-generational mobility of young male migrants in Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century, Hans Norman discovers that almost every second man changed his status and usually moved upwards.²⁰ Social status among migrants to Sundsvall was far more stationary as only about 15 percent of them went either upwards or downwards. This proportion parallels the career mobility of men living in late nineteenth-century Eindhoven. Henk van Dijk et. al. discover a proportion consisting of 14 percent.²¹ However, scholars' findings of social mobility vary widely depending on the means of measuring it. Studies investigating career mobility are more infrequent and generally display lower figures.²²

Unfortunately, and as Katherine A. Lynch argues, "studies of mobility are notorious for their exclusion of women".²³ It is difficult to find accurate data and comprehensive studies about women's social and occupational mobility. In their analysis about young migrants in late nineteenth-century Sweden, Kronborg & Nilsson find that women were nearly twice as likely as men to experience social mobility (46.5 versus 24.5 percent). This was because *pigor* married men of higher social status.²⁴ Marriages have also contributed to the higher percentages of women migrants in Sundsvall. Although the service sector increased with the growth of commerce and administration the choice of jobs for women in Sundsvall was restricted to the domestic field. A change of employment in this sector seldom implied upward social mobility.

Scholars utilize different data, employ different social categorizations and methods, and examine different individuals, making every comparison between this and other studies of social mobility hazardous. Nevertheless, scholars usually show an increase in movement from one social group to another and attribute this to industrialization and the occupational opportunities associated with it. Even though such circumstances also prevailed in Sundsvall there is little doubt that few migrants experienced social mobility but those who did usually went upwards. This trend is confirmed by the social group changes in Figure 4.2 ('A-bars'). These results hardly indicate that the average Sundsvall migrant was incapable of coping with his or her new setting.

The overall pattern of social mobility shown in Figure 4.2 tells us little about the migrants who were most likely to improve their social standing. It does not, for example examine their age, geographical background, or marital and socio-economic status. These all may have contributed to the likelihood that certain migrants would achieve social mobility and are discussed below.

The role of different characteristics upon migrants' social mobility

On the next page Table 4.2 considers the above issues by examining the modified social classification. The few migrants belonging to the top strata are not included in the multiple statistical analyses as they could not move upward.

As was the case regarding the migrants' duration of residency, gender did not prove to determine upward mobility to any significant degree.²⁵ Different characteristics affected male and female migrants differently and they are treated separately in the regression model.

As expected, the amount of time migrants spent in Sundsvall was of vital importance if they wished to move up the social ladder. Extended stays increased the possibilities of changing occupations that also brought different social status. Short-term stays particularly impeded women's chances of achieving higher status.

Having experienced Sundsvall prior to their arrival between 1865-1880 did not affect migrant's upward mobility to any significant degree. There is some indication that returning migrants or those born in the town were more likely to move upwards. Maybe this was because they were more familiar with Sundsvall's urban labor market and this may have helped their career.

Marriage was one way women could achieve a higher social status. Single women were extremely unlikely to achieve higher social positions but married women were about 3.5 times more likely to move upwards. This is due to the career of their husbands to whom wives are linked. It is possible though that wives through various work contributed to their husbands' career. Marital status had little impact on the upward mobility of men. There is some indication that the careers of engaged men were stimulated by the marriage they were about to contract.

Similar to migration, age was a powerful determinant of social mobility. The lower the age of the migrant on arrival, the more likely he or she was to move upwards on the social ladder. This was largely the predictable result of the average migrant's life-course. At the beginning of their careers youths generally lacked the skill or education to claim professions that would bring high social status. With increased age and working experience the number of opportunities to take up more qualified employment grew.

Table 4.2. Logistic regression of upward mobility. Only migrants below the first social group with an occupation reported on arrival and with a last available notation are considered. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort. N(men)=2,815 & N(women)=2,437.

Covariates Categories of characteristics on arrival	N		B-value		P-value		Relative risk	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sex								
1. Time in the town (ref: > 9 years)	1,233	1,050			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
< 2 years	428	388	-1.781	-2.720	0.000	0.000	0.169	0.066
2-4 years	649	556	-1.011	-1.660	0.000	0.000	0.364	0.190
5-9 years	505	443	-0.252	-0.839	0.136	0.000	0.778	0.432
2. Previous residence reported (ref: N>1)	2,591	2,218						
First time in Sundsvall	224	219	-0.348	-0.379	<i>0.143</i>	<i>0.115</i>	0.706	0.685
3. Marital status (ref: unmarried)	1,445	1,270			<i>0.129</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
Married	996	802	0.102	1.268	0.553	0.000	1.107	3.554
Widowes/widow	83	63	-0.925	0.904	0.216	0.093	0.397	2.469
Engaged	291	302	0.372	1.863	0.052	0.000	1.451	6.441
4. Age group (ref: 15-19)	323	397			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
20-24	716	739	-0.728	-0.268	0.000	0.182	0.483	0.765
25-29	757	577	-1.057	-0.855	0.000	0.000	0.348	0.425
30-34	419	307	-1.499	-1.513	0.000	0.000	0.223	0.220
35-39	265	162	-1.411	-1.675	0.000	0.000	0.244	0.187
40-44	155	107	-1.638	-1.492	0.000	0.000	0.194	0.225
45-49	87	67	-6.990	-1.903	0.262	0.003	0.001	0.149
50-	93	81	-2.113	-7.163	0.001	0.254	0.121	0.001
5. Modified social group (ref: 5. Unskilled laborers)	1,277	1,965			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers	279	117	-1.800	-2.023	0.000	0.000	0.166	0.132
3. Lower civil officials	279	77	-0.163	-0.679	0.418	0.120	0.850	0.507
4. Skilled professional laborers	980	278	-0.940	-0.825	0.000	0.002	0.391	0.438
6. Geographical category (ref: The Sundsvall region)	407	630			<i>0.133</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
The county of Västernorrland outside the region	328	411	-0.294	-0.095	0.264	0.688	0.745	0.909
Northern part of northern Sweden (Norra Norrland)	177	279	-0.083	0.361	0.787	0.144	0.920	1.434
Southern part of northern Sweden (Södra Norrland)	330	243	-0.160	0.346	0.558	0.216	0.852	1.413
Mid of Sweden (Svealand)	365	198	0.070	0.907	0.778	0.001	1.072	2.477
Stockholm, the capital	430	224	0.428	1.274	0.076	0.000	1.534	3.574
South of Sweden (Götaland)	455	141	-0.015	0.765	0.951	0.016	0.985	2.150
Abroad	105	130	-0.638	-0.387	0.125	0.267	0.529	0.679
Unknown	218	181	0.202	0.268	0.450	0.351	1.224	1.308

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: P-values in italics refer to the covariate as a whole, not to the specific sub-categories linked to it. Regarding the last available notation during the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years, see the methodological considerations discussed above.

Explanation: Cf. Table 4.1.

Modified social classification (Figures in brackets refer to social groups in the original classification)

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises & higher civil officials (1 & 2)
2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers (3a & 3b)
3. Lower civil officials (4)
4. Skilled professional laborers (5)
5. Unskilled workers, farmhands & *pigor* (maid servants) (6a & 6b)

Those allocated to the reference group consisting of unskilled laborers were most able to rise in the social hierarchy. Many of these migrants were also young when they arrived and probably did not come with the intention of staying as apprentices, farmhands or *pigor* for the rest of their lives. If the latter married they usually stopped performing domestic duties in other households.²⁶ An ur-

ban or industrial labor market could offer a variety of occupations that were impossible to perform in the agricultural environments from which many migrants came. By entering an urban context such as Sundsvall, farmhands, for example, simply had to change occupation. Nevertheless, these results indicate that the migrants allocated to the lower social strata were not likely to stay there. They were, in fact, the ones most likely to move upwards.²⁷

To this it must be added that the motivation to move higher up the social hierarchy probably decreased if arriving migrants had already reached rather high occupations. Table 4.2 supports such a suggestion. There are, however, indications of some differences between the social groups in the middle social strata. Lower civil officials (group 3) were more inclined to move upwards than migrants placed both below and above them, i.e. skilled laborers (group 4) and small-scale businessmen (group 2). Many of the new occupations at the time were found in the category of lower civil officials such as bookkeepers, clerks, policemen, postmen, cashiers, telegraphers and teachers. Compared to the more traditional and restricted group of skilled laborers such as journeymen, carpenters and shoemakers, the category of lower civil officials was more open. Maybe those who belonged to it were endowed with skills and education that favored upward mobility in a town that underwent rapid industrial change. Whatever the case, it looks as if the low white- and low blue-collar migrants were those most able to take advantage of the relatively accessible occupational structure in Sundsvall.

The correlation between migrants' upward mobility and their geographical background is more evident among women but both genders who had lived in Stockholm were likely to move upward in the social hierarchy.²⁸ Women who had left the capital were about 3.6 times as likely to move upwards as the reference group of regional migrants. These women from Stockholm seldom achieved higher status by themselves. Instead their apparent social mobility was the result of marriages to men of higher social status. It appears that having experienced a city environment prior to their arrival in Sundsvall made it likely they could achieve upward mobility or the chance of marrying upwards in the town. Women who left the south or middle of Sweden display a similar upward pattern. Except for those from Stockholm, men's geographical background had little impact upon their upward mobility. However, there is some indication that men and women from abroad were least likely to move upwards. Perhaps immigrants were slightly handicapped by their foreign background and faced some problems with adapting to the town although it was previously shown they resided longer than most other migrants in Sundsvall (cf. Table 4.1).²⁹

Micro-level perspectives can shed light onto patterns of social mobility because, depending upon their demographic characteristics, migrants responded differently to the occupational opportunities a changing town such as Sundsvall offered. Not all individuals experienced the general pattern of socio-spatial mobility in the same way. Similar to spatial mobility, Table 4.2 reveals a selectivity that suggests which individuals would be most likely to achieve upward mobility. The study of social mobility must also carefully analyze the individuals who made these vertical movements to understand changes in status and grasp why they did or did not occur. Of course the context and the socio-economic factors operating within it must be considered but they alone, or the openness associated with them, cannot explain increasing or decreasing rates of social mobility.

Whether migrants or natives were most able to benefit from this openness is delineated below. Thereafter, there is reason to study between which occupational social groups social mobility occurred. Figure 4.2 just displayed the percentages of migrants' social mobility whereas Table 4.2 suggested which migrants went upward, but the vertical movements must be further explored.

Social mobility of migrants and natives in Sundsvall

Scholars have discussed whether migrants were primarily responsible for patterns of social mobility. There tends to be a correlation between spatial and social mobility. Similar to students of migration in Sweden, Moch and Sewell discover that migrants to French towns generally moved up the social ladder to a larger degree than the natives.³⁰ These results are interesting because being born and raised in one place ought to have ensured success due to well-established social networks and a solid knowledge of the local labor markets.

In light of this discovery scholars sometimes assume that migrants are more ambitious than natives or long-time residents. Table 4.2 cannot say whether this was the case in Sundsvall as only migrants are studied. It does show that young migrants and those allocated to the lower social strata on their arrival were most likely to have experienced upward social mobility during their stay. Nonetheless, to assume these migrants were particularly ambitious would be risky. When applying a life-course perspective it is natural to find that it was the young adults who were most likely to move upwards as their young age and lack of occupational skill automatically allocated them to the lower social strata. It was precisely this type of individuals that characterized most migrants. It is hardly surprising that a correlation between spatial and social mobility is usually found but this says little about people's ambition or their character. One must also remember that occupational data about migrants was updated more often because they frequently changed residences unlike permanent inhabitants. This might give a false impression of the former having been particularly successful.

A few comparative surveys that control for age nevertheless show that the Sundsvall migrants were more inclined to achieve upward mobility than were their native compatriots during urban-industrial times.³¹ For example, 22 percent of male migrants experienced upwards career change whereas this only happened to 16 percent of men born in Sundsvall.³² The likelihood of greater access to social networks and better knowledge of the local urban labor market does not seem to have favored the social mobility of natives. It was shown, however, that native men generally held occupations of relatively high social status, which may have reduced their incentive to take steps leading upwards. Downward mobility seldom occurred but was slightly more often evident among migrants.³³

As elsewhere at the time, women in Sundsvall, be they migrants or not, usually needed a man to move up the social ladder. Parish records indicate that if they did not marry they were extremely unlikely to experience upward mobility. Female migrants to Sundsvall managed to a larger degree than native women to achieve higher social status through marriage. Most of these women were *pigor* when they entered the town and this primarily explains why they improved their social status. Occupational data for women born in Sundsvall is often missing or they were identified as titled women. This makes it difficult to determine their career mobility because we cannot know whether they worked occasionally or were entirely dependent upon brothers or fathers. Having no occupation reported suggest these women did not need to work and enjoyed the status of the male relatives who supported them. Such factors might explain why every fifth woman born in Sundsvall attracted a man from the upper social strata. This happened to none of the female migrants who nevertheless married into the middle social strata more often than natives. However, the vast majority of migrants and natives married skilled and unskilled laborers. Forty three percent of native women and 49 percent of the migrants married laborers.³⁴

The above results reveal the complexity of comparing the social mobility of migrants with permanent residents. In contrast to migrants who usually began their career from the very bottom of the social hierarchy as rural *pigor* and farmhands, the occupations of natives were often found in higher social groups, partly because they had long experience of a more open urban labor market. Migrants from the countryside who entered towns had to change to other types of occupations and these transformations are often interpreted as upward movements in social mobility analyses.

To further illuminate patterns of social mobility it is necessary to identify some of the quality of these changes and not only quantify them. In addition to studying the individuals who experienced social mobility, the type of occupa-

tional changes they undertook is below considered. The findings are also illustrated by some of the individual migrants who were introduced in the previous chapter.

The migrants' occupational changes by gender and social group

This section shifts attention away from general levels of total mobility to the relative mobility of the migrants by analyzing their occupational standing on arrival and at departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after their arrival.³⁵ The original social classification is utilized to capture as much of the occupational changes that migrants experienced as possible. Table 4.3 and 4.4 show the social groups that exchanged migrants or remained stable over time.

Table 4.3. Changes in social group among male migrants. Social group on arrival compared to that reported on the migrants' departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after their arrival in Sundsvall. Only male migrants with an occupation reported at both times of measurement are included.

Social groups	Occupational changes over time (percentage of change within each social group)								Total (departure/end)	
	1	2	3a	3b	4	5	6a	6b	N	(%) of all
1. Large-scale...	71.4	1.7	0.8	-	1.1	-	0.1	-	18	0.6
2. Higher civil...	-	90.6	2.3	-	3.9	0.5	0.1	0.7	131	4.4
3a. Small-scale...	-	1.7	88.5	-	9.0	2.8	1.9	2.7	313	10.6
3b. Farmers...	-	-	-	100	-	0.1	0.3	0.7	23	0.8
4. Lower civil...	7.1	5.1	3.4	-	88.6	2.9	2.4	2.4	300	10.2
5. Skilled laborers	21.4	0.9	3.8	-	3.2	89.1	10.3	4.4	1010	34.3
6a. Unskilled...	-	-	1.1	-	2.2	4.7	83.1	29.1	956	32.5
6b. Farmhands...	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.7	88.1	195	10.0
Total (arrival) %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	(100)	100
(N)	(14)	(117)	(262)	(17)	(279)	(980)	(981)	(296)	2946	2946
Of all social groups (%)	0.5	4.0	8.9	0.6	9.5	33.3	33.3	10.0	2946	100

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Highlighted cells display the percentage of social stability over time for the social group under consideration. Figures presented in the same column but above these cells show the percentage of migrants in this category that moved upwards. Similarly, figures below the cells showing social persistence display the percentage who went downwards. Figures in italics are based on the socio-economic changes of all male/female migrants. The horizontal percentages identify the occupational standing on arrival and the vertical figures show the occupational standing at the end of the longitudinal study.

Explanation:

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises

2. Higher civil officials

3a. Small-scale business entrepreneurs
in trade and industry

3b. Farmers, tenant farmers

4. Lower civil officials

5. Skilled professional laborers

6a. Unskilled workers in industry and
urban commerce

6b. Farmhands, pigor (maidservants)

In contrast to the total mobility displayed by the columns in Figure 4.2 the male migrants now appear to have been more inclined to change their social group. The large number of *pigor* (group 6b) explains the high percentage of female migrants' total mobility. They were 1,604 *pigor* and about every third one turns up later in other social categories particularly in that of unskilled laborers (group 6a). About ten percent of these women are identified as skilled laborers (group 5). Usually a marriage caused these occupational changes. The 22-year old maid Sigri Backlund, who left the neighboring parish Selånger in 1865 to move to Sundsvall was one woman who achieved higher social status through marriage. In June 1873 she married the shoemaker Nils Olsson. Similar to his wife, he had a regional background.

Table 4.4. Changes in social group among women migrants. Social group on arrival compared to that reported on the migrants' departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after their arrival in Sundsvall. Only female migrants with an occupation reported at both times of measurement are included.

Social groups	Occupational changes over time (percentage of change within each social group)								Total (departure/end)	
	1	2	3a	3b	4	5	6a	6b	N	(%) of all
1. Large-scale...	0.0	2.0	1.2	3.0	1.3	-	-	-	8	0.3
2. Higher civil...	-	2.9	2.4	-	1.3	0.4	0.6	0.1	54	2.2
3a. Small-scale...	-	-	88.1	3.0	6.5	5.0	2.2	1.5	126	5.1
3b. Farmness...	-	-	-	63.6	-	-	0.3	0.2	26	1.0
4. Lower civil...	-	2.0	2.4	3.0	30.5	2.2	0.3	2.3	110	4.4
5. Skilled laborers	20.0	-	3.6	3.0	2.6	83.1	7.2	9.0	408	16.4
6a. Unskilled...	-	-	2.4	15.2	7.8	7.9	86.1	17.2	622	25.0
6b. Farmhands, pigor	-	-	-	9.1	-	1.4	3.3	87.7	1137	45.6
Total (arrival) %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1137	(100)
(N)	(5)	(49)	(84)	(33)	(77)	(278)	(361)	(1604)	2491	2491
Of all social groups (%)	0.2	2.0	3.4	1.3	3.1	11.2	14.5	64.4	2491	100

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 4.3.

Unlike most *pigor*, the 39-year old Kristina Hansdotter from Dorotea (Västerbotten's county) stayed in Sundsvall for many years (until 1891) but never changed her occupation. In the latter respect she represented the majority of *pigor*. In April 1878 she arrived in Sundsvall with her illegitimate daughter Olivia to whom she had just given birth. However, Olivia died in September the same year and Kristina did not have to consider the familiar issue of how to combine work and motherhood for such a long time.

Some *pigor* were able to change their social group without marrying. Maria Forsslund, the 22-year old *piga* who left Skön parish just outside Sundsvall in 1873 was one of them. Upon her departure she would frequently change her residence by settling in towns such as Sala and Uppsala in the middle of Sweden

and Stockholm. In 1884 she showed up for her third and last time in Sundsvall with her illegitimate child. Maybe she expected some help from her mother and some siblings who were still living in Skön. This time she was identified as a housekeeper and held her position until the end of the registration. Hence, Maria was one of the *pigor* who later appeared in the category of unskilled laborers. Although she moved upwards because of her housekeeper-occupation, it is difficult to assess her mobility. Simply the fact that Maria obtained a more infrequently used and specialized title suggests she differed from other *pigor*.³⁶

Even though every third *piga* improved her occupational standing, the upward trend of male farmhands (group 6b) is even more pronounced. Although not as numerous as women in this group, 40 percent of these men moved upwards. However, the improvement was very marginal as most only rose one step to the level of unskilled laborers. Nikolaus Svensson from Kläckeberga (Kalmar county) who we met earlier experienced a typical pattern of occupational change. On his arrival in Sundsvall in 1874 he is reported as being a 25-year old farmhand. In 1880, when his wife gives birth to their third son, he is identified as an unskilled laborer. This was still the case in 1882 when he and his family moved to Selånger.³⁷

Many male migrants who were recognized as unskilled laborers (group 6a) upon arrival were not as fortunate as Nikolaus Svensson and other men belonging to the lowest social group and failed to change jobs that would result in a higher social group. It appears to have been easier to move from group 6b to group 6a than from group 6a to group 5. Only about ten percent of the male workers went from being unskilled to skilled laborers. A few men managed to reach the uppermost level. One of them was the migrant Daniel Åkerblad who had been born in Sundsvall in 1845. Upon his return from Stockholm in 1879, this 34-year old shop servant (*handelsbetjänt*) began an amazing career. In 1883 he became a clerk (*kontorist*) and only eight years later he was a ship-owner (*skeppsredare*). How was this possible? Perhaps his father, a lieutenant and ship pilot (*lots*), supported Åkerblad with money and contacts that stimulated his career. Having fathers belonging to the middle- or upper-classes probably increased the odds of achieving such successful careers compared to sons of skilled or unskilled laborers.³⁸ It is also possible that his residence in Stockholm between 1865-1879 supplied him with the capital or networks that facilitated his remarkable career in Sundsvall.³⁹

The percentages of relative mobility shown in Table 4.3 and 4.4 decrease with increasing rank of the migrant's social group upon arrival. Not even every tenth skilled male laborer (group 5) claimed occupations in higher social groups. The women fared even less well. By keeping his position as a journeyman, Carl Edlund and his wife Matilda and family who left Stockholm in 1874 exemplified this pattern of stability. The short duration of residence that characterized

most skilled workers partially explains their lack of social stability. Many of them simply did not stay long enough to change occupations. Carl Edlund remained for at least six years in Sundsvall without changing his occupation according to the parish registers.

Extended periods of residence was precisely what characterized small-scale businessmen (group 3a). Regardless of gender, nine out of ten people in this group stayed there. For example, the 30-year old Maria Bruse who left the town of Hedemora (Kopparberg's county) in 1875 continued her business until 1882. This also held true for Johan Hillerström, the Sundsvall born tradesman and son of a tanner, who returned from Östersund (Jämtland's county) in 1874 in the company of his wife Margareta. From his arrival until he died in 1883 he retained the same occupation.

The occupational stability of the middle social strata identified in Table 4.3 and 4.4 is illustrated by the bookkeeper Peter Calissendorff from the town of Visby (Gotland's county). Even though he resided in Sundsvall for fourteen years he never changed his status. In December 1882 and at the age of 31, he married the 29-year old Hedda Meyer in Stockholm. In March 1883, she left the capital and moved to Sundsvall where three children were born.

The percentages of downward social movement increase the higher the migrants' social category upon arrival. Women migrants who belonged to the social group of farmers (group 3b) display a particularly high downward trend. This is explained by their status being determined by their relationship to their husbands or fathers. These women were usually daughters of farmers or tradesmen and took up employment during their stay in the town as seamstresses or *pigor* while others married laborers. In these cases downward mobility was the result.

In conclusion, Table 4.3 and 4.4 suggest that the lower the migrant's social group on arrival, the lower the likelihood of social status persistence and the higher the upward mobility. At first glance the social mobility of 30 percent among *pigor* and 40 percent among farmhands suggests that these groups benefited greatly from the expanding labor market in Sundsvall. However, as most of these women and men only moved one step up the social ladder their occupational mobility must be regarded as rather marginal. It was neither dramatic nor sudden. Nevertheless, the migrants cannot be considered as having a monopoly on the lowest positions in the social hierarchy because their occupational possibilities were far from blocked. During the time migrants spent in Sundsvall they entered into new positions in terms of occupation or even status by taking up employment different from that upon arrival. On the one hand, these findings were explained by a time and town characterized by a large-scale economic transformation and the occupational openness that followed in its footsteps. On the other hand, a look at the migrants involved in these occupational changes,

helps explain why some experienced social mobility and what this mobility looked like. Both the structural and individual perspectives are needed to explore occupational changes.

4.3. Marriage and mortality

This section briefly examines demographic events such as marriage and death as these can shed further light onto the life-course of migrants in Sundsvall. To some extent migrants' marriages have already been discussed as marital status proved to affect migratory behavior and women's socio-economic status and social mobility. Marriage tends to reduce an individual's inclination to relocate and also serves as an indicator of their stability in the new setting. Therefore, there is reason to consider what types of migrants were most likely to marry in Sundsvall.

Analyzing the migrants' mortality would provide clues about how well they coped with or adjusted to their urban environment in Sundsvall. Maybe migrants endowed with certain demographic, geographic or socio-economic characteristics could better handle their situation than those lacking some of these attributes. It is also interesting to study whether gender influenced marital behavior or mortality. Again statistical analyses are employed on the industrial cohort to give some answers to these questions. For methodological reasons related to the multiple analyses, the modified social classification is employed in the following study of migrants in the industrial cohort.

Marriage among migrants with different characteristics

So far this study has shown that gender sometimes influenced the migrants' life-course. However, other characteristics often had a larger impact and this was also the case regarding their inclination to marry in Sundsvall. It has also been shown that different demographic characteristics affected the life-course of men and women to various degrees. Therefore, men and women are treated separately in Table 4.5. In total about 13.5 percent of male and female migrants married i.e. 426 men and 444 women. There are indications that women were slightly more unlikely than men to marry in the town.⁴⁰ This trend is interesting as there were many lone men to choose from in Sundsvall. This issue is thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.

Table 4.5. Cox regression of the time between in-migration and marrying in Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the migrants' arrival in 1865-80. Only migrants reported as unmarried on arrival are considered. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort. N(men)=2,030 & N(women)=2,214.

Covariates								
Categories of characteristics on arrival	N		B-value		P-value		Relative risk	
Sex	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1. Marital status (ref: <i>unmarried</i>)	1,635	1,633			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
Widower/widow	89	163	-0.762	-2.731	0.154	0.008	0.467	0.065
Engaged	306	418	2.188	2.394	0.000	0.000	8.917	10.955
2. Age group (ref: <i>15-19</i>)	393	466			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.007</i>		
20-24	632	743	0.503	-0.059	0.002	0.647	1.654	0.943
25-29	509	448	0.595	-0.021	0.000	0.885	1.814	0.979
30-34	223	230	0.216	-0.493	0.303	0.013	1.241	0.611
35-39	128	118	-0.434	-0.783	0.168	0.007	0.648	0.457
40-44	65	73	-1.916	-0.990	0.008	0.034	0.147	0.371
45-49	34	51	-1.444	-11.324	0.153	0.900	0.236	0.000
50-	46	85	-0.189	-1.754	0.731	0.083	0.828	0.173
3. Modified social group (ref: <i>5. Unskilled laborers</i>)	807	1,643			<i>0.513</i>	<i>0.358</i>		
1. Large-scale entrepreneurs & higher civil officials	64	14	0.152	1.473	0.618	0.153	1.164	4.363
2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers	152	37	-0.120	0.028	0.556	0.938	0.887	1.029
3. Lower civil officials	190	22	0.122	-1.119	0.437	0.266	1.130	0.327
4. Skilled professional laborers	710	97	0.209	0.040	0.079	0.857	1.233	1.041
Unspecified	71	312	-0.331	-0.218	0.471	0.136	0.719	0.804
Unknown	36	89	0.177	-0.341	0.819	0.272	1.125	0.711
4. Geographical category (ref: <i>The Sundsvall region</i>)	223	520			<i>0.084</i>	<i>0.001</i>		
The county of Västernorrland outside the region	211	374	-0.427	-0.163	0.052	0.286	0.653	0.850
Northern part of northern Sweden (<i>Norra Norrland</i>)	134	263	0.289	-0.088	0.214	0.595	1.334	0.915
Southern part of northern Sweden (<i>Södra Norrland</i>)	239	216	-0.361	-0.157	0.091	0.423	0.697	0.855
Middle of Sweden (<i>Svealand</i>)	292	183	-0.145	0.467	0.439	0.034	0.865	1.596
Stockholm, the capital	338	263	-0.274	0.590	0.147	0.002	0.760	1.804
South of Sweden (<i>Götaland</i>)	382	134	-0.274	0.319	0.106	0.147	0.760	1.375
Abroad	59	95	-0.282	0.464	0.378	0.023	0.754	1.590
Unknown	152	166	-0.414	0.188	0.070	0.335	0.661	1.207

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: P-values in italics refer to the covariate as a whole, not to the specific sub-categories of it.

Explanation: See Table 4.1 and 4.2.

As anticipated, the migrants' age on arrival determines whether they would marry in the town. Men aged 20-29 on arrival were far more likely to marry than other male migrants. Women migrants do not completely echo this pattern. For those aged 15-29 the likelihood of marrying were quite similar. The age group 30-34 marks a turning point. Women between 30-39 were 35-40 percent less likely to marry than those of younger age groups. A similar turning point occurred for men when they reached 35-39 years of age. This might be because men generally married later in life than did women.⁴¹ Chapter 5 investigates migrants' age at marriage and how they chose to contract their spouses.

The migrants' social group upon arrival did not significantly affect whether they would marry in the town. However, the geographical background of the migrants seems to have influenced the marital behavior of the genders differ-

ently. It was of minor importance for men but compared to those from the region, those from Västernorrland's county were significantly less likely to experience a Sundsvall wedding.

Women who left from the middle of Sweden and especially Stockholm were about 60-80 percent as likely to find spouses in Sundsvall than the reference group of regional female migrants. Demoiselle Constantia Rundqvist from Björsäter in the county of Östergötland was one such woman. She married the sailor and engineman Johan Tjernberg shortly after her arrival in 1869. Although marriage so soon after arrival was not typical for migrants, her decision to do so in Sundsvall was at least representative of other women from the southern parts of Sweden who moved to the town. This indicates that a spouse and possibly other social networks awaited women who moved from remote places. This might also explain why women from the south or middle of Sweden came to the decision to challenge such long distances.

Perhaps access to networks and a potential spouse also explains the immigration of Finnish women. They were approximately as likely to experience a wedding in Sundsvall as were female migrants from the capital or the middle or south of Sweden. The Finnish *piga* Maja Norrback was one immigrant who married in Sundsvall. She was only 17 years old on her arrival in 1865 and probably had no great desire to marry but ten years later she had changed her mind. By waiting so long for contracting a spouse she was atypical for other female immigrants but like most other *pigor* Maja married an unskilled worker.

Neither challenging a long distance nor a marriage in the town ensured that women would settle permanently in Sundsvall. Foreigners were the ones least eager to leave Sundsvall and their many marriages likely contributed to their resistance to leave. However, a marriage did not have a similar impact on women from the south or middle of Sweden, especially not among those from Stockholm. We should remember that they were among those most eager to move yet again after reaching Sundsvall. It is evident that individuals might not always behave as expected. A long distance plus a marriage would usually guarantee a long-term settlement at the new destination.

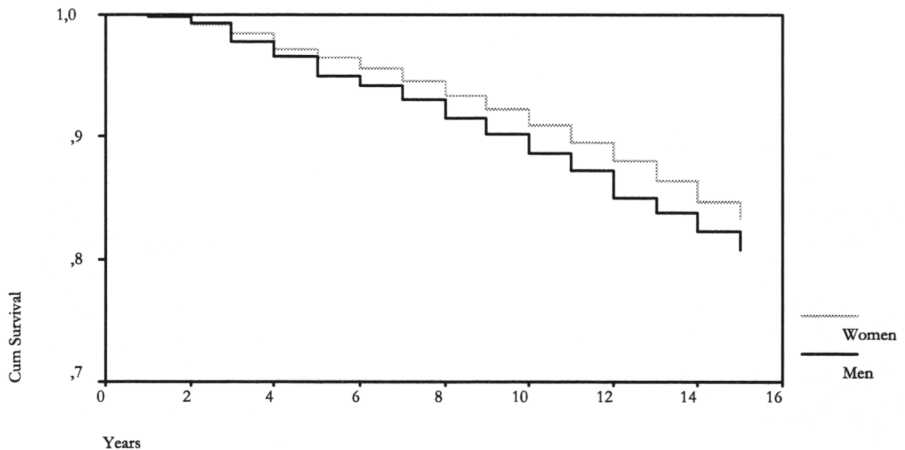
Gendered mortality patterns

Urban areas and industrial districts in the nineteenth century were known for being dirty and unhealthy places. In contrast to the countryside the survival chances in these areas were markedly worse. Individuals heading for towns exposed themselves to what is sometimes called the urban penalty.⁴² By moving to the city to better their standard of living, migrants actually ran higher risks of experiencing an untimely death. Indeed, nineteenth-century towns appear as para-

doxes. However, migrants to Sundsvall experienced better survival chances than did the natives. Edvinsson argues having the background in the countryside helped improve migrants' life expectancy in towns.⁴³

Studies reveal that the urban penalty was also operating in the smaller nineteenth-century towns of Sweden including Sundsvall.⁴⁴ These studies also show that women could expect to live longer than men. Men's life-style, not least their abuse of alcohol, and the harsh working conditions in towns and industrial areas are used to explain their lower survival rates. Did the migrants bound for Sundsvall during urban-industrial times show this gendered mortality pattern?

Figure 4.3. Life table of the time between migrants' in-migration and death. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort. N(men)=3,121 & N(women)=3,251.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Almost every tenth migrant in the industrial cohort died in the town during the longitudinal study covered here.⁴⁵ Figure 4.3 displays that the urban penalty primarily affected male migrants in terms of a lower life expectancy compared to women. Men were 27 percent more likely to experience an early death in Sundsvall. This figure is slightly higher than the average mortality rate in Sundsvall at the time.⁴⁶ In other words, the migrants exemplify the gendered mortality pattern discussed above.

In addition to gender, age of course affected the migrants' risk of dying in Sundsvall. The social group to which the migrants belonged upon arrival and their geographical background had only a minor impact.⁴⁷ Those engaged in the small-scale business sector faced the best survival chances.

In other words, women migrants tended to be better prepared for an urban life and all it implied. Compared to male migrants they were more often rooted in the countryside, and this might have increased their life expectancy in Sundsvall. The gender-segregated labor market that meant that men and women held different occupations and faced different working conditions likely contributed to their longer lives. There is also reason to emphasize the impact of gendered life-styles on mortality patterns. Women were not expected to spend their time in public spaces or local taverns. They were supposed to work indoors and were in this sense saved from the heavy kind of work male laborers performed in the cold and dirty sawmill industries. However, the indoor environment was not healthy either. Women gave birth to children and that could also be risky. Nevertheless, women's domestic skills likely offered some advantages for staying alive. Since childhood they had been taught to cook and get rid of dirt and dust. Maybe women also had better access to social networks that might have come to their rescue in emergencies or if they suffered from disease. It appears that women migrants because of their geographical background, life-style, type of employment and skill were better able to survive in Sundsvall than were their male counterparts.

4.4. Additional information about the life and work of a few migrants in Sundsvall

Of course much happened to migrants beyond the demographic events and socio-geographical data reported by the parish registers. Unfortunately it is difficult to capture such events. As discussed in Chapter 1, local newspapers offer insights into the life of some of Sundsvall's residents. As the parish records are computerized, it is possible to identify people who appear in the newspapers and discover their demographic characteristics. Hence, two totally different sources, one quantitative and the other qualitative, provide two perspectives about single individuals. Such an approach could contribute to the picture of Sundsvall migrants and the urban consequences of their relocation. It might also help explore possible reasons for migration and explanatory factors for the migrants' life-course in Sundsvall.

As previously discussed, the parish registers fail to give complete data about women's occupations. Newspapers proved to be of vital importance in the search for further information about women migrants and how they earned their daily bread. However, sometimes they contradict information found in the parish registers. In what ways the quantitative and qualitative sources disagree are discussed below by again examining some of the migrants presented

earlier. This time the local newspapers are used to view parts of their life-course in 1879 with particular focus on occupational data found in advertisements and announcements, and the life and work of a few migrants' in Sundsvall drawn from police reports. This latter data might be questioned as it deals with the few people who committed crimes. However, these individuals faced circumstances similar to those of other migrants and such background information is of general relevance.

This approach aims to develop the micro-level perspective. Female migrants are focused upon as they are at heart of the thesis and because women's occupations are particularly insufficiently recorded by the parish registers. The newspapers show several examples of various activities related to women and these are elaborated upon further in Chapter 7.

Occupational data offered by advertisements and announcements

In June 1883, the Sundsvall born migrant and tradesman Johan Hillerström passed away and his wife, Margareta, was suddenly a widow and mother to three fatherless daughters. From the time of the newly married couple's departure from Östersund in 1874 until his death, Hillerström had kept his position as a businessman. Margareta decided to stay in Sundsvall after his death. Perhaps her concern for the daughters reduced her desire to leave. However, an announcement printed in the local newspapers in 1879 suggests that she was in business herself.

Young girls are taught to sew Women's wear at Margareta Hillerström's in Normalm. At said premises, dress patterns, cutting and fittings performed.⁴⁸

Evidently Margareta was engaged in trade just as her husband was. Perhaps they ran their business together. Before marrying Johan in 1874 she worked as a seamstress and was obviously willing to share her knowledge in fashion with girls in the town. Most likely, Margareta is representative of other wives who assisted their husbands' trading activities or otherwise contributed to the family economy. The fact that she had two little girls to care for in 1879 did not stop her from teaching her dressmaking skills or selling retail products. Perhaps Johan's mother facilitated her business activity by baby-sitting the grandchildren.

Margareta Hillerström's advertisement shows a piece of her life-course that parish registers cannot bring to light. It suggests Margareta had good reason to stay in Sundsvall in addition to her children. Perhaps she carried on some business even after the death of her husband in 1883 although the parish registers remain silent about how she earned her livelihood as a widow. They do reveal that she did not remarry before the end of registration in 1892.

The case of the 30-year old businesswoman Maria Bruse who left the town of Hedemora (Kopparberg's county) in 1875 illustrates that the occupational stability of the higher social strata put forward in this chapter was not as stable as the parish records suggest. They indicate she kept her position as a trader between 1875-1882. However, her business declined sharply in 1879. This was also a turbulent year in the area. The economic recession at the end of the 1870s caused a sawmill strike in May 1879. In the middle of April the newspapers reported the bankruptcy of Maria Bruse and announced the sale of her assets by auction. These included:

...domestic, calico, woollens, gloves, soaps, perfumes, albums, lamps, toys, silver-ware... including diverse furniture and household utensils.⁴⁹

Apparently her retail trade offered typical woman articles. In accordance with the sex-segregated labor market this advertisement suggests that female traders in Sundsvall were likely to have busied themselves in sectors perceived as feminine such as catering and the fashion trade.⁵⁰ The bankruptcy in April did not, however, end Maria's ambitions. At the end of 1879 she was back in business but exclusively dealing in needlework.⁵¹ Perhaps her new efforts in trade and the economic recovery after the strike encouraged her to stay for another three years. In the summer of 1882 she moved to Stockholm still unmarried. The turbulent times of the 1870s that Maria Bruse endured surely affected other businessmen and women in Sundsvall.

The story of the bookkeeper Peter Calissendorff and his wife Hedda Meyer reveal how different sources can provide conflicting information regarding occupations and when migrants first entered the town. When Hedda joined her husband in Sundsvall in 1883 the parish registers indicate that she had no occupation and that this was the first time she had taken up residence there.⁵² The local newspapers tell another story. It appears that she had been teaching in the town for some years. An item printed in October 1879 announced that Hedda was no longer on duty as she was given a leave of absence for some reason. This reveals that she was already familiar with the town upon her registered arrival in 1883. Furthermore, her status as teacher shows that she had a profession. There is reason to suspect that official sources for many other female migrants might not be entirely accurate.

Court cases and police reports

Love is a mighty power. Even though this analysis has repeatedly emphasized that employment opportunities were the major incentives for migrants' decisions to move to Sundsvall, it was also shown that love occasionally set people such as Constantia Rundqvist on the move. Police reports resulting from mi-

grants' love affairs offer a few snapshots of migrants' life-course by disclosing some of their social ties, geographical relocation, occupations and housing conditions.

It appears as if the young tradesman from Linköping (Östergötland's county), Tycho Trybom, had love on his mind when he arrived in Sundsvall in February 1878. He soon fell in love with Fredrika Hellberg, a native girl born in 1860.⁵³ She was the daughter of Wilhelm Hellberg, a master baker in the town who disproved of their relationship.⁵⁴ Apparently the Hellberg family was expecting an inheritance and Trybom's business was not very successful as the newspapers reported his bankruptcy in June 1879.⁵⁵ Therefore, Wilhelm Hellberg made it clear that he was not wanted in the family. Trybom temporarily left Sundsvall in August desperately in need for money. He spent some time in Germany and visited his mother in Stockholm. Back in his hometown of Linköping Trybom even threatened his own father with a gun to make him hand over 400 kronor. The reason for Trybom's many moves and urgent need for money was that he was planning to go to America with Fredrika.

At the beginning of September Trybom was back in Sundsvall where he rented a room in the same estate as a certain captain J.F. Tjernberg.⁵⁶ From now onwards Trybom stayed indoors. According to his letters, Fredrika's daily visits were all that kept him alive. Nonetheless, Fredrika's feelings for him were cooling as September passed.

In the afternoon of 25 September 1879, Trybom's sense of failure overcame him. Instead of celebrating the first anniversary of their close friendship this turned out to be the very last day of their lives. When Fredrika came to see him he shot her three times. He then pointed the gun at his own head and fired one shot. When Tjernberg and some other neighbors arrived they found a farewell letter signed by Trybom and his beloved.

The newspapers documented this tragic story in September 1879 and an inquiry followed.⁵⁷ Many friends, relatives and neighbors were consulted to give their view of what really happened and possible reasons for it. Trybom's letters were even printed.⁵⁸ Of course neither Trybom's failure in business nor his travels during the summer of 1879 are reported in the parish registers although the minister did make a note of his suicide.

Trybom's urban experience must be considered as extraordinary. It reveals a world reaching far beyond that shown in the parish registers. Not least it illuminates the fluctuating labor market and social ties that could be further explored. In addition to offering information about the activities of local migrants, the newspapers expose the limitations of the quantitative material. When combined with qualitative accounts these two types of material generate fascinating results.

The history of the Edlund family further illustrates the value of combining and comparing sources. A goldsmith named Sundberg immediately employed the 40-year old journeyman Carl Edlund from Stockholm when he arrived in October 1874 with his wife Matilda and their three sons. When Sundberg died in 1875 Edlund decided to go back to Stockholm probably to find a job but his departure is not reported in the parish registers. Matilda and the sons stayed in Sundsvall. At the end of May 1877 Edlund returned.

While her husband was away Matilda ran a small inn. She let rooms and served meals although the flat only had two rooms other than the kitchen. Perhaps this was necessary to make ends meet. In letters to her husband in Stockholm she accused him of never sending her any money. For Christmas in 1876 he did and Matilda bought herself a silk dress. There was also enough money to pay for a *piga* who assisted her. Apparently there was also enough space for Nikolaus Fleron in her life and apartment and he soon became her lover. Similar to Edlund, he was a journeyman.⁵⁹ Fleron lived in Sundsvall although the parish registers do not report his arrival until 1883. This again illustrates the under-registration of migrants in Sundsvall.

Matilda got pregnant and in May 1877 one of the neighbors found an aborted rotten fetus in his outhouse. She initially succeeded in keeping her secret but her lies were soon discovered. On the fourth of June she was hit by a shot in her chest, started bleeding profusely and soon died.

It was, of course, Edlund who held the gun. He had had enough of his wife's adultery and could not stand to see her obsessed by another man that she wanted to marry. When he returned from Stockholm on Thursday 31 May 1877, he knew they had had an affair. Matilda's letters had already made him suspicious. According to the inquiry that followed Edlund had tried to persuade Matilda to start all over with him again but in vain and she still wanted a divorce. That drove him to buy a revolver for 15 kronor from one of Sundsvall's hardware stores. After having spent their last night together Edlund woke up early the following morning grabbed the gun, and shot Matilda while she slept. He was sentenced to twenty years in jail. The autopsy of Matilda's body later revealed that she had had an abortion.⁶⁰

This story leaves us with some information about the destructive consequences of spatial movement that scholars particularly devoted to the urban anomie incorporated in modernization theory draw upon in the early twentieth century. They would likely take the Edlund family as an example of the danger that awaited migrants heading for towns. The search for jobs could split families apart. The lack of housing and money in crowded urban areas could pave the way for temporary relationships and illegitimate children. According to the testimonies of some witnesses to the tragic events described above, there had

been several men involved in Matilda's life while her husband was away.⁶¹ By offering board and lodging, she nevertheless exemplifies how wives and other women found means of subsistence in Sundsvall.

Few Sundsvall migrants shared the sad fate of Tycho Trybom or the Edlund family but in other ways they might have had a great deal in common. For example, there were likely many crowded households in Sundsvall similar to that of the Edlund's. Evidently women such as Margareta Hillerström, Maria Bruse, Hedda Meyer and Matilda Edlund all had their own occupations that parish registers do not reveal. There were probably many working wives and women in Sundsvall engaged in similar occupations.

In addition to exploring women's various activities in the labor market of Sundsvall, newspapers highlight some of the dangers that they could encounter in a town crowded with men. There was likely also an involuntary sexual market in which some women migrants had to participate to earn their daily bread. There is reason to examine more closely this issue and the other ways that women made their living in late nineteenth-century Sundsvall. This will be done in later chapters.

Concluding remarks

By studying residence, social mobility, and death and marriage patterns this chapter has explored the urban experience of migrants' to Sundsvall. On the one hand, the focus was placed on the macro-level economic changes primarily caused by the industrial breakthrough. This not only contributed to the increasing numbers of migrants in the town. It also offered them new or other occupational options and stimulated them to reside for longer periods compared to pre-industrial times. On the other hand, this chapter also turned to the micro-level represented by the migrants themselves and their socio-demographic and geographical attributes. This approach showed that different characteristics shaped the way in which individuals responded to the large-scale changes and the openness that occurred in concert with the economic transformation.

Following, some of the most interesting findings are centered around by discussing migrants' agency in a time and town about to change. With the results of this chapter in mind, the issue whether migrants were able to challenge their structure or whether the latter rather determined their path, is discussed.

Migrants' increasing willingness to remain in Sundsvall during urban-industrial times was largely an effect of economic transformations taking place both within and outside the surrounding region. During the course of the nineteenth century these changes gave people little alternative but to search for employ-

ment in towns such as Sundsvall. This increasingly meant moving away on a long-term or definite basis. Nevertheless, the fact that many migrants left the town even during the latter part of the century although they would have good reason not to do so, indicates they were not exclusively determined by large-scale economic configurations. What exactly made them stay or leave is difficult to judge. At least gender did not affect their duration in the town but age and marital status did. The analysis of these and other demographic characteristics and the geographical backgrounds showed that migrants' length of stay was not equally affected by similar structural environment. This suggests they interacted with their given structural setting and were not totally restricted or controlled by it. Migrants' duration also depended on their geographical background indicating that they were affected by past structures defined by the economic characteristics of areas and possible social networks left behind or placed elsewhere.

The analysis of social mobility put the individual agency slightly on place again. Although Sundsvall's socio-economic structure was opening up and migrants in the lower social strata significantly changed occupations during their residence, this did not allow them to experience upward mobility to any large degree. Despite this, young men particularly managed to achieve employment that suggests upward mobility. Compared to natives, migrants were not handicapped by being newcomers. This in addition to their documented ability to change occupations indicates migrants were not unable to take some charge of the options given to them. However, because of the sex-segmented labor market women faced less occupational opportunities and smaller chances to experience upward mobility unless they married. For them the structural constraints became especially evident. These were rooted in the gendered regime that held its grip on migrants in Sundsvall and shaped their urban path.

However, the gendered regime was also involved in female migrants' better survival chances. Their gender and domestic labor implied a lifestyle less exposed to factors that increased the risk of experiencing an early death in the town. In contrast to most other urban environments, the odds of marrying were also in women's favor in Sundsvall because its labor market exerted a large pull on men. Nevertheless, this did not encourage them to contract marriages to a larger degree than male migrants. This result indicates that female migrants did not respond to their local demographic structure as might be expected. It also suggests they primarily moved for labor and not love. This finding and possible reasons for it is further explored in the following chapters.

It has become clear that migrants differed greatly but that these differences were not always determined by their gender. Other demographic features largely influenced both men and women's migratory behavior such as the duration of their residence in Sundsvall. Gendered differences are mainly discovered in the

migrants' geographical background or identified in the diverging direction of men and women's life-course. These differences are broadly explained by the fact that females were not on an equal footing with males although late nineteenth-century women witnessed some improvements concerning their general status.

The results generated in this chapter have especially exposed the tension between the individual agency of migrants on the one hand and the impact of factors operating on the macro-level structure on the other. The intention was to emphasize migrants' agency in shaping their life-course through socio-spatial mobility although they could not, of course, escape the large-scale structures that inevitably tempered their ambitions. However, by highlighting individual characteristics to undermine the impact of structural determinism, there is the risk of replacing this with demographic determinism. Age, geographical background, social and marital status cannot fully explain individuals' socio-spatial mobility. Statistical analyses have also revealed that there is not always a significant correlation between migrants' demographic characteristics and life-course. Examples of individual migrants have both approved and disapproved general patterns presented along the two latter chapters. Finally, qualitative information drawn from local newspapers showed migrants' ability to cope with urban life that was more turbulent than quantitative parish registers suggest. Newspapers also showed that numerous occupations and geographical movements of migrants escaped the attention of the minister in Sundsvall. Women appear to have been more active in the town's labor market than both the gendered regime and parish registers indicate. This interesting discovery is explored further in later chapters.

Notes

- 1 Multiple analyses require sufficient information on the time between demographic transitions. As the ministerial lists are missing for the pre-industrial period it is both hazardous and difficult to employ accurate statistical analyses. Chapter 5 explores the careers and marital patterns of young Sundsvall migrants arriving in both the 1840s and 1870s by applying another type of longitudinal approach.
- 2 The DDB-registration ends in 1892 so the pre-industrial migrants had more time to have immigrations reported. This has somewhat increased the gap between the cohorts but it does not affect the general results as most migrations occur in young ages.
- 3 Cornell discusses how steam-driven replaced waterdriven sawmills and the impact of this change on the recruitment and employment of laborers. Economic reforms and increasing demand of timber also contributed to employment that was not contracted on a short-term

or yearly basis. Nevertheless, seasonal laborers were especially needed during summertime. In 1880, about 60 percent of the laborers employed by the sawmills in the whole region were still regarded as seasonal laborers (*lösa arbetare*). Cornell, pp. 32-52, 330-337.

- 4 Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson, pp. 35 f.
- 5 Scholars usually use the duration of residence as a rough indicator of integration. However, it could also reveal that the migrants lacked material or social resources to move to a more desired location. Jackson, p. 263; Thernstrom 1973, p. 231; Norberg 1980, pp. 91-94; Nilsson F., pp. 70 f., 268.
- 6 A regression model including men and women has checked the gender difference. They completely paralleled each other with regard to their duration of residence. The high P-value linked to the gender covariate (0.84) indicates the correlation between gender and duration was weak. Cf. Table 9.2 in the Appendix.
- 7 To gain some skill and increase the dowry before marrying and starting a household on their own, young individuals often migrated. Cf. the research overview in Chapter 1. Lundh argues that the life-course was an institutionalized pattern that determined the relocation of youths. Lundh 1996, pp. 2, 23 f.
- 8 The titled women, mainly *demoiselles*, *jungfrur*, *mamseller*, included in the unspecified category indicates that they were nearly as keen to leave Sundsvall as were the *pigor*. Unfortunately, their titles shed little light onto why they wanted to leave. Maybe many of them held domestic employment even though the parish registers remain silent about how they earned their living.
- 9 The issue whether social mobility increased over time or not was discussed in the research overview and will be further explored in the subsequent chapter.
- 10 Cf. under the headline concerning social mobility in the research overview given in Chapter 1.
- 11 Cf. under the headline concerning social classifications in Chapter 1.
- 12 For example, the minister's church examinations lists reveal a few good-looking female parishioners who he obviously considered beautiful (*vacker, fager*). More often though, his notations concern other characteristics such as whether parishioners behaved immorally, were physically or mentally weak (*idiot, svagsint, byte*), or had committed crimes or sexual indecency. Unfortunately, the scarcity of this type of data jeopardizes its usefulness.
- 13 On the issue of different means and measures of social mobility, see Dijk, Visser & Wolst, pp. 439-441.
- 14 The last available notation depends on for how long time the migrants resided in Sundsvall. An out-migration or death represents the last occupational notation unless the migrants did not stay in Sundsvall for at least fifteen years. In the latter case, their occupation reported fifteen years after the arrival forms the last notation. Migrants who occasionally left Sundsvall but later return and were present in Sundsvall fifteen years after their first arrival in 1865-1880 are also included. When analyzing social mobility on an individual level it is necessary to have complete occupational information for the two occasions of measurements. Titled women are not included because their work or status is hard to define. If two or more occupations are available on the occasions of measurement the first one reported is given priority.

- 15 It was previously discussed (cf. Chapter 3) that an urban domestic employment likely differed in terms of better wages and working conditions from those that *pågor* could achieve in the countryside. Nevertheless, these women workers would be labeled *pågor*. Similarly, the rank of a skilled laborer probably increased if he changed to more qualified occupations although this did not necessarily change his social group.
- 16 Swedish urban historians using parish registers to identify social mobility usually modify the top and bottom of their basic classification in a similar way. Cf. Norman 1974, pp. 171-175; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 192-195. In addition, the social groups of 3a (mainly small-scale entrepreneurs) and 3b (farmers) have been merged because there were not many individuals in the latter group in the urban environment of Sundsvall. The result of the modified social classification is shown in Figure 4.2.
- 17 The original social classification is the one mostly applied in this study. This was first presented in Chapter 1 under the headline concerning social classifications.
- 18 Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Maas, I. "Industrialization and Intragenerational Mobility in Sweden". *Acta Sociologica* 2002:45, pp. 179-181 [Leeuwen & Maas 2002a].
- 19 This is a methodological consequence of linking women's status to that of their husband. However, in the view of law and norm of nineteenth-century society the status of married women largely depended on the occupation of their spouse. Cf. Matovic 1984, pp. 29-47, 217-220; Sewell, pp. 52 ff., 270 ff., 299 ff.
- 20 Norman's selection of young male migrants determines his result. These men form a group of individuals most likely to experience social mobility. Norman 1974, p. 181.
- 21 Dijk, Visser & Wolst, pp. 445 f.
- 22 Analyses on inter-generational mobility are far more common than intra-generational efforts. Leeuwen and Maas use both methods in their study of Utrecht from 1850-1940. For the nineteenth century they identify a career mobility of 25 percent but inter-generational mobility reached 35 percent. Leeuwen & Maas 1997, p. 627. Leeuwen and Maas have also investigated inter-generational mobility of men living in the region of Sundsvall. For the period 1870-1879 they found that 64 percent of sons had changed their status compared to that of their fathers when they were of similar age. This relatively high ratio regarding the inter-generational mobility is partly explained by their classification scheme. Unlike most efforts undertaken by Swedish urban historians, these sociologists recognize occupational changes between the two categories of farm workers & crofters (6b) and unskilled laborers (6b) as social mobility. Leeuwen & Maas 2002a, pp. 179-194. For the mobility rates, see p. 186. Sewell uses marital lists and recognizes extremely high percentages of inter-generational marital mobility in industrializing Marseille. He finds that about 67 percent of the men and 74 percent of the women changed their status. The men's occupation at marriage is compared with that of their fathers whereas the bride's father's occupation is compared with that of their grooms. The latter kind of mobility is sometimes labeled 'connubial mobility'. Sewell, p. 276; cf. Kocka, J. "Family and Class Formation: Intergenerational Mobility and Marriage Patterns in Nineteenth-century Westphalian Towns". *Journal of Social History* 1984:17, pp. 418-423.
- 23 Lynch, K. A. "Old and New Research in Historical Patterns of Social Mobility". *Historical Methods* 1998:31, p. 96. Eriksson & Åkerman discuss women's social mobility and methodological issues of measuring it. Eriksson & Åkerman, pp. 306 f.
- 24 Similar to Norman, the cohorts of Kronborg & Nilsson consist of young migrants who by being young were most likely to have changed occupations. This partly explains the high ratios. Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 195 ff. Eriksson & Åkerman show some figures indicating

- that women's upward mobility largely depended on whether they married. Only seven women of 79 in the unmarried cohort went upwards. This happened to 87 out of the 153 married women who contracted marriage. Eriksson & Åkerman, p. 306. Concerning women's limited upward mobility in Stockholm, see Jorde, T.S. *Stockholms tjänstepiker under industrialiseringen: Tjänstepikeyrkets funktion i individets livslöp og i en ekspanderende storby*. Stockholm 1995, pp. 83-99, 106 f.; Matovic 1984, pp. 215-244.
- 25 The gender difference has been checked in regression models including men and women. The men were about 13 percent more likely to move upwards. However, the high P-value (0.26) indicates the correlation between gender and upward mobility was weak. Downward mobility has also been examined by employing logistic regression models but this seldom occurred and the results were not significant. Chapter 5 develops gendered patterns of social mobility.
 - 26 Studies have shown that to serve as a maid was primarily a life-course occupation and not a lifetime ambition. Cf. Jorde, pp. 92 f.
 - 27 Thernstrom's urban escalator model does not fully support these findings. As was discussed in Chapter 1, he uses the urban-escalator model to explain the low levels of social mobility of migrants. On their arrival at their new destination they are expected to step onto a social upward escalator starting from the bottom of the social strata. Lacking the knowledge of the local labor market and a network of kin and friends at their new residence, most of them keep their low rank. Thernstrom 1973, pp. 29 ff.
 - 28 Moch shows that the socio-economic structure migrants left behind shaped their path in Nîmes. Whether they were Catholics or Protestants also seem to have mattered. Moch 1983, pp. 178-197.
 - 29 Other studies echo similar pattern of immigrants moving into new national settings. Sewell discovers that Italians did not fare as well as French migrants in the labor market of Marseille. Italians faced serious problems of linguistic but also cultural adjustment because their values and work habits had been formed in economically backward areas. In Marseille there was also widespread prejudice against them. Sewell, pp. 257 f. This was not as evident in Sundsvall because most immigrants originated in Ostrobothnia in Finland which did not differ markedly from Sweden in terms of culture and language. However, according to the county governor those from Finland, and especially men, were known for their bad drinking habits and therefore seen as a particular threat to the public order. This might have reduced the labor opportunities for immigrants when it came to hiring or firing employees. Cf. Chapter 2; *Landsbövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västermorland, 1871-1875*, pp. 7 f.
 - 30 Migrant's upward mobility was evident for particularly the lower social strata. However, similar to the immigrants in Sundsvall, the Italian immigrants in Marseille rarely experienced upward mobility. Sewell, pp. 257-269, 283-299, 311 f. Moch shows that migrants in general and compared to natives fared well in Nîmes. Newcomers had no monopoly on poverty and powerlessness. In addition, Nîmes offered multiple odd jobs and casual labor to those for whom upward mobility was blocked. Moch 1983, pp. 169-197. A few studies related to the Uppsala Migration Project compared the social mobility of migrants and permanent residents. These findings echo those of Sewell and Moch. Kronborg & Nilsson investigate the inter- and intra-generational mobility of male and female migrants and stationary individuals in Halmstad. About 75 percent of male migrants and 90 percent of male natives experienced no social mobility. For women these percentages were 61 versus 54. Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 195-202; Eriksson & Åkerman, pp. 279-293.
 - 31 These investigations have been designed by me and conducted under my supervision. For further information, see the following papers that all are unpublished and were presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University: Boman, H. "Infödda och inflyttade

- kvinnor i Sundsvalls stad i slutet av 1800-talet: En jämförande analys beträffande förutsättningar och demografisk utveckling". Umeå University 2000; Holmström, J. "Migration, karriär och äktenskap: En studie av inflyttade och infödda Sundsvallsbor". Umeå University 2000; Mäki, C. "Fördel infödd eller inflyttad? Jämförelse av geografisk och social rörlighet mellan infödda och inflyttade män i Sundsvall 1860-1892". Umeå University 2000; Pettersson, R. "De mobila migranterna: En studie av frekventa flyttare till och från Sundsvalls stad 1830-1891". Umeå University 1998.
- 32 Because these migrants are all young and in the middle of their career, the percentage of upward mobility is higher than that presented in Figure 4.2.
 - 33 Holmström; Mäki.
 - 34 Boman.
 - 35 The difference between rates of total mobility compared to relative mobility was discussed under the headline considering methodological issues at the beginning of this section dealing with social mobility.
 - 36 Whether housekeeper-occupation implied a different status in comparison to that of a *piga* is not clear from the sources. Although both occupations are associated with work in the domestic sector, the rare occurrence of the title housekeeper might indicate some difference in status. This might also be because the age of the woman, or the status of the household in which she served. However, for two reasons, there are no clear correlation between age and women identified as housekeepers. First, there are too few of these titles in the parish registers to identify a distinct pattern. Second, *pigor* usually kept the title throughout their lives unless they married. Sometimes, the minister notes "f. pigan", i.e. former maidservant, ahead of older lone women. The issue of identifying women's actual work is addressed in Chapter 7.
 - 37 It looks as if Nikolaus Svensson bought a piece of land in Selånger as from then on he is described as being a farmer (*jordägare*). This indicates the pull agricultural areas still exerted on urban migrants. Farmers in Selånger had also close access to the growing market in Sundsvall and the surrounding sawmill parishes.
 - 38 The impact of people's socio-economic background on their current possibilities has been widely debated in terms of material and cultural capital. Svanberg takes Bourdieu's theories into some consideration when discussing the careers of businessmen in Sundsvall. Svanberg, pp. 148-156. These issues are discussed in Chapter 7 when women's work and the socio-economic status of their fathers are examined.
 - 39 His career would not last for long. In March 1891, Åkerblad died from ill health linked to his heart and kidneys.
 - 40 The gender difference has been checked in regression models including men and women. The men were about 16 percent more likely to marry. The P-value (0.10) indicates the correlation between gender and marrying in the town must be considered with some caution. Chapter 5 will develop these gendered findings by considering young unmarried migrants to Sundsvall in the 1840s and 1870s.
 - 41 The mean age at first marriage in Sweden in the 1870s was 28.8 for men and 27.1 for women. Cf. Lundh 1997, p. 10. In late-nineteenth century Sundsvall migrants married slightly later compared to natives. The average age of male residents was 28.3 and for migrants 30.5. The mean age at marriage for Sundsvall-born women was 25.3 and for female migrants 28.3. Brändström, Sundin & Tedebrand 2000, pp. 424, 427 f.

- 42 Kearns, G. "The Urban Penalty and the Population History of England". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Society, Health and Population during the Demographic Transition*. Umeå 1988, pp. 213-236.
- 43 Edvinsson explains migrants' better survival chances by their being brought up in healthier environments in the countryside. In contrast to those growing up in towns, they had faced less infectious diseases and that improved their future prospects in terms of a longer life. Edvinsson, S. "Adult Mortality and Childhood Conditions: Long-term Effects of Urban Life in 19th-Century Sweden". Sköld, P. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Nordic Demography in History and Present-Day Society*. Scandinavian Population Studies, vol. 12. Umeå 2001, pp. 247-268.
- 44 Edvinsson 1992; Edvinsson, S. & Nilsson, H. "Urban mortality in Sweden during the 19th century". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Population Dynamics during Industrialization*. Umeå 2000, pp. 39-81; Willner, S. *Det svaga könet? Kön och vuxendödlighet i 1800-talets Sverige*. Linköping 1999.
- 45 The longitudinal study covers a maximum of fifteen years after the arrival in 1865-1880. During this period the minister reported the death of 9.8 percent of men and 8.3 percent of women.
- 46 During the 1870s men were 22 percent more likely than women to experience an untimely death in Sundsvall. Edvinsson 1992, p. 191.
- 47 See Table 9.3 in the Appendix.
- 48 SP 1879-03-13. The original text says: "Flickor kunna nu genast få lära sig sy Fruntimmerskläder hos Margareta Hillerström å Norrmalm. På samma ställe försäljes mönster, tillskärning och profning verkställes."
- 49 ST 1879-07-12. The original text says: "... domestik, kattum, ylletyg, handskar, tvål, parfymmer, album, lampor, leksaker, nysilverartiklar...ävensom diverse möbler och husgeråd."
- 50 This suggestion is further developed in Chapter 7.
- 51 ST 1879-12-02.
- 52 DDB-ID (Hedda Meyer): 853001478. According to the parish registers the Calissendorff family moved on to the neighboring parish Skön in November 1888. In August 1889, Peter committed suicide by shooting himself. This tragic incidence probably explains why Hedda was heading for Stockholm with her children in February 1890. Indeed, people could have many different reasons to relocate.
- 53 DDB-ID (Fredrika Hellberg): 861001779.
- 54 DDB-ID (Wilhelm Hellberg): 837001117.
- 55 ST 1879-06-14.
- 56 This J.F. Tjernberg might in fact be the husband of Constantia Rundqvist, Johan Tjernberg.
- 57 ST 1879-09-27, ST 1879-09-30, ST 1879-10-02, SP 1879-09-30.
- 58 As the fire in Sundsvall 1888 also destroyed court records, the newspapers become even more important from a researcher's point of view. Only comprehensive court investigations were reported to Stockholm and thus survived the flames. If so, the material is stored at the National Archives (*Riksarkivet*).
- 59 DDB-ID (Nikolaus Fleron): 854001621. According to the parish registers, Fleron was born in 1854 and thus thirteen years younger than Matilda Edlund. In 1883, he departed from Malmö in the very south of Sweden. Fleron would later marry in Sundsvall.

- 60 Many thanks to Ragnar Ericsson, who has handed me important additional information on the life of Matilda and her family. His genealogical efforts have caught a closer glimpse of their destinies. For further information, see Ericsson, R. *Anders Perssons släkt/Anders Persson and his family*. Linköping 1997, pp. 38-40; SP 1877-06-05, SP 1877-06-12, SP 1877-06-14, SP 1877-06-16, SP 1877-06-19.
- 61 Some of these men had even lent her money. In addition, she had given birth to a child before she married Edlund. This might indicate Matilda did not only offer board and lodging but also services of a sexual nature.

5. To stay, maybe marry or move away? Multiple movements, marital patterns and careers among young migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s and 1870s

This section intends to develop issues addressed in previous chapters and introduce new perspectives of migrants' socio-spatial mobility. As was discussed in Chapter 1, scholars have begun arguing that people did not break with their rural roots or social networks just because of migration and industrialization. This indicates that the process of migration carried on more modestly than concerned critics of the time and voices of urban anomie suggested when describing urban newcomers as disintegrated migrants. Similarly, the previous life-course analysis of the migrants in Sundsvall did not support such negative views. Nevertheless, urban-industrial changes influenced migrants' geographical background and their duration of residence. The contradictory mix of new and old patterns concerning the increase of socio-spatial mobility must be explored at both the individual and structural levels.

This thesis emphasizes that the multiple causes and consequences of migrants' relocation and life-course must be examined from the two perspectives of structure and individual. Human migration involves both dimensions, i.e. macro and micro. Migration interplays with time and place, but it does not change people or structures over night. Nevertheless, the movement of people transformed the town of Sundsvall. Its size, population and socio-economic features in the 1870s differed considerably from what they had been in the 1840s. However, the process of migration also operates on an individual scale. People are most likely to migrate several times during their lifetime and migration must, therefore, be considered as an individual process.

To highlight the process of migration is the first goal of this chapter. The previous one showed that migrants to Sundsvall did not come to stay for the rest of their lives but did not explore where they went. Analyzing their place of birth, departure and choice of new destination would illuminate the process of migration on an individual scale. Such analysis will also reflect the process of urbanization associated with migration during industrialization.

The second goal consists of approaching the migrants' life-course in greater detail by studying the labor and marriage market in Sundsvall. The question is whether migrants' socio-geographical background had any impact on their

choices of spouses or careers. The extent and effect of whether migrants had previously experienced towns is of particular importance. Studying marriage patterns might also offer clues to migrants' process of urban adjustment.

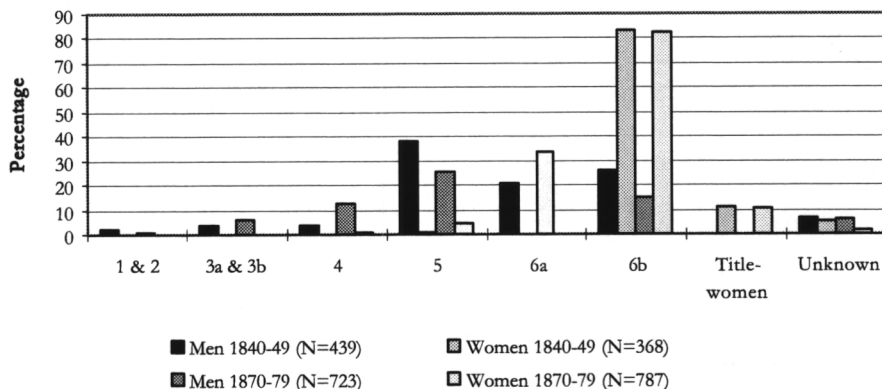
The multiple movements, marital behaviors and careers of migrants are explored and linked to their socio-geographical characteristics to address these objectives. It was just revealed that young adults dominated the general influx of people during both pre-industrial and urban-industrial times. Therefore they deserve to be thoroughly analyzed on an individual micro-level. The two-fold approach of this chapter aims to identify and develop the differences and similarities between the genders more completely than has been done in earlier chapters. The primary focus is on women during the industrial period although findings are studied against results for men and migrants arriving in the pre-industrial period.

Methodological considerations and cohort criteria

The young migrants examined in this chapter are drawn from the two larger cohorts analyzed in chapter 3 and 4. They consist of unmarried migrants who headed for Sundsvall in the 1840s and 1870s. All of them were aged 18-27 on arrival.¹ According to the parish registers they were single migrants and did not make associational in-migrations.² Therefore, occupational information is based on the migrants themselves and no male relatives such as a father. In this respect they might be considered 'independent'.³ The reason for these cohort criteria is to achieve as much information as possible about the migrant him- or herself. Otherwise close comparisons between individual migrants would be hazardous. Figure 5.1 displays the number and socio-economic composition of the two cohorts.⁴

The two cohorts have been studied from the date of in-migration for as long the migrants stay in the town or until the end of registration in 1892. As this year stops the longitudinal study of the industrial cohort, demographic events that occurred after 1862 are truncated for migrants in the pre-industrial cohort. In other words, these migrants have as much or little time to relocate, start a career, or marry as those in the industrial cohort. If individuals have more than one in-migration registered in the 1840s or 1870s, the first in-migration is given priority. If two or more out-migrations per migrant are reported, the last destination is generally used for analysis. Again it should be remembered that the fire in 1888 destroyed many sources for the period before 1860.

Figure 5.1. Socio-economic status on arrival of the young migrants analyzed in Chapter 5. A comparison between genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Explanations:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Large-scale business entrepreneurs | 5. Skilled laborers, craftsmen and artisans below the rank of master |
| 2. Higher civil officials | 6a. Unskilled laborers |
| 3a. Small-scale entrepreneurs in trade and industry, master artisans and craftsmen | 6b. Farmhands, <i>pigor</i> (maidservants) |
| 3b. Farmers, tenant farmers | Titled women (<i>demoiseller, mamseller, jungfrur, fröknevar</i>) |
| 4. Lower civil officials | |

This longitudinal analysis is more extensive than in Chapter 4. The places of birth and departure are compared to discuss the migrants' actual geographical background. The destination after they left Sundsvall is also studied. In addition, the migrants' occupational changes, marital patterns and spouses are thoroughly explored.

Quantitative measurements and some advanced statistical analyses are employed to examine the young migrants and their life-course. These and other methodological considerations are discussed more fully below. The urban-geographical typology below requires some clarification. It categorizes the place of birth, departure and destination and has been influenced by other studies.⁵ In contrast to the geographical categorization applied in previous chapters, this one elaborates upon the urban element involved in the movements of the migrants. Migrations are considered urban if they were from Stockholm or other towns in Sweden with a population of more than 1,000 inhabitants reported in 1870.⁶ Every other place is labeled non-urban and is situated either within or outside the Sundsvall region. The major reason for utilizing the categorization below is to determine the migrants' previous experience of urban or non-urban areas and the effects of this.

The urban-geographical categorization concerning place of birth, departure or destination

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Non-urban intra-regional migrants | - surrounding parishes in the Sundsvall region |
| 2. Non-urban inter-regional migrants | - non-urban parishes all over Sweden
outside the Sundsvall region |
| 3. Urban migrants | - towns in Sweden, except for the capital |
| 4. Urban capital migrants | - Stockholm, the capital of Sweden |
| 5. Immigrants | - migrants from other countries |
| 6. Sundsvall | - born in the town of Sundsvall |

5.1. The process of migration on an individual scale:

Characteristics and consequences of migrants' multiple movements

As discussed in Chapter 1, students of migration have often approached geographical mobility from large-scale levels where aggregated numbers of people relocated and caused changes to population and economic structure in sending and receiving areas. Efforts concerning individual migrant's multiple movements that might take them farther afield or home again are infrequent. Scholars have promoted such approaches to better integrate individuals' relocation with their life-course and current history.⁷

The absence of reliable longitudinal data has limited the possibilities of studying individuals' multiple movements. In contrast to censuses and marital lists that only have data on the place of birth and residence at a given point in time, Swedish parish registers allow scholars to separate the places of birth and departure to compare them with current residence and future migrations. Therefore, the spatial movements that occurred during the life-course of people in the past can be identified and the migration process studied at an individual level. This section seeks to uncover parts of this process. First, it compares the places of birth and departure to examine whether the migrants had experienced any relocation prior to their arrival in Sundsvall. Second, sequential analyses capture their movements from place to place. Third, the migrants' desire to settle in this town or leave it for another destination is viewed in the light of their urban-geographical background. Thereafter, the results are discussed by considering Sundsvall's sex-segmented labor market, business cycles and the migrants' access to family networks.

Persistent and transient migrants

Aggregated analyses have suggested that streams towards one particular place usually generate streams going in opposite direction. This suggests that some migrants moved back to their place of origin.⁸ D.S. Thomas found that movements between areas classified according to her community typology as non-urban could not fail to attract attention even during the 1920s and 1930s.⁹ But there is no doubt that people went to towns to search for work and escape rural unemployment during the nineteenth century. On the one hand, scholars argue that when individuals had previous experience with town areas they preferred to stay or go to a similar kind of environment.¹⁰ On the other hand, scholars also discover the transient nature of migrants who did not hesitate to seek non-urban destinations.¹¹ It remains to be seen how the processes of migration and urbanization are reflected on the individual level represented by the Sundsvall migrants. Table 5.1 shows what the two cohorts' contact with Sundsvall generally looked like.

Table 5.1. The migrants' movements ending in definite Sundsvall residence, out-migration, or repeat migrations. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.

Categories	The pre-industrial cohort		The industrial cohort	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1. Definite in-migrants	20.5	16.8	26.5	21.3
2. Simple in- and out-migrants	61.7	51.4	57.7	61.1
3a. Repeat migrants, finally settled	8.9	15.8	7.6	10.0
3b. Repeat migrants, finally departed	8.9	16.0	8.2	7.6
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	439	368	723	787

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Definite in-migrants have only one in-migration reported and are still living in Sundsvall in 1862 for the pre-industrial cohort and in 1892 for the industrial cohort. Simple in- and out-migrants have one in- and out-migration reported during the longitudinal period for each cohort considered in this chapter. The repeat migrants have two or more in-migrations registered.

Most migrants left Sundsvall some time after they arrived. Although those in the pre-industrial cohort urged the most for yet a departure, a majority of the industrial migrants also left the town. Male migrants settled to a larger degree on a definite basis than females. As earlier migration studies have found, women were most mobile regardless of the period under consideration. They also dominated the more complex categories of repeat migrants moving back and forth.

This comes as no surprise as well over 80 percent (cf. Figure 5.1) of the young women in both the pre-industrial and industrial cohort were labeled *pigor*. Their high geographical mobility is frequently documented in migration literature and explained by young women's life-cycle and their domestic labor market. At a young age it was assumed they would take up employment elsewhere, but not too far away from their family, to add to their domestic skill and dowry, and experience a wider marriage market. As a result, women were part of migration systems that usually saw them travel relatively short distances ending in temporary residencies, short-term employment and further migrations. Of course young men also participated in similar migration patterns to prepare themselves for marriage. However, their gendered expectations and a more differentiated labor market allowed them to challenge longer distances and favored longer periods of residence in one location. The effects of such freer circumstances appear in men's higher persistence rates shown in Table 5.1, and these effects are further discussed in this chapter.

Table 5.1 also illustrates that migration was not a single lifetime event but rather multiple and transient in nature. Even in the 1870s only about every fourth male and fifth female migrant came to stay. In addition, most of them had moved prior to their Sundsvall arrival. If the migrants' parish of departure is identical to their parish of birth it indicates that they had never been on their move before they arrived in the town. However, there were few such cases compared to those with different parishes of birth and departure. Among the pre-industrial cohort 35 percent of women and 18 percent of men had the same parish of birth and departure but the latter percentage would probably be higher if there had been more data available regarding the parish of birth.¹² In the 1870s the corresponding figures were 34 percent for women and 24 percent for men. Evidently male migrants had experienced relocation more often than women. On the one hand, this contradicts one of Ravenstein's classical laws that states that women are generally more migratory than men.¹³ On the other hand, because women in Table 5.1 dominated the two repeat categories that include migrants' in- and out-migrations, there is reason to agree with Ravenstein. This paradox exemplifies the issue of measuring geographical mobility.

Sequential analysis of the migrants' multiple movements

In this section the degree of settlement and choice of new destination is related to the Sundsvall migrants' residential history. Issues that are particularly addressed include whether those born in non-urban areas returned to areas similarly classified according to the urban-geographical categorization, or whether the move to this town frequently represented a break with the migrants' residential past. In a couple of Sundsvall's neighboring parishes, Anders Norberg and Sune Åkerman

discover an interesting phenomenon they call the 'rural-industrial barrier'. It particularly applied to rural migrants who hesitated to move into the sawmill district on a permanent basis.¹⁴ Perhaps the many non-urban migrants who moved to Sundsvall also faced difficulties with challenging an 'urban barrier' that possibly separated the town from the countryside. The following tables help to test this hypothesis.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show that particularly men left another type of place behind than the one in which they had been born. This pattern is not as pronounced among migrants born in urban areas and, especially not for the pre-industrial period, which unfortunately suffers from a shortage of cases. Women in the two non-urban categories had seldom lived in towns before they entered the city limits of Sundsvall. A minor increase in the number of urban departures among these women appears in urban-industrial times but there are still significant gender differences. This largely rural background and the fact that many women had the same parishes of birth and departure indicates that they particularly moved directly to Sundsvall. When they arrived they had little experienced other urban environments. This finding supports the discussion of their geographical background mapped and presented in Chapter 3. Women migrants had usually left their heart and home in the northern or southern parts of northern Sweden where long distances separated the few towns placed there.

Compared to men with more urban experience, migration to Sundsvall likely represented a greater change for women although they did not travel such long distances. However, the many women from the surrounding region probably knew the town of Sundsvall. Regardless of the time-period and gender, migrants born in a town, of whom most were males, usually left this or another town behind upon their arrival in Sundsvall.¹⁵

One look at the migrants' choice of new destination reveals that non-urban born women were more inclined to return to similar type of places after their Sundsvall stay. To what extent this was a complete return migration leading back to the parish of birth is discussed below. It is nevertheless clear that every second woman born within the region during pre-industrial times, and nearly the same percentage during the latter period, eventually returned. Compared to men, non-urban born women belonging to the inter-regional category were lesser keen to head for another town if they moved again. This happened to nearly 20 percent of them and a few even went to America. Nonetheless, a majority of these women searched for non-urban destinations either within or outside the region.¹⁶

Table 5.2. Sequential analysis of the pre-industrial migrants' movements by gender and according to the urban-geographical classification. Place of birth, departure, final destination and degree of residence.

Categories of birth →	1. Non-urban intra-regional		2. Non-urban inter-regional		3. Urban		4. Urban capital		5. Born abroad		6. Born in Sundsvall		Unknown	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1.	89.3	94.1	15.3	48.4	-	40.0	72.2	73.7	-	-	17.2	40.0	7.7	20.8
2.	2.4	4.1	50.8	51.6	12.5	-	5.6	5.3	50.0	-	-	10.0	24.8	37.7
3.	4.8	1.2	20.3	-	79.3	60.0	16.7	-	-	-	34.5	26.7	47.7	28.6
4.	1.2	0.6	11.9	-	8.3	-	5.6	15.8	-	-	20.7	16.7	17.1	7.8
5. Abroad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	-	-	-	0.5	-
Unknown	2.4	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	5.3	-	-	27.6	6.7	2.3	5.2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	84	170	59	62	24	10	18	19	2	0	29	30	222	77
Categories of next destination														
1.	58.3	50.0	23.7	43.5	8.3	30.0	50.0	26.3	50.0	-	6.9	10.0	2.3	10.4
2.	2.4	7.6	13.6	12.9	12.5	-	-	10.5	-	-	6.9	10.0	16.2	24.7
3.	3.6	1.8	3.4	12.9	4.2	10.0	-	5.3	-	-	17.2	3.3	34.2	22.1
4.	-	4.7	3.4	4.8	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	3.4	16.7	13.5	22.1
5. Abroad	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	-	-	-	3.4	3.3	3.6	1.3
Unknown	4.2	1.2	1.7	-	-	-	5.6	5.3	-	-	-	-	18.5	3.9
Total resident	32.1	34.7	54.2	25.8	70.8	60.0	38.9	52.6	50.0	-	62.1	56.7	11.7	15.6
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	84	170	59	62	24	10	18	19	2	0	29	30	222	77

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Highlighted cells display the stability of residence over time within every category. To be labeled settled (see the column of Total resident), the migrants must have either died in the town or were still residing in Sundsvall in 1862 (for the pre-industrial cohort) or 1892 (for the industrial cohort).

Explanations:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Non-urban intra-regional migrants | - surrounding parishes in the Sundsvall region |
| 2. Non-urban inter-regional migrants | - non-urban places all over Sweden outside the Sundsvall region |
| 3. Urban migrants | - other towns in Sweden |
| 4. Urban capital migrants | - Stockholm |

The tables show the unique relationship between Sundsvall and its hinterland. It attracted a significant number of migrants from each category. Usually, being close to a town drained the surrounding parishes but not in the case of Sundsvall. The whole region benefited from the economic development rooted in the sawmills even those parishes where agricultural production dominated. All the people in the town and the neighboring sawmill parishes had to be fed. The entire region was a migration system of its own where people circulated between

Table 5.3. Sequential analysis of the industrial migrants' movements by gender and according to the urban-geographical classification. Place of birth, departure, final destination and the degree of residence.

Categories of birth →	1. Non-urban intra-regional		2. Non-urban inter-regional		3. Urban		4. Urban capital		5. Born abroad		6. Born in Sundsvall		Unknown	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Categories of departure														
1.	62.5	86.1	6.8	16.9	3.1	6.9	5.0	-	-	5.8	20.7	30.0	-	-
2.	20.8	7.8	53.0	57.9	11.5	14.8	5.0	33.3	6.9	9.6	13.8	33.3	83.3	71.4
3.	4.2	2.6	25.6	18.6	62.6	65.9	20.0	20.0	6.9	1.9	27.6	20.0	16.7	7.1
4.	4.2	1.7	14.0	5.3	19.8	12.5	65.0	46.7	17.2	-	20.7	3.3	-	21.4
5. Abroad	-	-	-	0.2	0.8	-	5.0	-	69.0	82.7	6.9	-	-	-
Unknown	8.3	1.7	0.6	1.1	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	10.3	13.3	-	-
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	24	115	472	473	131	88	20	15	29	52	29	30	18	14
Categories of next destination														
1.	41.7	43.1	13.3	23.3	8.4	14.8	-	13.3	31.0	26.9	10.3	20.0	5.6	14.3
2.	-	9.6	19.1	20.5	10.7	11.4	15.0	13.3	-	3.8	10.3	13.3	33.3	7.1
3.	8.3	4.3	13.8	9.7	28.2	29.5	25.0	13.3	6.9	1.9	17.2	3.3	22.2	7.1
4.	-	5.2	12.5	9.7	11.5	9.1	20.0	33.3	-	5.8	6.9	10.0	22.2	28.6
5. Abroad	12.5	7.0	7.0	7.4	3.8	4.5	15.0	6.7	13.8	11.5	3.4	3.3	5.6	-
Unknown	4.2	-	1.7	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	3.8	-	3.3	-	-
Total resident	33.3	30.4	32.6	29.0	37.4	30.7	25.0	20.0	48.3	46.2	51.7	46.7	11.1	42.9
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	24	115	472	473	131	88	20	15	29	52	29	30	18	14

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 5.2.

the town and the different parishes. Industrialization and urbanization did not erode this type of movement. On the contrary, these large-scale processes served the entire system, changed its characteristics and introduced migrants from farther afield. In addition to those born within it, the hinterland exerted a particular pull on migrants originating from abroad and non-urban areas outside the region.

Although different in nature, favorable labor prospects in the parishes encouraged relocation within the region. In the town people found the most differentiated labor market whereas industrial employment dominated the adjacent sawmill parishes. In the agricultural parts of the region production increasingly turned to supplying the growing market in the neighboring parishes. The three types of environments were largely dependent on each other's economies and both encouraged and sustained the regional migration system. Individuals likely established new networks along their local routes that made the system stronger.

The large group of migrants belonging to the non-urban inter-regional category is interesting. During industrialization men in this category left Sundsvall for another town to a larger degree than women. Although the sawmills ought to have encouraged men's migration to the region, they were less attached to it than were their female peers: about 13 versus 23 percent. This contradicts the expected results. Primarily men, and not women, would have wanted to go to the region after having experienced its labor market during a stay in Sundsvall. After having a taste of urban life in Sundsvall, primarily women ought to have been more eager than men to stay or look for another town if they chose to leave. Spouses looking for employment in the sawmill industry and the paucity of networks established in other urban areas might explain the regional preference of these women. It is difficult to explain the pattern among men but their complex geographical backgrounds probably influence the findings. Because of their long-distance migrations, men had encountered diverse places and established more distant contacts that reduced their interest for regional destinations although prosperous labor markets awaited them.¹⁷ By having made shorter travels starting from the northern parts of Sweden, non-urban women migrants lacked this kind of geographical experience. This limited their horizons regarding possible destinations and made the region appear as a suitable alternative if they left Sundsvall. The numerous male laborers living near the sawmills also meant there were jobs to do and men to marry in the region. This serves as another explanation for the pronounced regional preference of women in the non-urban intra-regional category.

Table 5.2 and 5.3 reject the long held belief that migration was only a matter of permanent rural-to-urban movements taking people from the periphery to the center. The migrants heading for Sundsvall did not follow such urbanocentric patterns.¹⁸ First, most migrants did not settle. Second, they often sought non-urban places. The frequent moves and low persistence rates illustrates the urban turnover Thernstrom discovered in nineteenth-century America and that scholars have indications of in Sweden.¹⁹ The Sundsvall migrants' interest in non-urban destinations also resembles the pattern shown by migrants in Duisburg. Jackson offers two explanations for this migratory behavior that most likely also holds true for some migrants in Sundsvall. First, social networks called them back to the countryside. Second, they entered into urban-industrial environments and employment with the intention of raising enough money to return and take up an agricultural and traditional life-style.²⁰ In Sweden many industries were located in the countryside so people did not need to find a town to introduce themselves to industrial labor.

According to Table 5.2 and 5.3 the degree of final residence in general oscillated between 30-35 percent. This low percentage is determined by the migrants' young age and the extended period of time that is required for be con-

sidered as settled.²¹ There are indications that an urban background increased the persistent percentage particularly during pre-industrial times. In the 1870s this was no longer the case and thus not necessary to adjust to urban life in Sundsvall. The persistence percentage suggests men were best able to benefit from a prolonged stay most likely due to the labor market that awaited them. These labor prospects spurred many of them to come to this town, challenge considerable distances, and even leave larger towns behind.

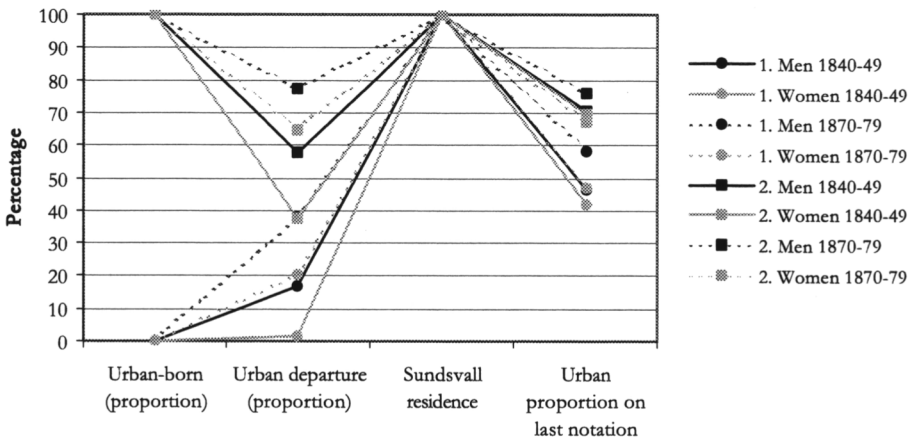
Although also female migrants found improving labor prospects in this town over time a majority of them did not plan to remain. Their eager to leave is evident even during the urban-industrial period. Because of their gender and skill they operated on another piece of Sundsvall's labor market than did the men. Most found domestic employment but this was no lifetime occupation. As is more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 7, their work was both more insecure and informal than the kind of labor offered to men in industry, handicraft, or business. Women ought to have had good reasons to move to and stay in towns because of the poor wages and working conditions most maidservants faced in the countryside. However, a visit to Sundsvall did not markedly whet their appetite for urban life. The lack of earlier urban experience and the social networks left behind in nearby parishes probably prompted women to return to areas resembling that of their non-urban past. Most likely they did so to reunite with kin and a more familiar setting. If they were married they and their husbands perhaps wanted a traditional life in the countryside.

Urban attachment and stepwise migration

Figure 5.2 summarizes the discussion generated from Table 5.2 and 5.3 by showing that migrants frequently mixed urban residencies with non-urban settlements. In doing so, they circulated between towns and countryside and perhaps prepared themselves for a final stay in an urban center. However, although Figure 5.2 does not cover the entire life-course of the migrants, it suggests that they were not devoted to the urban world. It also indicates why the process of urbanization continued at such a slow pace in Sweden. Of course migrants contributed to urbanization but not by moving permanently to towns. Their frequent moves correspond to a theoretical concept applied to today's Third World, i.e. the issue of bi-local residency. It recognizes migrants as being neither entirely urban nor rural but oscillating between these areas. Sidney Goldstein suggests this migration pattern indicates that individuals relocate because of some anticipated return.²² Figure 5.2 reveals that female migrants in the pre-industrial cohort were the one least interested in stays in Sundsvall or other urban areas. Men in the industrial cohort display the opposite pattern. They were most interested in urban environments either by sticking to them since birth or by moving to them if they had been born in non-urban areas. Women arriving in the 1870s paralleled the urban preference of men of the 1840s.

Hence, the notion of once urban always urban does not hold true for the Sundsvall migrants although those born in towns to a larger degree remained in that type of area during their life-course. Nevertheless, about one migrant in three starting life in urban areas moved to the countryside. Approximately half of all migrants who were born in rural parishes ended in Sundsvall or another urban setting although this varied slightly depending on the cohort and gender under consideration.²³

Figure 5.2. The urban proportion included in migrants' multiple movements. An investigation of place of birth, departure, Sundsvall residence and urban proportion at time of last notation according to a modified urban-geographical categorization. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University.

Comments: Migrants born abroad are not included as their exact place of birth or departure is rarely reported in the parish registers. It is impossible to determine whether they came from an urban or rural area. The three urban categories (3, 4 & 6) are combined to create one labeled urban above (cf. the urban-geographical categorization, Table 5.2). Similarly, the two non-urban categories (1 & 2) are made into one. Urban-born migrants are initially 100-percent urban. Those born in non-urban areas start from zero and then raise their urban experience by migrating to towns prior to their arrival in Sundsvall. Take the non-urban born women in the industrial cohort, for instance. On their arrival in Sundsvall twenty percent of them had left an urban departure behind but the remaining 80 percent departed from non-urban areas. During their Sundsvall residence they are 100-percent urban. On the last occasion of measurement about 45 percent of them were still labeled urban, either by staying in the town or having migrated to another town. The remaining 55 percent went back to non-urban areas.

Explanations: Modified urban-geographical categorization

1. Place of birth within the two non-urban categories according to the urban-geographical classification (Category 1 & 2)

2. Place of birth within the three urban categories according to the urban-geographical classification (Category 3, 4 & 6)

One migration theory suggests that individuals found their ways to urban areas by moving stepwise from small parishes to larger communities to finally settle in towns or cities.²⁴ Migrants are assumed to have gradually adapted to urban life by taking these steps. This hierarchical way of approaching the urban world is best seen in longitudinal data that is seldom available. Therefore, students of migration have faced difficulties in determining whether this type of pattern actually existed. Nevertheless, recent research has discovered a more complex migration system where traditional, circular and temporary migration patterns persisted during industrialization. This study also discounts the notion that migrants planned their movements by taking steps that steadily increased the dose of urban air and then permanently settled in towns and cities. As we have seen most young migrants eventually left Sundsvall and not always for another town.

The sequential analysis of migrants' multiple movements also reveals what scholars studying census-takings and marital lists fail to notice regarding individuals' geographical background. If students of migration had access to the place of departure and not only the place of birth, they would find a larger degree of urban background among migrants to the towns than has been previously acknowledged. Similarly, they would discover higher degrees of non-urban experience among those who had been born in urban areas. Although a majority of the migrants in the two cohorts both originated and departed from non-urban areas, there is little evidence to show that they adopted a pattern of step migration to approach or adapt to Sundsvall or urban settings elsewhere. Of course the migrants' urban experience generally increased both over time and over the individual life-course but it was far from a linear process.

Stay or leave and maybe head for home

By taking all these steps migrants more than once challenged the hypothesized barrier separating urban from non-urban areas. Explanations for migrants' frequent choice of new destinations include their migratory past, the labor market and economic development. Whereas about 65-70 percent of the migrants in the pre-industrial cohort were already on the move again within four years after the arrival, this was only the case for about 50 percent of the young migrants who arrived during the period of urban-industrial growth.²⁵ Because of the transformation of Sundsvall's economy and employment structure they were likely more able to establish themselves in the town.

However, possible determinants operating on an individual micro-level must be thoroughly analyzed to approach why some migrants were more or less eager to leave Sundsvall. This section seeks to develop gender perspectives on the process of migration and urbanization by highlighting migrants in the industrial cohort.²⁶ One special issue addressed below concerns whether business

cycles influenced the decisions men and women made about moving to, remaining in, or leaving the town. Another issue analyzes whether the migrants were more attached to their parish of birth or that of departure when they took to the road again. This would help distinguish to what extent their movements brought them home.

Although men's in-migration more often ended in permanent residence, a regression model that considers the likelihood of leaving over time, shows that gender did not markedly affect the decision to either stay in or leave the town.²⁷ However, similarly to the statistical analyses in previous chapter, different characteristics affected the duration of men and women differently. For this reason they are treated separately in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 shows both some expected and surprising results. Age on arrival did not affect men's inclination to stay or leave in haste but it did for women. Although every migrant was young when they arrived, women aged 22 or below were particularly unlikely to stay for long periods. Socio-economic status had a significant impact only on men's duration. These findings echo those of the previous chapter which recognized small-scale businessmen as the ones most likely to settle for lengthy periods while particularly skilled laborers found reasons to take to the road again relatively soon. Occupational status did not affect the women because an overwhelming majority of them were *pigor*. There are simply too few other occupations available to make significant comparisons.

The most interesting results appear when analyzing the two covariates that explore the influence of the migrants' geographical background. When based on the place of birth the urban-geographical origin of both men and women migrants was insignificant for whether they would remain for extended periods. When the place of departure was used it appears that at least the men's geographical background was important. However, there is no evidence that those who had departed from non-urban areas faced problems adjusting to Sundsvall. Men who had earlier experienced towns left Sundsvall as quickly or slowly as did their non-urban peers. However, men departing from non-urban areas outside the region and other towns, excluding Stockholm, were about 60-70 percent as likely as the regional migrants to stay for extended periods. The lack of complete correspondence between urban backgrounds and extended residence in Sundsvall confirms the discussion of the previous section that suggested that if there was an urban barrier for migrants to overcome they did so relatively easily when they decided to settle in Sundsvall.

The impact of the place of departure is of larger significance than the place of birth. This suggests that migrants' geographical background is best patterned when the areas immediately left behind upon arrival in a new setting are considered. Table 9.4 in the Appendix indicates that the place of departure was also of larger importance for women although their duration of residence was not as affected by their urban-geographical background.²⁸

Table 5.4. Cox regression of the time between the in-migration and departure from Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the arrival of migrants in the industrial cohort. N(men)=723 & N(women)=787.

Covariates Categories of characteristics on arrival	N		B-value		P-value		Relative risk	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sex								
1. Age group (ref: 23-27)	334	337						
18-22	390	450	-0.043	0.184	<i>0.664</i>	<i>0.043</i>	0.958	1.202
2. Family network (ref: In the Sundsvall region)								
None	23	144			<i>0.258</i>	<i>0.829</i>		
In Sundsvall	653	608	-0.176	-0.102	0.686	0.600	0.839	0.903
	47	35	-0.715	-0.176	0.152	0.615	0.489	0.838
3. Modified social group (ref: 5. Unskilled laborers...)								
1. Large-scale entrepreneurs ...	285	661			<i>0.003</i>	<i>0.992</i>		
2. Small-scale entrepreneurs ...	8	0	0.273	-	0.520	-	1.314	-
3. Lower civil officials	45	1	-0.487	-9.207	0.045	0.909	0.614	0.000
4. Skilled laborers	90	3	-0.097	-0.215	0.557	0.765	0.907	0.807
Unspecified (Titled-women)	251	25	0.291	0.130	0.013	0.605	1.338	1.139
Unknown	27	84	0.486	-0.003	0.047	0.986	1.627	0.997
	17	13	0.494	-0.132	0.137	0.735	1.640	0.877
4. Urban-geographical background (birth) (ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)								
2. Non-urban inter-regional	24	115			<i>0.143</i>	<i>0.411</i>		
3. Urban	472	473	-0.116	0.151	0.790	0.438	0.890	1.163
4. Urban capital	131	88	-0.224	0.188	0.618	0.447	0.799	1.207
5. Immigrants	20	15	0.039	0.389	0.939	0.313	1.040	1.476
6. Sundsvall-born	29	52	0.205	-0.847	0.715	0.122	1.227	0.429
Unknown	29	30	0.270	-0.220	0.625	0.544	1.310	0.803
	18	14	0.569	0.111	0.259	0.784	1.767	1.117
5. Urban-geographical background (departure) (ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)								
2. Non-urban inter-regional	58	197			<i>0.007</i>	<i>0.312</i>		
3. Urban	292	326	0.481	-0.043	0.034	0.771	1.617	0.958
4. Urban capital	221	160	0.524	-0.045	0.028	0.793	1.688	0.956
5. Immigrants	117	49	0.302	0.202	0.232	0.364	1.353	1.223
Unknown	24	44	-0.661	0.437	0.192	0.434	0.517	1.549
	11	11	-0.880	-1.117	0.153	0.064	0.415	0.327
6. Year of arrival (ref: 1879)								
1870	94	84			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.040</i>		
1871	74	73	-0.068	-0.180	0.721	0.302	0.934	0.835
1872	55	94	-0.118	-0.182	0.568	0.323	0.889	0.834
1873	67	90	-0.383	-0.214	0.061	0.215	0.682	0.807
1874	111	69	-0.006	-0.106	0.973	0.546	0.994	0.900
1875	92	43	-0.661	-0.131	0.001	0.472	0.516	0.878
1876	33	35	-0.754	-0.697	0.008	0.003	0.470	0.498
1877	38	50	-0.954	-0.705	0.001	0.006	0.385	0.494
1878	53	134	-0.325	-0.291	0.116	0.156	0.722	0.747
	106	115	-0.141	-0.016	0.420	0.917	0.869	0.984

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: P-values in italics refer to the covariate as a whole and not to the specific sub-categories linked to it.

Explanation: See Table 4.1.

Modified social classification (Figures in brackets refer to social groups in the basic classification)

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises & higher civil officials (1 & 2)

2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers (3a & 3b)

3. Lower civil officials (4)

4. Skilled professional laborers (5)

5. Unskilled workers, farmhands & pigor (6a & 6b)

Unspecified (including titled women)

Urban-geographical categorization

1. Non-urban intra-regional migrants

2. Non-urban inter-regional migrants

3. Urban migrants

4. Urban capital migrants

5. Immigrants

6. Sundsvall

- surrounding parishes in the Sundsvall region
- non-urban parishes all over Sweden outside the Sundsvall region

- towns in Sweden, except from the capital

- Stockholm

- migrants from other countries

- born in the town of Sundsvall

The lack of significant correspondence between a certain covariate and its impact on migrants' duration of residence is also a result of importance. One reason that it seems to have mattered little whether migrants had urban or non-urban backgrounds is probably explained by the number of times they had moved. These travels had brought them to urban and non-urban areas before they entered the city limits of Sundsvall. Most of them had probably relocated more often than movements included in this analysis and acknowledged in the parish registers in Sundsvall. All of these experiences contributed to the migrants' ability to adjust and develop an interest in settling in both types of environments, i.e. non-urban and urban. Perhaps they had established contacts along these routes that influenced their choice of future migrations or returns.

Another reason for the negligible correspondence between migrants' urban experience prior to the arrival in Sundsvall and the duration of residence is found in the large-scale processes of industrialization and urbanization. The latter moved at a slow pace but industrialization occurred more rapidly and introduced a phase when the border between towns and countryside was not as defined as before. Towns were small and mixed rural-industrial areas also appeared as manufactories were established in the countryside. In addition to challenging longer and longer distances in their search for jobs, individuals were more likely to either reside or pass through different types of structural settings. The theory of bi-local residency makes it hardly surprising that the migrants' duration of residence cannot be closely linked to whether they were born in, or departed from, areas defined as urban or non-urban. Many of them had a mixed experienced of both these environments.

Urban-geographical background was of little or no importance to their duration of residence which means that other things were more important. Interestingly enough, neither men nor women's duration was determined by access to family networks in the town or the surrounding region. Scholars often stress that women particularly had to consider obligations towards their family and that this sometimes determined where they relocated but this study identifies a surprisingly independent woman who stayed or left the town without letting such factors as parents influence her decision. Although female migrants in the industrial cohort often had a family network close at hand, 179 women (22.7 percent) versus 70 men (9.7 percent), this did not affect their decision to leave the town any more than it did men or female migrants who lacked similar social access. These family networks were far more frequent among migrants in the pre-industrial cohort and were mainly located in the surrounding region where approximately 20 percent of men and no less than 47 percent of women had kin.²⁹ Such substantial and easy access to familial ties surely contributed to the reduced length of stay in Sundsvall that characterized migrants in the pre-industrial cohort.³⁰

Nevertheless, Table 5.5 shows that there is reason to assume that social networks exerted a particular pull on women. They were markedly more keen than male migrants to return to their parish of birth and especially to that of departure.³¹ Perhaps they did so to reunite with kin, friends and the familiar setting they had left behind when they moved to Sundsvall although the parish registers fail to acknowledge these networks. This indicates young women had to consider familial obligations to a larger degree than their male counterparts after all. Gabaccia suggests this desire to return shows that women about to establish themselves in a new setting did not view their former lifestyle negatively.³² Although women must have faced a favorable labor and partner market in Sundsvall, this could not make up for the loss of social ties and happiness in the countryside in which they were rooted. Scholars also argue that individuals often made decisions such as to relocate based on the family's economic interest.³³ It is impossible to determine whether the women either arrived at Sundsvall or returned for individual reasons or because parents had encouraged them. However, unlike Gabaccia's female immigrants in America, returning home was more easily realized for women heading for the urban center of Sweden's "Little America". The shorter distance that female migrants traveled compared to their male counterparts has also influenced the findings shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. The percentage of return migrants based upon the parish of birth, departure and destination. A comparison between the two cohorts and genders.

Categories of return migration	The pre-industrial cohort		The industrial cohort	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
The parish of either the place of birth or departure is compared to the parish of destination after the Sundsvall residence				
1. Birth = first destination	9.8	20.9	7.5	12.5
2. Departure = first destination	22.6	31.5	12.3	18.5
3. Departure = last destination	21.6	24.2	11.1	16.5

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The second category is the result of that repeat migrants left Sundsvall more than once within the longitudinal period considered in this chapter. If so, their first and last destination is given priority. However, most migrants only have one departure reported and they are included in the third category. Cf. Table 5.1.

Table 5.5 confirms the findings put forward in Table 5.4. The migrants' preference of returning to their parish of departure and not that of birth indicates they were most attached to the place of last residence. Thus the parish of departure is best at reflecting individuals' varied migratory background. However, the migrants' inclination to return declined over time. The pre-industrial cohort displays consistently higher percentages of return and this likely marks a

decline in the circulating of servants. The desire to return also slightly decreased during the migrants' life-course. The highest return ratio appears among pre-industrial women who returned to their parish of departure and again migrated to Sundsvall (category 2). If they took to the road again they were less interested in taking a similar way back. Commitments to what had been their home grew paler as the years passed.

Lars Nilsson finds that Sundsvall-born migrants in Stockholm expressed a 'topographical' attachment (*topofili*), i.e. strong ties and identity bound to their old hometown expressed by the fact that many moved back to Sundsvall. About 11 percent of men and 14 percent of women returned.³⁴ The Sundsvall migrants considered here were slightly more eager to reunite with their geographical past although this might be due to the use of place of departure. On the one hand, the high percentage of return and non-urban preference seen in women's choice of new destinations indicates their decisions to leave Sundsvall were due to such topographical attachment or even based on instructions from parents. On the other hand, it was just shown that existing networks in the town or hinterland had little effect on men and women's risk of leaving Sundsvall during urban-industrial times. So why would similar access to family networks elsewhere help determine the movements of young migrants who lacked such ties within the town.

Business cycles and genders

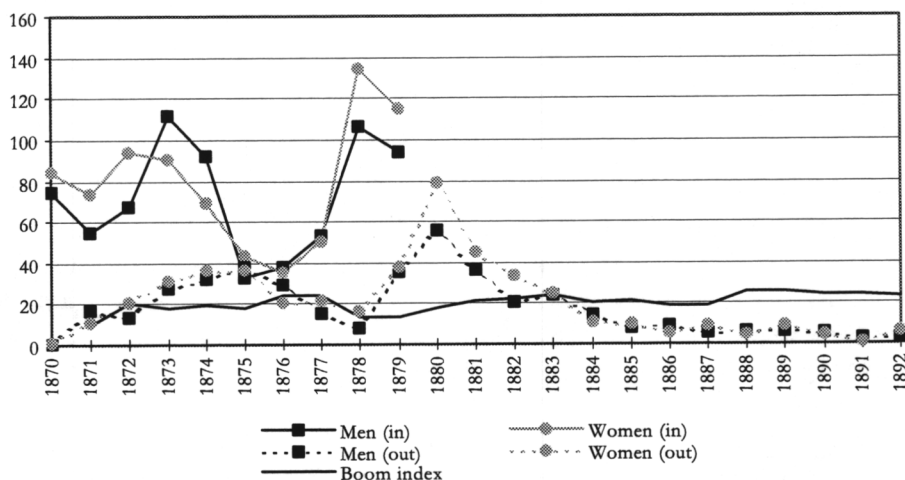
It was just shown that the lack of correspondence between certain covariates and migrants' duration in Sundsvall suggests other explanatory factors such as social networks that are often impossible to quantify. However, one covariate in the cox regression model of Table 5.4 markedly affected both genders i.e. the year of arrival. This is interesting because the business cycles fluctuated a great deal during the 1870s. As briefly discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, men are usually perceived as responding to economic booms and recessions by relocating. Scholars argue that women's decision to migrate did not depend on business cycles as they performed work related to the 'unproductive' domestic sector.³⁵

Table 5.4 shows this was not true for the Sundsvall migrants although most women were *pigor* whereas the men mainly depended on the sawmill sector that at the time was largely exposed to the global market and changes in the business cycles. Nevertheless, the length of time women spent in the town resembled that of men. Migrants arriving between 1870-78 were more likely to stay for extended period than those who came in 1879. This was because of the bad years leading to the strike in 1879 had hit the area and forced many to leave right away.

Figure 5.3 develops these findings and the relationship between migration and business cycles. In contrast to Figure 2.3 and 2.4 in Chapter 2, the possible influence of husbands determining women's migration patterns is controlled for as only young single migrants are studied. If there were significant gender differences in the response to business cycles these would be identified here but they do not appear. Instead, the migration patterns of young men and women are almost identical. This result supports Ohlander's suggestions that women's labor market was indirectly affected by economic expansion and recession.³⁶ When times were bad the demand for domestic service also declined. Although men moved into Sundsvall more cautiously during 1879, women also responded to the strike and depression. Moreover, the increasing tendency of leaving the town in the period 1878-1882 held true for both genders.³⁷

This result seems reasonable because of all the men depending on the socio-economic structure of Sundsvall. These men meant a lot of work for women. When men found less reason to go to Sundsvall or began to leave the town, women also found fewer labor opportunities which in turn reduced their desire to go or stay in Sundsvall.

Figure 5.3. The in- and out migration of migrants in the industrial cohort according to the boom index. A comparison between the genders. Boom index = 10 in 1871. Absolute number: Men (in) = 723, Men (out) = 417, Women (in) = 787, Women (out) = 481.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University; Wik, H. *Norrlands export 1871-1937*. Uppsala 1941, Tabell 1, pp. 131-152.

Comments: The boom index is generated from Sundsvall's export in thousands of Swedish crowns 1871-1892, that for reasons of comparison Wik has based on the rates of exchange in 1937. There is no available information for 1870.

The results indicate that women also depended on the labor market in Sundsvall. It was as little or much determined by business cycles as was that of men. Figure 5.1 showed that well over eight women in ten were labeled *piga*. Considering the working conditions most of them faced in the countryside they left behind, *pigor* likely welcomed and benefited from the occupational opportunities Sundsvall offered. Although women were given little choice other than to take up domestic employment in this town, their labor market was closely linked to the lumber industry and its commercial side effects. In contrast to farmhands who likely took up employment in the sawmills and had to adjust to unfamiliar industrial occupations, *pigor* exercised their old skills in a new setting. Although they continued to perform domestic service, their work probably entailed an improvement in qualitative terms in the town.

These findings and the changes in women's migratory behavior between the 1840s and 1870s indicates that the work and relocation of *pigor* became less a matter of short-term stays and circular movements that they held for only part of their life-cycle. They and their domestic skills became part of a larger process, i.e. the economic transformation from agricultural to industrial production. Scholars have turned their focus to higher structural levels by discussing the mediating role of domestic servants and their mobility in times of turbulent transitions such as those that characterized the nineteenth century. This century also witnessed an increase in numbers of domestic servants who showed a preference for going to towns. It is now believed that their 'unproductive' domestic work facilitated the transition towards today's modern society. By attracting so many young rural women, this was a 'bridging occupation' that made it easier for them to cope with this transitional stage.³⁸ Industry would never have been able to employ the growing proletariat that populated the rural parts of Europe. As people moved from the countryside to towns or industrial centers, and from one occupation to another, the increasing demand for domestic servants' universal skills particularly guided women through this socio-economic phase. Consequently, rural girls replaced the urban native women who had performed various domestic duties. As a result, the occupation of servant became ruralized. Female migrants from the countryside replaced the urban native women working as maids.³⁹

If not through social networks the process of urban adjustment of young females in Sundsvall probably occurred while they were employed as servants. These women indirectly both contributed to and lived off the economic development in the town and surrounding area although the labor market it generated had mainly a male profile. The large influx of *pigor* and the fact that their migratory behavior and response to fluctuating business cycles much resembled that of men suggests there was a reciprocal and complementary need for domestic service. On the one hand, and for means of subsistence, women searched

for work where it was easily found. On the other hand, Sundsvall and its many male inhabitants could not have managed without the kind of services *pigor* performed. These women contributed to the processes of industrialization and urbanization, and helped keep the industrial and commercial wheels turning.

5.2. Challenging socio-spatial barriers: Socio-geographical perspectives of migrants' marriage patterns and life-courses in Sundsvall

It was just shown that many migrants only gave Sundsvall a few years of their lives. However, before they eventually set themselves on the move again a lot of things could happen such as a marriage and possible career. Women also ran the risk of becoming mothers to illegitimate children. Chapter 4 indicated that men were slightly more likely to experience upward social mobility than women who often needed a husband to move upwards. This section seeks to elaborate upon these results by more thoroughly examining the type of people that migrants chose to marry by focusing on their and their spouses' socio-geographical background. Perhaps the barrier between certain social groups and urban-geographical categories regarding their choice of partner was not as easily overcome as was their choice of destination that had brought them through different urban and rural settings. Investigating migrants' marriage patterns sheds light onto whether their partner preference was characterized by that person's geographical background and, if so, how it differed between the genders and the two cohorts.

Some notes on marriage

Marriage was the life plan of most young individuals. The family is the basic socio-economic unit other than the individual and it has been the subject for much research. The marriage pattern defined by Hajnal as Northern and Western European was the most common during the period under consideration.⁴⁰ This pattern was characterized by a late age at marriage and a significant number of men and women who never married. Spouses in Sweden and Sundsvall generally fit this pattern.⁴¹ The mean age at first marriage in the 1870s was 28.8 years for men and 27.1 years for women. Christer Lundh has examined the development of this marriage system in Sweden and, as does Hajnal, he emphasizes that it was rooted in the life-cycle and rural lifestyle of pre-industrial society. The traditional circulation of servants was central for extending the period of youth and thus shaped the late age of marriage but also the pool of potential partners.⁴²

Some scholars view this family formation as a response to economic and demographic processes. People do not marry unless they can afford it. When there was a lack of land or material resources and alternative means of subsistence were also scarce, the marriage was postponed, fewer children were born with the consequence that fewer mouths had to be fed. Prosperous periods that followed those of demographic and economic crises were characterized by an increasing number of weddings and lower ages at marriage.⁴³ Nevertheless, the size of populations is not so perfectly regulated as human beings seldom respond as expected. The practice of birth control within marriage, and illegitimate births and premarital conceptions are examples that contradict people's assumed behavior in the past.

Whether industrialization and urbanization largely affected the marriage pattern by changing individuals' means of subsistence has been debated. On the one hand, wage labor was more easily achieved than land in times of agricultural decline. This would have favored an increase in savings to support a family and thus lowered the age at marriage and increased the rates of nuptiality. On the other hand, the growing proletariat was not exactly well paid. Workers' wages did not allow for earlier and more universal marriages in urban or industrialized areas.⁴⁴ Although women increasingly entered the sphere of paid labor away from home and often in towns, their employment was usually unstable and the wage low. Tilly, Scott and Cohen argue that the poor work conditions and the desire to escape the confines of servanthood encouraged women to find a husband with whom they could establish a family economy.⁴⁵ However, John Knodel and Mary Jo Maynes find that city servants married rather late and often remained single.⁴⁶ There is an unclear relationship between new conditions of work and changing opportunities for marriage. Socio-economic status also shape individuals' marital behavior.⁴⁷

The role of marriage and family in the process of migrants' adjustment in the new areas has interested students of migration. Migrants' strategies to either marry native spouses who are assumed to have helped newcomers adjust to the new destination or spouses sharing similar geographical backgrounds and socio-cultural values, are often studied. On a large scale the latter phenomenon, sometimes called intra-marriage, is well documented in reports about immigration to America. High levels of intra-marriage indicate strong ties to traditional values and the culture left behind. These unions offered a safety valve that eased migrants' transition to a new environment. Endogamy is another term describing similar unions. Every other type of wedding is labeled exogamous or inter-marriage.⁴⁸ These two measurements are also applied in the subsequent analysis.

The marriage market in which migrants operate shapes these two types of marriages. In the United States for example, Swedish men more than women intermarried because Swedish women were scarce. By considering such demo-

graphic circumstances scholars emphasize the quality and quantity of the marriage pool when explaining individual marital decisions. Others focus on the exchange theory and stress the material and social resources that people feel they can maximize through marriage.⁴⁹ If migrants frequently marry natives at their new destination it might indicate such a decision making process but not without first knowing what the marriage market looked like. A few scholars suggest that the growth of individualism that is assumed to have followed in the footsteps of capitalism and the geographical mobility that separated youths from the supervision of parents, enabled love to finally become the paramount determinant for people's decision to marry.⁵⁰

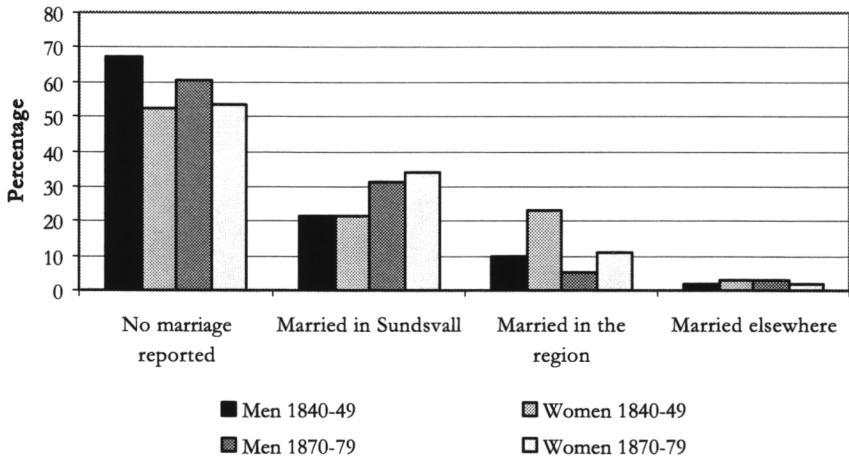
The extent to which internal migrants applied endogamous or exogamous strategies when they entered into a new setting and pool of potential partners has been discussed. Nilsson finds that Sundsvall-born migrants in Stockholm also expressed their topographical attachment (*topofili*), by largely marrying Sundsvall-born spouses. Other than marrying a Stockholm native, both men and women originating from Sundsvall preferred to unite with spouses born in Sundsvall.⁵¹ Matovic subscribes to the exchange theory when explaining why male migrants more than women married natives in Stockholm. Women migrants, on their hand, more frequently married men born in a similar county to themselves.⁵²

Migrants often married migrants with widely different geographical backgrounds. Moch finds that such patterns of mate selection was common among newcomers in Nîmes although many of them married natives. She also shows that migrants' marriage patterns differed depending on their geographical origin.⁵³ Norberg and Åkerman find a pronounced rural-industrial barrier this time affecting the marriage pattern. Individuals rooted in rural regions showed a large resistance to marrying those belonging to the industrial population and vice versa. These marital practices, Norberg and Åkerman argue, helped people adjust to times of relocation and rapid change such as those characterizing the industrializing sawmill parishes.⁵⁴ The next goal is to examine whether the Sundsvall migrants also preserved a piece of the past by marrying spouses with a similar geographical background and whether any marital barrier is identified between migrants already familiar with urban settings on their arrival in Sundsvall and those leaving non-urban areas. First, the migrants' age at marriage is analyzed.

Age at marriage

It was previously shown that migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s stayed in the town to a larger degree than those arriving in the 1840s. Figure 5.4 suggests that the industrial migrants' greater inclination to marry in the town probably contributed to their extended duration of residence. However, a longer stay also increased the chances of dating and marrying. Nevertheless, the fact that migrants married more often in urban-industrial Sundsvall adds further strength to the argument that this town offered much greater opportunities for subsistence during industrialization compared to pre-industrial times.

Figure 5.4. Percentage of marriages reported in Sundsvall, the region or elsewhere. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Women in the industrial cohort experienced a marriage in Sundsvall to a larger degree than men. Thirty to forty years earlier women migrants married as much within town as in the region. The regional background of female migrants in the 1840s explains this. They also had easy access to family ties and knew the partner pool in the surrounding parishes. Women in the industrial cohort were not as rooted in the region but came from more distant parishes. Nevertheless, even during industrialization women outnumbered men among those who belonged to the category of regional wedding. For them, the region remained a viable market in which to find a husband. The male migrants who left Sundsvall for the neighboring sawmill parishes were less in numbers. They were probably not as likely as women to find a spouse in these parishes because many lone men lived and worked there.

Undoubtedly the marriage pool in Sundsvall and the region favored women. Unlike most other towns at the time there was no significant surplus of females. The lack of competition from other women would increase the chances of female migrants finding a mate who was benefiting from a prosperous urban labor market and the economic and commercial side-effects generated by the surrounding sawmills. This thesis has argued that the economic development also increased women's labor market which in turn likely acted as powerful incentive for female migrants. The question is whether their work and wages made it possible to marry earlier because the dowry was achieved more quickly. Paid-labor and better means of subsistence is sometimes assumed to encourage individuals' desire to marry and marry earlier. Sundsvall's economic growth offered young individuals, but particularly women, the conditions that would stimulate early marriages.

Table 5.6. Mean and median age at marriage of the migrants and their spouses. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts. Marriages in Sundsvall and the region are examined (the latter shown in brackets).

The migrants' age at marriage	The pre-industrial cohort		The industrial cohort	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mean	28.6 (28.3)	28.1 (28.7)	28.3 (28.6)	27.9 (27.8)
Median	28.0 (28.0)	28.0 (28.0)	28.0 (28.0)	27.1 (27.0)
Their spouses' age at marriage				
Mean	28.2 (27.8)	30.5 (30.4)	26.7 (26.9)	29.9 (29.8)
Median	27.1 (27.0)	29.0 (28.1)	26.0 (26.0)	29.0 (28.9)
Total (N)	97 (140)	79 (164)	226 (264)	265 (353)

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Because of the few number of cases especially for the pre-industrial cohort, marriages taken place in the town and the surrounding region are included in the brackets above.

Table 5.6 shows that both men and women's age at marriage declined over time but not as much as hypothesized. Male migrants in the industrial cohort married slightly earlier than the average man in Sweden at the time i.e. 28.8 years in the 1870s and 28.5 years in the 1880s.⁵⁵ Women migrants in the same cohort more or less paralleled the average figures of Swedish women, i.e. 27.1 years in the 1870s and 26.8 years in the 1880s.⁵⁶ Table 5.6 suggests they even married a little later. In Sundsvall, the indigenous population married earlier in life than did migrants.⁵⁷ This might indicate that the latter found it difficult to integrate themselves in the community. Robert Lee argues that large differences in age at marriage between natives and newcomers might be a result of migrants' more

marginal status and their lack of supportive families and networks.⁵⁸ Such circumstances possibly contributed to the decision among migrants in the industrial cohort who chose to postpone their weddings.

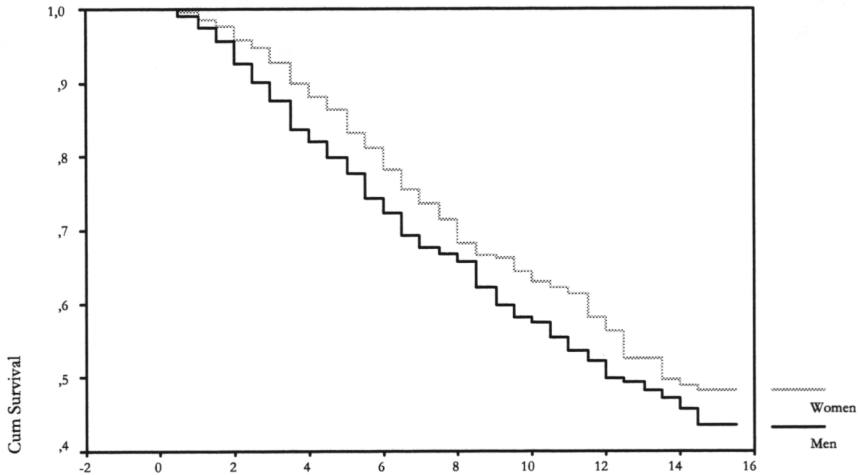
Only a couple of kilometers away from the town women migrants married at significantly younger ages. In the industrializing parishes of Timrå and Alnö the mean age of women and men was low, i.e. 23 years and 27 years respectively. Norberg and Åkerman explain women's extremely low age by referring to the large influx of male migrants to these sawmill parishes.⁵⁹ To a large extent this held true also for Sundsvall. Compared to the occupational options women were offered in the town, those living in the industrial or agricultural parishes in the region faced fewer labor alternatives. For them, marriage was the most appropriate way to ensure their subsistence.

Neither men nor women to Sundsvall markedly changed their age at marriage during the course of the nineteenth century. The results for women are most interesting as they should have responded to the surplus of available males by marrying earlier. It looks as if their or their potential spouses' income did not allow them to form a family any earlier despite the occupational opportunities the urban-industrial era created. These results also reject theories assuming that women's increased participation in the labor market made it possible for them to marry at a younger age.⁶⁰ There is also no indication that female migrants sought to escape their employment which was probably in the domestic sector. Although their limited wages might have caused their surprisingly high age at marriage, another reason might be hypothesized. Perhaps women migrants wanted to experience life and their own wages a little while longer before they married. A place populated by so many potential partners as Sundsvall might in fact have allowed for such opportunities.

Figure 5.5 emphasizes women migrants' resistance towards forming early marriages. The young male migrants were more eager to marry after their arrival than the females.⁶¹ This suggests women migrants in Sundsvall were quite independent and did not want to give that up easily by marrying one of the many men in the town.

Late ages at marriage have been found elsewhere and interpreted as one strategy to limit the number of children. Fewer children meant less expenses and landless people had long acted on this basis.⁶² Scholars also suggest that the substantial work of women in the lower social strata offered some control for them concerning when and who to marry in their market of potential spouses consisting mainly of farmhands and laborers. Most young women migrants were *pigor* and of poor origin so they were probably influenced by tradition and planned to marry late although their earnings in Sundsvall might have enabled them to marry earlier. Migrating to this town obviously did not cause an immediate change to women's marital behavior. This might also explain their high age at marriage and the gradual slope for females shown in Figure 5.5.⁶³

Figure 5.5. Life-table for the time between in-migration and marriage in Sundsvall. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort. N (men)= 723 & N (women) = 787.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

5.2.1. Geographical perspectives of migrants' choice of spouse

This section discusses whether migrants frequently choose a spouse of identical background or rather a native to perhaps facilitate their urban incorporation into Sundsvall. It also seeks to identify differences between the two cohorts and genders. These issues are examined by employing the urban-geographical categorization but also by considering the migrants' geographical background regarding county, place of birth and departure. If either of these places were identical among the migrants and their spouses the marriages are labeled endogamous. Otherwise, the unions are termed exogamous. Only marriages taking place in Sundsvall are studied (cf. Figure 5.4).

Table 5.7 offers information regarding the extent to which endogamous unions occurred among the Sundsvall migrants. If the parish of birth or departure was identical between the spouses this would provide a much stronger attraction than if they simply originated in a similar county as this would cover a larger area with more varied socio-economic and cultural characteristics. When the spouses' geographical backgrounds are the same at the parish-level there is also reason to assume they knew each other prior to their arrival in Sundsvall. One of them might have exerted a pull on the other to come and join him or her in the town.

Table 5.7. Percentage of endogamous marriages according to the migrants' geographical background based on the parish of birth or departure. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.

Categories	The pre-industrial cohort		The industrial cohort	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Endogamous marriages based on:				
Identical parish of birth	6.4	12.7	5.8	3.8
Identical parish of departure	3.2	5.1	7.1	4.5
Exogamous marriage with:				
Native non-migrant spouse	21.3	13.9	14.6	5.3
Migrant spouse	78.7	86.1	85.4	94.7
Total (N)	97	79	226	265

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

To marry someone with similar experiences to oneself is one way to cope with a new setting. Another strategy is to marry someone most familiar with the place, i.e. a native. Table 5.7 shows that neither of these marital strategies markedly governed migrants' decisions. Except for women in the pre-industrial cohort, few migrants married a spouse either originating or departing from the same parish as the migrant him- or herself.⁶⁴ Interestingly, male migrants were more inclined than women to choose a partner with a similar background during urban-industrial times. The phenomenon of mail-order brides is documented in literature on male migrants leaving Europe for America. Perhaps such love letters preceded the marriage of some male migrants in the category of endogamous marriages. If so, men more than women sent for their beloved ones. Maybe men, because of the long distances many of them had put behind them, especially sought wives from home to ease their settlement in Sundsvall.

Nevertheless, migrants usually married migrants without considering whether he or she shared completely similar geographical background. This exogamous tendency increased over time but unlike females, male migrants often married women born in Sundsvall who had never moved. These women were very settled and most likely had a large access to social networks that male migrants obviously found particularly attractive. A rather high occupational status characterized most of these men as every second one belonged to the middle or upper social strata. Particularly business entrepreneurs would have benefited from establishing stable contacts in Sundsvall by marrying a local girl especially if her family was also engaged in the trade sector. That such mate selection was common among businessmen is documented in other studies.⁶⁵ This preference was based on economic considerations and not the fact that the wife had been born in the town.

Although migrants might have wanted to marry native spouses to improve their acceptance, he or she was not easily found in a town more or less full of newcomers. The latter dominated the partner market and, therefore, it comes as no surprise that migrants usually married other migrants. The results in Table 5.7 also suggest that migrants originating or departing from a particular parish were not confined to occupying certain areas of the town or parts of its social life. Scholars have shown that towns characterized by large in-migration were sometimes divided into districts where individuals of similar geographical backgrounds gathered.⁶⁶ However, the high frequency of inter-marriage among the Sundsvall migrants indicates they met and married people of varied geographical backgrounds. The spouses' spatial background is analyzed more thoroughly below by considering the urban-geographical categorization and different counties.

Urban- or non-urban oriented partner preferences

The first goal is to illuminate whether any urban barrier governed the migrants' marriage patterns. It was previously shown that a mixed experience of both urban and non-urban environments characterized most Sundsvall migrants during industrialization. Their multiple movements had seen to that. Thus, the perceived barrier separating towns from the countryside was weak or easily challenged especially by males. However, perhaps those from the countryside showed a pronounced preference for partners sharing non-urban backgrounds. If so, there might have been an urban barrier after all. The parish of departure rather than birth has been shown to be of most importance to the migrant and for this reason it is used in this section.⁶⁷

Table 5.8 shows that a majority of pre-industrial migrants in the two non-urban categories (groups 1 and 2) married spouses from the countryside and especially those from the region. Only about one woman in five married a man from other towns during pre-industrial times. In this respect the men were not as successful but, on the other hand, their non-urban background did not stop them from frequently marrying native girls.

Table 5.8. The geographical background of migrants and their spouses in the pre-industrial cohort. A comparison between the genders according to the urban geographical categorization based on the place of departure.

The category of their spouses	The pre-industrial cohort											
	Urban-geographical category of the migrants based on the place of departure											
	1. Non-urban intra-region		2. Non-urban inter-region		3. Urban		4. Urban capital		5. Abroad		Unknown	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1.	65.2	33.3	30.0	29.4	36.4	-	16.7	-	-	-	20.0	-
2.	17.4	24.1	25.0	11.8	21.2	33.3	25.0	50.0	-	-	-	-
3.	-	22.2	5.0	11.8	6.1	16.7	33.3	50.0	-	-	40.0	-
4.	4.3	1.9	5.0	11.8	9.1	-	-	-	100.0	-	-	-
5.	-	1.9	-	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Native	13.0	11.1	30.0	17.6	18.2	33.3	25.0	-	-	-	40.0	-
Unknown	-	5.6	5.0	11.8	9.1	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	-
Total (N)	23	54	20	17	33	6	12	2	1	0	5	0

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Highlighted cells display the proportion of marriages labeled endogamy with regard to the urban-geographical categorization.

Explanations: The urban-geographical categorization concerning place of birth or departure

1. Non-urban intra-regional migrants - surrounding parishes in the Sundsvall region
2. Non-urban inter-regional migrants - non-urban parishes all over Sweden outside the Sundsvall region
3. Urban migrants - towns in Sweden, except for the capital
4. Urban capital migrants - Stockholm
5. Immigrants - migrants from other countries

During urban-industrial times the marital pattern of non-urban migrants changed. The inter-regional category outnumbered the intra-regional group because of the increasing influx of long distance migrants. Over time the proportion of exogamous marriages markedly declined in the non-urban intra-regional category but increased in the other non-urban category. Unlike the pre-industrial period, non-urban men were less inclined to marry within their own category than were the women. Similar to women arriving in the 1840s, only about 20-25 percent of the women in the latter cohort married men from other towns. Nevertheless, their preference for urban spouses surpassed that of male migrants but the latter compensated for this by increasingly marrying native women. In addition, they were slightly more willing to marry immigrants.

Table 5.9. The geographical background of migrants and their spouses in the industrial cohort. A comparison between the genders according to the urban geographical categorization based on the place of departure.

The category of their spouses	The industrial cohort											
	Urban-geographical category of the migrants based on the place of departure											
	1. Non-urban intra-region		2. Non-urban inter-region		3. Urban		4. Urban capital		5. Abroad		Unknown	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1.	15.4	19.6	19.8	16.9	18.3	13.6	12.2	22.2	-	25.9	-	-
2.	38.5	48.2	31.4	45.8	30.0	27.3	34.1	38.9	28.6	40.7	33.3	-
3.	7.7	8.9	15.1	13.6	23.3	31.8	14.6	16.7	-	14.8	16.7	50.0
4.	7.7	14.3	5.8	11.0	10.0	18.2	14.6	22.2	14.3	7.4	-	-
5.	15.4	-	5.8	5.1	3.3	2.3	7.3	-	57.1	7.4	-	-
Native	15.4	7.1	16.3	5.1	13.3	6.8	17.1	-	-	3.7	16.7	-
Unknown	-	1.8	5.8	2.5	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	50.0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	26	56	86	118	60	44	41	18	7	27	6	2

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 5.8.

What about the marriage preferences of migrants leaving urban areas behind (group 3 and 4)? Unfortunately there are not many pre-industrial migrants to analyze, but Table 5.8 shows that many urban men also married Sundsvall-born women. However, the majority of men married non-urban women and especially those from the region. Thirty to forty years later, only about every third male migrant from Stockholm and other Swedish towns married women from similar urban areas. Their interest in native women remained strong. Nevertheless, 45-50 percent of them led non-urban brides to the altar. When it came to forming exogamous marriages these men were outstanding as they were the ones who cared least about endogamy. Women migrants from urban areas were nearly as keen as the men to contract marriages with spouses who lacked their experience of towns.

The urban barrier did not stop migrants from inter-marrying those with different backgrounds or amount of urban experience. This was especially true during the period of urban and industrial growth when the diversity of the migrants' geographical background also increased the size of Sundsvall's marriage market. Although there was a surplus of potential partners from the countryside they were not thrown upon each other. This surplus did increase the likelihood that male migrants with urban backgrounds would marry a spouse lacking a great deal of experience in towns. Most female migrants were rooted in the countryside.

Uniting counties

Through marriage migrants often united urban with non-urban pasts. It was previously shown that migrant couples seldom originated from the identical parish of birth or departure but perhaps they sought potential partners from the same county. In a spatial but also socio-cultural sense, common county backgrounds might have brought people together at a new destination. However, tables in the Appendix reveal that the young Sundsvall migrants were not particularly attached to their county background when it came to choose their life companions.⁶⁸ Again the county of departure and not that of birth is given priority.

High rates of endogamy mainly appear in the surrounding county, i.e. Västernorrland. Because of the general influx of migrants from this area these newcomers dominated the partner pool in Sundsvall and frequently married. This type of marriage decreased as the partner market was supplied with migrants from farther afield. Whereas about 70-80 percent of the pre-industrial migrants from Västernorrland married county peers, only 40-50 percent did so thirty to forty years later. Västernorrland men in the pre-industrial cohort intra-married the most.⁶⁹

Focusing on remote counties makes it easier to identify whether a common county background substantially influenced migrants' choice of partner. Hypothetically, long distance migrants would have been most likely to have kept close contacts with the past to facilitate their adjustment in Sundsvall. However, there are only few indications of endogamy based on more distant counties. During urban-industrial times the neighboring counties of Västerbotten and Gävleborg became more important as did Stockholm. Among very remote counties, migrants from Värmland intra-married more than most others. On the whole, the rates of endogamy are low or based on small numbers.

Gender did not markedly determine the migrants' desire to unite with a spouse from a similar county as him- or herself during the latter period. The exogamous character was more differentiated among women's spouses as their husbands came from many different counties. The different geographical background of male and female migrants explains this pattern. It was previously shown that women usually departed from areas close to Sundsvall or northern parts of Sweden but male migrants more often left areas south of the town. Basically, men from the south and women from the north found each other in the town. Even though the many women from Västernorrland, for instance, would have liked to marry men from the same county, there were simply not enough of them to choose from. These men, on their hand, had no trouble in contracting wedlock with county women as there were plenty of them in Sundsvall. Consequently, men migrants from Västernorrland showed the high-

est rate of endogamous marriages of about 50 percent during urban-industrial times. Six in ten Västernorrland women married men from nearly every other county in Sweden.⁷⁰

After having studied the migrants' marriage pattern from a wide range of perspectives, it appears that exogamous unions were most common. These findings suggest that newcomers to Sundsvall did not restrict themselves to past social networks. Instead, they formed new webs of friends, neighbors and work-mates in the town. These networks increased the likelihood of meeting potential partners from various geographical backgrounds whether from towns or the countryside. The successive weakening of past ties through the frequent travels preceding the migrants' arrival at Sundsvall contributed to the high degree of exogamous and complex unions that characterized the industrial cohort. The large influx of migrants departing from nearly all points of the compass caused a heterogeneous marriage market that stimulated inter-marriages. Apparently the migrants adjusted well to this large pool of potential spouses. Nevertheless, only about every third migrant experienced a wedding in Sundsvall during industrialization.

However, the possible constraints or barriers that determined the Sundsvall migrants' behavior in the marriage market were of course also built by other components than the geographical past and earlier experience of towns. Among these other factors socio-economic status must have been of vital importance. Therefore, the migrants' social standing at time of marriage is analyzed below. The following section also considers the social mobility and life-course of those who did not marry during their stay.

5.2.2. Socio-economic perspectives of migrants' choices of spouses and careers

The two concepts of endogamy and exogamy can also be applied to explore marriage patterns and partner preferences in socio-economic terms. This section adds to the discussion in the previous chapter about social mobility and the openness associated with industrializing societies. It seeks to develop some perspectives of how young individual migrants responded to the ongoing structural changes in the economy. After first having analyzed to what extent men and women inter-married between social groups during pre-industrial and industrial times, their chances to achieve upward mobility is viewed with regard to the geographical and demographic characteristics especially highlighted in this chapter.

Scholars suggest that studying spouses' socio-economic background offers one excellent way of measuring the social distance between individuals and occupational groups.⁷¹ As previously discussed in this thesis, economic expansion and an increase in socio-geographical mobility are assumed to cause a shift from ascription to achievement as the measure of persons' status.⁷² This ought

to have reduced the social distance between individuals who gathered in growing towns. Erik Beekink and others examine the impact of the process towards a more open society on the choice of spouse and suggest that this process stimulates personal autonomy and reduces the sanctions against transgressions of social norms and barriers. Frequent contacts and decreasing distances between different social groups would increase people's preferences for partners that would result in exogamous alliances. Nevertheless, individuals' largely continued to tie the knot with spouses of a similar class during the course of nineteenth century. Only at the turn of the twentieth century do results indicate a growing openness. This makes Beekink et. al. admit there is even some space for people to subscribe to Shorter's romantic marriage model.⁷³

On the one hand Chapter 4 contributed to the view of social stability as migrants' upward mobility was limited although Sundsvall witnessed rapid urban-industrial changes. On the other hand, occupational changes did occur and usually involved men from the lower social strata. By more thoroughly comparing the marital behavior of the young men in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts it is possible to assess whether and to what extent their occupational options changed over time.

Marriage could bring a change of socio-economic standing, especially for women, as their status would no longer be linked to their own work or that of their fathers. Parish registers reveal this by stopping to report the occupations of wives. In the view of the law married women belonged to their husbands and they no longer had the legal rights that single women had finally achieved through reforms introduced in late nineteenth century. In return, they could expect their husbands to support them but wives probably contributed to the family wage pool. Marriage was more or less the only chance women had to improve their status markedly as their occupational and career options were so limited. If *pigor* married men of higher social ranks they most likely experienced a significant rise in status.

The gendered occupations based on the sex-segmented labor market jeopardize the method of measuring endogamy and exogamy in socio-economic terms. Comparing the social rank of the spouses' fathers sometimes solves this problem but such an approach is impossible here.⁷⁴ By analyzing the migrants' occupations at marriage it is nevertheless possible to picture changes in status that especially women achieved through marriage.

The impact of socio-economic status on partner preferences

As large-scale economic changes and an increasing influx of migrants characterized late nineteenth-century Sundsvall we can expect to find more complex marriage patterns in the industrial cohort. Tables 5.10 and 5.11 show that contacts between different social groups was more frequently established through

the unions of migrants in the industrial cohort. Despite the small numbers of marriages in the pre-industrial cohort and the insufficient occupational information reported for women, marriages are more varied in the latter cohort. Most likely, this spread of mate selection indicates a decline of the distance between social groups as Beekink and others suggest. Nevertheless, these changes must not be overemphasized as they seldom united spouses originating from the top or bottom of the social hierarchy.

Table 5.10. The socio-economic status of male migrants and their spouses at the time of marriage. A comparison between men in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.

Social groups of their spouses	Men's social groups at marriage											
	1 & 2. Large-scale owners & higher civil...		3a & 3b. Small-scale entrepreneurs		4. Lower civil officials		5. Skilled laborers		6a. Unskilled laborers		6b. Farmhands	
	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-
1.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-	-	5.9	-	5.7	-	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-	4.3	-	8.8	-	-	-	11.7	-	11.1
4.	-	-	9.5	4.3	33.3	2.9	19.2	35.7	53.8	45.5	88.9	44.4
Titled women	33.3	100	23.8	78.3	-	61.8	11.5	48.6	3.8	28.6	-	33.3
Unknown	66.7	-	66.7	13.0	66.7	20.6	69.2	8.6	42.3	14.3	11.1	11.1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	9	4	21	23	3	34	26	70	26	77	9	18

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: Highlighted cells display endogamy between men and women when comparisons are possible. On the one hand, the occupational information for women is more thoroughly given in the marital lists than the church examination records. It is therefore possible to separate the various types of servants from ordinary *pigor*. On the other hand, the marital lists report great many *pigor* as only being titled women, usually *jungfru* or *mamsell*.

Explanations: Social categorization

1. Large-scale business entrepreneurs
2. Higher civil officials
- 3a. Small-scale entrepreneurs in trade and industry, master artisans and craftsmen
- 3b. Farmers, tenant farmers
4. Lower civil officials
5. Skilled laborers, craftsmen and artisans below the rank of master
- 6a. Unskilled laborers
- 6b. Farmhands, cottagers

Women's modified social categorization

1. Small-scale businesswomen and lower civil officials
 2. Skilled laborers (seamstresses)
 3. Unskilled laborers (mainly housekeepers)
 4. *Pigor* (maidservants)
- Titled women (*demoiseller*, *mamseller*, *jungfru*, *frökna*)

Table 5.11. The socio-economic status of female migrants and their spouses at the time of marriage. A comparison between women in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.

Social groups of their spouses	Women's social groups at marriage											
	1.		2.		3.		4.		Titled women		Unknown	
	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-
1 & 2. Large-scale & higher...	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	-	-	-	5.7	6.7	-
3a & 3b. Small-scale entre...	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	11.2	3.4	-	11.5	20.0	-
4. Lower civil officials	-	-	-	21.4	-	7.5	9.3	7.0	25.0	18.4	13.3	14.3
5. Skilled laborers	-	100	50.0	21.4	-	27.5	29.6	27.8	27.5	29.9	20.0	14.3
6a. Unskilled laborers	-	-	-	57.1	-	50.0	29.6	54.8	37.5	31.0	13.3	42.9
6b. Farmhands...	-	-	50.0	-	-	2.5	20.4	6.1	-	3.4	13.3	28.6
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.9	-	-	13.3	-
Total (%)	-	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	0	2	2	14	0	40	54	115	8	87	15	7

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 5.10.

Male migrant skilled laborers and lower civil officials in the industrial cohort display the most varied partner preferences. Among the latter, *pigor* were not particularly popular but skilled laborers saw them as second favorites after the rather anonymous group of titled women. It was primarily unskilled laborers and the social group of farmhands that married *pigor*. The higher the status of the male migrants the more titled women and females whose occupation is unknown are usually found. Although little is known about their work, men allocated to the higher social strata were most likely to marry them probably because the wealth of these women's families improved their odds in the partner market.⁷⁵ A title indicates that these women were provided for and did not need to work to earn their daily bread.

What about the marital mobility of *pigor* in the two cohorts? Their domestic employment in wealthier households is often associated with great possibilities to achieve higher socio-economic status through favorable marriages. In this thesis and other efforts it has been argued that they most likely experienced an improvement only by moving to towns to take up domestic employment although that was precisely the kind of work they left behind. Wages and working conditions were usually better in urban areas. Some scholars argue that servants were popular in the urban marriage pool because of their domestic skills, their more rapidly achieved dowry, and that because of their work they frequently interacted with middle or upper class people.⁷⁶ The term of a bridging occupation is sometimes applied to conceptualize the upward potential that servants were able to achieve. Theresa McBride finds that in Britain and France one servant in three experienced some upward mobility through marriage.⁷⁷

Table 5.11 shows that the domestic occupation of *pigor* in Sundsvall could hardly be considered as a springboard to higher ranks through marriage to men in the middle- or upper social strata. During industrialization only one *piga* in ten found such a husband.⁷⁸ Skilled female laborers, mainly seamstresses, were slightly more successful in marrying men of the middle and upper social strata. Nevertheless, most female migrants married skilled and unskilled laborers and even farmhands. *Pigor* in the pre-industrial cohort often married men in the middle or upper social strata although the commercial and economic development ought to have stimulated the labor and marriage market of those in the latter cohort. The increasing demand for domestic skill among urban households would particularly have favored their chances to interact with and maybe marry men of higher social rank. However, if the many *pigor* arriving in Sundsvall during the latter nineteenth century ever had such marital expectations on their mind these were rarely realized. About 30 percent of them took a minor step upward by marrying skilled laborers. These men probably appreciated *pigor* as they were used to hard work and likely willing to give a helping hand towards their husbands' handicraft.

There is little reason to consider domestic service as a vehicle for upward marital mobility among women migrants. This result echoes those of Penelope Wilcox and Edward Higgs. The latter suggests that among the urban population a social stigma was sometimes linked to domestic employment mainly performed by girls from the countryside. This would explain their inability to contract marriages with men of higher social standing.⁷⁹ In their different longitudinal studies, both Carlsson and Jorde also detect that *pigor* faced difficulties in improving their status. Neither marrying nor migrating to Swedish towns could dramatically change that.⁸⁰

However, the major reason for the poor prospects of *pigor* to marry upwards is found in the characteristics of the pool of suitors in Sundsvall. Young men at the bottom of the social strata joined *pigor's* desire to move to the town and dominated the marriage market. Although small-scale businessmen and lower civil officials also increased in numbers, their relative ratio in the town as a whole was limited because of all the working class men. Thus, *pigor* faced little prospects of marrying men of the middle strata who rather turned to titled women or those with no occupations reported. Most *pigor* had neither wealthy fathers nor impressing dowries to attract men from the middle or upper social strata. Obviously their domestic skills and possible employment in middle-class household were of little help in achieving higher positions through marriage. Their occupation was hardly bridging. There were, however, a lot of men below the rank of lower civil officials in Sundsvall. If women migrants married, it was

usually to one of them. This result strongly indicates that *pigor* mainly served laborers and rarely entered into households of the middle- and upper social strata.

Migrants' exogenous marriages brought an increasing exchange between different social groups over time but their choices of partner were largely governed by the barrier separating the lower social strata from the ranks above. This was not as easily overcome as the barrier that separated those with different geographical backgrounds. The lack of marriages in which spouses overcame large social distances to unite suggests that Sundsvall was largely still socially segregated despite the process of becoming more opened in economic terms. Individuals of the middle and upper social strata and those of the lower social ranks met on the streets of this small town but they seldom interacted. At least they did not do so long or frequent enough to cause many inter-marriages.

Social mobility and occupational changes over time

The men and women in the industrial cohort are more closely examined to study the factors influencing possibilities migrants had to overcome enough social distance to cause upward mobility. Thereafter the occupational changes by social groups is studied and compared to those made by migrants in the pre-industrial cohort.

The cox regression shown in Table 5.12 analyzes migrants in the industrial cohort and their chances to experience upward mobility. Male migrants were more than three times as likely to move upwards as female migrants.⁸¹ *Pigor*, who are most frequent among women in the table because of the necessary criterion of having an occupation reported on arrival, faced considerable difficulties in achieving higher socio-economic status either by changing occupation or marrying men labeled skilled laborers or above. This confirms the findings put forward in Table 5.11.

Table 5.12. Logistic regression of upward mobility of migrants in the industrial cohort. Only migrants allocated below the first social group on arrival with an occupation reported on both occasions of measurement are included. N(men)=672 & N(women)=636.

Covariates Categories of characteristics on arrival	N		B-value		P-value		Relative risk	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sex								
1. Age group (ref: 23-27)	370	268						
18-22	302	368	0.583	0.512	<i>0.007</i>	<i>0.061</i>	1.713	1.669
2. Time in the town (ref: > 9 years)	264	227			<i>0.008</i>	<i>0.000</i>		
< 2 years	137	131	-0.970	-9.488	0.002	0.496	0.379	0.000
2-4 years	157	151	-0.569	-2.662	0.030	0.000	0.566	0.070
5-9 years	114	127	-0.230	-0.987	0.389	0.003	0.794	0.373
3. Family network (ref: In the Sundsvall region)	21	127			<i>0.527</i>	<i>0.203</i>		
None	614	497	0.477	1.098	0.592	0.084	1.610	2.997
In Sundsvall	37	12	-0.344	0.240	0.703	0.843	0.709	1.272
4. Modified social group (ref: 5. Unskilled laborers...)	319	608			<i>0.000</i>	<i>0.858</i>		
2. Small-scale entrepreneurs ...	26	1	-7.733	-10.613	0.489	0.948	0.000	0.000
3. Lower civil officials	84	3	-0.477	-8.288	0.118	0.927	0.621	0.000
4. Skilled laborers	243	24	-1.149	-0.935	0.000	0.386	0.317	0.393
5. Urban-geographical background (birth)					<i>0.299</i>	<i>0.309</i>		
(ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)	23	103						
2. Non-urban inter-regional	447	395	-0.683	-1.020	0.428	0.106	0.505	0.361
3. Urban	118	66	-0.569	-0.411	0.522	0.587	0.566	0.663
4. Urban capital	15	4	-0.975	-9.701	0.401	0.891	0.377	0.000
5. Immigrants	27	46	0.680	-3.918	0.570	0.058	1.973	0.020
6. Sundsvall-born	24	14	1.162	0.120	0.229	0.905	3.198	1.127
Unknown	18	8	-1.378	-8.822	0.239	0.866	0.252	0.000
6. Urban-geographical background (departure)					<i>0.171</i>	<i>0.151</i>		
(ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)	55	177						
2. Non-urban inter-regional	273	263	-0.414	0.174	0.284	0.696	0.661	1.190
3. Urban	204	122	0.140	0.182	0.734	0.722	1.151	1.200
4. Urban capital	107	30	-0.287	1.615	0.519	0.019	0.751	5.029
5. Immigrants	24	38	-1.683	2.753	0.093	0.170	0.186	15.696
Unknown	9	6	-7.518	-0.198	0.702	0.881	0.001	0.821
7. Year of arrival (ref: 1879)	87	91			<i>0.220</i>	<i>0.559</i>		
1870	72	76	-0.424	-0.133	0.347	0.799	0.655	0.876
1871	52	60	-0.458	0.059	0.346	0.916	0.633	1.061
1872	64	76	-0.405	0.061	0.369	0.906	0.667	1.063
1873	108	74	0.186	0.185	0.604	0.733	1.204	1.203
1874	86	54	0.548	-1.078	0.129	0.106	1.729	0.340
1875	33	31	0.083	-1.387	0.866	0.098	1.087	0.250
1876	36	30	0.612	-0.220	0.192	0.738	1.843	0.802
1877	44	33	0.251	0.299	0.564	0.621	1.286	1.349
1878	90	111	-0.108	0.064	0.774	0.899	0.898	1.066

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The methods employed to measure upward social mobility in Chapter 4 are also applied here. Only movements between the social groups in the modified social categorization below are included. P-values in italics refer to the covariate as a whole and not to the specific sub-categories within it.

Explanation: See Table 4.1.

Modified social classification (Figures in brackets refer to social groups in the basic classification)

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises & higher civil officials (1 & 2)
2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers (3a & 3b)
3. Lower civil officials (4)
4. Skilled professional laborers (5)
5. Unskilled workers, farmhands & pigor (6a & 6b)

Urban-geographical categorization

1. Non-urban intra-regional migrants - surrounding parishes in the Sundsvall region
2. Non-urban inter-regional migrants - non-urban parishes all over Sweden outside the Sundsvall region
3. Urban migrants - towns in Sweden, except for the capital
4. Urban capital migrants - Stockholm
5. Immigrants - migrants from other countries
6. Sundsvall - born in the town of Sundsvall

Bearing this gender differences in mind, Table 5.12 shows that the upward mobility of both men and women was significantly determined by their duration of residence and age on arrival. As previous statistical analyses in this chapter have shown, the occupation on arrival only affected the male migrants. Those placed at the bottom were the ones most likely to experience upward mobility. Again there is reason to emphasize that newcomers, and particularly men, heading for this town were not predestined to stay in their low occupational position. Interestingly access to family networks was unimportant for achieving upward mobility. The year of arrival, which is included to check the possible influence of the fluctuating business cycles of the 1870s, also had no effect. This also holds true for the migrants' geographical background defined by both place of birth and departure, although the latter was more significant. Nevertheless, women from Stockholm were more likely to experience upward mobility compared to women departing from the parishes surrounding Sundsvall. Immigrant men were particularly unlikely to achieve such success.

Gender, age, duration of residence and occupational status on arrival were thus the prime determinants for whether migrants experienced upward mobility or not. This shows that their geographical background did not shape the migrants' life-course in Sundsvall as much as did their gender for example. The following tables further illustrate the migrants' gendered courses in occupational terms by comparing the social group on arrival with that of departure, death or end of the longitudinal study.

Table 5.13 shows that the young male migrants in the industrial cohort enjoyed the period of economic development by changing social groups much more often than had their pre-industrial counterparts. Although these occupational changes generally enabled them to move only one step up the social hierarchy, it was not impossible for unskilled laborers and farmhands to achieve positions as lower civil officials and small-scale businessmen. These findings suggest that social distance and the barrier between social ranks were more easily challenged during urban-industrial times especially for young male migrants in the middle of their careers.

Table 5.13. Occupational changes by social groups of male migrants in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts. Social group on arrival compared to that reported at the time of the migrants' departure, death or end of the longitudinal study.

Social group at last registration	Social group on arrival of male migrants in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts													
	1 & 2		3a. & 3b.		4.		5.		6a.		6b.		Unknown	
	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-	Pre-	Ind-
1 & 2.	100	87.5	12.5	-	13.3	6.0	0.6	0.8	-	1.1	-	0.7	13.7	5.3
3a. & 3b.	-	-	62.5	88.9	13.3	22.6	10.9	8.6	4.4	7.6	8.8	10.1	3.4	13.2
4.	-	12.5	-	7.4	73.3	65.5	0.6	5.7	2.2	7.1	-	5.1	6.9	10.5
5.	-	-	25.0	-	-	3.6	82.4	78.0	35.8	23.0	8.8	9.4	20.7	18.4
6a.	-	-	-	-	-	2.4	4.8	5.7	52.2	57.4	35.4	37.0	13.8	18.4
6b.	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	0.4	5.4	3.3	46.9	37.0	6.9	-	-
Unknown	-	-	-	3.7	-	-	-	0.8	-	0.5	-	0.7	34.5	34.2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	9	8	16	27	15	84	165	245	92	183	113	138	29	38

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The year of 1862 marks the end of the longitudinal study for the pre-industrial cohort. The industrial cohort is followed until 1892.

Explanations: See Table 5.10.

According to Table 5.14 women who did not marry seldom changed their occupational status. Their gender and the sex-segmented labor market constrained their options. Of course they might have changed domestic employment that brought higher wages and better working conditions but such qualitative changes are not indicated in the parish registers. The sources give the impression that women faced meager occupational prospects in this town.

Apparently women migrants did not participate in the new occupations that were introduced during the 1860s and 1870s when reforms allowed them to enter the business sector or lower civil professions such as teachers and telegraphers.⁸² Chapter 7 will develop perspectives of women's work and the labor market in Sundsvall using alternative sources. It will offer another and more varied picture of the many ways in which women in Sundsvall earned their living. Whether women's migration and work was linked to some sort of emancipation is then analyzed. The poor occupational data in Table 5.14 does not allow such a discussion.

Table 5.14. Occupational changes by social groups of female migrants in the industrial cohort who did not marry during their stay. Social group on arrival compared to that reported at the time of the migrants' departure, death or end of the longitudinal study, i.e. 1892.

Social group at last registration	The industrial cohort Women's social groups on arrival					
	1.	2.	3.	4.	Titled women	Unknown
1. Small-scale entrepreneurs...	50.0	-	-	-	-	-
2. Skilled laborers	-	61.1	9.1	0.3	1.7	-
3. Unskilled laborers	-	-	27.3	0.3	-	14.3
4. <i>Pigor</i> (maidservants)	16.7	27.8	63.3	97.8	27.1	57.1
Titled women	16.7	11.1	-	1.3	64.4	14.3
Unknown	16.7	-	-	0.3	6.8	14.3
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	6	18	11	320	59	7

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The unmarried women in the pre-industrial cohort are not included as most of them have no occupation reported on either their arrival or the second occasion of measurement. Only 19 out of the 193 women who did not marry during their stay in Sundsvall experienced a change in occupation that also involved a change of their social group. They were seamstresses and *pigor* who moved between the third and fourth social categories.

Analyzing the multiple movements, marriages and occupational changes of migrants has reflected their life-course in Sundsvall. Another demographic event particularly linked to women concerns illegitimate children. About one woman in five in the pre-industrial cohort bore such children. Among the female migrants arriving in the 1870s, one woman in four shared a similar experience. The impact of illegitimate children on women's migration and life-course in Sundsvall during industrialization is thoroughly explored in the following chapter.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has analyzed young migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s and 1870s. The genders and decades of arrival have consistently been compared although women and urban-industrial times were particularly highlighted. The migrants' multiple movements, marital patterns and life-courses in Sundsvall have been thoroughly explored by employing socio-spatial perspectives. Literal and theoretical, possible barriers between towns and countryside on the one hand, and between different social groups on the other hand have been examined, but with different results concerning the importance of such barriers. Initially they had little impact at all in urban-geographical terms regarding the mi-

grants' migratory behavior and their choice of spouses. The barriers became more evident in governing migrants' partner preferences and careers in socio-economic terms.

Migrants experienced both urban and non-urban settings because of the frequent travels. The urban barrier proved to be rather weak and easily challenged especially by men during urban-industrial times. Migrants' mixed experience of and preference for residing in both urban and non-urban areas resulted in bi-local residences. This moderated the urbanization process on a large scale. Women migrants who were most known for moving to urban centers showed a surprising desire to leave Sundsvall for non-urban destinations even during the latter part of the century. This is explained by their largely rural background which they had never fully abandoned. It was suggested that networks left behind played some role in this pattern. Men had generally traveled longer distances to reach Sundsvall and had experienced towns more often than had women prior to their arrival in the town. Men's pronounced urban background proved to have exerted a particular pull on them if they took to the road again.

The unique attachment of Sundsvall's hinterland came starkly into view. The whole region was a migration system of its own that was made even tighter by the economic development and multiple movements of the increasing numbers of migrants. The urban center and labor market of Sundsvall benefited from the industrial development in the sawmill parishes whereas the surrounding rural parishes supplied the other two types of regional settings with necessary agricultural products. Despite the male profile of the labor markets in the surrounding parishes, women found reason to leave the town and move to them. They looked for employment, wished to reunite with more familiar non-urban settings, or wanted to find a partner. The many men living and working there not only meant females found labor but also a favorable partner market.

However, a large pool of potential suitors was precisely what also awaited women migrants in late nineteenth-century Sundsvall. Having the alleged bridging occupation of a servant did not increase the likelihood of marriage or the upward mobility of women migrants. Their late age at marriage is most interesting but can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, low wages and problems of integrating in Sundsvall might have postponed their marriages. On the other hand, women migrants perhaps freely delayed this phase in their life to enjoy the salary and freedom as single women away from immediate parental supervision. The fact that women migrants delayed marriage in an urban setting where the demographic odds would suggest the opposite adds strength to the argument that they really chose to keep their independence a while longer. Whatever the reason for the delay, most *pigor* married laborers rather than middle-class men if they married in Sundsvall. This marriage pattern indicates that they primarily served and interacted with men from the lower social strata.

Although migrants increasingly began to inter-marry across class divisions and even made minor careers during industrialization, the assumed openness brought little change to women migrants. Their gender did not only constrain the number of kilometers they traveled but it also shaped the limited social mobility they were able to master. The barrier of social distance between migrants of different social origin was not as easily overcome as was that which divided those with different geographical backgrounds or urban experiences. The high rates of geographical exogamy found in marriages was primarily shaped by the large influx of migrants from various areas who created a widely diverse marriage pool in Sundsvall. Only unions between migrant spouses from Västernorrland was apparent because many migrants left this county behind. However, partner preferences and occupational prospects proved to be most governed by the migrants' socio-economic rather than their spatial characteristics. Men were more able than women to challenge the social distance between different social groups when it came to marriage or making a career. In this respect gender was a paramount determinant.

Nevertheless, some unexpected similarities between men and women came starkly into view. Business cycles could not separate the migration patterns by gender. The fact that women and men shared many of the characteristics that brought them to Sundsvall and saw many of them leave suggests they were equally influenced by structural factors that nevertheless divided the male and female labor markets. These similarities were likely based on a joint desire for better work. Economic necessity affected most young individuals and turned them into multiple migrants regardless of their gender or current residence. This might lead us to believe that gender did not matter after all but it did because men and women took different roads to and from Sundsvall. This chapter has also highlighted that the migrants' life-course was largely gendered. Women and men could not escape the gendered regime by migrating and building upon their geographical experience or by moving to Sundsvall.

In short, gender did not determine when migrants would arrive in or depart from Sundsvall. Neither did it influence how long migrants stayed in the town although men had traveled longer distances and more often left towns behind. In every other aspect analyzed in this chapter, gender was crucial. Women appear to have gained the least from settling in the town. Here the barrier between the genders that shaped men's and women's situation and prospects became most evident. Women, however, probably did not weigh their life-course and urban options against that of men. The possibilities Sundsvall provided were most likely compared to those left behind. Considering that women stayed in the town as long as men suggests that Sundsvall also offered female migrants something special although the parish registers fail to uncover exactly what. This chapter has nevertheless indicated that the paramount factor was most likely

located in the labor market. Therefore, there is reason to return later to women's work and the labor prospects in Sundsvall. First, the following chapter examines one possible reason for migration unique for women and analyzes its impact on their life-course.

Notes

- 1 The migrants' mean and median age on arrival of are as follows:
 The industrial cohort (men): Mean 22.3 & median 23.0.
 The industrial cohort (women): Mean 22.1 & median 22.0.
 The pre-industrial cohort (men): Mean 22.5 & median 22.3.
 The pre-industrial cohort (women): Mean 22.1 & median 22.0.
- 2 This means they did not arrive in company with somebody else. Cf. the heading of Marital status in Chapter 3. Because every young migrant in this chapter has been thoroughly examined in the parish records, it was possible to check more in detail their different characteristics and add information to the larger data files. The minister's notations in the catechetical examination lists that are registered by DDB but not computerized in similar way as other variables, provided information of importance. For example, when migration lists were missing migrants' parish of birth or departure was sometimes noted in the catechetical examination lists.
- 3 The occupational information is more accurately reported by the parish registers in these cases. Young migrants arriving with their parents either lack occupational data or are linked to their parents, i.e. usually the father. Such migrants are not given priority in the subsequent study. Although occupational data, or at least titles, are usually identified in accordance with this criterion, it is not always the case. Nevertheless, no other individual has been infused with their occupational status or determined this when no data is recorded on the young migrants themselves.
- 4 The young men in the industrial cohort account for 67 percent of the total number of male migrants in this age interval and period of in-migration (1870-1879). The corresponding figure for young women is 64 percent. For the pre-industrial cohort (1840-1849), these figures were 76 percent for men and 80 percent for women.
- 5 In his categorization Jackson considers both the distance and the urban element of the departures and destinations related to Duisburg. Jackson, pp. 253-263. When analyzing general trends of population movements in Sweden, the Myrdal group in Stockholm developed a community typology which considers the degree of rural, industrial or urban characteristics of parishes in early twentieth-century Sweden. As discussed under the heading of Geographical categorizations in the Introduction this typology is based on the years 1904, 1914 and 1924. Hence, it does not fit into this Sundsvall study. See Thomas, pp. 201-220; cf. Moore, pp. 28-42. In the migration project carried out at the University of Uppsala during the 1960s and 1970s, Kronborg & Nilsson also made use of an urban-rural categorization in their longitudinal cohort study. See Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 105-113; cf. Åkerman 1971, p. 78.
- 6 The number of inhabitants in Swedish towns is based on Table 12 in *Historisk Statistik för Sverige. Del 1. Befolkning*. Stockholm 1969, pp. 61 f.

- 7 Jackson & Moch, p. 30; Lee, R. "Urban Labor Markets, In-migration, and Growth". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1999:30, pp. 438 f.
- 8 Ravenstein suggested this in one of his laws discussed in the Introduction (cf. footnote 12 in Chapter 1); Grigg 1977, p. 112.
- 9 Thomas 1941, pp. 288-303. In his study about rural Asby in Sweden, Hågerstrand also finds that the migrants' preferred type of destinations remained relatively constant despite times of urban-industrial changes. Hågerstrand 1947, pp. 123 ff. For further information related to internal migration flows in Sweden, see Åkerman 1971, pp. 73-80.
- 10 McCants, A. "Internal Migration in Friesland, 1750-1805". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1992:22, pp. 400-403; Zelinsky 1983, p. 20.
- 11 Themstrom 1973, pp. 9-29, 220 ff.; Jackson, pp. 255 ff., 265-275; Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 183 ff.
- 12 Because of the fire 1888, the parish of birth is often missing for the pre-industrial cohort and especially for men who usually originated from areas outside the district. The percentage of those with identical parishes of birth and departure was most likely higher than the 18 percent presented above. Women migrants were much more likely to have had a regional background and their place of birth was possible to identify from the computerized parish registers of the region.
- 13 Although Ravenstein mainly had shorter distances in mind when he stated this law, women are usually found to relocate more often than men. Cf. the heading From Ravenstein to general features of nineteenth-century migration in Chapter 1, see particularly footnotes 12, 17 and 18.
- 14 Norberg, A. & Åkerman, S. "Migration and the Building of Families: Studies in the Rise of the Lumber Industry in Sweden". Ågren, K, Gaunt, D. et. al. (Eds.). *Aristocrats, Farmers, Proletarians: Essays in Swedish Demographic History*. Stockholm 1973, pp. 115 f. The similar barrier is also discussed in the study of three Swedish towns examined in the Uppsala Migration Project. See Eriksson & Åkerman, pp. 271 f.
- 15 The few pre-industrial migrants born in Stockholm do not fit this general pattern. Most of them were orphans who were sent to the Sundsvall area in their childhood to be taken care of by stepparents. As adults they frequently went to the town just as did their peers who had been born in the region.
- 16 Whether these women left the town still unmarried is not examined. If they were married their husbands might have determined the destinations. However, as is later shown, only a minority of the women migrants married during their stay. Cf. Figure 5.4.
- 17 It should be remembered that male seasonal laborers likely passed the town on their way towards the surrounding parishes without ever having registered their residence in Sundsvall.
- 18 As discussed in the theoretical overview in the Introduction, the view that migration was primarily a matter of rural-urban movements ending in permanent residence and rapid urbanization had a long history rooted in modernization theories. For some more recent examples supporting the rural-to-urban view of migration, see Andersson, M. "Urban Migration in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire: Some Insights into Two Competing Hypotheses". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1971, pp. 13-26; Davis, K. "The Urbanization of the Human Population". Tilly, C. (Ed.). *An Urban World*. Boston 1974, pp. 160-177; Grigg, D.B. *Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective*. Cambridge 1980, see particularly pp. 42 ff.; cf. Hochstadt, pp. 26 ff.

- 19 Thernstrom shows that 64 percent of the population in Boston 1880 could be identified ten years later. The corresponding low percentage in Sundsvall during industrialization (about 30 percent) is explained by the young age of migrants and that a final settlement meant they must have resided for more than the ten years separating two census-takings. Thernstrom 1973, pp. 9-29, 220 ff. Thomas finds that a high turnover also characterized rural areas in Sweden. Thomas 1941, pp. 288-298; cf. Kronborg & Nilsson, pp. 121 ff; Norman 1974, pp. 161 ff.
- 20 Jackson finds that about two in three migrants who had an urban background on their arrival left Duisburg for another town. Among those from the countryside, one migrant in two returned to rural areas. Jackson refers to Adolf Levenstein's survey (1912) of working class people who hoped they would eventually own a cottage. Studies about emigrants going for America have shown that their relocation was based on a dream to continue the agricultural life that was no longer possible in Europe. Such traditional goals made people become migrants. Jackson, pp. 253-263.
- 21 Cf. the comments, Table 5.2 and 5.3.
- 22 Goldstein, S. "Circulation in the Context of Total Mobility in Southeast Asia". *Papers of the East-West Population Institute*. Honolulu 1978:No.53, see particularly pp. 10, 61. Hochstadt also discusses this theory. Hochstadt, p. 42 f.
- 23 These percentages resemble McCants' findings in a Dutch area prior to industrialization, i.e. 1750-1805. She finds that 23.3 percent of the moves beginning in rural areas ended in cities and 37.6 percent of movements beginning in towns ended in the countryside. McCants, p. 400.
- 24 The assertion that most migrants moved in a series of steps toward urban centers is one of Ravenstein's best known but least substantiated law. In short it suggests there was a stepwise pattern of migrants moving from small places to nearby larger settlements and so forth up the urban hierarchy until they reached big cities. Cf. Chapter 1 and the heading concerning Ravenstein and footnote 12 in that chapter. For further discussion on the issue of stepwise migration, see particularly Pooley & Turnbull 1998, p. 325; White & Woods, pp. 36 f.; Moore, pp. 4 ff.; Åkerman 1971, pp. 77 ff.
- 25 There are some gender differences regarding this measurement of the migrants' duration. Close to 69 percent of men and 65 percent of women in the pre-industrial cohort left Sundsvall within four years after their arrival in the 1840s. For the industrial cohort 51 percent of men and 49 percent of women did so.
- 26 Again, because of a lack of sufficient information advanced statistical analyses are not as easily employed for the pre-industrial cohort. However, the most interesting findings were identified among migrants arriving in the 1870s. Therefore, they deserve to be highlighted.
- 27 Cf. Table 9.4 in the Appendix.
- 28 Table 9.4 in the Appendix further confirms this finding. The urban-geographical categorization of place of departure displays a significance below five percent and this shows that this influences the likelihood of leaving Sundsvall. The urban-geographical categorization based on place of birth is insignificant.
- 29 About 10 percent of males and 15 percent of females in the pre-industrial cohort had a family network in Sundsvall.
- 30 Cf. the beginning of this section and footnote 25. See also the section dealing with duration of residence in Chapter 4.
- 31 Robert Lee finds a similar pattern among women migrants. Lee R., pp. 450, 471.

- 32 Gabaccia 1994, pp. 133 f.
- 33 Tilly & Scott, pp. 106-121.
- 34 Nilsson compares the marital and migratory behavior of some Sundsvall migrants in Stockholm with that of those related to some other towns in Sweden at the time. He focuses only on the place of birth and not that of departure. Similar to this thesis, Nilsson finds many trips back and forth between Sundsvall and Stockholm. Nilsson, L. "Sundsvall i Stockholm 1878-1926. Ett sätt att forska utifrån Söderskivan". Norberg, J.R. (Ed.). *Studier i idrott, historia och sambälle: Tillägnade professor Jan Lindroth på hans 60-årsdag 23 februari 2000*. Stockholm 2000, pp. 129-153. Concerning the concept of *topofilä*, see pp. 140 f.; cf. Asplund, J. *Tid, rum och kollektiv*. Stockholm 1983, pp. 169 ff.
- 35 If they were not married women are assumed to have moved unaffected by business booms and recessions because they primarily worked in the domestic sector. On the one hand, Fred Nilsson argues that this was the case among the Stockholm female emigrants to America in the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, he is skeptical about using push and pull parameters based on business cycles when it comes conceptualizing emigration. See, Nilsson F., pp. 49, 132 ff., 253-260; cf. Gustafson, pp. 56 f.; Thomas 1941, pp. 138-169, 304-317.
- 36 Although she focuses on female emigrants, Ohlander's argument is relevant regarding internal relocation. Ohlander 1986c, pp. 118-120. Scholars often disagree about the influence of business cycles and labor markets on female migration. The subject has mostly concerned students of overseas migration. Gabaccia shows that women immigrants approached USA with great sensitivity to swings in the U.S. economy. Gabaccia, D. "Women of Mass Migrations: From Minority to Majority, 1820-1930". Hoerder, D. & Moch, L.P. (Eds.). *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*. Boston, Massachusetts 1996, pp. 90-111, see especially pp. 99 ff. Scholars have increasingly emphasize the economic pull of labor markets on women's relocation. See particularly Sharpe, P. "Introduction: Gender and the Experience of Migration". Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001, pp. 1-14; Harzig, C. "Women Migrants as Global and Local Agents: New Research Strategies on Gender and Migration". Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001, pp. 15-28; Morokvasic 1984, pp. 886-907.
- 37 Husbands might have determined the pattern of out-migration for some women. However, as is shown below, most migrants did not marry in Sundsvall.
- 38 Broom, L. & Smith, J.H. "Bridging Occupations". *British Journal of Sociology* 1963:14, pp. 321-34; Berg, M. "What Difference did Women's Work Make to the Industrial Revolution?". *History Workshop Journal* 1993:35, pp. 23 ff.; McBride, T.M. *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernization of Household Service in England and France 1820-1920*. London 1976, pp. 63 ff.; Gyáni, G. "Patterns of Women's Work in Hungary 1900-1930". *European Review of History* 1998:5, pp. 31-34.
- 39 Dubert, I. "Domestic Service and Social Modernization in Urban Galicia, 1752-1920". *Continuity and Change* 1999:14, pp. 221 ff.; Fauve-Chamoux, A. "Servants in Pre-industrial Europe: Gender Differences". *Historical Social Research* 1998:23, pp. 119 ff.; McBride 1976, pp. 34-48; Sewell, pp. 208-210.
- 40 Hajnal, pp. 101 ff; Laslett, P. "Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time". *Journal of Family History* 1977:2, pp. 89-116.
- 41 Gaunt, D. *Famjeliv i Norden*. Stockholm 1983; Norman, H. (Ed.). *Den utsatta familjen: Liv, arbete och samlevnad i olika nordiska miljöer under de senaste tvåhundra åren*. Stockholm 1983; Eriksson & Rogers, pp. 102-177; Brändström, Sundin & Tedebrand 2000.

- 42 Of course there were some regional differences in Sweden. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the mean age at marriage remained rather stable among men at about 28.8 years but it declined among women from 27.1 years in the 1860s and 1870s to 26.4 years at the turn of the century. Lundh 1997, pp. 7-19; Carlsson S. 1977, pp. 9 f, 109-114.
- 43 Winberg, pp. 28 ff., 225; Eversley, D.E.C. "A Survey of Population in an Area of Worcestershire from 1660 to 1850 on the Basis of Parish Registers". Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. *Population in History*. London 1965, pp. 408 ff.; Levine, D. *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism*. Studies in Social Discontinuity. London 1977, pp. 45 f., 59 ff.
- 44 John Knodel and Mary Jo Maynes discuss urban and rural marriage patterns in industrializing Germany. They find that the proportion of people never marrying and the mean age at marriage were significantly higher in urban areas than in the countryside. Knodel, J. & Maynes, M. Jo. "Urban and Rural Marriage Pattern in Imperial Germany". *Journal of Family History* 1976:1, pp. 129-168;
- 45 Tilly, L.A., Scott J.W., & Cohen, M. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1976:6, p. 464.
- 46 Knodel and Maynes cannot say whether women were delaying marriage because they were servants or whether they took up this occupation because the chances of marriage in the countryside were slim. They also discover that urban sex ratios were of great importance in shaping women's age at marriage and their prospects of ever marrying. The surplus of women found in most towns determined their marriage patterns. Knodel & Maynes, pp. 147 ff.
- 47 Women of higher social strata usually married earlier than working class women. The age gap between the spouses was also wider among wealthier people. Concerning women's experience of marriage according to class, legislation and gendered expectations, see Tilly, L.A. "Rich and Poor in a French Textile City". Moch, L.P. & Stark, G.D. (Eds.). *Essays on the Family and Historical Change*. College Station, Texas 1983, pp. 65-90; Perkin, J. *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*. London 1989, especially pp. 311-316. Janssens discovers that women's type of employment influenced their marriage patterns. Women working in industries did not parallel the pattern of domestic servants who were employed by a family. Janssens, A. "Class, Work and Religion in the Female Life Course: The Case of a Dutch Textile Town, Enschede 1880-1940". *Historical Social Research* 1998:23, pp. 255 ff.
- 48 The concepts of endogamy (intra-marriage) and exogamy (inter-marriage) are used to describe the extent to which partner selection occurs within one specific socio-economic or geographical field or between one and another group of people. Cf. Matovic 1984, p. 26.
- 49 For a theoretical discussion concerning exchange theories and those giving larger emphasis on the imbalance of marriage markets, see South, S.J. "Sociodemographic Differentials in Mate Selection Preferences". *Journal of Marriage and Family* 1991:53, pp. 928-940. Michael Anderson has used exchange theory when analyzing individuals and the family structure in industrializing Lancashire. See Anderson M. 1971a.
- 50 Shorter E. *The Making of the Modern Family*. New York 1975, see particularly pp. 120-160.
- 51 Nilsson L. 2000, pp. 138 ff., 147 f.
- 52 Matovic applies a similar theory to explain why women fell into relationships not blessed by a wedding. To escape further subjugation and keep control of their small resources, women cohabited with men and thus enjoyed a family life. See Matovic 1984, pp. 82-92.
- 53 Moch 1983, pp. 150 ff.

- 54 Norberg & Åkerman, pp. 101-103, 112-116; Norberg 1980, pp. 65-71. In the neighboring parish of Tuna, Norberg and Rolén discover that migrants had a preference for marrying those who originated from the same parts of Sweden as themselves. See Norberg, A. & Rolén, M. "Migration and Marriage". Sundin, J. & Söderlund, E. (Eds.). *Time, Space and Man: Essays on Microdemography. Reports From the Symposium Time, Space and Man in Umeå, Sweden, June 1977.* Stockholm 1979, pp. 133-135.
- 55 Concerning the figures for mean age at first marriage in Sweden, see Lundh 1997, p. 10.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Brändström et. al. have calculated the general mean age at marriage of both migrants and residents in late nineteenth-century Sundsvall. Migrants married later, 30.5 for men and 28.3 for women. Male residents married on average at the age of 28.3 and females at the age of 25.3. Brändström, Sundin & Tedebrand 1999, p. 108.
- 58 Lee R., pp. 461-463.
- 59 Norberg & Åkerman, pp. 101 ff; Hedman & Tjernström.
- 60 Matovic finds that Stockholm women in her study married slightly earlier in times when they lacked employment such as in the 1880s. By then the mean age at first marriage declined to 28.2. Twenty years earlier it had been 29.0. The surplus of women in the capital caused a relatively high level at first marriage. Matovic 1984, pp. 85, 179 f., 189 f., 325 f. Alter also discusses theories suggesting that women's increased participation in the labor market made them less inclined to marry. The work hindered the formation of early marriages. However, other theories assume that this increase in employment opportunities instead made it possible for women to marry at a younger age as more earnings would improve their prospects in the partner market. Alter, pp. 150-152.
- 61 Men's desire to marry earlier than women after their arrival might be jeopardized by the fact that male migrants in the industrial cohort were generally one year older on arrival than the women (cf. the methodological considerations previously discussed in this chapter, see particularly footnote 1). Table 5.6 shows that men were also generally one year older when they married. Therefore, the life-table results of Figure 5.5 must be regarded as trustworthy.
- 62 Winberg discovers that the average age of women among the landless (29.3 years) was even a couple of years above that of their spouses. This meant these women did not bore as many children before they went too old to become pregnant. Winberg, pp. 217 ff.
- 63 Daughters from the middle- and upper social strata were in this sense in a less favorable position and were usually married at significantly younger ages. Carlsson has shown that the mean age at first marriage differed between social strata in Sweden. The higher the social group, the older the age of the man and the younger the age of the woman. The lower the social strata the lower the age difference between spouses is usually found. See Carlsson S. 1977, pp. 21, 109-114. Eilert Sundt identifies similar patterns between landless people and landowners in nineteenth-century Norway and suggests it was due to concerns about subsistence that also shaped social life. He detects a relatively independent landless woman whose ability to work and her skills enabled her to manage in her piece of the marriage market. The late age at marriage was a result of these women carefully considering their options. Migrating to urban settings probably did not change this marital behavior. Sundt, E. *Om giftermål i Norge.* Askim 1966, pp. 192-195, 225 ff.
- 64 Such endogamous marriages usually involved migrants from parishes within the region, Stockholm, or places abroad. Sundsvall is also included in the parish of birth.

- 65 In the 1840s, ten out of the twenty men who married Sundsvall-born women were allocated to the social groups of small-scale businessmen and lower civil officials whereas only 15 percent were labeled unskilled laborers or below. As is later shown, the latter made up about 60 percent of male spouses. This also holds true for the 33 men in the industrial cohort who married native women. These women were usually not *pigor* but titled women and especially demoiselles. This indicates they were daughters to wealthier men in the town. Svanberg discovers that similar marriage patterns characterized the tradesmen in Sundsvall he has examined. See Svanberg, pp. 157-170. Matovic also shows that men's high status stimulated the preference for Stockholm-born women. Matovic suggests that these men chose who to marry whereas the native women were less able to decide their marital future. Matovic 1984, pp. 192-214.
- 66 Such segregation is primarily found among immigrants in American cities at the time. For example, ethnic background determined the settlement in Chicago. Matovic finds some indications of this among certain migrants in Stockholm especially those from the county of Kalmar situated at the eastern coast in the south of Sweden. See Matovic 1984, pp. 205 ff. Thernstrom also discusses the effects of residential segregation. See Thernstrom 1973, pp. 163-165.
- 67 Table 9.5 and 9.6 in the Appendix show the migrants' marriage pattern according to the urban-geographical categorization for the place of birth.
- 68 Cf. Table 9.7, 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10 in the Appendix.
- 69 The percentage of county endogamy including all migrants from all counties and their spouses is 17.6 for men and 21.9 for women in the industrial cohort. In the pre-industrial cohort the similar figures are 37.2 for males and 59.5 for females. If the surrounding county of Västernorrland had been excluded, the percentage of county-level endogamy is small. Cf. Table 9.7, 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10 in the Appendix.
- 70 Cf. Table 9.7, 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10 in the Appendix.
- 71 Charles Tilly has explained why this was the case. "1. because marriage itself is ordinarily a powerful sort of alliance between families as well as individuals. 2. because the frequency of marriage suggests which groups were able to treat each other as approximately equals. 3. because even where rank is not involved, the frequency of marriage between two groups generally corresponds to the warmth and frequency of other, less binding, social relations." Tilly, C. *The Vendée: A Sociological Analysis of the Counterrevolution of 1793*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1964, p. 88. Despite the turbulent times of late eighteenth-century France, Tilly finds that marriage endogamy within different occupational groups remained intact. If different socio-economic ranks were united by exogamous union, the social distance between these ranks was usually small. Tilly C. 1964, pp. 95 ff.
- 72 Cf. the research overview in Chapter 1 and the sections dealing with social mobility in Chapter 4.
- 73 Beekink, E., Liefbroer, A.C. & Poppel, van F. "Changes in Choice of Spouse as an Indicator of a Society in a State of Transition: Woerden, 1830-1930". *Historical Social Research* 1998:23, pp. 231-253; Shorter 1975, pp. 120-160.
- 74 In their different studies, Matovic (1984) and Tilly (1964) are able to do this.
- 75 Endogamous marriages are probably masked by the titled women who married men from the middle or upper social strata.
- 76 Broom & Smith, pp. 321-334; McBride 1976, pp. 82-98; McBride, T.M. "Social Mobility for the Lower Classes: Domestic Servants in France". *Journal of Social History* 1974:8, pp. 63-78.

- 77 McBride 1976, p. 92.
- 78 Matovic also finds that rural women and daughters to landless men seldom experienced upward mobility through marriage in Stockholm. In the 1860s, only about 10-14 percent of them married into the middle- or upper social strata. Matovic 1984, p. 238.
- 79 Wilcox, P. "Marriage Mobility and Domestic Service". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1981, pp. 195-205. By comparing the occupational status of the servants' fathers to that of their bridegrooms she even finds that domestic servants usually experienced downward marital mobility. Edward Higgs has also identified similar patterns. Higgs, E. "Domestic Service and Household Production". John, A.J. (Ed.). *Unequal Opportunities. Women's Employment in England 1800-1918*. Oxford 1986, pp. 140 ff.
- 80 Carlsson has carefully analyzed the life-course of 747 women born between 1800-1829 in Östra Vingåker, Södermanland, Sweden. Even if they left this place he has traced them and charted their careers and marriage patterns. Few *pigor* experienced upward social mobility. Carlsson S. 1977, pp. 73-108. Jorde discovers that although Stockholm servants frequently changed domestic employment or even occupational sectors, they seldom experienced upward mobility. Jorde, pp. 83-107. Nevertheless, both Carlsson and Jorde stress the progress that *pigor* most likely experienced in qualitative terms by taking up urban domestic employment. Artaeus and Matovic also discuss *pigor's* difficulties in achieving higher social status either by marrying or changing occupation. See Artaeus, pp. 63-79; Matovic 1984, pp. 215-244.
- 81 See Table 9.11 in the Appendix. This gender difference is significant.
- 82 Cf. Chapter 7.

6. Women's migration and illegitimacy: Correlation and consequences

This study has highlighted gender differences concerning individuals' migratory behavior and the consequences of their relocation. The findings have particularly tried to illustrate women's rigidly defined sex-roles and subordinate position. It has been suggested that young women could have escaped constraints and dependence by going to growing towns that offered them better paid work and greater freedom. However, they could never escape the risk of pregnancy.

To have children out of wedlock in nineteenth-century society usually meant women transgressed their gendered expectations. This might have put pressure on them to leave home for the anonymity that an urban environment offered. Towns provided individuals with a greater array of options than could be found in the countryside but they could also be dangerous places where female newcomers ran the risk of having illegitimate offspring or even becoming prostitutes. Illegitimacy increased during industrialization particularly in urban areas. Among the many women heading for Sundsvall there were likely some pregnant single women who would contribute to the rising tide of illegitimacy. Anna Maria Bargelin, the woman discussed at the very beginning of this thesis, was one of them.

By linking migration to illegitimacy this section thoroughly examines women migrants in two ways. First, it might be supposed that pregnant women sought shelter in the anonymity of a town to avoid having to be an unmarried mother back home where they were known. Comparing the date of birth of illegitimate children with the timing of their mothers' migration to Sundsvall would reveal whether an undesired pregnancy made some women go to the town. Second, unwed mothers are studied for a period of time to discern their life-course after the illegitimate birth. Their life-course is also compared to that of those who did not give birth to illegitimate children in Sundsvall. This approach reveals whether these women had to suffer their whole lives just because of a brief sexual faux pas, or whether they managed quite well in the labor and marriage market after all.

A micro-level approach allows us to examine the different demographic features and life-courses of women migrants who gave birth to illegitimate children. Literature about the subject of illegitimacy and the methods employed

to examine it are discussed below. First, however, one woman will illustrate how illegitimacy might have triggered women's relocation and the consequences of it.¹

6.1. Migrating 'in the name of shame'?

Finally he stopped screaming and soon he would also stop breathing. This short life was given only a couple of minutes upon earth. Indeed, it was given only a few breaths of the Stockholm urban air during a dark night in the spring of 1898. But the boy's life did not end by accident. First, there was a suspender around his neck, which stopped him from breathing. Then his throat was pushed hard, which soon made the little boy limp and lifeless. And, as if this was not enough, he was finally left in a dirty ditch. His life was over, yet everything had just started.²

However, it all started in Sundsvall nine months earlier at the end of the summer of 1897. Maria Öhman, the 24-year-old daughter of a shoemaker, was working as a cook at Hotel Knaust, a much frequented place at the time. Here she met a man. They had an affair but according to Maria they only spent one night together. In September she realized she was pregnant but by then her man had left Sundsvall without a word. Maria went looking for him and recalled his talking about heading for Hudiksvall, a town not very far from Sundsvall. But her efforts were fruitless. He was gone and her child would become one of many children reported with a father unknown.

After Maria had found out about her pregnancy she needed to find a new job. Perhaps she had been dismissed because of her sexual misconduct. Maria turned up in Stockholm at the beginning of the winter of 1898 where she was lucky enough to find a job as a seamstress as well as a place to live. Her new home, however, consisted of only a single wooden bed in a flat on Kam-makaregatan. On the night of the fifth of May she was taken by surprise. The baby had an urge to see the world. Perhaps this was why his visit was made so short. It looks as if his mother did not get enough time to prepare for the boy's arrival.

From now on things happened quickly. Maria rose from her bed and sneaked out of the flat to avoid waking her landlord and his wife. Every now and then she was just a moment away from screaming out her pain but she managed to hold it back and ran out onto the streets of Stockholm. Most likely she was exhausted, frozen and confused when she finally lay down in a place where she thought nobody would see her. But Maria was not careful enough and was not aware of the eyes watching her. After having stifled her little boy she wrapped

him in her apron to leave him in a ditch containing a few inches of water. Then Maria rested for a while before she returned home. The next day she had a cup of coffee and then went to work as if nothing had happened, nothing at all.³

Maria Öhman was sentenced to two and a half years' penal servitude for the murder of her child soon after the body of her newborn boy was found. The inquest provides us with the information about Maria as an unmarried mother as well as of a migrant. Although this must have been an extraordinary fate for a pregnant and unmarried migrant, she was perhaps only one of many who moved to escape the shame of bringing an illegitimate child into the world.

Previous chapters have shown that some twenty years before Maria Öhman's departure from Sundsvall the town was close to bursting its boundaries because of the massive influx of migrants of which many were young women. It remains to be decided to what degree the migration of these females was initiated by an unwanted pregnancy.

Methodological considerations and cohort criteria

Two cohorts of women have been constructed from the large data-file of migrants arriving at Sundsvall 1865-1880 to answer this question.⁴ The female migrants have been studied on an individual level from the date of in-migration until the very last date of registration. In both cohorts the date of in-migration is restricted to the 1870s.

The first cohort consists of 203 women between the ages of 15-30 reported to have given birth to their first child out of wedlock during the period 1870-1880. This cohort is from now on called the illegitimate cohort.⁵ To compare the life-course of the unwed mothers with that of female migrants without illegitimate children, a control group has been constructed. For the sake of simplicity the second cohort is called the legitimate cohort. However, not all of the unmarried women aged 15-30 when they arrived could be considered here. Instead every female migrant aged 20, 25, 29 or 30 years has been selected.⁶ Taken together the legitimate cohort consists of 181 women.

All children born out of wedlock are reported as illegitimate offspring in the parish registers. This longitudinal study has, however, revealed that many of them should rather be recognized as pre-nuptial births as their mothers soon married the father. Therefore, a one-year criterion has been applied. If the mother married the man reported as being the father of the child within one year after she gave birth to her extra-marital child, the birth is identified as pre-nuptial and the child is not illegitimate. However, if the husband is stated as being the child's stepfather the mark of illegitimacy remains. Every other child born out of wedlock is considered illegitimate in the following study.

Illegitimacy in literature and theory

One reason for the considerable interest about illegitimacy is that the nineteenth century saw a sharp increase in the number of children born out of wedlock. The growing number of illegitimate births appears to have been prompted by the industrial breakthrough and urban migration because the rising tide of illegitimacy was mainly an urban phenomenon.⁷

Sweden and Sundsvall were no exception to this pattern.⁸ During the 1870s in Sundsvall every fourth child was illegitimate. For the country as a whole and the county of Västernorrland, in which Sundsvall is located, only 10 percent of the children were illegitimate.⁹ The ethnologist Jonas Frykman has developed these statistics and identifies a particular large number of bastard births on the coast where the forest industry dominated the economy. The northern area witnessed a delayed increase in extra-marital fertility but it rose more rapidly than elsewhere.¹⁰

Rising illegitimacy, and the sexual behavior it represented, worried the guardians of law and order. Consequently, between 1910-1920 the Swedish government conducted an investigation to chart the last decades' increase in illegitimacy.¹¹ The study examined the life-course of mothers of illegitimate children from the birth of their children in 1889 until 1910. It was revealed that most unwed mothers were poor and lived in urban areas. The investigators stated that unless the women married after the birth of their child they faced little chance of becoming decent citizens. In 1910, about 55 percent of single mothers were still unmarried. This survey convinced investigators that illegitimacy indicated the poor morality evident in large sections of the population. Women showed the evidence of sexual relationships not blessed through marriage, so they were the ones blamed for having let a man deprive them of their virginity.

However, during the second part of the nineteenth century both the Swedish Church and society had reformed their view of such relationships. Until then the church had stipulated that mothers of illegitimate children had to confess their sins to be purified and able to take part in religious activities. From 1865 onwards the church no longer regarded illegitimacy as a severe sin and this echoed government policy. Since 1734 the State had viewed illegitimacy as a crime. The punishment was usually a fine that the man also had to pay if his guilt could be proven in court. From 1865 illegitimacy was no longer regarded a crime and the mother had to plead her own case in court if she wanted the father to assume his responsibilities. This was only possible for a minority of the women pregnant with an illegitimate child because most were usually poor and could not afford the costs associated with pursuing the matter.¹²

The reforms of 1865 reduced the official penalties for extramarital sexual intercourse but little is known about whether or not people shared the official opinion of the church and government. Some Swedish scholars suggest that

unwed mothers continued to suffer harassment that even caused them in desperation to kill their children.¹³ In reality the number of women driven to such measures was quite small. Similarly, the many studies on prostitutes often reveal their harsh living conditions and the intolerant attitude toward them but these women do not represent the average mother of illegitimate offspring.¹⁴

The rising tide of illegitimacy in the nineteenth century has confounded scholars and has resulted in numerous and varied explanations.¹⁵ The conceptualization of illegitimacy offers two different interpretations that place women either in the middle of a sexual revolution or in a hazardous position. Edward Shorter suggests that greater female emancipation during industrialization explains the increased ratio of illegitimate children. The opportunity to migrate also liberated young adults from their parents' influence over their future marriage partners.¹⁶ Shorter clearly incorporates modernization theory to which William J. Goode also subscribed with regard to partner choice and family life: "...industrialization is likely to undermine gradually the traditional systems of family control and exchange".¹⁷ Shorter assumes that economic chance encouraged young adults to place greater emphasis on emotions rather than simple economic considerations. The result was skyrocketing illegitimacy.

However, supporters of the sexual revolution thesis neglect to consider that individuals often brought old customs with them to their new setting. One such traditional practice in the Swedish countryside was that of night courtship (*nattfrieri*). This was a particularly widespread phenomenon in parishes of northern Sweden.¹⁸ The social control of parents and peers regulated the pre-marital dating of youngsters and ensured women's honor. After the two had come to know each other by chatting, dancing and exchanging gifts, this custom of courting even allowed the couple to share the bed of the woman. This may have led to pre-marital conceptions but it did not spur illegitimate births. Even if the woman did become pregnant her pregnancy was usually sanctified by a subsequent marriage. The man was unlikely to avoid his responsibilities because both her father and the local community knew about their relationship. However, male migrants involved in the lumber industry and construction of the railways were less familiar with these traditional courtship practices. Therefore, some scholars argue they were most responsible for the increasing illegitimacy rates in northern Sweden.¹⁹

For better or worse many women left the safety of the community behind when moving to towns. A woman faced with an unwanted pregnancy had perhaps only the child's father to rely upon and he might abandon her if no parents forced him to deal with the consequences.²⁰

These works suggest that no sexual revolution among single women caused rising illegitimacy rates. Rather, it was the hazardous position many of them faced in growing nineteenth-century towns. Joan Scott, Louise Tilly and Miriam

Cohen confirm this by viewing the single mothers just about to leave their families and traditional norms in favor of a new and unfamiliar set of values generated by industrialization.²¹ According to them, women's poor salaries and employment away from parental supervision did not mean they gained their freedom the way Shorter suggests. In contrast, they find some empirical evidence to support women's risky position because most of the unmarried mothers were among the working class.

Peter Laslett offers a different interpretation by suggesting that increasing illegitimacy rates were largely the result of a few women producing more than one illegitimate child. These 'repeaters' were women living in English sub-societies who produced one bastard after another. It was primarily this group of women that gave birth to illegitimate children.²²

Things must have been easier for those who were not unmarried mothers but several scholars state that being one did not automatically condemn her to poverty as a social outcast. Ann-Sofie Ohlander and Anders Brändström tell a less dismal story of unmarried mothers. By employing longitudinal methods they reveal that many of them married later in life.²³ This hardly indicates they were stigmatized. These results suggest that there was a high degree of tolerance for pre-nuptial conceptions and that they were a widespread phenomenon probably due to night courtship. These pre-nuptial births raise theoretical and statistical questions about how illegitimacy is defined. In addition we know, although not to what extent, that informal consensual unions occurred frequently among poorer people during the nineteenth century.²⁴ Single mothers were perhaps not that alone after all.

There is a rich body of literature about illegitimacy, its explanations, and the possible sense of shame linked to it but few works have paid any attention to the concrete connection between unwanted pregnancy and migration. The major reason for this oversight is the lack of crucial data because such an approach requires knowledge of the exact dates of these demographic events. However, Lin Lean Lim identifies unwanted pregnancy as an incentive for migration and points out that this is the case in many countries of the Third World.²⁵ Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch argue for historical studies of the relationship between women's migration and unwanted pregnancy. Based on the records of a Parisian maternity hospital where one out of five women who gave birth to bastards was pregnant on arrival, they suggest that "failed relationships and pregnancies caused many women to migrate to Paris where they hoped to deliver their babies in the anonymity of a large city".²⁶

Richard M. Smith examines migration and illegitimacy by considering Laslett's results. Looking at certain areas of England in the late eighteenth century Smith stresses that repeaters were generally more frequent during times characterized by high geographical mobility. Furthermore, he finds that bastard-bearers, par-

ticularly the repeaters, were less mobile after they had their children.²⁷ Smith cannot say whether this residential stability was due to the birth of many illegitimate offspring, or if extended settlement in cities often resulted in illegitimate children.

Undesired pregnancy as a motive for migration

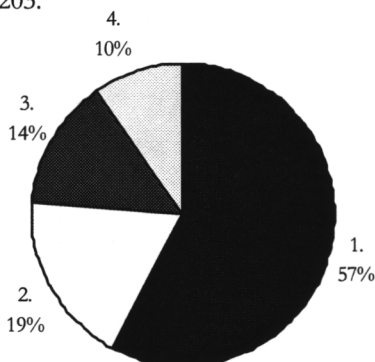
Basically this study examines two groups of young women migrants: those who experienced single motherhood in Sundsvall, and those who did not. However, the first group covers two types of women. Among them there are those who gave birth to an illegitimate child in connection to their in-migration and those who did not. A seven-months criterion based on the dates of these two events helps determine whether there was a relationship between them. This criterion includes women who gave birth within seven months of arrival when no father is present, and those whose child was seven months or less old when the mother arrived. In these cases there is evidence of a correlation. Biologically the woman must have known about her pregnancy after two months when she decided to move to Sundsvall or she might have migrated to get away from the trouble she faced in the parish where she had just given birth to her child. A problem appears when applying the seven-month restriction. Some women lack exact date of arrival as only the year of in-migration is reported. These cases are gathered together in one group identified as suspected correlation. Women in this category might have approached Sundsvall for similar reasons as did women in the correlation category but the relationship between in-migration and an illegitimate child is not confirmed.

Figure 6.1 shows the result of the categories the seven-months criterion has distinguished. The first group sees no correlation and covers the female migrants who did not arrive with an illegitimate child or who did not deliver one within seven months of arrival. Thus a majority of the women in the illegitimate cohort gave birth to their children quite some time after their in-migration.

The second category represents women who moved to the town with an illegitimate child or shortly after their relocation became single mothers in Sundsvall.²⁸ About one woman in five falls into this group. This result echoes that of Fuchs and Moch who found the same proportion of women with illegitimate children in Paris.²⁹ However, this percentage is higher if we include the third category that covers the suspected correlation cases.

The fourth category considers the twenty women who in accordance with the one-year criterion give birth to children defined in this study as pre-nuptial children. These women married the father to the child within one year after they had given birth to it.³⁰

Figure 6.1. In-migration and the relationship to the presence of an illegitimate child. Percentage among women migrants belonging to the illegitimate cohort with illegitimate or pre-nuptial children. N=203.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Explanations:

1. No correlation – women who did not arrive with an illegitimate child or deliver one within seven months of arrival
2. Correlation – women who did arrive with an illegitimate child or deliver one within seven months of arrival
3. Suspected correlation – women who likely had an illegitimate child according to the category above but had only the year of arrival entered in the records
4. Mothers to pre-nuptial children according to the one-year criterion

Despite a significant proportion of women in group 2 (correlation), Figure 6.1 suggests that most migrants in the illegitimate cohort did not approach Sundsvall ‘in the name of shame’. We will now have a closer look at four of the women who contributed to the results shown in Figure 6.1. In this chapter the individual life-story of a few women is documented when they arrived and when they delivered their child, and during their lives in Sundsvall. The capital letters in brackets below refer to the counties they left behind (cf. Map 6.1).

1. Brita Johansdotter was a 26-year-old *piga* from Stockholm who migrated to Sundsvall in April 1879. By then she was pregnant and no relatives appear to have been waiting for her. Two months later she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter named Hilma.³¹

2. Cajsa Wikholm migrated to Sundsvall, her parish of birth, in November 1872 and was greeted by her family. Since 1871 she had been away from Sundsvall but the records do not tell us where. On her arrival she is reported as being a 20-year-old *piga* and the mother of Nils who was only a few days old at the time.³²

3. Brita Lärka was one of the few demoiselles belonging to the illegitimate cohort. She was born out of wedlock in 1850 but blessed with rather wealthy step-parents. Her stepfather, Anders Lärka, ran a business until his departure in 1865. She left Söderhamn, a coastal town in the county of Gävleborg (X), and returned to Sundsvall in December 1873. Three years later she became the mother of her illegitimate son.³³

4. The 23-year-old *piga* Anna Gradman arrived in Sundsvall in October 1873 after leaving the parish of Helgum in the county of Västernorrland (Y). On the second of August 1874, Anna gave birth to an illegitimate daughter. The same year she started working as a seamstress.³⁴

The individuals presented above give some snapshots of the situation of female migrants and single mothers at the time of their arrival and birth of their children. The first two women belonged to the correlation category in Figure 6.1 that might have sought shelter in the anonymity of Sundsvall. However, a sense of shame did not necessarily trigger their decision to move. The hope of finding better means of subsistence might very well have prompted pregnant women as Brita Johansdotter. Cajsa Wikholm probably arrived with the intention of reuniting with her parents. Nevertheless, Brita Lärka and Anna Gradman represent the majority of the women in the illegitimate cohort because they gave birth to their children quite some time after their arrival.

The above women also shared some characteristics. First, most of them were *pigor*. Second, they arrived from areas outside the Sundsvall region. However, one had access to a family network in the town. To develop these similarities and differences the illegitimate cohort is further examined but also compared to the legitimate cohort. The geographical backgrounds and access to family networks provides a starting point to investigate this comparison. Then a longitudinal analysis reveals what happened to women who gave birth to illegitimate children. From now on, the illegitimate cohort will be taken to mean women who, according to the one-year criterion, only gave birth to illegitimate children (cf. Figure 6.1).

6.2. Comparative perspectives of the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts on arrival

The distance the women in the illegitimate cohort traveled and their access to family networks can shed light onto whether those who were pregnant with, or had just given birth to illegitimate offspring felt a sense of shame. If these women challenged long distances to reach Sundsvall it suggests that they wanted to escape social harassment. However, women pregnant with an illegitimate child perhaps migrated or returned to Sundsvall to seek assistance from networks already established there as had Cajsa Wikholm (case 2). A number of relatives living in the town on the migrant's arrival would support such an interpretation.

Geographical backgrounds

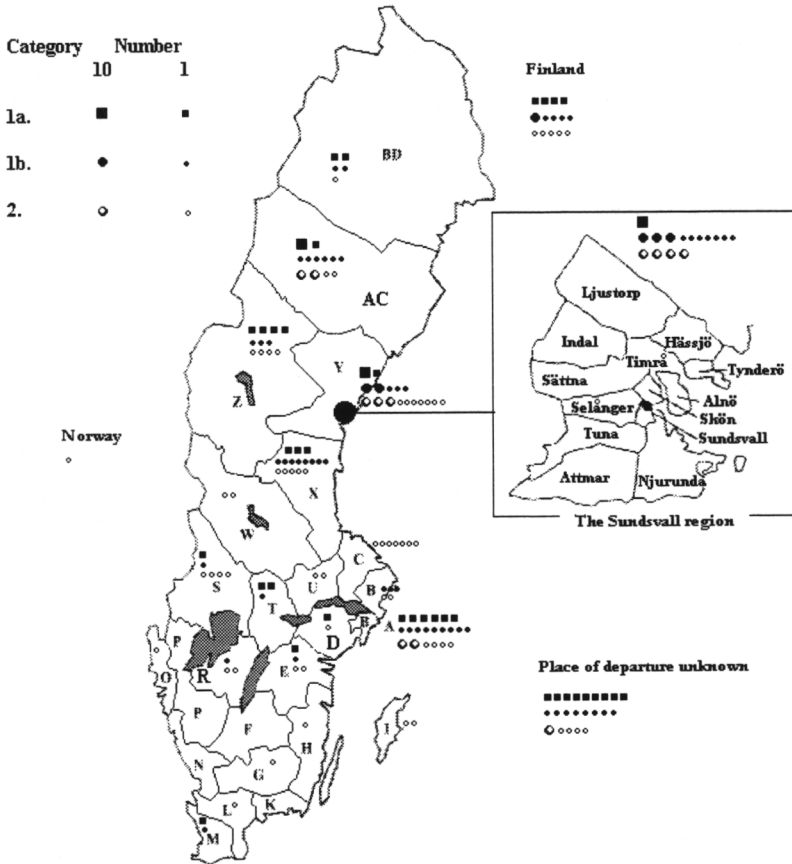
The women's geographical background is analyzed first according to the distance the women moved. The categories of immigration, internal long distance and regional short distance were introduced in Chapter 3 and are first considered. These findings are then produced on a map.

The three geographical categories reveal certain differences between the two cohorts. Those in the illegitimate cohort to a larger extent originated from abroad, and usually Finland, than did women belonging to the legitimate cohort: 9.8 versus 3.3 percent. Finnish migrants are over-represented among women who bore illegitimate children. Most likely, they stimulated the anxiety the county governor of Västernorrland expressed in the 1870s concerning the many Finnish immigrants in the Sundsvall region.³⁵

Women in the legitimate group were more frequently in the category of internal long distance than were those in the illegitimate cohort (75 versus 64 percent). The third category, which was restricted to migration from surrounding parishes accounted for quite a similar percentage of women from both cohorts: 25 percent of the illegitimate cohort and 22 percent of the legitimate one.

However, a different pattern appears among women of the illegitimate cohort for whom there was a connection between their in-migration and illegitimate births. Only 15 percent of them had left nearby parishes but well over 78 percent had arrived from other parts of Sweden. Here, the suspected correlation category has also been taken into account.³⁶ Because these women were more likely than women in the control cohort or the illegitimate cohort to have moved from areas outside the surrounding district, there are indications that their migration was due to a desire to escape kin and parishioners who might have reproached them for their sexual behavior. It seems they wanted to put a substantial distance between themselves and their home parishes where people knew about their misfortune.³⁷

Map 6.1. Geographical background of women by Swedish counties, from the region or abroad. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts. 1a & 1b: The illegitimate cohort (N) = 183 & 2: The legitimate cohort (N) = 181.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The first map category (group 1) refers to women of the illegitimate cohort. Notice that the illegitimate cohort has been divided into two groups. The solid squares represent women who show a proven and suspected correlation between in-migration and illegitimate births (Cf. Figure 6.1; N = 65). The solid circles represent women in the illegitimate cohort for whom there is no evidence that the birth of their illegitimate child prompted them to move to Sundsvall. The clear circles represent women in the legitimate cohort (group 2).

Explanations: The counties

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| A. Stockholm city | K. Blekinge | U. Västmanland |
| B. Stockholm's county | L. Kristianstad | W. Kopparberg |
| C. Uppsala | M. Malmöhus | X. Gävleborg |
| D. Södermanland | N. Halland | Y. Västernorrland |
| E. Östergötland | O. Göteborg & Bohus | Z. Jämtland |
| F. Jönköping | P. Älvsborg | AC. Västerbotten |
| G. Kronoberg | R. Skaraborg | BD. Norrbotten |
| H. Kalmar | S. Värmland | |
| I. Gotland | T. Örebro | |

Map 6.1 offers information about the counties the women left behind and confirms the above discussion. Many women of the illegitimate cohort (categories 1a and 1b) arrived from the northern parts of Sweden where the traditional practice of night courtship was common. The more southward one travels, the fewer the number of women with illegitimate children are found. After the neighboring counties, Stockholm was a major source of migrants to Sundsvall but most of them belonged to the legitimate cohort.

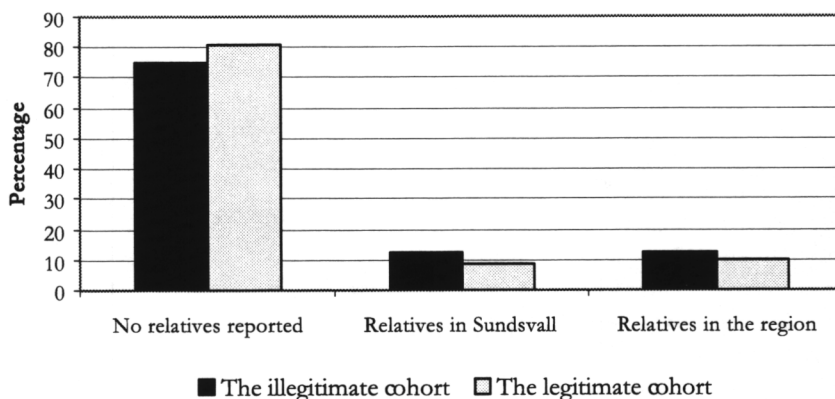
Family networks

Women's migratory behavior and geographical background indicates that some women in the illegitimate cohort either moved to escape kin and neighbors or relocated to improve their means of subsistence for themselves and the child they expected. This suggests that social networks either failed to support those pregnant with an illegitimate child or even refused to assist these women and therefore pushed them out of their home village. However, this thesis has primarily discussed how family networks exerted a pull on people by examining whether the migrants had relatives in Sundsvall or the surrounding region. The previous chapter revealed that about every fifth young female migrant in the 1870s had some family member living in the town or region on her arrival. Was this also the case for women in the illegitimate cohort?³⁸

Women in the illegitimate cohort had a larger network than their peers in the legitimate group. This indicates that unwed mothers regarded their relatives as social resources rather than sources of control and domination. Perhaps a majority of the people in the town also had a tolerant attitude toward illegitimacy. Sundsvall's high rates of illegitimacy suggest that the perceived ideal family structure and legislation aimed at ensuring it, was frequently overlooked. Therefore, the sight of unwed mothers was likely of little concern to the inhabitants.

However, women who gave birth to an illegitimate child in connection with their in-migration had the fewest relatives. Only about 10 percent of them had family members reported as living in the town or region.³⁹ This further indicates that these women moved to Sundsvall did so not to seek social assistance, but to get away from kin who may have criticized them.

Figure 6.2. Access to family networks in Sundsvall or in the surrounding district. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.



6.3. Longitudinal perspectives of the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts

The task now is to picture the consequences of having an illegitimate child for the individual mother. By comparing the life-course of women in the illegitimate cohort with those in the legitimate cohort it is possible to determine whether they differed and, if so, in what ways.

The comparison between these cohorts is based on women's duration of residence, marriage patterns and occupational changes. The life-course of the women has been documented from the time of in-migration for as long as they stayed in Sundsvall. Marriages in the region are also included.⁴⁰ Women are given the socio-economic status of their husbands. When no marriage is reported, the occupation on arrival is compared to that of their last notation, i.e. when they left the town, died, or at the end of registration i.e. 1892. In this respect all members of the illegitimate and the legitimate cohort are included in the longitudinal investigation.

To begin we will return to the four women presented above to see how their life-courses developed. A couple of additional cases of interest are also added.

1. Brita Johansdotter was the 27-year-old *piga* from Stockholm who migrated to Sundsvall in April 1879. Two months later she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter. In 1883, it was time yet again to give birth. Despite her two children, Brita married a couple of years later. The husband, Johannes Andersson, was a 39-year-old unskilled laborer. The Andersson family stayed in Sundsvall until 1892 during which time Brita gave birth to several children.⁴¹

2. The *piga* Cajsa Wikholm had just given birth to a son when she returned to Sundsvall, her parish of birth, in November 1872. According to the parish registers she stopped working in 1880. From then onwards there is no occupational data on her but this was not due to a marriage. Cajsa would never marry perhaps because she gave birth to six illegitimate children. They might also have made it difficult for her to take up steady employment although some of her children died. In 1892 Cajsa died from pulmonary consumption.⁴²

3. Brita Lärka was one of the few demoiselles belonging to the illegitimate cohort. Three years after her arrival in 1873 she became the mother of an illegitimate son. In 1881 she gave birth to another illegitimate boy. From then onwards she was no longer registered as a demoiselle and no occupation is given in the records. There is also no evidence of a husband who could have supported the family. Nevertheless, Brita and her two illegitimate children were still living in Sundsvall in 1892.⁴³

4. The 23-year-old *piga* Anna Gradman arrived in Sundsvall in October 1873. Less than a year later she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter. The Sundsvall minister registered a change in Anna's occupation the same year. Apparently, she started working as a seamstress. Anna held her occupation until 1878 when she married the unskilled laborer Johan Carlsson from the neighboring parish of Skön. In 1881 they moved to Skön.⁴⁴

5. Matilda Nilsson had an interesting life history. She left Stockholm in 1872 at the age of 25. On her arrival she was reported to be working as a *piga* but after that she launched a remarkable career. She also gave birth to four bastards but all of them died at a young age. The fact that they all died probably explains her future life-course. After working as a *piga* she became an ironing woman for some time before she married in 1890. By then she was a 43-year old female tradesman. Did her recent wealth perhaps make her a good match? She married Per Jansson, a 21-year-old plater (*plåtslagare*) from Skövde (R). Her young husband was reported as being the father of Matilda's fifth child that she was expecting on their wedding.⁴⁵

6. Things did not work out as well for the *piga* Brita Törnberg. She kept her occupation until she married the tailor (*skeräddare*) Per Österlund in 1876. Per did not seem to mind that she had a two-year old illegitimate son. He was a widower and the father of a motherless child and probably needed some female support. In 1878 Per died of typhoid fever and Brita was on her own again but not for long. In 1881 she married the 43-year-old bookkeeper Nils Landgren. Now her future prospects looked just fine. Brita, who had arrived in Sundsvall as a *piga* and an unwed mother, had become the wife of a civil official. Unfortunately, the ending was not a happy one. Nils committed suicide in 1885. Six years later, the parish register reported that Brita had died from phosphorus poisoning as a result of trying to carry out an abortion.⁴⁶

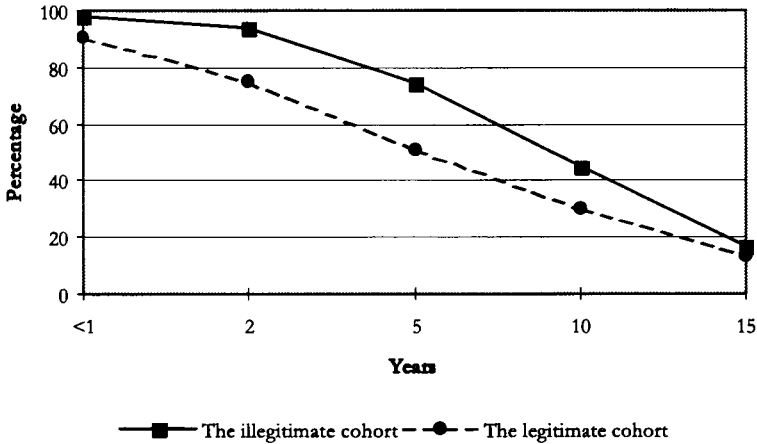
The above cases illustrate various life-courses. The last case of Brita Törnberg indeed shows how a sense of shame, or the fear of having to face it, might make women behave toward themselves and the child they expected. Alternatively, she wanted to abort because she could not afford another child. Most likely, the desperate need to make ends meet, rather than shame, caused women to carry out abortions. However, except for Cajsa Wikholm (case 2), illegitimate children did not seem to have jeopardized the path of the unwed mothers to any marked degree. To judge whether this was generally the case among women in the illegitimate cohort, their marriage pattern, employment and occupational changes are compared to women in the legitimate cohort. These issues will be discussed after having analyzed the duration of residence.

Duration of residence

Smith argues that women were less inclined to move around when they became mothers of illegitimate children.⁴⁷ Figure 6.3 displays that this was also the case for the women in the illegitimate cohort in Sundsvall.

Illegitimate offspring encouraged their mothers to stay in the town. This suggests that the attitude these women faced in Sundsvall was rather tolerant. Unwed mothers could more easily find means of subsistence in the town by taking up various occupations that did not demand full-time employment. Perhaps their good access to social networks also made them reluctant to move but their illegitimate children were likely the major reasons for their low geographical mobility. Women in the legitimate cohort did not have to consider a child and appear to have been more inclined to leave.

Figure 6.3. Percentage remaining in Sundsvall during a time span of fifteen years. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts. N (illegitimate) = 183 & N (legitimate) = 181.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The criterion linked to the illegitimate cohort (those who gave birth to illegitimate offspring in Sundsvall) has contributed somewhat to the differences between the curves. This has not jeopardized the general trend of the curves.

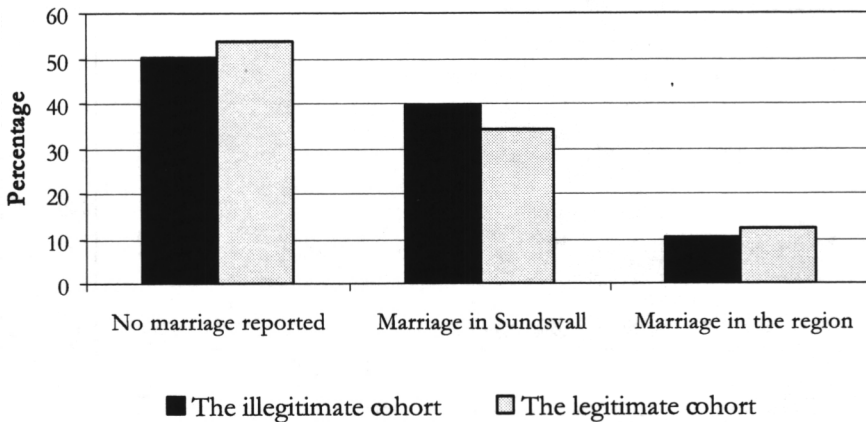
Marriage and marital mobility

The issue of whether, and to what extent, the women in the illegitimate group married offers further insights into whether a sense of shame afflicted mothers of illegitimate offspring. The age and socio-economic status of their husbands at the time of marriage is also examined. Such analysis helps discover the typical marriage partners available to unwed mothers. Hypothetically, illegitimate children reduced their mothers' marriage pool.

One look at the percentage marrying in the two cohorts causes one to reject the hypothesis that unwed mothers were less favored in the marriage market of Sundsvall. Only a tiny difference appears in Figure 6.4. About every second woman married either in Sundsvall or in a neighboring parish regardless of whether she gave birth to a bastard. However, a larger proportion of the illegitimate women married in the town. On the one hand, this might explain their extended residence. On the other hand, it must be remembered that women in

the illegitimate cohort had more time at hand to find a spouse. Despite this, illegitimate children cannot be considered as having markedly reduced their mothers' chances to marry.⁴⁸

Figure 6.4. Percentage of women who married in Sundsvall or the surrounding region. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts. N (illegitimate) = 183 & N (legitimate) = 181.



Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Brändström finds that the likelihood of marrying was greatly reduced if a woman gave birth to more than two illegitimate children.⁴⁹ This survey corroborates his findings if only the proportion of marriages among women who gave birth to more than two illegitimate children is considered. Among those who remained single, about every fourth woman had given birth to three or more children. This factor partly explains why these women have no marriage reported in Figure 6.4. Some of them were women that Laslett referred to as repeaters. For example, Cajsa Wikholm (case 2), the unmarried mother of six children, never became a wife.

It is possible that a few women in the illegitimate cohort may have fallen victim to the dangers that threatened women in Sundsvall. The police inspector Ernst Wilhelm Hellman reported that approximately 60-100 prostitutes were living in the town at the beginning of 1879.⁵⁰ In this small town there were no fewer than 226 public houses and inns where secret liaisons could be arranged.⁵¹ It is hardly surprising that during the year of 1878 slightly more than one thousand persons had been found guilty of abusing alcohol.⁵² It is equally predictable to find high levels of illegitimacy and even tolerance for it in this urban environment.

Nevertheless, in the illegitimate cohort as a whole there were few women who gave birth to as many children as Cajsa Wikholm. Only 13 percent bore more than two illegitimate children. These women alone could not possibly produce the high rates of illegitimacy seen in Sundsvall so the increase was most likely due to a general increase of pre-nuptial and single births among many unmarried women. The low percentage above also suggests why many women in the illegitimate cohort eventually married.

One woman in two belonging to the illegitimate cohort married but they may have had to wait somewhat longer for a husband because the very first man to cross their path was not ready or able to take care of a mother and child. This might have raised the unwed mother's age at marriage as has been suggested by Ohlander.⁵³ The spouses they were able to contract would also be older.

Table 6.1. Mean and median age at marriage of the women and their spouses. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

Age at marriage	The illegitimate cohort		The legitimate cohort	
	The Women	Their Husband	The Women	Their Husband
Mean age at marriage	29.50	31.20	29.12	31.70
Median age at marriage	31.2	30.9	31.7	29.0

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

However, a comparison of the age at marriage for the women in the two cohorts challenges these hypotheses. Table 6.1 reveals that the differences between these groups were too minor to suggest that the marriage of unmarried mothers was dramatically postponed. There is also no evidence that the only men willing to marry them were considerably older. Instead, these figures offer further indications that no sense of shame characterized the majority of these women.⁵⁴

The life histories given above suggest that the vast majority of young women involved in this comparative study were *pigor*. Table 6.2 further emphasizes this and shows the socio-economic status of the men the women married. The cross-tabulation reveals some differences between the cohorts. Unfortunately, the paucity of cases makes it only possible to draw some conclusions concerning the *pigor*.

Table 6.2. Women's social groups on arrival compared to that of their husbands at the time of marriage. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

Social group of the husband	Social group of the women in the two cohorts on arrival							
	2		3		4		Unknown	
	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.
1. Large-scale...	-	-	-	1.5	-	-	-	-
2. Higher civil...	-	-	-	1.5	-	-	-	12.5
3a. Small-scale...	-	-	1.3	7.5	-	-	-	25.5
3b. Farmers...	-	-	1.3	1.5	-	-	-	-
4. Lower civil...	-	-	3.8	7.5	66.7	-	20	12.5
5. Skilled laborers	20	-	23.1	22.4	33.3	25	20	25
6a. Unskilled...	80	100	67.9	49.3	-	75	60	25
6b. Farmhands...	-	-	1.3	7.5	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	-	1.3	1.5	-	-	-	-
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	5	1	78	67	3	8	5	8

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: As no woman was allocated to the top social strata on arrival, the first social group has been excluded in the table above.

Explanations:

Men's social classification:

1. Owners of large-scale enterprises
2. Higher civil officials
- 3a. Small-scale business entrepreneurs in trade and industry
- 3b. Farmers, tenant farmers
4. Lower civil officials
5. Skilled professional laborers
- 6a. Unskilled workers in industry and urban commerce
- 6b. Farmhands, cottagers

Women's social classification:

1. Small-scale entrepreneurs & lower civil officials
2. Skilled and & unskilled laborers
3. *Pigor* (maidservants)
4. Titled women (*demoseller, mamseller, jungfrur, frökvar*)

It seems as if *pigor* in the legitimate cohort to a larger degree married men belonging to a higher social level than did their counterparts in the illegitimate cohort. Exceedingly few of the latter managed to attract bookkeepers and small-scale businessmen. Perhaps this was due to their children who in this way hindered their mothers' social goals.

In short, the marriage pattern of women in the illegitimate cohort suggests they were hardly despised. These women did not suffer the stigmatization that characterized unwed mothers in the south of Sweden that Frykman describes. He finds that they were marginalized and considered whores and regarded as much as outsiders as were beggars. They were not supposed to be seen and

disturb the normal order in society.⁵⁵ In Sundsvall, where unwed mothers were most evident, their marriage patterns do not show that they were particularly negatively viewed.

The impact of illegitimacy on women's occupations

What about occupations held by unwed mothers who never married? Their life-course is examined by investigating their occupation on arrival compared to that available at the last registration in Sundsvall. Every woman is included in the analysis and compared to women in the legitimate cohort regardless of how long she stayed in the town.

Parish registers give little information about women's occupations but they nevertheless offer some points of interest. These sources and Table 6.3. suggest that no major occupational differences appear in the large group of *pigor* in the two cohorts. Having given birth to an illegitimate child does not seem to have stopped them from carrying out duties that made the minister register them as *pigor*.⁵⁶ However, few *pigor* and mothers of illegitimate children eventually reached a position in the second social group. All of them became seamstresses after the birth of their child just as Anna Gradman had done (case 4). In this way they could better combine single motherhood with working. While making clothes at home they could also keep an eye on their children. Women in the legitimate cohort did not make use of their sewing skills to a similar degree.

Although it was generally difficult for *pigor* to find employment related to the uppermost level, those in the legitimate cohort were slightly more able to reach positions as small-scale businesswomen, nurses or teachers. The cause of this might have been the absence of illegitimate children.

Table 6.3 also reveals some changes among titled women who appear in category four. While women in the legitimate cohort usually managed to keep their title, the few women in the illegitimate cohort did not. The latter started to work as *pigor* or housekeepers but most of them simply lacked occupational data at the time of last registration. This indicates these women ran the risk of losing their elegant titles if they got themselves into trouble. Women belonging to the higher social strata were more harshly sanctioned by society if they gave birth to illegitimate offspring. Among them, and their future husbands, honor was probably held high and a demoiselle's virginity was of vital importance if she expected to marry a respectable man. Otherwise she would perhaps remain unmarried just as had demoiselle Brita Lärka. She was the single mother who 'lost' her title after giving birth to her second illegitimate child (case 3).

Table 6.3. Social group on arrival and last registration among women who never married in Sundsvall or the surrounding region. A comparison between the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

Social group on last registration	Social group of the two cohorts on arrival									
	1		2		3		4		Unknown	
	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.	Illeg.	Leg.
1. Small-scale...	-	100	-	-	-	4.3	-	-	50	25
2. Skilled & unskilled...	-	-	100	80	10.1	2.9	14.3	5.9	25	-
3. <i>Pigor</i>	-	-	-	-	82.3	80.0	14.3	5.9	25	-
4. Titled women	-	-	-	20	2.5	8.6	28.6	88.2	-	50
Unknown	-	-	-	-	5.1	4.3	42.9	5.9	-	25
Total (%)	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	0	1	2	5	79	70	7	17	4	4

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Explanations: See Table 6.2.

There are two explanations why so many *pigor* kept their occupation despite having given birth to children out of wedlock. The first suggests a problem with the sources and the second addresses the nature of the work itself. As previously discussed, ministers were not particularly careful about maintaining accurate occupational data about their parishioners and this was certainly true for women. Most young single women were simply reported as being *pigor*. However, it is hardly likely that a servant pregnant with an illegitimate child could carry on with her domestic duties in her master's home. She was probably fired but the parish registers do not confirm this. Perhaps the entry of 'piga' was only a designation that tells us little about whether these women really worked and performed domestic duties.

However, the findings of Table 6.3 might also indicate that a *piga* that were expecting an illegitimate child could find other means of subsistence that was also identified as domestic employment in the parish registers. Maybe networks of friends and family facilitated the care of illegitimate children so that their mothers could continue working. The income was most likely needed. The lack of occupational changes among *pigor* might also suggest they did not primarily support themselves as live-in-servants in wealthier Sundsvall households. They may have lived in one place but served in the homes of unmarried males and families of lower socio-economic status rather than the households of the middle-

or upper classes. Employers of lower social strata were probably less concerned about whether their *piga* had given birth to illegitimate children as long she fulfilled her domestic duties.

The above discussion illustrates the need of delving deeper into the issues of how women supported themselves in Sundsvall. This will be done in the next chapter.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has highlighted the rising tide of illegitimacy that in addition to migration was one of the most significant demographic features associated with industrialization. The first goal was to determine whether an unwanted pregnancy triggered women to migrate to Sundsvall during the 1870s. About one woman in five among migrants reported as being unwed mothers seem to have planned the arrival with regard to the illegitimate child she either expected or had just delivered. These women had usually overcome long distances to reach Sundsvall. They also lacked the family ties that were more common among other women migrants. This suggests that these women moved to Sundsvall to escape a bad reputation back home. However, their decision to migrate was most likely also based on the hope of improving their means of subsistence. Sundsvall allowed them to combine single motherhood with various types of work. Seen from that point of view, these women took charge of their situation by moving to a place where they could deal more effectively with the consequences of their sexual faux pas.

Nevertheless, a majority of the female migrants and unwed mothers, most of whom were *pigor*, gave birth to illegitimate offspring quite some time after their arrival. An illegitimate child was far more often a result of the Sundsvall residence than the cause of in-migration. This refutes the suggestion that pregnant, unwed women frequently relocated to get away from a reproachful family. Instead this study adds further strength to the argument that most of the women arrived in Sundsvall to look for work and not to seek shelter in the anonymity of a town so they could give birth to a bastard. It seems the process of in-migration by itself placed the female newcomers either in the middle of a sexual revolution or in a vulnerable position.

To shed light onto the position and prospects of female migrants who bore illegitimate children in the town, their demographic features and life-course were compared to those of women migrants who never gave birth to a child out of wedlock. Being a mother of an illegitimate child was not a catastrophe because such a child did not ruin her future prospects. Single mothers usually married the

same kind of men as other women did. Giving birth to several illegitimate children would jeopardize their marital prospects but if they failed on the marriage market the labor market usually came to their rescue. However, this does not mean that illegitimate children did not have any impact on their mother's well-being. Most certainly they did not make her life in Sundsvall easier but it usually did not substantially alter their urban experience. This indicates that they were capable of coping with their situation and that the environment of Sundsvall facilitated their efforts in the labor and marriage market. Therefore, the longitudinal results generated here reject Frykman's portrayal of the unwed mother as a whore who suffered severely by having let a man deprive her of her virginity.

When discussing whether the increasing rates of illegitimacy in Sundsvall should be taken as signs of a sexual revolution or rather seen as a result of women's hazardous position, the unique feature of the town must be remembered. First, Sundsvall was a place where people with various geographical backgrounds and cultural traditions met. This likely fostered a tolerant climate that contrasted sharply with the level of social control that existed in the countryside that many migrants had left behind. The fact that every fourth child in Sundsvall was born out of wedlock in the 1870s and a great many single mothers later married, suggests that illegitimacy was widely accepted among people living there. It is also plausible that the parents of illegitimate children, most of whom belonged to the working-class, frequently cohabited. Unfortunately the parish registers cannot illuminate to what extent this occurred.

Another explanation for the rising tide of illegitimacy in Sundsvall is found in the rural custom of night courting. Such traditional relationships probably influenced the migrants who moved to the town and governed their behavior and their views regarding pre-marital conceptions and pregnancies. Despite the lack of social control and the possibilities of consulting their parents, these women probably continued to hope for a subsequent marriage if they became pregnant. In this study, 50 percent of these women also became wives. However, the gendered routes to Sundsvall revealed in previous chapters suggest there might have been a cultural clash when men from the middle and southern parts of Sweden courted women who had been rooted in the countryside of northern parts of Sweden. These men did not share these women's experience of night bundling. An illegitimate child might be the result because the men were unfamiliar with the responsibilities such behavior implied for them. Because of their migration to the town, female migrants often lacked the local and parental control that had long ensured that traditional bundling would be a prelude to marriage.

Third, an even gender distribution or even a male surplus characterized the town. By attracting so many men this town also provided quite good job opportunities for unmarried women even if they had an illegitimate child. How-

ever, the potential risks that might cross a woman's path in a town crowded with men must not be neglected. Not only the Sundsvall minister, but also great many unmarried women, lost sight of the unregistered seasonal laborers with whom they may have been intimate. The constant in- and out-migration of men caused by the sawmills' labor market both offered opportunities and hazards for single women. On the one hand, there were jobs to do and men to marry. On the other hand, women migrants ran risks when they either for love or labor involved themselves with these men. There also would have been an involuntary sexual market in which some women had to take part to earn their daily bread. Some of the few repeaters in the illegitimate cohort may have been prostitutes.

In short, these circumstances likely explain the skyrocketing illegitimacy in Sundsvall during industrialization. There hardly existed a sexual revolution in the sense Shorter suggests and women in Western Europe would have to wait many years for it. This study supports those scholars who emphasize the hazardous situation that many young women faced who entered towns. However, this chapter also shows that female migrants did not capitulate if they found themselves pregnant and became unwed mothers. Their own efforts and the tolerant climate and rather prosperous labor and marriage markets in Sundsvall helped them to cope with the situation. This enabled them to chart a path that generally paralleled that of women who did not give birth to illegitimate children.

The other major result generated in this study shows that undesired pregnancy was not a decisive reason to migrate. However, we might wonder what happened to Maria Öhman who left Sundsvall for Stockholm in 1898 and later killed the son she expected. As stated above, she was immediately sentenced to two and a half years' penal servitude.⁵⁷ When Maria has served her penalty, she stayed on in Stockholm for some time. In September 1904 she returned to Sundsvall and resumed her work in the catering trade but now at the restaurant Skeppsbrokällaren. This time she kept her employment until she finally left Sundsvall for nearby Skön in 1915.

Notes

- 1 Some results related to this study has been published. Vikström, L. "In The Name of Shame? The Correlation Between and the Consequences of Migration and Illegitimacy in Sundsvall during Industrialization". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sex, State and Society: Comparative Perspectives on the History of Sexuality*. Umeå 2000, pp. 153-179; Vikström, L. "I skammens namn: Kvinnors

- inflyttning och illegitimitet i det industrialiserade Sundsvall". Hatje, A-K. (Ed.). *Sekelskiftets utmaningar: Essäer om välfärd, utbildning och nationell identitet vid sekelskiftet 1900*. Stockholm 2002, pp. 199-226.
- 2 These lines and the following story are based on an inquest that is referred to in a Stockholm study by Svante Jakobsson and Sten W. Jakobsson. In their report I discovered by accident a woman called "M.J.Ö." born in Sundsvall on the 24th of April in 1874. Due to the initials and the date of birth it was possible to identify her in the computerized parish registers: DDB-ID (Maria Josefina Öhman): 874001487. Jakobsson & Jakobsson have investigated women in the capital who had intended to kill their illegitimate offspring and were caught by the police. Jakobsson, S. & Jakobsson, S.W. *Orons och förtvivlans gärningar: Ogifta kvinnors vånda för havandeskap och barnsörds skull. Stockholm 1887-1901*. Eskilstuna 1990, pp. 169-172.
 - 3 Ibid.
 - 4 Cf. methodological considerations made in Chapter 3, 4 and 5.
 - 5 The illegitimate cohort could be considered a high risk group. If there was a significant correlation between in-migration and illegitimacy it would appear among the women belonging to this group.
 - 6 These ages have been chosen to make the two cohorts more similar in their age structure. The mean and median age of the women in the illegitimate cohort is 22.77 and 25.0. For the legitimate cohort the corresponding figures are 24.3 and 25.0.
 - 7 Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R.M. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981.
 - 8 The average number of illegitimate births per woman in the town consisted of no less than 2.14 during the 1870s. This number was markedly higher than in the industrialized and agricultural parishes surrounding the town where similar figure only reached 1.37. Brändström, A. "Utomäktenskaplighet och sociala nätverk. Sundsvall 1800-95". In Ericsson, T. & Guillemot, A. (Eds.) *Individ och struktur i historisk bebyggelse*. Umeå 1997, p. 13.
 - 9 *Historisk Statistik*, Table 38; Alm Stenflo, pp. 71 f; Brändström 1997, pp. 12 f; Wisselgren, M.J. "Ogifta mammor i Sundsvall. En studie av ogifta mödrar i Sundsvall under 1800-talet". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 1995.
 - 10 Frykman develops the findings of Gustav Sundbärg, who argued that Sundsvall and its surrounding district belonged to the demographic pattern of eastern Sweden characterized by a relative high number of illegitimate children. Sundbärg, G. *Sveriges land och folk: Historisk-statistisk handbok*. Stockholm 1901, p. 86. According to Frykman, most counties displayed a decrease in the number of babies born alive and out of wedlock during the course of the nineteenth century shown per 1,000 of the average population. However, Västernorrland went in the opposite direction from the 1850s onwards. Nevertheless, this rise did not reach the high levels of Stockholm that displayed a rate of about 40 percent. Frykman, J. "Sexual Intercourse and Social Norms. A Study of Illegitimate Births in Sweden, 1831-1935". *Etnologiska institutionens småskriftserie*, Uppsala universitet 1979:No.20, pp. 1-41; Matovic, M. "Illegitimacy and Marriage in Stockholm in the Nineteenth Century". Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R.M. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981, pp. 336-345.

- 11 Statistiska Centralbyrån, "Utom äktenskapet födda barn", Statistiska Meddelanden, Ser. A Bd I:4, 1914; BdI:5, 1916; Bd I:10, 1917.
- 12 The Church stated that the mother of an illegitimate child had to undergo a process of purification to participate in religious activities. From 1686 to 1741 this purification meant the unwed mother had to confess her sins in front of the parishioners. Thereafter she was only obliged to face the minister. This process was abolished in 1855 although it continued to operate on a local-scale for several decades. Cf. Brändström, A. "Illegitimacy and Lone-Parenthood in XIXth Century Sweden". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1998:No.2, p. 95; Persson, B. "Att vara ogift mor på 1700- och 1800-talet". Westman Berg, K. (Ed.) *Könsdiskriminering förr och nu*. Stockholm 1972, pp. 123-136; Jakobsson & Jakobsson, pp. 9-30; Ohlander, A-S. "Att vänta barn på bröllopsdagen". Ohlander, A-S. *Kärlek, död och frihet*. Stockholm 1986, pp. 67-71 [1986a].
- 13 Frykman, J. *Horan i bondesambället*. Lund 1977; Lindstedt Cronborg, M. *Synd och skam: Ogifta mödrar på svensk landsbygd 1680-1880*. Tygelsjö 1997. These two efforts consider the countryside. However, single mothers in towns also suffered harassment. Cf. Bolin Hort, P. *En tråkig historia: ogifta mödrar, deras barn och fattigvården i Simrishamn, 1870-1917*. Linköping 1997. Britt Björnfort and Marja Taussi Sjöberg examine mothers who saw no alternative but to kill their illegitimate children. Björnfort, B. & Taussi Sjöberg, M. "Ensamma med skammen: Barnamörderskor i Västernorrlands län 1861-1890". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1980:100, pp. 320-338; cf. Jakobsson & Jakobsson. Differences in infant mortality between legitimate and illegitimate children suggest that single mothers suffered from their situation. Cf. Brändström 1998, pp. 95 f.
- 14 On the subject of prostitution in Sweden and Sundsvall, see Lundquist, T. *Den disciplinerade dubbelmoralen: Studier i den reglementerade prostitutionens historia i Sverige 1859-1918*. Göteborg 1982; Svanström, Y. *Policing Public Women: The Regulation of Prostitution in Stockholm 1812-1880*. Stockholm 2000.
- 15 In their different articles Ohlander, Leeuwen & Maas give an overview including further references. See, Ohlander, A-S. "Hotet mot familjen: Den ogifta modern i Sverige i historiskt perspektiv". Ohlander, A-S. *Kärlek, död och frihet: Historiska uppsatser om människovärde och livsvillkor i Sverige*. Stockholm 1986, pp. 85-104 [1986b]; Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Maas, I. "Partner Choice and Homogamy in the Nineteenth Century: Was there a Sexual Revolution in Europe?". *Journal of Social History* 2002:36, pp. 101-123 [2002b].
- 16 Shorter 1975, pp. 80-108, 120-161; Shorter, E. "Female Emancipation, Birth Control and Fertility". *American Historical Review* 1973:78, pp. 605-640.
- 17 Goode, WJ. *The Family*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1964, p. 109.
- 18 Wikman, K.R.V. *Die Einleitung der Ehe: Eine vergleichende Ethno-soziologische Untersuchung über die Vorstufe der Ehe in den Sitten des Schwedischen Volkstums*. Åbo 1937; Frykman 1979, pp. 13 ff.; Shorter 1975, pp. 104 ff.
- 19 Wikman, pp. 5, 284-286. Hans Marks and Runo Nilsson also discuss the correlation between lumber industry and levels of illegitimacy. They find that these levels increased in areas where the construction of the railway occurred. Marks, H. "Illegitimacy, Propriety, Marriage and Property: Clues in Explaining Illegitimacy in Southern Norrland 1850-1930". *Ethnologica Scandinavia* 1991:21, pp. 126-140; Nilsson, R.B.A. *Rallareliv: Arbete, familjemönster och levnadsförhållanden för järnvägsarbetare på banbyggena i Jämtland-Härjedalen 1912-1928*. Uppsala 1982, pp. 106 ff.

- 20 Orvar Löfgren discusses some of these problems related to the old custom of night courting and the lack of parental assistance when rural Sweden was about to enter the industrial world. Löfgren, O. "Från nattfrieri till tonårskultur". *Fataburen: Nordiska museets och Skansens årsbok*. Stockholm 1969, pp. 25-52.
- 21 Tilly, Scott & Cohen, pp. 447-476. Among many other scholars, Cissie Fairchilds and George Alter echo the results of Scott, Tilly and Cohen. Cf. Fairchilds, C. "Female Sexual Attitudes and the Rise of Illegitimacy: A case study". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1978:8; Alter, see particularly chapter 5.
- 22 Laslett, P. "The Bastardy Prone Sub-society". Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981, pp. 217-246.
- 23 Ohlander 1986a & 1986b; Brändström 1997 & 1998.
- 24 About 40 percent of those who married in mid nineteenth-century Stockholm cohabited before they married. This pattern was most pronounced among the lower social strata. Matovic 1981, pp. 336-345. Ólöf Garðarsdóttir also finds that in Iceland young people belonging to the lower strata frequently cohabited and had children without marrying. These children were reported as illegitimate offspring but in most cases the couple got married after the birth. Garðarsdóttir, O. *Saving the Child: Regional, Cultural and Social Aspects of the Infant Mortality Decline in Iceland, 1770-1920*. Umeå 2002, pp. 175 ff.
- 25 Lim, p. 235.
- 26 See Fuchs, R.G. & Moch, L.P. "Pregnant, Single, and Far From Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth Century Paris". *The American Historical Review* 1990:95, pp. 1007-1031. See quotation on p. 1012.
- 27 See Smith's "Introduction" in Oosterveen, K. Smith, R.M. & Stewart, S. "Family Reconstitution and the Study of Bastardy: Evidence From Certain English Parishes". Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R.M. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981, pp. 87 ff.
- 28 Few women give birth to their illegitimate child outside Sundsvall. Ninety percent of the women in the illegitimate cohort give birth to their children in the town.
- 29 Fuchs & Moch, p. 1014.
- 30 Cf. the one-year criterion presented under the headline of methodological considerations and cohort criteria above.
- 31 DDB-ID (Brita Johansdotter): 853001207.
- 32 DDB-ID (Cajsa Wikholm): 852001238.
- 33 DDB-ID (Brita Lärka): 850001216.
- 34 DDB-ID (Anna Gradman): 850001626.
- 35 In his reports, the county governor, Curry Treffenberg, argued that migrants from Finland frequently were not registered in the parish records. They also ignored religious activities and this oversight Treffenberg disliked. Furthermore, he argued that Finnish immigrants were particularly devoted to the bottle that in turn caused their bad behavior. Cf. *Landshövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1871-75*, pp. 7 ff.
- 36 Cf. Figure 6.1.

- 37 To add further strength to this result there is need to examine the women's geographical background in socio-cultural terms. Customs of bundling varied depending on the place left behind and the family conditions varied between the women. These issues go beyond the scope of this analysis, but deserve to be examined more fully in future research. Such an approach would shed further light onto whether and why women relocated in the 'name of shame'.
- 38 Cf. Chapter 5, the heading of Stay or leave and maybe head for home. Again it must be remembered that the parish registers only provide information about relatives such as parents, children, husbands and, sometimes, siblings. Friends and future husbands are usually not visible. Therefore, these sources reveal only what must be considered as a minimum measure of a network that was often larger and included individuals not related by blood.
- 39 The women in the category of suspected birth-migration correlation are also included (cf. group 3, Figure 6.1).
- 40 About ten percent of both the cohorts married in parishes in the surrounding region (cf. Figure 6.4) whose records have been computerized by DDB. This allows them to be added to the analysis. In every other case the study of the women's life-course takes place in the urban area of Sundsvall.
- 41 DDB-ID (Brita Johansdotter): 853001207.
- 42 DDB-ID (Cajsa Wikholm): 852001238.
- 43 DDB-ID (Brita Lärka): 850001216.
- 44 DDB-ID (Anna Gradman): 850001626.
- 45 DDB-ID (Matilda Nilsson) 847001128.
- 46 DDB-ID (Brita Törnberg): 850001200.
- 47 Smith, pp. 87 ff.
- 48 It appears that women of the illegitimate cohort who later married resided in Sundsvall for a longer period than did women who remained single. Although 70 percent of married women still appeared in the registers five years after arrival, this was true for only 60 percent of single mothers. However, the latter were far more geographically stable than were the unmarried women in the control cohort. Just about 41 percent of them still lived in Sundsvall five years after their in-migration.
- 49 Brändström 1997, p. 16.
- 50 SP 1879-02-01. Because of the fire in 1888 sources cannot exactly tell when and to what extent prostitute women were regulated in the town prior to the fire. Lundquist presents some figures drawn from medical reports between 1888-1904. About 20-30 prostitute women were annually checked in Sundsvall. In 122 cases their geographical backgrounds were acknowledged and only nine of them were born in the town. Lundquist, pp. 178-192.
- 51 ST 1879-08-05. At the time the town had a population of only about 9,000 inhabitants.
- 52 SP 1879-02-20.
- 53 Ohlander 1986a, pp. 77 f.
- 54 Pre-marital children often prompted the spouses to marry. However, the effects of this has been taken into account as the women who gave birth to offspring regarded as pre-nuptial children are not included in the longitudinal study. Cf. Figure 6.1 and the one-year criterion discussed under the headline of methodological considerations.
- 55 Frykman 1977, see particularly chapter 7.

- 56 Having studied and followed every one of these women over time in the parish records, the occupational changes between the two occasions of measurement (the arrival vs. the departure, death or end of the registration 1892) proved to be rare.
- 57 At that time Maria was reported as being the owner of a pair of shoes, a dress, three skirts, a pair of scissors, a wallet and a few other things. In addition, she possessed a 'fortune' consisting of 17 *öre*. For this amount she was not even able to afford a single kilo of rolled oats. Jakobsson & Jakobsson, pp. 169-172. See also the price-list regarding goods and articles at the time offered by the authors, p. 56.

7. Different sources, different answers: Aspects of women's work and their labor market in Sundsvall

The previous chapters led to the conclusion that women set out to find better means of subsistence and even greater freedom in the urban environment. Young female migrants did not come to Sundsvall to marry right away and unwanted pregnancies did not act as a strong incentive for them to move to the town. When they arrived, however, they entered a sex-segmented labor market. Women were confined to typical female fields such as the service sector because of a lack of manufacturing suitable for them. Unfortunately, the parish registers fail to detail what kind of occupations they performed. They only show a large number of *pigor*, some seamstresses and a few teachers or female tradesmen. We might also wonder in what kind of occupations wives and titled women could be found.

If we are to understand why women went to Sundsvall it is necessary to examine the town's female labor market as it exerted a strong attraction on women. Knowledge of their actual occupations is also necessary when considering its impact on demographic events linked to individuals' life-course such as migration and marriage. Studying women's work forces us to go beyond the parish registers. Therefore, this chapter looks at the additional sources briefly presented in Chapter 1. This occupational data will reflect the labor market in which women operated in Sundsvall and to which female migrants were obviously attached. These sources also reveal problems associated with the poor documentation of female labor and suggest methods to help overcome them.

The potential of local newspapers to identify employment patterns was already shown in the longitudinal study in Chapter 4. This chapter seeks to develop these perspectives by using the additional sources and comparing the occupational data for women with that found in the parish registers. This demands an approach that examines individual women at the micro-level. The gender perspective analyzes females' different occupations in terms of whether their work and the labor market in Sundsvall offered them a more emancipated position than they had in their home parishes. It also hopes to provide a critical examination of the quantitative data and the way it represents women as this has greatly affected scholars' results. Before discussing these issues and some of the methodological considerations and theoretical approach to women's work, four Sundsvall women will illustrate the topics addressed in this chapter.

7.1. Sources and theoretical concepts in conflict

In 1879 these four single women lived in Sundsvall. All of them were relatively young and still unmarried. Märta Westerstrand was the oldest at 35 years of age. Selma Wallmark was only 17, Anna Helena Bolin was 25, and Amanda Rådberg was 28 years old. The last woman was born in Sundsvall but all of them were migrants. According to the parish registers the four women were *pigor*.¹

However, like every other source, parish records can only offer partial information. As a matter of fact, the four women were not working as *pigor* in 1879 according to other sources. The local newspapers tell us that Amanda Rådberg was involved in the fashion trade although her business went bankrupt in August 1879.² It is possible that the economic recession and sawmill strike earlier that year had caused some damage to her trade. On her arrival in 1875 the parish records reported Amanda as being a *piga* and show that she held this occupation until 1881. Then, at the age of 30, she married the 38 year-old bookkeeper Olof Forsell. Amanda's business background might explain the relatively high occupational status of her husband. Interestingly, the parish records indicate that Amanda had been found guilty of sexual indecency in 1875 which was when she had left Stockholm for Sundsvall. This does not seem to have hindered her prospects. The fact the Amanda's sexual misconduct never resulted in an illegitimate child perhaps facilitated her life, work and marriage in Sundsvall. In 1882, she and her husband moved to the neighboring parish of Skön.

Märta Westerstrand also earned her living by doing something other than domestic service. It is possible that her two illegitimate children who had been born in 1873 and 1876 stopped her from performing household duties in other people's homes. In an advertisement printed in the summer of 1879 she stated that if readers brought her some piece of cloth she had the skill to sew almost anything on her machine.³ This was likely an appropriate way for her to make a living and keep an eye on the children. According to the parish registers, however, Märta was identified as being an unwed mother and *piga* throughout the period of her Sundsvall residence from 1872 to 1892. They acknowledge she was from the neighboring town Härnösand but remain silent about her skill in sewing.

The other two women, Anna Helena Bolin and Selma Wallmark, also found other means to support themselves in 1879. This year both of them show up in the police-reports. Anna Helena Bolin was accused of sexual indecency and drunkenness.⁴ This was the third time she had fallen foul of the law and was sent to jail. The parish records reveal nothing of this except that the minister sometimes had written that she was 'defenseless' in addition to being a *piga*. This indicates that she often lacked employment. Most often she had no occupation at all reported. Furthermore, Anna Helena was of poor origin and fatherless.

Within three years her mother would also die. Administratively she lived in the neighboring parish of Tynderö but it seems that at least in 1879 she spent her time in Sundsvall. The parish records reveal that this 'fallen' woman never married. In light of all this she probably was never employed as a domestic servant – at least not for extended periods. Somehow Anna Helena found means of subsistence and the newspapers suggest she did so by being a prostitute.

Selma Wallmark was also from the surrounding district.⁵ At the age of seventeen she committed a crime. As both her parents were dead, Selma and her siblings likely had to use all of their skills and knowledge to earn their living. One day in the summer of 1879, young Selma went to a shoe store in Sundsvall pretending she was the servant of a teacher in the town. Apparently she played her role well as she got a pair of shoes for the teacher's wife on his credit. She was eventually caught and sent to spend three months and three days in jail. Five years later, in 1884, the parish registers show that she died of pneumonia and report she was a *piga*.

These accounts show the lives and occupations of four Sundsvall women in transitional times when the town industrialized. They also raise several larger questions regarding women's work. For instance, how did lone women support themselves? Did a *piga* always work as a servant? What sources can offer the most information regarding women's occupations and in turn shed light on their labor market in Sundsvall? These issues are addressed below by consulting different sources because they treat the occupational activity of women differently. The quantitative data is examined first and this is followed by some theoretical discussions regarding women's entry into the work force and the additional sources.

Women's work in the quantitative sources

In the search for a better understanding of women's lives, occupations and demographic patterns, scholars often draw upon quantitative data. We now know a great deal about women workers engaged in probably the most common occupation for women living in the nineteenth century, i.e. domestic service. Nevertheless, most quantitative data deliver incomplete information about women's occupations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such information was recorded for administrative purposes that do not allow us to identify women's participation in the labor market. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall suggest the poor reporting of women's work was influenced by the gendered regime of the time the sources were created. They argue that "the accepted sexual division of labor had become permanently enshrined in the census which itself contributed to the equation of masculine identity with an occupation."⁶ When men were regarded as breadwinners and dominated the labor market, compiling quantitative data was not a value-free process. Men

performed work outdoors that was recognized as productive and of economic importance. Women's domestic occupations were considered unproductive and hence were of less interest. Therefore, the work of wives was rarely reported or masked by men they were related to and dependent upon.⁷

Domestic servants frequently appear in these data and the broad definition of their work might have jeopardized the accuracy of some results for *pigor* in this thesis. First, this occupation covered different duties and inferred different levels of status. Second, the status of a servant also depended on the household in which she served. Third, a *piga* could be the daughter of almost any man belonging to the working or even the middle class. This makes it even more difficult to treat them homogeneously.⁸

There is also a considerable under-registration of the actual work of spinsters such as the demoiselles in this thesis represented by the category of titled women. They, too, needed to work sometimes to make ends meet. Few of them had wealthy fathers or kin at hand ready to pay for their support. However, it was usually not considered a suitable occupation for a woman belonging to the lower middle strata or above to work as a servant. Several women formed businesses as a strategy for survival.⁹

Henry Binford argued already in 1975 that scholars must carefully deal with the hard data in quantitative sources when analyzing women's occupations.¹⁰ In their different approaches of women's work, Edward Higgs, Bridget Hill and Penelope Wilcox discuss and challenge the many methodological and interpretative questions that cause serious problems for historians drawing upon quantitative material.¹¹ Of course most historical demographers and social historians are aware of this but unfortunately alternative sources about women's work is hard to find.

Diverging theories of the increase and emancipatory impact of women's work

Most scholars agree that there was a significant correlation between women's work and demographic behavior such as their fertility, and marital and migratory activity.¹² One theory suggests that women's increased participation in the labor market made them less inclined to marry. Another theory instead assumes that this increased presence in the workforce made it possible for women to marry at a younger age.¹³ The issue is whether women's wage work encouraged them to marry because their dowry was achieved more quickly, or whether they were more likely to postpone the wedding to enjoy their wages and freedom somewhat longer. As was discussed in Chapter 5, the latter might indicate women had achieved a more emancipated position that they did not give up without having good reasons. Nevertheless, the transition from a household-based economy to individual wage work caused a change to both men's and women's positions and occurred in concert with industrialization.

Whether women entered the work force because they desired more independence has been debated. Edward Shorter subscribes to the theory that women sought greater personal freedom: "From one end in Europe to the other, young unmarried women in the nineteenth century were rejecting traditional occupations in favor of paid employment within capitalist setting."¹⁴ As shown in previous chapters, Shorter has been vigorously challenged. The Scott-Tilly thesis leaves little room for interpreting women's wage-labor in terms of personal freedom. Rather, it is evidence of an attempt to add to the contributions of the family economy when it was losing ground during early industrialization. Unmarried women participated in paid labor to contribute to their family's subsistence and not to dispose of the earnings themselves.¹⁵ This goal and the meager wages they received were not enough for them to attain self-sufficiency and liberty as Shorter suggests.

However, even the Tilly-Scott model has its limitations. Edna Delaney suggests that Irish women were expected to find jobs that supplied them with an independent income because there was no one else to rely upon.¹⁶ Gábor Gyáni argues that macro-structural economic processes instead of family strategies determined women's occupational options during industrialization.¹⁷

The possible link between women's income and individual autonomy cannot be neglected despite scholars' emphasis on family obligations or changing socio-economic structures. Relocation adds to the dimension of change because the new setting offers another labor market and new occupational options. Women in Sweden could escape the drudgery of ill-paid outdoor work on farms and parental supervision by going to the United States or expanding Swedish towns where improving wages and working conditions awaited most servants. In the 1870s, the county governor (*landshövding*) noticed that women in Västernorrland were particularly attached to the county's two towns i.e. Sundsvall and Härnösand. He argued that urban employment usually required less physical effort and that particularly servants could earn their living more easily there. He also acknowledged that towns offered better opportunities for leisure and pleasure.¹⁸ The harsh working conditions *pigor* endured in rural areas likely fostered a desire for emancipation that often triggered migration to a town as a way to pursue their hopes.

Scholars contend this movement might have implied a sense of independence. Of course some women moved and took up employment for familial or traditional reasons whereas others did so to empower themselves far from the immediate supervision of parents. Donna Gabaccia and Kathy Friedman-Kasaba find a combination of both types of incentives when discussing women's migration and presence in the work force.¹⁹ Friedman-Kasaba argues that becoming a wage earner "was a source of self-esteem, pride, and accomplishment for many women, although never a free choice."²⁰ Women were restricted

to carrying out domestic tasks and faced a much narrower range of occupations than men. Females' loyalties to the family economy survived both mobility and wage-earnings and limited their aspirations to achieve independence. However, compared to the options available at the place left behind many women experienced a change for the better. By migrating to urban centers women often achieved a measure of emancipation although it was constrained by poor wages and a small selection of available occupations.

To say there was a correlation between women's occupations and their demographic behavior, social obligations or level of emancipation requires us to know their place in a labor market that witnessed large changes during the nineteenth century. This chapter seeks to highlight this issue by moving beyond the parish registers and incorporating other sources.

The additional sources and some methodological considerations

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, three other sources are consulted to compensate for the poor information about occupation found in the parish records. These consist of local newspapers, patient records and business statistics. Combining such different sources might appear confusing but the paucity of material about women's work in Sundsvall leaves little choice.²¹ Although they cannot provide a representative picture, they can at least give clues to the occupational options that awaited female migrants to Sundsvall.

These sources have been manually linked to the parish registers usually by using the women's names as the linking key. Sundsvall's computerized parish registers made this identification process possible. However, common names jeopardized the identification process. Furthermore, even when women were identified the necessary criterion of having a given occupation in both the additional sources and the parish registers for the same year excluded many of the women from analysis. This also forces us to focus attention on unmarried women as the parish registers did not report the work of wives. To be included in this chapter the women must necessarily not have been migrants because the female labor market and the source comparison are the primary concerns.

In contrast to most other qualitative data the local newspapers, *Sundsvalls Tidning* (ST) and *Sundsvalls-Posten* (SP), commented upon different kinds of individuals and their activities. These ranged from very poor people to those more fortunate.²² It was possible to link women who appeared in newspaper advertisements, announcements, and police-reports with the computerized parish registers if they did not have overly common names and were living in the area of Sundsvall. Table 7.1 shows the number of identified cases. The women were all unmarried and born between 1830 and 1860 so they were between the ages of 18-49 when they appeared in the local newspapers in 1879 for various reasons.²³

Further information about women's work is found in patient records from the local hospital as these tend to identify women's occupations better than the parish registers. For example, they often distinguish *pigor* from more specific types of servants (*tjänstepiga, tjänsteflicka, tjänstekvinna*). Even a few women identified as prostitutes appear. Studies using patient records from the Sundsvall hospital have shown them to be trustworthy and capable of providing a fair socio-economic picture of the town's population.²⁴ In total, 216 unmarried female patients with an occupation reported in the patient records have been linked to the parish registers.²⁵ All of them were born between 1841-1864 and visited the Sundsvall hospital at some time between 1862-1889 at an age of 15-44. They all reported Sundsvall as their place of domicile.

The National Board of Trade's business statistics for selected years from 1860-1893 represents the final source used in this study.²⁶ It annually registered individuals who owned a trade or craft business. These lists had two purposes. First, they formed the basis for the nation-wide published statistics. Second, they were the basis for personal taxation for businessmen. There is a risk of not finding every individual engaged in business in Sundsvall because of the desire to avoid taxation. Nevertheless, businessmen emerge somewhat more frequently in these records than in the parish records.²⁷ A total of 46 unmarried women born between 1830-1860 have been drawn from this material and successfully identified in the parish registers.

Table 7.1. The discrepancy between the additional sources and the parish registers. Women's occupation is reported for single years during the 1860-1893 period in the town of Sundsvall.

Additional sources Type of source	Parish records Percentage of discrepancy			Total	
	Agreement	Minor disagreement	Major disagreement	%	N
Patient records	50.5	17.1	32.4	100	216
Business statistics	23.9	4.3	71.7	100	46
Local newspapers	22.2	7.4	70.4	100	27
Total	43.6	14.2	42.2	100	289

Sources: Parish registers, Sundsvall, DDB, Umeå University; Patient records, Sundsvall, DDB, Umeå University; Business statistics, Sundsvall, Riksarkivet, Stockholm; Sundsvall's local newspapers 1879, Umeå University.

Explanation: In the table major disagreements refer to women who according to the source comparison changed category in the social categorization applied in this study (cf. Table 7.2). The group of minor disagreements considers occupational changes within one particular social category.

Table 7.1 shows that the sources provide substantially different occupational data. Information about occupation found in the patient records most closely parallels that of the parish registers but only in about 50 percent of the cases.

These results indeed put the accuracy of parish records at least in some doubt. To examine what the differences looked like this study examines about 300 individual women.

7.2. Women's actual work and their labor market in Sundsvall

In Table 7.2 the additional sources add information about females' work and labor market in Sundsvall. It displays the women's socio-economic status based on the occupation reported in the additional sources compared to that found in the parish records for the same year. Apparently the 50 women who lacked occupational information in the parish records were primarily engaged in domestic service or trade. Slightly more than every second titled woman appears in the first social category of businesswomen and lower civil officials. Although the parish records state there were only 18 women allocated to the top of the modified social strata, the additional sources reveal they were 59. Except for ten teachers and one telegrapher, they were all engaged in small-scale business.

Table 7.2. A comparison of women's occupational status between the parish records and the additional sources.

Additional sources Social groups	Parish records Social groups						Total (add. sources)		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Occupation unknown	%	N
1 Business entrepreneurs & lower civil officials	100	52.2	40.0	33.3	5.8	-	24.0	20.4	59
2 Titled women	-	15.0	10.0	-	3.6	-	18.0	7.6	22
3 Skilled & unskilled laborers	-	7.5	40.0	-	7.2	-	6.0	7.6	22
4 Domestic servants	-	7.5	-	33.3	21.4	-	14.0	16.3	47
5 <i>Pigor</i> (maidservants)	-	15.0	10.0	33.3	60.7	-	20.0	41.5	120
6 Prostitutes	-	2.5	-	-	5.4	-	18.0	6.6	19
Total % (N) (parish records)	100 (18)	100 (40)	100 (10)	100 (3)	100 (168)	0 (0)	100 (50)	100	289

Sources: See Table 7.1.

Comments: Titled women are no longer gathered in an unspecified category in the social strata but allocated to the second social group. In contrast to the social group of *pigor*, the category of domestic servants consists of *pigor* who according to the additional sources had more specified titles. When a comparison is possible, marked cells display the percentage of agreement between the modified social categorization based on the occupational data in the different sources.

Table 7.2 also shows two types of maidservants. The fourth category covers those with more specific titles reported in the additional sources (*tjänstepiga*, *tjänsteflicka*, *tjänstekvinna*, *hushållerska*). These titles might suggest that the women were employed as housemaids or housekeepers perhaps in wealthier households. Only the title indicates these women differed in some way from ordinary

pigor and this may have included status. The fifth category of *pigor* refers to women who were only identified as such. In these cases we cannot be that sure that they really were engaged in domestic service although that was probably the case. Table 7.2 confirms this suggestion as there is a strong agreement between the parish records and the additional sources. Nevertheless, about 14 percent of these *pigor* were engaged in petty commerce or worked as seamstresses. Another 5 percent were labeled prostitutes at least when they visited Sundsvall's hospital to cure their syphilis.

Table 7.2 reveals the confusion regarding the actual employment of women. According to the additional sources their occupations ought to be classified differently than in the parish registers. However, women's work was often casual and irregular. Occasionally, or perhaps permanently, when not performing domestic service they earned some money from trading, sewing or even prostitution. The additional sources identify the multi-occupational and part-time work of urban women more accurately than parish records. These sources also suggest that women often participated in the informal labor market that was neglected in official statistics.²⁸ This labor market was very important for women in Sundsvall and likely acted as a powerful incentive for potential female migrants to move there.

Transgressing spheres and decomposing gender regimes

The confusion regarding women's work shown in Table 7.2 must be viewed in its historical context. The second part of nineteenth century witnessed many changes and issues regarding women's rights were making headway.²⁹ The newspapers indicate that this did not pass Sundsvall's inhabitants unnoticed.³⁰ Usually, these debates addressed woman's nature and whether or not it was appropriate for her to work outdoors. Such questions arose because of women's increasing participation in the labor market.

Is it true that the financial status of women might be an obstacle to the capital accumulation of a country? To that we answer with a resounding no.... As it is today in the case of married women's rights, their monies go directly to their husbands, and where they then disappear we cannot know... Woman is by nature frugal...she is also careful, and does not wish to live the life of Riley on speculations. [—] If women's financial independence were assured, though her industrial capabilities and business sense need be further developed than is currently the case, we could assume not only that the same capital would be invested in industry, but also that this capital growth would occur more rapidly, insofar as increasing numbers would dedicate themselves to productive employment. It is namely entirely certain that financial independence is followed by financial strength and gainful employment. However, with independence comes responsibility, and with responsibility

both the need and the desire to learn and understand. Make women independent and they would cease to be satisfied with the odd role they have played for so long, turning everything over to their husbands...[—] As made clear by the above, the question of female emancipation is not merely a question of general public interest, but is also an economic question of the highest dignity.... And would her productive capacity not be a welcome and necessary contribution to general production levels? We know well that objections would be made as to her status, etc., but we still ask: should freedom, just because a few would not be able to use their powers productively, be denied the majority?³¹

The above extract belongs to a larger article published in ST entitled “Kvinnans emancipation, en ekonomisk fråga” [Women’s emancipation, an economic issue]. It refers to the classical public-private dichotomy associated with gender and the breadwinner-ideal at the time. The unknown writer defends women’s right to work and dispose of their wages and argues that both society and industry would benefit from including them as part of the paid labor force. The relationship between wage-earning and independence is also clearly presented. The debate concerning women’s constitution and what kind of work this allowed them to do must be remembered when looking at their occupations in Sundsvall. They were part of a larger economic and democratic process that would formally liberate women in the twentieth century. During the period under study, women began to step out into the labor market and public sphere and gradually gained civil and economic rights. This paved the way for the reform of 1921 when Swedish women were finally given the right to vote.

Although the dichotomy of the private and public spheres has proven to be of limited empirical relevance, it had significant implications for organizing society, the genders and the type of work men and women performed.³² These two spheres mainly concerned the middle and upper social classes but working-class people were also affected. The distinction between these spheres is a slippery one. Feminist scholars contend it is socially and culturally constructed and, therefore, not rooted in biological sexual characteristics but changes with time and place.³³ Nonetheless, women historically have been placed into subordinate socio-economic positions that left them with little opportunity to control their lives and labor compared to men. In turbulent times such as those of rapid industrialization, the genders are subject to redefinition and renegotiation. In late nineteenth-century Western Europe the old gendered ideal and stereotyped spheres proved difficult to retain. The process of industrialization simultaneously demanded the separation between home and work and thereby emphasized the separation between private and public spheres and women and men. However, women were increasingly needed in industry, commercial businesses and clerical roles. Mechanization and technical improvement created new occupa-

tions and the demand for agricultural workers declined. The process of proletarianization made it difficult for men to receive sufficient wages necessary to support wives and children and the search for jobs set people on the move. These factors and many more eroded the gender regime that particularly restricted women's space in public life and their participation in paid labor.³⁴

This was the brief background to the column published in Sundsvall's newspapers in 1879. Women's work became visible and conservative circles considered this a problem although women continued to make their demands heard. As a result of their efforts and changing economic and social environments, many women either had their own means of survival or were given the opportunity to transgress the limited space previously assigned to them. In addition to commercial developments, economic reforms and more liberal legislation introduced during the latter part of nineteenth century stimulated both the change of gender regimes and women's entrance into new areas of the labor market. Some of these reforms are discussed when presenting the following results.

Pigor

Women who performed domestic duties in private spheres never challenged society's definition of a woman's proper role. *Pigor* dominate Table 7.2 just as they did the female labor market in Sundsvall. The newspapers of 1879 had many advertisements in which people asked for servants. Women, too, frequently advertised their domestic skills. Some of them are shown below and they sometimes provided their current place of residence. This suggests they were planning to go to Sundsvall. Unfortunately, names are seldom printed in this kind of advertisement and only a signature or reference number appears. This makes it impossible to identify most servants in the computerized parish registers. These women often stressed their skill but were rather modest about their salary requirements. Perhaps they were aware of their low socio-economic status and did not dare to ask or expect too much from a possible employer.³⁵ In some cases servants do not hesitate to express their desire to work in better households. These women perhaps had considerable experience as servants and thus had the skill and confidence to make such requests. There was yet another kind of servant who preferred to serve single men or widowers. Hypothetically, these women were primarily looking for a man, not a master.

1. Younger female seeks a position with good family. Wages negotiable. Excellent references available.³⁶
2. Thirty-year-old, tidy female seeks to run the household of a bachelor or widower. Otherwise willing to accept employment in the millenary or notions sector. Modest wage demands.³⁷

3. Cook and housemaid willing to relocate each seeks position in good home. Serious responses delivered to E.R. at this newspaper's offices.³⁸
4. Household maid. Position with widower or bachelor sought by female willing to relocate. Trained in cooking, ironing and everything involved in running a household.³⁹
5. Skilled cook from Stockholm seeks position in respectable home as of 24 April, otherwise as housemaid to bachelor. References available at no. 352 Bryggerigränd.⁴⁰

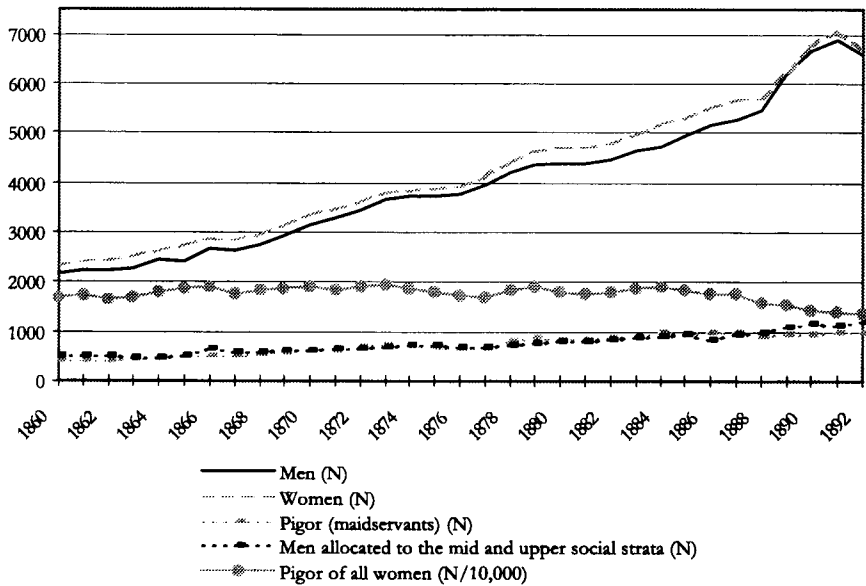
As discussed in Chapter 1, the households in which *pigor* might have served is impossible to identify because of the tremendous influx of migrants.⁴¹ Figure 7.1 shows, however, that the number of *pigor* paralleled the number of potential employers in the town, i.e. men in the middle and upper social strata. This might indicate that these women depended on the jobs these men could offer them. Despite the large influx of migrants and the growth of the population in Sundsvall, the relationship between the number of these men and *pigor* remained surprisingly stable over time. This was probably due to *pigor's* out-migration or marriage that usually would have ended their employment. These women were soon to be replaced by other female migrants who entered domestic service.

However, men of lower social rank might also have hired a woman. These men accounted for the major increase of males in Sundsvall. The ethnographer, liberal politician, and publisher Ernst Beckman (1850-1924) visited the Sundsvall area in 1879 to observe them and people earning their living from the sawmill industry. A lot of things bothered him such as the abuse of alcohol and the poor state of people's health and housing. The work that live-in servants performed in households of only male laborers also worried Beckman because he regarded the mixing of unrelated men and women under the same roof as morally unhealthy. His concerns are shown in his work of which parts were published in the local newspapers in 1879:

Betimes three or four bachelors reside in rooms intended for families whereupon they take a young girl as housemaid. Betimes this woman is the sister of one of them, betimes not. In either event, this is an abomination which, in respect of her honour and the honour of the worker, ought not to be permitted.⁴²

This quotation contradicts the classical view of servants who simply performed their duties while living in the households of the middle or upper classes. Beckman's account suggests that women often took up employment in such male households. It is likely that *pigor* served many different households and masters of lower social strata.⁴³

Figure 7.1. Population development in Sundsvall 1860-1892. Number of men and women, number of women reported as being *pigor*, number of men belonging to the middle and upper social strata, and the proportion of *pigor* among all women in Sundsvall (N/10,000).



Sources: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The middle and upper social strata of men is equal to those labeled lower civil officials and above in the basic social classification introduced under the heading Social classifications in Chapter 1.

Figure 7.1 reveals that the increase in the town's number of *pigor* did not parallel the general rise in the number of women in Sundsvall. The percentage of *pigor* of all women decreased during the end of the period: from 19 percent in the mid-1870s to 15 percent in the late 1880s. With the exception of wives and girls for whom the parish register did not provide occupations, Figure 7.1 reveals the general under-registration of women's work. It indirectly points to the informal labor market and suggests that women must have found other means of subsistence other than being employed as domestic servants. Otherwise how would all the women in Sundsvall have supported themselves?⁴⁴

Beckman offers some further indications of how females earned their livelihood. Obviously, and in contrast to what was generally expected and accepted of women, they sometimes took up employment related to the sawmill industry although the parish registers rarely recognized them as unskilled manual la-

borers. They also do not appear in the wage lists (*lönelistor*) that the sawmill companies kept although they sometimes served the sawmill industry by unloading ballast in the harbor.⁴⁵

The liquor flowed in rivers, and as per usual, as an appetizer to the noble Swedish nectar, we were treated to noise and fisticuffs. According to what reliable persons have assured me, at times it was both frightening and dangerous to walk from town to the closest sawmill after dark. This disease has penetrated deep into the bosom of the family. Arguments and quarrels became normal occurrences. Indeed, the women began to ask themselves why they should not also enjoy the pleasures of the glass. 'Ballast ladies', as one calls those women who assist at the unloading of incoming ships' ballast, now and then took a little pick-me-up, and when these women loaded cordwood or staves, the punch bottles freely made the rounds on the barges. Mothers who may have small infants waiting at home spent their time out of doors, occasionally gaming for clocks, clothing, etc., whereupon she who emerged victorious treated the others to drink. At times they gathered in ill-rumoured 'crone parties', where the punch or wine bottle fought for pride of place with the cherished coffee pot.⁴⁶

Of course Beckman's words must be viewed with some skepticism. Nevertheless, by portraying them as victims of alcohol he reveals what some women did to earn their living. Among them we might primarily find wives of working-class men and *pigor*. That this kind of work was not in accordance with what was expected of the female gender was further exemplified in an official investigation concerning the working condition in the sawmills. It was conducted by Curry Treffenberg, the county governor, after the sawmill strike in 1879.⁴⁷ He strongly recommended that women workers should be immediately relieved of their dirty duties at the sawmills. The economic recession was the perfect opportunity to remind community leaders of the ideology of separate spheres and to save the jobs for the male breadwinner. Women with their lower salaries should not compete with men's occupational needs.

Women in the fashion and catering trades

The additional sources have illuminated a more diversified female labor market in Sundsvall than shown in the parish registers but they have not disputed the fact that it primarily consisted of one single but broad field, i.e. the domestic service sector. However, the business sector gradually increased as a result of economic development and a more liberal legislation that increased the possibilities for women to engage in crafts or trade.

The eight women below who were engaged in the fashion and catering trades confirm the expanding opportunities available to women. They also have been identified in the parish registers making it possible to compare the two kinds of sources. This further illustrates the disagreement between them regarding occupational data. The parish registers offer some insights into the women's demographic situations at the time that they were conducting their business. The quantitative data also provides some information about the background of these women. The abbreviations are explained at the end of this section.

These cases identify how some single women could arrange their survival although they were not participating in the labor market of Sundsvall according to the parish registers. There is also proof that even wives worked and contributed to the family wage economy as suggested by Scott and Tilly.⁵⁶ Married women found work in trade and crafts. Such activity would prove invaluable if their husbands were incapable of supporting them. Alter subscribes to this reason for wives' commercial engagement. He also suggests that petty commerce was an appropriate way for bourgeois women and widows to earn their living and keep their status as taking up employment as a servant was not a possibility.⁵⁷ According to John Benson, women tried to profit from their domestic skills by cooking and sewing. He argues that small-scale trade and handicraft characterized their participation in petty capitalism. Many women engaged in such activity but it occupied only short periods of their lives. It brought in little money but was of great importance to those involved.⁵⁸

A presentation of eight women in the fashion and catering trades. See explanations at the end of the presentation.

Undersigned dresses hair cheaply, now residing at Norrmalm, Strandgatan, Löfberg's place, No. 376. ANNA FROST.⁴⁹

P.B: *Mora (u)*, 1841
 P.Dep: *Mora (u)*, 1878
 P.Dest: *Skön*, 1879
 T/O on arrival: *Piga*
 T/O-79: *None*
 M.S-79: *Married*
 M.O: *Unskilled laborer (b)*

Hats, for modernizing and dying, graciously received until the end of April ANNA C. NORDLÖW. Gamla Kyrkogatan.⁴⁸

P.B: *Norderö*, 1841
 P.Dep: *Ragunda*, 1861
 P.Dest: *Uppsala (u)*, 1881
 T/O on arrival: *Seamstress*
 T/O-79: *None*
 M.S-79: *Widow*
 M.O: *Photographer (b)*

Hats

Modernized and dyed.
 EUGENIE ROTHOFF.⁵¹

P.B: *Härnösand (u)*, 1835
 P.Dep: *Härnösand (u)*, 1850
 P.Dest: -1885 (*the year of her death*)
 T/O on arrival: *Piga/jungfru [cf. titled women]*
 T/O-79: *Jungfru*
 M.S-79: *Unmarried*
 M.O: -

Women's Apparel

Undersigned supplies a full range of ladies articles. CHARLOTTE GRÖNHAGEN.⁵⁰

P.B: *Karlstad (u)*, 1844
 P.Dep: *Stockholm (u)*, 1872
 P.Dest: *USA*, 1892
 T/O on arrival: *None*
 T/O-79: *None*
 M.S-79: *Married*
 M.O: *Tin-smith (b)*

New for the season.

At the undersigned's clothing shop we have: Hats, Plumes, Flowers, Gloves, Collars, and everything else a well-stocked ladies wear shop should carry.
 AMANDA von AHN och TÖRNQVIST.⁵²

P.B: *Unknown*, 1839
 P.Dep: *Bygdeå*, 1854
 P.Dest: *Härnösand (u)*, 1892
 T/O on arrival: *None*
 T/O-79: *None*
 M.S-79: *Unmarried*
 M.O: *Ship pilot (f)*

Tea,

fine port and sherry at remarkably low prices at HELGA HÄGGSTRÖM's.⁵³

P.B: *Motala (u)*, 1846
 P.Dep: *Vreta Kloster*, 1873
 P.Dest: *Söderhamn (u)*, 1880
 T/O on arrival: *Demoiselle*
 T/O-79: *Demoiselle*
 M.S-79: *Unmarried*
 M.O: -

New Location!

Undersigned's bakery will be moving as of 1 April from Widow Blom's on Trägårdsgatan to Widow Cornelia Nordin's, east of the town on the same street. Recommended by the favorable recollection of my regular customers. Sundsvall, March 1879. NANNY HAAK.⁵⁴

P.B: *Ljusnarsberg, 1848*

P.Dep: *Skön, 1879*

P.Dest: *-1892*

T/O on arrival: *Demoiselle*

T/O-79: *Demoiselle*

M.S-79: *Unmarried*

M.O: *Barber (h)*

Undersigned,

now serving meals at Carlsson's butcher shop, No. 61 on Sjögatan. Tasty, affordable food served with coffee, tea, chocolate, soda water, lemonade and juices offered to the general public. EMELIE ASKER.⁵⁵

P.B: *Askersund (u), 1840*

P.Dep: *Stockholm (u), 1872*

P.Dest: *-1892*

T/O on arrival: *Jungfru [cf. titled women]*

T/O-79: *Jungfru*

M.S-79: *Unmarried*

M.O: *Hardware dealer (h)*

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University; Sundsvall's local newspapers 1879, Umeå University

Comments: **Bold** type identifies words that were underlined in the newspapers. *Italics* refer to information based on the parish registers. The women's names are in capital letters.

Explanations:

P.B. = Parish of birth; (u) = urban

P.Dep. = Parish of departure, i.e. the place immediately left behind before the first arrival; (u) = urban

P.Dest. = Parish of destination, i.e. the last reported place to which the women might later have migrated; (u) = urban. If there is no migration reported the woman either died or stayed in Sundsvall until the end of the registration, i.e. 1892

T/O on arrival = The woman's title, or occupation, reported on arrival

T/O-79 = The woman's title, or occupation, reported in 1879

M.S-79 = Marital status, reported in 1879

M.O. = The occupation of a man closely related to them: (f) = the father; (h) = the husband or future husband

On the one hand, the wives and women presented above must have challenged the dominant ideology of what women were supposed to do. On the other hand, the persistence of the separate spheres is revealed by the kinds of trades these women were running. They were exclusively involved in the retail, fashion and catering trades and these were typically female fields. Nevertheless, by establishing milliner shops and running cafés they stepped out into the public space of Sundsvall. Either these women had to do so for purely economic reasons or because their parents' involvement in these occupations might have stimulated their interest in running similar businesses.

There might be another explanation. Tom Ericsson argues that these occupations offered an element of emancipation.⁵⁹ Doing business both implied and manifested a kind of independence. Hypothetically, this explains why a couple of the eight women did not marry. If they did they ran the risk of losing control of their own property.⁶⁰ A marriage might also have prevented

them from doing something they enjoyed. However, the parish registers show that some of the eight women discussed above eventually married perhaps because their business and property increased their prospects in the marriage market.

The desire for emancipation must be considered in tandem with the liberal legislation that facilitated women's entrepreneurial aspirations when analyzing why they chose to enter business. These reforms were due either to economic development, or as Qvist suggests, because society and the men in the middle and upper social strata could not afford having their sisters and daughters unemployed for long periods of time.⁶¹ Whatever the case Swedish women were not only allowed to enter the business and industrial sectors but also professional education and universities although Sundsvall lacked these latter institutions.⁶² Schools for girls in which they could find employment as teachers were established in 1860s and 1870s but only a few teachers appear among the women in the first social group. The parish registers report most of them as being titled women or having no occupation at all.⁶³

Sundsvall had prosperous sectors of diverse services and various businesses in which women operated and found work although these jobs were insecure and informal. Favorable working opportunities might very well have prompted women to come and try their luck in Sundsvall. We know a lot of *pigor* did come. The majority of the eight businesswomen discussed above were also migrants. However, they perhaps had other reasons to relocate that might be indicated by their socio-geographical background.

7.3. Demographic description of the women in the additional sources

The previous discussion in which demographic information was compiled to shed light onto the lives of eight women in 1879 enables us to learn to what extent they married and whether they had an urban or business background. We can also speculate what might have encouraged them to start businesses themselves. To know the socio-geographical background could explain why women appear in one particular occupation. Their backgrounds and marriage patterns are described below using information from the parish registers.

Geographical background

Table 7.3 shows that the geographical origins of *pigor* and women engaged in business differed markedly. Women's place of birth is examined because some native Sundsvall women are included in this chapter.

A majority of the titled women were from urban centers and particularly Sundsvall. A pronounced urban origin is also found among women in the first social group. This background must have stimulated their goals to enter business as urban labor markets in general were more open and diverse. These women had likely developed their business skills in other towns.

Table 7.3. The women's occupational structure according to their geographical origin. The occupational status is based on the additional sources. The place of birth is from the parish registers.

Additional sources Social group of the women	Parish records Origin according to place of birth				Total	
	Sundsvall	Other towns	The Sundsvall region	Other non-urban areas	%	N
1. Business entrepreneurs & lower civil officials	13.6	37.2	5.1	44.1	100	59
2. Titled women	27.3	27.2	13.6	31.9	100	22
3. Skilled & unskilled laborers	13.6	9.1	22.7	54.6	100	22
4. Domestic servants	8.5	19.1	17.0	55.4	100	47
5. <i>Pigor</i> (maidservants)	7.5	9.2	20.8	62.5	100	120
6. Prostitutes	5.3	10.5	31.6	52.7	100	19
Total % (N)	10.7	18.0	17.3	54.0	100	289

Source: See Table 7.1.

Chapter 5 shows that *pigor* usually arrived from the countryside. Scholars have found that female migrants gradually replaced the urban native women working as maids. Consequently the occupation of servant became ruralized i.e. dominated by women of rural origin. Higgs argues that women already established in the town were able to use their better knowledge of the local labor market and larger access to various networks to find better employment.⁶⁴ Table 7.3 indicates that this pattern was also evident in Sundsvall.⁶⁵

Those labeled domestic servants were more likely than *pigor* to have come from urban areas. This suggests that they might have had a domestic career in other towns and this would explain why they had a more specified position. The age at which they performed their work also suggests their level of experience. The domestic servants were somewhat older than were the *pigor* as their mean and median age was 27.9 and 25.9 but for *pigor* the corresponding figures were 25.1 and 24.4.

Women in business and civil service were considerably older. Their mean and median ages were 34.8 and 33.8.⁶⁶ They were probably considered too old to be servants and had also passed the stage in life when marriages usually occurred. No wonder these women were doing business. Perhaps these circumstances, more than the desire for independence, explain why they engaged

in their trades. It is difficult to say whether they chose to remain single to better control their property or if the failure to find a supporting husband drove them into various businesses. However, the large marriage market for women in Sundsvall ought to have also favored these women. Whether they married is explored below.

Socio-economic origin and family networks

The socio-economic background of these women might offer further keys to the occupations that they chose. Their socio-economic status is determined whenever possible from their father's occupation and this is found in the parish records. The occupation reported when he was at the middle or top of his career at the age of 40-50 has been given priority.⁶⁷ Unfortunately the father is only identified for about every third woman.

Table 7.4. Occupational status of the women compared to that of their fathers when he was at the age of 40-50. For the fathers the information is based on the parish records. The additional sources are used for the women.

Additional sources Social group of the women	Parish records Social group of their fathers					Total	
	1. Large-scale entrepreneurs & higher civil officials	2. Small-scale entrepreneurs & lower civil officials; farmers	3. Skilled laborers	4. Unskilled laborers; farmhands	No father reported	%	N
1. Business entrepreneurs & lower civil officials	3.4	20.3	6.8	1.7	67.8	100	59
2. Titled women	-	9.1	18.2	27.3	45.5	100	22
3. Skilled & unskilled laborers	4.5	18.2	4.5	4.5	68.2	100	22
4. Domestic servants	-	2.1	8.5	17.0	72.3	100	47
5. <i>Piger</i>	-	5.8	5.8	18.3	70.0	100	120
6. Prostitutes	5.3	-	-	42.1	52.6	100	19
Total (%)	1.4	9.0	6.9	12.5	66.8	100	289

Source: See Table 7.1.

Comments: The social categorization of the fathers is slightly modified because the paucity of cases to analyze. Except for the second category above that includes groups 3a, 3b and 4 according to the original social classification first presented in Chapter 1, this categorization parallels the one employed when the migrants' social mobility was measured in Chapter 4.

Table 7.4 indicates that the higher the occupational status of the women, the higher the status of the fathers. About every fourth woman in the first social strata had a father belonging to the first or second social groups. This suggests that these women had probably learned something about trade. It is also possible that their fathers, because of their knowledge, money and network of customers and commercial contacts were able to facilitate their daughters' busi-

ness aspirations. It is worth noting though that most women in the first social group ran their business without having such fathers or if they did they were not close at hand.⁶⁸

Table 7.4 also indicates the possibility of an available family network. Having a father around meant there usually was a mother and possibly siblings. These potential relationships could have assisted the women but they could not guarantee their urban path. Almost every second prostitute had a father nearby and he was usually a laborer.

Because a majority of the two types of maidservants were migrants there is less information available about the fathers. Although a few were daughters of men classified as small-scale entrepreneurs, civil officials, or farmers, they mainly originated from the working class. They usually had little alternative but to enter the broad sector of domestic service because they probably lacked networks and material resources to improve their situation.

The results of Table 7.4 illustrate Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the socio-cultural capital and its impact on human behavior. Broadly conceived, people's failures or success in an occupation depends on their socio-economic and cultural background.⁶⁹ To explain people's occupations it is necessary to examine this background in addition to studying the impact of gender and the socio-economic structure. Although economic growth offered expanded opportunities for women's inclusion in the labor market, they could not break into entirely new fields because of gendered constraints and their socio-economic background that was determined by their fathers' status. There was also the need for more economic and judicial reforms that would stimulate women's work and their right to dispose of their wages if they were to achieve their independence.

Although many fathers are missing from the data, their social status often corresponded with that of their daughters. Table 7.4 gives only a few examples of working-class daughters who did not follow the path predicted by Bourdieu. Albertina Edstedt was one such case.⁷⁰ In 1868 she was born in the neighboring parish of Skön where her father was a crofter. According to both the business statistics of 1893 and the parish registers of 1891, the year of her in-migration to Sundsvall, she had used her culinary skills to become the owner of a café in the town.

Migrating to urban labor markets likely improved women's chances to enter a variety of occupational fields and transgress both socio-cultural and gendered expectations but this study cannot verify whether this was true. Nevertheless, it does show that women participated in many areas of Sundsvall's labor market although their occupational options were still largely gendered. Their activity might be seen as a strategy towards achieving a more emancipated position. However, it might also have been due simply to the need to find some form of livelihood.

Marriage patterns

How did the more accurately defined occupations given in the alternative sources affect women's marriage pattern? Before analyzing this it must be remembered that we do not know the length of time the women held these occupations. Years could have passed between the time women first took up the occupations that the additional sources reported and the minister registered their marriages. Furthermore, less than half of the women examined here married in Sundsvall or the surrounding region. Despite these obstacles Table 7.5 indicates that marital behavior differed between these groups of women.

Table 7.5. Marriage patterns and marital mobility. Occupational status for women compared to their husband's occupational status. The information for husbands is based on the parish registers. The additional sources are used for women.

Additional sources Social group of the women	Parish records Social group of their husbands					Total	
	1. Large-scale entrepreneurs & higher civil officials	2. Small-scale entrepreneurs & lower civil officials; farmers	3. Skilled laborers	4. Unskilled laborers; farmhands	No marriage reported	%	N
1. Business entrepreneurs & lower civil officials	6.8	17.0	-	3.4	72.8	100	59
2. Titled women	-	9.0	18.2	36.4	36.4	100	22
3. Skilled & unskilled laborers	-	9.0	18.2	22.8	50.0	100	22
4. Domestic servants	-	4.3	4.3	29.8	61.6	100	47
5. <i>Piger</i> (maidservants)	1.0	9.3	10.2	25.9	53.6	100	120
6. Prostitutes	5.3	21.1	5.3	31.5	36.8	100	19
Total (%)	2.1	10.7	8.3	22.8	56.1	100	289

Source: See Table 7.1.

Comments: See Table 7.4.

Women allocated to the top social group married least and there are two possible explanations for this. On the one hand, their trade or professional employment and more emancipated position might have made these women less willing to have a man interfere in their lives and businesses. A marriage could prevent them from continuing their employment. According to law, husbands were still allowed to take large control over their spouses' business and income. On the other hand, their rather high average age when they were doing their businesses might have reduced their prospects in the marriage market. Nevertheless, if they contracted a marriage they usually united with men resembling their own socio-economic status.⁷¹

The skilled female laborers, mostly seamstresses, were also guided by this principle of marrying within their social class but to a lesser degree than those from higher social groups. Interestingly quite a few prostitutes married and a few of them even became wives of businessmen or civil officials. Their hospital

visits and the activities that caused them would probably have been of a temporary nature. The life-course of Sundsvall patients cured for venereal disease has been studied in detail. They and their path did not dramatically differ from people who never had visited the hospital for treatment for such diseases.⁷²

Fewer than half of those women engaged in the two categories of domestic service married in Sundsvall or the region. Many of them would soon be on the move again. Those who were more specified servants (group 4) did not marry upwards to a larger extent than the ordinary *pigor* (group 5). It is difficult to determine why this was the case. Studying women's occupations in various sources can provide important pieces to the understanding of their context, labor market, migratory behavior and life-course. To approach all these factors regarding the most common female occupations of all, that of *pigor* and servants, still remains a puzzle.

Concluding remarks

At various times during the second part of the nineteenth century Sundsvall was the home and labor market for the approximately 300 individual women analyzed in this chapter. The major goal was to examine the occupational possibilities this town could offer migrant women as they searched for labor and possibly a more emancipated position. Therefore, some additional sources were examined to offer some snapshots of women's work and the labor market in Sundsvall. These sources consisted of patient records, business statistics and local newspapers. The information about women's work that they offered was then compared with that generated from the parish registers.

This study has revealed that the additional sources cover the often multi-occupational and part-time work of urban women better than the quantitative data. The expected under-registration of their work was both verified and exemplified by concrete cases that showed how the occupational information differed between the sources. Obviously *pigor* did not earn their livelihood solely as servants. Some were engaged in petty commerce but such activity was particularly the case for titled women and spinsters who often were reported as having no occupation at all in the parish registers. However, those sources revealed the importance of analyzing women's socio-geographical background to understand their occupational position. This was particularly true when attention was focused on the businesswomen. Their urban background and access to fathers who often belonged to the higher social strata likely favored the entrepreneurial aspirations of these women.

Both the parish records and the additional sources indicate that Sundsvall offered good employment opportunities for women. The newspapers show that women frequently advertised their skills necessary for typically female activities such as domestic service and the fashion and catering trades. One explanation for their favorable labor market was the growing number of migrants in the town. It was also crowded with single men and customers that all needed a woman's services.

Even though things improved regarding women's legal, economic and social positions, the late nineteenth century offered little gender equality. This is evident in the parish registers' poor documentation of women's work. Except for the vast number of *pigor* recorded in these sources single women worked with little or nothing and the work done by daughters and wives was often totally hidden. It was also a man, the minister, who put pen to paper and by doing so defined a woman and her work in the parish registers. In addition to offering the patriarchal message of the Bible he had to fulfill secular responsibilities. Neither the religious nor the bureaucratic tasks he was committed to fulfill told him to take careful notes about occupations. Maybe the minister did not ask the woman herself about her work, but instead asked her father, master, husband or the head of the household to which she belonged. Indeed, she was in the eye of a male beholder. The unwillingness to acknowledge women's work and the over-registration of *pigor* probably represents what he felt women should be doing rather than what they did to earn their own living or to facilitate the survival of their husband or family. This way of recording reflected the current dichotomy of separate spheres and breadwinner-ideology.

The sources mirror the contemporary ideologies and gender regime of their time. Those who either requested or made this material were committed to, or even victims of, dominant thoughts of their historical time and setting. Historical research has repeatedly presented a complicated picture when it examines ordinary people. It has often been discovered that there was a substantial difference between what was perceived as the ideal way of dealing with life and labor and what really occurred. This was particularly true for women in the past. This study confirms this gap between the ideal and reality as the women in Sundsvall performed outdoor work that contradicted gendered norms that instructed wives and titled women to stay indoors and *pigor* to only fulfill domestic duties. If we would only study women by looking into what they were supposed to do according to all the legal, religious or ideological recommendations they encountered it would be a rather sad history. For quite some time this method of studying women's history has been replaced with other sources, new methodologies and theories. These have led to the identification of a more independent and complicated position for women in the past than first por-

trayed. The results generated from the sources addressed in this chapter have contributed to an even more complex picture of women's occupational position in the past.

It is true that most women were present in quantitative data and thereby can be analyzed from a wide range of perspectives to discern their real activities. However, this chapter has shown that a reliance on parish registers can lead to false conclusions regarding their economic activities. By advertising in the local newspapers women gained the opportunity to represent themselves, their skills and their occupations. There they found that they had a greater chance of defining themselves. The newspapers particularly have offered perspectives of how women operated in surprisingly many segments of Sundsvall's labor market and the male public sphere.

The many female migrants who took the road to this town during urban-industrial times were likely aware of the occupational options that awaited them. Nonetheless, their options were largely gendered and constrained. This study does not support scholars subscribing to the belief that women's wage labor also brought them freedom. However, the relocation of young women must have meant that the parents they left behind probably lost some of the income their working daughters had provided. Women experienced a less restricted position because of improving wages and working conditions but it remained constrained.

Whether women's larger confrontation with capitalism through wage labor and urban migration really introduced them to greater autonomy remains a complex question. There is reason to question whether factors often taken as indicative of women's freedom such as individual wage labor outside the family economy and full participation in the public world were really simply the result of proletarianization. Women's wage-earnings cannot be viewed only in terms of progress because women migrants who sought these jobs in towns also lost resources they valued such as ties to kin and family self-sufficiency.⁷³ Previous chapters have shown women were also eager to leave the town and probably to reunite with familiar places, relatives and friends.

As scholars studying these issues have also emphasized, women's geographical background must be considered as its cultural and socio-economic setting helped shape the gendered assumptions.⁷⁴ It was precisely these prospects that spurred *pigor* to seek destinations that better enabled them to enter into paid labor. Women weighed their new occupational opportunities against this background. Most of them took up traditional female employment in Sundsvall but they probably viewed it as a step upward from farm labor and the limited opportunities available at home. Only an increase in women's geographical

mobility and wage labor would hardly indicate their independence. In other words, migration and paid work first and then perhaps emancipation. In Sundsvall women migrants surely found work but the latter was not as easily achieved.

Notes

- 1 Selma Wallmark and Anna Helena Bolin lack occupational information for 1879. However, most of the time the parish registers report them as being *pigor*. This was the case in 1878 and 1880.
- 2 DDB-ID (Amanda Rådberg): 851001711; ST 1879-08-07.
- 3 DDB-ID (Märta Westerstrand): 844001556; SP 1879-06-19.
- 4 DDB-ID (Anna Helena Bolin): 852002658; ST 1879-09-09.
- 5 DDB-ID (Selma Wallmark): 862002185; ST 1879-06-19.
- 6 Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*. London 1994, p. 230.
- 7 Davidoff, L. & Westover, B. "From Queen Victoria to the Jazz Age': Women's World in England, 1880-1939". Davidoff, L. & Westover, B. (Eds.). *Our Work, Our Lives, Our Words: Women's History and Women's Work*. Basingstoke 1986, pp. 2 ff. The image and empirical relevance of the male breadwinner and the function of his family has been widely debated. Basically, the term "male breadwinner family" refers to a household organization where the husband operates in the labor market and public sector to secure the salary necessary to support his wife and children in the private sphere. This family model, or at least the ideal of it, increased with the capitalist mode of production characterized by individual wage work and stimulated the separation of home and workplace. This widened the space between the private and public spheres and sharpened the division of labor between the genders. However, the volume cited below shows that the male breadwinner model is seldom so easily understood. Janssens, A. (Ed.). "The Rise and Decline of the Male Breadwinner Family?". *International Review of Social History*, Supplement 1997:42. See particularly the editor's contribution that offers an overview of the debate, pp. 1-23.
- 8 This issue of identifying the actual work and status of *pigor* in the parish registers has previously been discussed, for example in the Introduction under the heading of Social classifications.
- 9 Anderson, M. "The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain". *Journal of Family History* 1984:9, pp. 377-393; Alter, pp. 105-111; Davidoff & Hall, pp. 272-315; Davidoff & Westover, pp. 9-12; Hufton, O. "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century". *Journal of Family History* 1984:9, pp. 355-376; Vicinus, M. *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*. London 1985, pp. 10-45.
- 10 Binford, H. "Never Trust the Census Maker, Even When He's Dead". *Urban History Yearbook* 1975. Leicester 1975, pp. 22-28.

- 11 To understand the lives and social mobility of servants, Higgs thoroughly explores a sample of households in which servants were employed. He argues for closer examination to avoid sweeping generalizations about servants based on the censuses. Higgs, E. "Domestic Service and Households in Victorian England". *Social History* 1983:8, pp. 201-210; Higgs 1986, pp. 125-150; Higgs, E. "Women, Occupations and Work in Nineteenth-Century Censuses". *History Workshop Journal* 1987:23, pp. 59-80. By studying marriage records and servants' social origin, Wilcox questions the high social mobility often associated with them. Wilcox, pp. 195-202. Hill discusses how and why analyzing women's work using census data is fraught with dangers. Hill, B. "Women, Work and the Census: A Problem for Historians of Women". *History Workshop Journal* 1993:35, pp. 69-94. Lim also discusses the invisibility of women and the lack of data on them that has led scholars to overlook any socio-economic significance of women's work and migration. Lim, pp. 227 ff.
- 12 For example, female weavers were more likely to experience the transition into marriage than were domestic servants. Janssens 1998, pp. 260 ff.; Davidoff & Hall, *passim*; cf. Chapter 5, the heading Some notes on marriage.
- 13 Cf. Janssens 1998, p. 255 ff; Alter, pp. 150-152.
- 14 Shorter 1975, p. 262; cf. Shorter 1973.
- 15 Tilly & Scott, pp. 104-145; Scott, Tilly & Cohen, pp. 452-463. Lim also discusses the influence of the family and household on women's relative position in society. She argues that their subordination to men's authority is most obvious in family settings. See Lim, pp. 228 ff.
- 16 Delaney, E. "Gender and Twentieth-Century Irish Migration", 1921-1971. Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001, pp. 209-223. The entire volume edited by Sharpe, offers several studies concerning women's work, migration and labor market. Sweden and Ireland were particularly characterized by late age of marriage and a high proportion of people who remained unmarried. A limited outlook for marriage prompted single women to support themselves. The famine years spurred Irish women, whether married or single, to take any employment they could find. See, Miller, K.A., Doyle, D.N. & Kelleher, P. "'For Love and Liberty': Irish Women, Migration and Domesticity in Ireland and America, 1815-1920". O'Sullivan, P. (Ed.). *Irish Women and Irish Migration*. The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity. Vol. 4. London 1994, pp. 41-88.
- 17 Gyáni, pp. 25-38.
- 18 *Landsbövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1871-75*, pp. 6 f. On page 6 the governor argues: "Skälet härtill torde företrädesvis vara den lättare tillgång på arbetsförtjänst, som erbjödes i en stad, jemförelsevis med den å landsbygden, hvartill måhända kan läggas det vida mindre ansträngande kroppsarbete, som affordras tjenstehjonen i städerna, äfvensom i någon mån de lockelser, som det mera omvexlande livet och nöjena i städerna kunna utöfva."
- 19 Friedman-Kasaba, pp. 135-192; Gabaccia 1994, pp. 18-22, 27-36, 45-52; cf. Harzig 1997, pp. 4-13.
- 20 Friedman-Kasaba, p. 185.
- 21 Margareta Zachrisson also has made efforts to trace the occupations of Sundsvall women in various sources stored at the town's archives. Her study confirms the paucity of material that has documented women's work in the town. Cf. Zachrisson.
- 22 Birgit Petersson has thoroughly investigated the newspapers in the town. *Sundsvalls Tidning* (ST) and *Sundsvalls-Posten* (SP) represented two different political colors. ST was established in 1841 and was the liberal and radical voice in the town. SP was founded in 1853 and represented the conservative opinion. Petersson 1997, pp. 159-165.

- 23 There were approximately 60 men and women who were successfully identified but primarily unmarried women are considered here. However, a few married women in the fashion and catering trades are also discussed in this chapter.
- 24 Cf. Brändström 1988, pp. 12-14; Brändström 1995, pp. 93-119; Lundberg, pp. 46-49.
- 25 The DDB has preliminary linked the patient records to the parish registers. As this process is not fully completed, I have manually checked and completed the sample to get the necessary information for this analysis.
- 26 For the period 1860-1893 certain years have been selected: 1860, 1863, 1865, 1868; 1870, 1873, 1875 and so forth until the year 1893. Many thanks to Mikael Svanberg who has supplied me with this material. In his thesis, he focuses on the work and life of tradesmen living in Sundsvall during the second part of the nineteenth century. After having addressed a variety of sources such as poll taxes, minutes and enrollment lists for diverse associations in addition to the National Board of Trade's business statistics, Svanberg concludes that the entrepreneurial role of women is poorly documented. In the 1870s they comprised only 4 percent of those engaged in trade or craft in Sundsvall. The 1880s marked a breakthrough particularly for unmarried women who began to replace widows in these occupations. In the 1890s the proportion of women working in these fields was 17 percent. Svanberg, pp. 57-65, 93-130.
- 27 An investigation undertaken under my supervision examines 177 Sundsvall women drawn from the National Board of Trade's business statistics and printed registers (*Handelskalendrar*) in which businessmen sometimes registered themselves for commercial reasons. This study confirms the source conflict discussed in this chapter. See Sundelin, U. "Att idka handel i en norrländsk stad på frammarsch. Kvinnliga småföretagare i Sundsvall 1850-1893". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University 1999. On the under-registration of women in business, also see Svanberg, pp. 51-68; Alter, pp. 105-111.
- 28 As was discussed in Chapter 1, students of migration sometimes focus on the formal vs. informal employment sectors. There are indications that migrants, and particularly females, were absorbed into the latter sphere. The additional sources confirm such an assumption. Cf. Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V., p. 101.
- 29 The literature about the women's movement is comprehensive and not discussed fully here. As elsewhere in Western Europe, women in Sweden belonging to the middle class were first to organize themselves and this led to the creation of the Fredrika Bremerförbundet in 1884. This movement originated in the 1860s and demanded unmarried women's right to education and professional employment. The situation of married women was also on the agenda. It was mainly women in the upper and middle social strata that discussed these issues. In the 1890s, working-class women were slowly beginning to organize. They addressed issues related to wages and working conditions. Both of these movements challenged the dominant image that a woman's one and only place was in the home i.e. the private sphere. These spheres are discussed below. Hirdman, Y. "Kvinnor, makt och demokrati". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnobistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992, pp. 153-168; Vammen, T. "Rösträtt till kvinnor! Den engelska rösträttskampen i europeiskt perspektiv, 1860-1930". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnobistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992, pp. 169-187; Widerberg, pp. 60-72.
- 30 It is difficult to estimate people's interest in these matters but it did attract attention. Petersson suggests the number of readers per copy was large as people often shared the subscription fee. The newspapers provide some statistics regarding the number of subscribers in Sundsvall in

February 1879. The SP had 725 and the ST had 195 paid subscribers. See, SP 1879-02-13. Petersson presents some figures about the number of subscribers during the first three months of 1875: 520 (SP) and 164 (ST). Petersson 1997, p. 164. The county governor reports that people in Västernorrland were increasing their reading ability because of the growing supply of newspapers and religious literature. *Landsbövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1876-1880*, p. 7.

- 31 ST 1879-04-19. According to the newspaper, this item was first published in an industrial newspaper in Stockholm called *Norden*. The original text states: "Är det sant att kvinnans ekonomiska ställning skulle hindra ett lands kapitalbildning? Härpå swara wi obetingat: nej... Såsom det nu är ställt med de gifta kvinnornas rätt, gå deras penningar först till männen, och hwart de sedan taga wägen wet man icke så noga... Kvinnan är af naturen sparsam... hon är äfwen försiktig, och vill ej att det ska riklewas på spekulationer. [—] Under den förutsättningen...att kvinnans ekonomiska själfständighet wore betryggad, men hennes industriella uppfostran och affärsförmåga wore mycket längre dräwen än nu är fallet, kunna wi antaga icke blott att samma kapital tillströmmade industrien, utan äfwen att detta kapital tillwäxte mycket hastigare, i ty att flera ägnade sig åt det produktiva arbetet. Det är nämligen alldeles säkert, att med ekonomisk själfständighet följer ekonomisk kraft och werksamhetsförmåga. Med själfständighet kommer ansvar och med answaret behofwet samt begäret att lära och förstå. Gör kvinnorna själfständiga, och de skola icke längre nöja sig med den besynnerliga roll de så länge innehaft, att öfwerlemna alt åt sin man... [...] Af det anförda framgår, att frågan om kvinnans emancipation icke allenast är en fråga af allmänt mänskligt intresse, utan att den derjämte är en ekonomisk fråga af allra största wigt... Och männe icke hennes produktiva werksamhet wore en wälkommen och wälbehöflig tillökning i den allmänna produktionen? Wi weta wäl att inwändningar skola göras om hennes bestämmelse m.m. men wi fråga: skall, därför att några icke kunna produktivt använda sina krafter, friheten wara alla beröfwad?"
- 32 The actual and ideal function of these spheres has been widely discussed. Basically, they are referred to as a dichotomy separating men and women, the public vs. private, labor vs. home, activity vs. passivity, cultural vs. natural. In this way men and women also complemented each other. According to Jane Rendall, the very notion of this dichotomy primarily represents the middle-class Western World during the nineteenth century. However, as an ideal it had much wider implications although historical time, space and class shaped its ability to organize the relationship between the genders. See, Rendall, J. "Nineteenth Century Feminism and the Separation of Spheres: Reflections on the Public/Private Dichotomy". Andreasen, T. et. al. (Eds.). *Moving On: New Perspectives on the Women's Movement*. Aarhus 1991, pp. 7-37; Davidoff & Hall; Kerber, L. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *Journal of American History* 1988:75, pp. 9-39.
- 33 In the 1970s and 1980s feminist scholars developed gender theories and applied deconstructive techniques to understand the establishment of the public-private spheres and the distinction between them. Similar to what constitutes gender differences, these spheres cannot be rigidly defined. Models of public and private spheres are constructions rooted in such factors as ethnicity, socio-economic structures and cultural patterns. Theoretically, periods characterized by large-scale changes offer women more room to renegotiate what is supposed to be male and female. The process of capitalism and industrialization is regarded as a period of gendered disorder. For example, new occupations appeared that were not yet gendered. Consequently, women made some progress by entering the work force and public space and thereby empowered themselves. However, after some time occupations and spaces were once again gendered and the distinctions between men and women constructed. Feminist scholars sometimes view this process as a contract or deal established between the genders. Hirdman

- 1988; Scott; Pateman, C. *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge 1988; Kimmel, M.S. *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*. Beverly Hills, California 1987. For some empirical efforts employing these theoretical gender perspectives on women who transgressed spheres by entering new occupations at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Norlander, K. "Att vara kvinnlig kapitalist". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1992:112, pp. 446-467; Wikander, U. "Kvinnorna i den tidiga industrialiseringen". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992, pp. 122-135; Florin, C. "Kvinnliga tjänstemän i manliga institutioner". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992, pp. 136-152.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 *Pigor* were generally not paid very much but live-in servants were offered board and lodging. The county governor confirmed the wage difference between male and female servants in Västernorrland. Average *drängar* (farmhands) earned 175 kronor per year but *pigor* only received 75 kronor. *Landshövdningarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1876-1880*, p. 10. The gender difference between servants' salary in Västernorrland was larger than generally stated. According to Qvist *pigor* and women workers earned between half or two thirds of the wages of men. Cf. Qvist 1978a, p. 105.
- 36 ST 1879-07-17. The original text says, "Ett yngre fruntimmer önskar plats i en bättre familj. På lön göres ej afseende. Utmärkta rekommendationer finnas. Svar till T. torde inlemnas å Sundsvalls tidnings tryckeri."
- 37 ST 1879-10-14. The original text says, "Ett trettio års ordentligt fruntimmer önskar att sköta en hushållsplats hos någon ungar eller enkling, i brist deraf antages i hatt- eller kortvaruhandel. Lönevillkoren anspråkslösa. Svar i biljett emottages i Tidningskontoret. Adress E".
- 38 SP 1879-02-13. The original text says, "En kokerska och en husa önska plats till instundande flyttning i något bättre hus. Svar torde Godhetsfullt inlemnas å denna tidnings kontor till E.R."
- 39 ST 1879-07-26. The original text says, "Hushållerska. Plats sökes hos en enkling eller ungar till instundande flyttning af ett fruntimmer kunnigt uti matlagning, strykning samt för öfrigt allt hvad till skötande af ett hushåll hörer. Vidare å Sundsvalls tidnings tryckeri."
- 40 SP 1879-02-25. The original text says, "En skicklig kokerska från Stockholm önskar plats i ett bättre hus den 24 April, i brist deraf hos någon ungherre som hushållerska. Underrättelse om den sökande får N:o 352 Bryggerigränd."
- 41 Cf. under the heading of The computerized parish registers of Sundsvall in the Introduction. Unfortunately, the poll taxes are of little help. Single women seldom appeared because only head of households were included in this material. Cf. Zackrisson; Tedebrand 1997, p 124.
- 42 ST 1879-09-04. The original text says, "Stundom händer det att tre, fyra unga karlar inhyas i ett för familj afsedt rum och der taga sig en flicka som hushållerska. Stundom är denna qvinna syster till någon af dem, stundom icke. I alla händelser är detta ett oskick, som af aktning för hennes heder och arbetarens anseende icke borde tillåtas." A summary of his articles has been published, see Björk, B. & Schnell, J-B. (Eds.). *Sundsvallsstrejken 1879: Samtida dokument och historisk belysning*. Sundsvall 1979, pp. 121-78.
- 43 The newspapers also show some examples of *pigor* who advertised their willingness to sew clothes, wash, or iron. They performed domestic duties but were hardly domestic servants. One of them, Märta Westerstrand, was introduced at the beginning of this chapter.

- 44 Other occupational categories presented in Table 7.2 have been controlled for when possible in the same way as *pigor* in Figure 7.1. Although there was a minor increase of skilled female workers and women in business or civil service over time, these occupational categories and changes were so small that they cannot be further elaborated upon.
- 45 Cornell, pp. 115-122.
- 46 ST 1879-09-13. The original text says: "Brännvin flöt i strömmar, och såsom tilltugg till den ädla svenska nektarn vankades som vanligt oljud och slagsmål. Enligt hvad fullt trovärdiga personer försäkrat mig, var det stundom både ruskigt och farligt att om nätterna gå från staden till de nämast liggande sågverken. Smittan trängde ända in i familjens innersta. Trätor och ofrid belfvo allt mera hemvana. Ja, qvinnorna sjelfva började fråga sig, hvarför icke äfven de skulle kunna dela glasets nöjen. 'Ballastfruntimmerna', såsom man kallar de qvinnor, hvilka biträda vid lossningen af de ankommande fartygens ballast, togo sig under arbetet litet emellan en styrketår, och när qvinnorna lastade splitved eller staf, gjorde punschflaskorna flitigt sin rund på prämarne. Mödrar, som måhända hade späda barn i hemmet, fördrefvo sin tid utomhus, stundom spelade de raffel om klockor, kläder m.m., hvarvid den som vann fick bestå dryckesvaror. Stundom salade de till sorgligt beryktade 'käringskalas', vid hvilka punsch- eller vinbuteljen täflade om hedersrummet med den kärälskliga kaffepannan."
- 47 *Betänkande angående åtgärder till förbättrande af de vid sågverken i trakten af Sundsvall anställda arbetarnas ställning*. Sundsvall 1880, pp. 33 ff, 51 ff. Although this investigation concerned the surrounding sawmill parishes, some sawmills were situated on the outskirts of Sundsvall. People could very well live in the town and walk to their work in the sawmills located in the neighboring parish of Skön.
- 48 ST 1879-03-22; DDB-ID (Anna Nordlöw): 841001160. The original text says, "Hattar, till modernisering och blekning, mottagas till April månads slut hos Anna C. Nordlöw Gamla Kyrkogatan."
- 49 ST 1879-04-08; DDB-ID (Anna Frost): 841001280. The original text says, "Undertecknad förfärdigar Hårabeten väl och billigt, nu boende å Norrmalm, Strandgatan, i Löfbergs gård, n. 376. Anna Frost."
- 50 ST 1879-05-06; DDB-ID (Charlotte Grönhagen): 844001294. The original text says, "Damgarderob! Undertecknad tillhandahåller allt hvad som till damtoaletten hörer. Charlotte Grönhagen."
- 51 SP 1879-04-03; DDB-ID (Eugenie Rothoff): 835001403. The original text says, "Hattar till Modernisering och Blekning. Eugenie Rothoff."
- 52 ST 1879-05-27; DDB-ID (Amanda von Ahn): 839001008. The original text says, "Nytt för saisonen. Uti undertecknads modehandel finnes: Hattar, Plymer, Blommor, Handskar, Kragar och för öfrigt allt hvad till en väl sorterad modehandel hörer. Amanda von Ahn och Törnqvist."
- 53 SP 1879-01-02; DDB-ID (Helga Häggström): 846001413. The original text says, "Thé, samt godt portvin och sherry till otroligt billiga priser hos Helga Häggström."
- 54 SP 1879-03-15; DDB-ID (Nanny Haak): 848001362. The original text says, "Lokalombyte! Undertecknads Bagerirörelse kommer att den 1 April flyttas från Enkefru Bloms gård vid Trädgårdsgatan till Enkefru Cornelia Nordins gård, öster i staden efter samma gata. Rekommenderande jag mig uti respektive kunders gunstbenägna hågkomst. Sundsvall Mars 1879. Nanny Haak."

- 55 ST 1879-04-12; DDB-ID (Emelie Asker): 840001152. The original text says, "Undertecknad, har öppnat spising i slagtare Carlssons gård, N:r 61 vid Sjögatan. God och billig mat i förening med kaffe, the, choklad, sodavatten, sockerdricka och saft tillhandahålles allmänheten. Emelie Asker."
- 56 Scott & Tilly, pp. 123-145.
- 57 Alter, pp. 105-111. Christine Bladh has found that female hawkers in nineteenth-century Stockholm were allowed to do business because their husbands were incapable of supporting them because of drunkenness or different handicaps. Bladh, C. *Månglerskor: Att sälja från korg och bod i Stockholm 1819-1846*. Stockholm 1991.
- 58 Benson, J. *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs*. Dublin 1993, pp. 98-127.
- 59 Ericsson, T. "Kvinnor, familj och småföretagande i det sena 1800-talet". Ericsson, T. & Guillemot, A. (Eds.). *Individ och struktur i historisk behysning: Festskrift till Sune Åkerman*. Umeå 1997, p. 48. [1997b].
- 60 Unmarried women reached the age of majority at 25 in 1863. In 1884, this fell to 21 and this was the same age as for men. If a woman was married she was no longer regarded as legally competent. This held true until 1921. In 1874, wives were formally allowed to dispose of their own income if they asked for it when the marriage took place. According to Widerberg, this legislation had little real impact on the situation of married women. If they bought things for themselves, and not for the family or household, they ran the risk of losing the right to dispose of their income. Widerberg, pp. 69 f.
- 61 Qvist 1978a, pp. 101 f. During the second part of the nineteenth century about 40 percent of the Swedish female population aged 15 or older was unmarried. Except for Ireland, this pattern was unique in Europe. Cf. Ericsson 1997b, pp. 34 f.
- 62 A private school for girls in Sundsvall was founded by Emelie Gyllencreutz in 1861. This was followed by an elementary school established in 1871. In 1858 women were allowed to take up education that would enable them to take up employment as a teacher and in 1870 it was possible for them to get academic degrees. By studying women's efforts in establishing these schools, Zackrisson identifies similar source conflict regarding spinsters who were teaching although the parish registers do not acknowledge this. Similar kinds of women but also wives to wealthier men were engaged in charity and founded homes for children in Sundsvall. Zackrisson has investigated material concerning the organizational activities of women in Sundsvall, only to find it rarely exists or does not say much of research interest. She also discusses the poor documentation of women's work in the poll taxes. Zackrisson.
- 63 Hedda Meyer, the wife to the bookkeeper Peter Calissendorff, who we met in Chapter 3 and 4, exemplifies one underreported teacher.
- 64 Higgs 1983, p. 208. On the issue of ruralized servants, see Dubert, pp. 221 ff.; Fauve-Chamoux, pp. 119 ff.; McBride 1976, pp. 34-48; Sewell, pp. 208-210; Jorde, pp. 128 ff.; Gustafson, pp. 134 ff; cf. Chapter 5.
- 65 This was also indicated in Chapter 4 when the social mobility of migrants and natives in Sundsvall was discussed. See the heading dealing with this issue in Chapter 4.
- 66 Although widows are not included because of the cohort criteria, there might be some widows among those who migrated to Sundsvall.
- 67 Even fathers living in the surrounding region are included. Although most of them were alive when their daughters' occupation was collected, this was not necessarily the case. The women had nevertheless experienced their fathers' occupations when he was at the top of his career.

- 68 Sundelin confirms the above findings on female tradesmen in her study of the 177 Sundsvall women in business. See, Sundelin. Ericsson also finds that most of the businesswomen he studies were rooted in the upper- and middle social strata. Ericsson 1997b, p. 44.
- 69 There is an extensive literature on the relationships between class, family and values on the one hand, and educational and occupational aspirations or expectations on the other hand. The studies cited below are only a sample. The family of origin is often viewed as a socio-economic institution that acts to mediate or even determine the individuals' life-chances and opportunities. Bourdieu, P. *Kultursociologiska texter: I urval av Donald Broady och Mikael Palme*. Stockholm 1994, pp. 247-310; Broady, D. *Sociologi och epistemologi: Om Pierre Bourdieus författarskap och den historiska epistemologin*. Stockholm 1991, pp. 169-179; Nygaard, pp. 107-117; Shaffer, J.W. "Family, Class, and Young Women: Occupational Expectations in Nineteenth-Century Paris". Hareven, T.K. & Wheaton, R. (Eds.). *Family and Sexuality in French History*. Philadelphia 1980, pp. 179-200; Svanberg, pp. 151 ff.
- 70 DDB-ID (Albertina Edstedt): 868000954.
- 71 Sundelin identifies similar findings. Among those with a marriage reported in Sundsvall or the region (106 of 177 women), well over half the businesswoman married small-scale entrepreneurs or civil servants (60 out of 106 women). In only about 15 percent of the cases was the husband identified as no higher than an unskilled laborer. See, Sundelin.
- 72 Lundberg compares mortality rates, marriage and migration patterns of patients cured for venereal disease and those who did not visit the Sundsvall hospital for such treatment to conclude that there was no stigma attached to sufferers of these diseases and they did not encounter any social difficulties. Lundberg, pp. 240-259.
- 73 On the one hand, Gabaccia argues that the increase of women's work must not only be interpreted in progressive or emancipatory terms. On the other hand, she suggests that women viewed their new prospects by comparing them to those less fortunate women left behind. Gabaccia 1994, pp. 25 f., 46-52, 133 f.
- 74 Ibid; Friedman-Kasaba, pp. 181-193; Harzig 1997, pp. 1-19; Ohlander 1986c, pp. 142-148.

8. Concluding discussion

This study examines socio-spatial mobility among migrants to Sundsvall during a century of change. Emphasis is placed on the period of urban and industrial growth but glimpses of the pre-industrial period are offered to make comparisons over time possible. Women are the focus of this study but their socio-spatial mobility is compared to that of men. As the title of the thesis suggests, migrants' gender influenced his/her experience but not entirely. Men and women often took different roads to this town and while living there their life-courses took different paths because they were assigned to separate labor markets determined by the gender regime. However, the many similarities between the genders suggest that men and women had identical reasons for moving to Sundsvall. One major source of motivation was to improve the means of subsistence by attempting to sell their labor to best advantage.

This research illuminates important discoveries regarding the impact of gender and especially the reasons why women decided to move, the paths they took to reach or leave the town, and their experience once they arrived. Whether their arrival in Sundsvall could be considered an act of emancipation is somewhat ambiguous. It is possible to view shifts in women's migration patterns both as a protest against gendered constraints and a result of the wider public space and labor market they achieved through socio-economic reforms during the nineteenth century.

A discussion that focuses on women's migration and emancipation concludes this thesis. First, the general approach of migration employed in this study is reconsidered. Then, the most essential results are discussed to identify whether they echo, contribute to or even contradict findings in particular fields emphasized within recent migration research.

Capturing large-scale processes through migration patterns

The nineteenth century is often described as one of the most turbulent historical eras because it witnessed two large-scale processes that are believed to have markedly changed the Western World, the behavior of human beings and their living conditions. One of these processes was characterized by industrialization and capitalism that altered the occupational structure. A set of social changes brought about by the demographic transition was the other large-scale process that helped shape the landscape and people's conditions in a society that was

becoming increasingly populated and urbanized. Migration was embedded in these two processes because they encouraged individuals to seek urban-industrial destinations when the traditional order and way of life was eroding.

Another extensive phenomenon that also structured every segment of nineteenth-century society was the gender regime. Women were not on an equal footing with men and this had an impact on their behavior. Gender imposed different roles and expectations and this influenced the socio-spatial mobility of men and women. The gender regime must be added to the structural level of the two large-scale processes discussed above.

Combining macro- and micro-perspectives

Nineteenth-century migration can be conceptualized by linking it to the contemporary context fashioned by industrialization, demographic change and the gender regime. By doing so, migration turns into a process that is possible to consider as both the result of large-scale transformations and the cause of them. Having this dual function makes patterns of migration especially adept at reflecting the lives and world of past men and women but most of all it reveals them as actors. By being a visible and measurable result of human action that involved so many people, migration mirrored the structures that individuals responded to and with which they interacted. Relocation simultaneously had an impact on people's life-courses, local places, and the wider structure within which large-scale changes operated.

This dynamic view of migration is key for this thesis. The town of Sundsvall and its relation to its hinterland and larger context is introduced in the conceptual model of migration in Chapter 1 because different settings experience the large-scale transformations differently and encounter unique conditions. The rapid economic growth of Sundsvall helped shape the patterns of in-migration. Nevertheless, every local context is affected by the gender regime and develops under influence of large-scale socio-economic changes.

Despite the focus on the macro-structural context and its changing characteristics at the large and local scale, this thesis portrays the migrants themselves as agents of change. After all, it was they who made the choice to relocate. The causes and consequences of this decision are analyzed at a micro-level by examining the migrants' demographic and geographical characteristics, and their various life-courses in Sundsvall. In addition to parish registers, other sources offer insights into the urban path of migrants. This approach reveals migrants as having the ability to cope with life in the town regardless of their gender. Of course they must be considered as having made rational decisions to move but they hardly appear as motivated solely by possible economic opportunities. To leave home and start up a new life elsewhere was a normal part of young individuals' lives. There is also evidence that networks helped

determine their arrival in Sundsvall. These men and women were not heroes whose lives in the town were ones of unparalleled success. They went there with hopes to improve their standard of living and escape harsh conditions elsewhere. Nevertheless many migrants took to the road again. Their degree of social mobility and experience of it was restricted by their duration of residence and the structural setting.

Structural theory and the model presented in Chapter 1 aim to hold the micro- and macro-perspectives together in a systems approach that seeks to include the multiple aspects of migration.¹ This thesis covers some of them more fully than others and the implication of this approach is discussed more in detail below. Previous chapters illustrate how structures determined individuals' socio-spatial mobility. Nevertheless, people and their experiences are unique and so they adapt differently to given conditions. Analyzing the demographic characteristics and geographic experiences of migrants to Sundsvall also shows this was the case in that town.

Although applying perspectives focusing on human agency now appears as a common-sensical approach in migration research, historical sources often fail to provide accurate or complete information about the actors most centered in this thesis, i.e. the individual migrants. How did they decide to migrate to Sundsvall? How did they experience their relocation with regard to differences and similarities between the genders? These two questions are discussed below by reassessing the most important research areas that Jackson and Moch identify in their review of European migration in the past.

Some major findings in relation to six fields within migration research

By focusing on five comprehensive fields of research associated with migration Jackson and Moch suggest that scholars can approach "the task of defining the mechanisms and social meaning of geographical mobility".² Results generated in this study allow us to examine each of these fields. These five themes address issues associated with migrant selectivity, migration systems, the impact of migration on places, the reasons for geographical mobility, and the individual consequences of migration. A sixth field discusses women's migration in connection with the concept of emancipation because the relationship between them has been emphasized in recent research.³

Migrant selectivity and its universality

The first field is descriptive and concerns the features of those who chose to move. The characteristics of the typical migrant are difficult to illuminate because a wide range of variables that historical data fail to uncover affect it. Sundsvall's parish records enable this study to identify the selectivity among those who arrived in the town by their demographic and geographical characteristics. In contrast to many other sources, these records allow us to give a more thorough portrayal of migrants at the level of the individual. However, the general results confirm rather than reject earlier migration studies. Basically, regardless of gender, the average migrant to Sundsvall was young, unmarried, belonged to the lower social strata, and did not make associational in-migrations. This study reveals that most migrants were relatively autonomous although indications of chain migration suggest that social ties encouraged them to move. The similarities of the migrants' socio-economic and demographic characteristics on arrival were striking both over time and between the genders. Therefore, it is wise to emphasize the universality rather than unique features of the migrants. The geographical backgrounds differed between them and this is discussed below.

Although this and other studies show that relocation is closely linked to an early phase of individuals' life-course, migrant selectivity largely depends on local labor markets. This did not prevent single women from entering the town of Sundsvall in large numbers although the growth of the sawmill industry rooted in the surrounding region ought to have mainly encouraged men to come. Female migrants also responded to the same degree to business booms and recessions. They were hardly passive migrants following in the footsteps of male migrant pioneers. These findings stress that men and women were largely subject to the same socio-economic structure and responded in similar ways to external pressures.

Whether migrants arrived in Sundsvall because they were especially endowed with an ability to adapt to socio-economic changes is difficult to judge. Relocation might have been the result of personal attitudes but this is hard to demonstrate for past populations because of the lack of sources. Migrants were far too common to have only included those considered brave or innovative. Furthermore, more knowledge is needed regarding the socio-economic settings and the population and family structures in the place people chose to leave. However, longitudinal analyses can suggest migrants' aspirations.

Migrants' motivation

Another field of migration research posed by Jackson and Moch sheds light on the migrant selectivity by exploring the reasons that migrants chose to move to new locales. This issue was central to this study and approached by employing the macro- and micro-perspectives discussed above and the conceptual model

introduced in Chapter 1. External push- and pull-factors involving socio-economic conditions at a large and local scale are examined although the attraction of Sundsvall is highlighted. In addition to studying employment opportunities, other reasons among migrants are analyzed by exploring marriage and illegitimate births upon arrival.

Reasons associated with the life-course have a long history of making youths take to the road to gain skills and build their dowry. However, external push-factors primarily represented by harsh working conditions and low wages in the countryside increasingly encouraged both young men and women to move to Sundsvall. A greater supply of information about what this town had to offer its newcomers and improvements to the transportation routes leading to the town also encouraged potential migrants to choose Sundsvall as their destination.

Women's interest in going to this town was due to the urban environment that usually exerted a pull on females, and the growing demand for various domestic duties caused by all the male migrants who needed a woman's services. They particularly left the hinterland in favor of its urban center because the industrial and agricultural changes in the surrounding region did not stimulate women's labor market. The desire to escape a subordinate position in the countryside might explain women's search for work and arrival in Sundsvall. Migration reduced the immediate parental control and towns offered more employment opportunities and leisure activities.

The extent of family networks and a possible marriage upon arrival are checked to illuminate migrants' motives for moving to Sundsvall. Similar to the results of other migration studies, there are indications that women were most likely to have depended on, or made use of, chain migrations that likely encouraged them to come to the town. They also had greater access to family members in Sundsvall or the surrounding region but this is hardly surprising because women moved over shorter distances and had more of a regional background than men. In contrast to the results of many other studies, female migrants did not appear to move to Sundsvall to marry any more so than did male migrants although they faced a large marriage market because of all the single men living in the town. They also did not move to Sundsvall to give birth to illegitimate children.

In this thesis the arrival of migrants is primarily viewed as a result of an individual desire to improve living standards and working conditions during large-scale socio-economic changes. This study cannot determine whether parents sent young migrants to Sundsvall because the family situation left behind is not examined. However, the family ties available to migrants in Sundsvall or its hinterland often proved to be statistically insignificant for both men and women's socio-spatial mobility after their arrival.

Migration systems

Jackson and Moch argue that migration systems and especially the role of multiple movements within the context of larger systems require greater attention in research. Because migration is a common and complex phenomenon involving many people and places it is difficult to isolate one system from another. Relocation to Sundsvall could be seen as a system although it both belonged to broader systems and was built up by minor patterns. Migrants' routes to Sundsvall are approached in two ways to illuminate this complexity.

First, the large migrant influx is analyzed by employing maps that display the growth of migrants' geographical backgrounds over time. This increase was based on an intensification of traditional patterns and new paths to the town. As discussed above, economic development in Sundsvall, improving communications, and an increasing supply of information encouraged migrants from farther afield to move to the town. The maps also reveal the patterns of chain migration and how the geographical backgrounds of male and female migrants differed. Differences in the gender characteristics of the migration streams increased with distance. Although a majority of the women moved considerable distances to reach Sundsvall during urban-industrial times, they did not travel as far as the men. The reasons for these gendered routes are discussed above and developed further below.

The spatial findings parallel those usually presented in migration research. However, the geographical backgrounds both over time and between men and women are described more fully than in other studies of historical migration patterns. The friction of distance is evident but the pattern that gravity models propose is not because of clusters and single migrants from numerous single parishes. The geographical findings shed light onto the complex nature of migration to Sundsvall and show that men and women considered the distance involved but that this alone did not determine their decision to move.

Second, the analysis of individual migrants' multiple movements detects an even more complex system of geographical mobility. It emphasizes that people in the past had frequently moved. Migrants' diverse experiences of and preference for urban and non-urban settlements resulted in bi-local residences that moderated the urbanization process. This study also examines the unique relationship between Sundsvall and its hinterland. The whole region was a migration system of its own that was the product of the economic development and frequent travels of increasing numbers of long-distance migrants who arrived in the town.

By extending their stay in Sundsvall or by moving to another town, migrants displayed an increasing interest in urban areas during the course of the century but many of them did not hesitate to leave the town for the countryside or the home parish. This was especially the case for female migrants and indicates that family ties remained strong or they wanted to return to familiar settings.

Although the town witnessed a general economic upswing, its economy and labor market were increasingly exposed to recessions that migrants responded to by taking to the road again. Apparently Sundsvall failed to satisfy migrants completely and this probably also was true for newcomers in other urban areas.

The migration systems, and particularly the multiple movements that shaped their complex character, offer insights into the process of migration at both the individual and structural level. These are difficult to distinguish without Swedish parish registers. In addition to helping to examine the impact of gender on migrants these sources help prove results previously presented by students of migration. These sources suggest that most migrants, and especially women, moved over short distances. Changes in the volume and nature of the influx of migrants to Sundsvall over time also echoed one typical feature of migration during industrialization.

A great many findings presented here either challenge earlier results or clarify what scholars have suspected. For example, there was no distinct evidence of stepwise migration of people moving from small places to larger locations along an urban hierarchy of destinations. Second, the direction and distance of male and female migration differed but the number of men and women who moved was relatively similar. Third, the timing of migrants' arrival and the duration of their residence during urban-industrial times were the same regardless of their gender.

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants remained constant during the course of the nineteenth century but the number of migrants and the migration systems differed greatly by the later decades. The rapid development of the sawmill industry was a catalyst for this change and made it more dramatic than in most other urban areas at the time. However, this thesis shows that in addition to the large shift of migration patterns there were minor paths and a variety of factors that cannot be explained solely by the economic transformation. If industrialization was the only key to determining migration patterns, migrants would mirror the average population and the migrants to Sundsvall would have had little reason to seek non-urban destinations after their arrival. However, that was precisely what many of them did even during the later nineteenth century. The longitudinal study of individual migrants reveals this pattern.

The impact of migration on Sundsvall

Exploring the impact of geographical mobility on sending and receiving areas deserves more attention. People leaving or entering certain places affect the socio-economic structure of these settings and help to determine the type of person who moves between different locales.

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the parishes from which the migrants came are not thoroughly explored in this study but the migrants' impact on the structure of Sundsvall is very evident. These newcomers dominated and determined the character of the marriage and labor markets in the town. This caused pre-industrial Sundsvall's socio-economic structure to differ markedly from its urban-industrial counterpart. Migrants found more reasons to reside for extended periods during the latter period.

The economic development based on the surrounding sawmill industry exerted a particular pull on men and their arrival caused a relatively even gender distribution in the town. Men stimulated women's labor market and also encouraged young female migrants to enter the city limits of Sundsvall in large numbers. Once there they found work and a large and diverse marriage market atypical of many urban areas. However, the impact of the male profile of this town on women's migratory and marital behavior did not always turn out the way we might expect. This discovery is further developed below.

Migrants brought with them their traditional behavior such as night courtship and late age at marriage. High rates of illegitimacy indicate that women placed themselves in a hazardous position by moving to this town. It was crowded with men and seasonal laborers with whom these women might have become intimate before these men then disappeared.

These characteristics show how migrants influenced and changed the urban demographic and socio-economic structure of Sundsvall. They helped shape the town that during the latter part of the nineteenth century became increasingly linked to the wider world by timber exports and newcomers from more distant locales. Despite being a relatively small town, these two features made this place typical of many nineteenth-century Western European urban areas witnessing a large influx of migrants and an economic transformation. Yet, in many ways Sundsvall was unique. The socio-economic and demographic structure of the town and its close relationship to its hinterland explains many of the results generated in this thesis and shows why the migrants sometimes differed from those in other studies.

Individual consequences of migrating

Longitudinal analyses reveal the nature of individuals' multiple migrations discussed above and such approaches are key to another field that Jackson and Moch discuss. It highlights the impact of relocation for the individual migrant. Scholars must consider whether migration was primarily due to the results of dislocation or occurred within established patterns that reduced the impact of residential change. This thesis shows that both misfortune and success awaited migrants to Sundsvall but primarily it suggests that socio-economic stability characterized a majority of them. In addition to examining migrants' movements

prior to and after their arrival in the town, this study employs longitudinal analyses of their duration of residence, social mobility and marital behavior. These analyses also investigate the impact of migrants' demographic features, socio-economic status, and geographical backgrounds on their life-course. This is necessary because in addition to large-scale transitions, such characteristics influence individuals' socio-spatial mobility and marital paths.

Gender did not prove to determine migrants' length of stay. During their residence migrants took up new employment that resulted in occupational changes but these usually implied no or little upward social mobility. Similar to their length of stay, social mobility was largely determined by migrants' demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Their geographical background affected social mobility less than it did the length of the time they spent in Sundsvall but gender determined whether migrants would improve their social standing. Men were markedly more likely than women to move upwards. This was primarily due to the gender regime that caused a sex-segmented labor market where women's occupational options were more limited than those of men. Another explanatory factor for the different urban paths of migrants in Sundsvall was, of course, the duration of their residence.

Although Sundsvall offered more varied employment during urban-industrial times, this did not markedly improve the social mobility of migrants. Part of this pattern was due to their short stay in the town. Nonetheless, migrants' possibilities were not absent. They were not destined to remain at the lowest socio-economic position to which most of them belonged on arrival. However, to experience upward social mobility women usually had to marry.

The additional sources reveal migrants' occupational diversity and especially that of women. Newspapers also reveal that the consequences of migrating to Sundsvall were more diverse than the social stability suggested by the quantitative data. Nevertheless, the various sources used in this study do not recognize migrants as dislocated individuals unable to deal with their urban situation. They were neither marginalized nor alienated because they were newcomers. This might be attributed to migrants' considerable experience of relocating and access to networks in the town that are impossible to identify completely.

Most of those who arrived in Sundsvall did not remain there. Their reasons for leaving the town are not discussed in as much detail as their reasons for coming. If migrants' lives in the town had been perfect in every respect they would have stayed longer than this study shows to have been the case. Their choice of new destinations suggests they were still attached to the more familiar setting, networks and employment that the countryside offered. Although migrants did not seem to suffer from their adjustment to Sundsvall, these findings indicate they faced some problems with adapting to the urban environment. Work and wages available in Sundsvall would have encouraged them to stay in

the town but it is possible that these economic prospects were less important to them than the social well-being they could achieve elsewhere. The hope to achieve either or both of these economic and social objectives did not only make people move to Sundsvall. Similar goals were also embedded in their decision to leave.

The familial and social structures that migrants left behind, and their geographical experience prior to arrival in Sundsvall, affected the consequences of migrants' relocation. Nevertheless, they usually married without considering whether the spouse shared an identical geographical background. This indicates that those marrying had established new networks in the town but only about every third young migrant married in Sundsvall. Marriages between those of different social strata seldom occurred. A migrant's choice of partner was largely determined by socio-economic status.

The most interesting finding concerning migrants' marriage patterns is the late age at which they married. Improving means of subsistence, a more open labor market and a larger pool of partners should have decreased migrants' age at marriage in the urban-industrial environment of Sundsvall. However, the average age at marriage among male and female migrants changed little during the course of the nineteenth century. There are several possible reasons for this. First, they likely brought the tradition of late marriage that was rooted in agricultural life with them to Sundsvall. Second, the working-class wages that most migrants earned were not sufficient to advance their marriage. Women's late age at marriage is most interesting because they should have responded to the male profile of the partner pool by marrying earlier.

The longitudinal analyses employed to trace the individual migrant's consequences of arrival in Sundsvall echo the level of social stability identified in most recent research. This study examines migrants' life-courses by investigating the roles of gender, demographic and socio-economic characteristics and geographical backgrounds more so than has been done previously. This has helped to highlight the agency of individual migrants at the expense of relying on structural determinism. Although there is a risk of falling into a trap of demographic determinism instead, this thesis has shown that the migrants' demographic characteristics did not always dictate their path in Sundsvall. Migrants' experiences in the town varied greatly and this is difficult to pattern, measure, and then present in a general overview. Statistical analyses of migrants' life-courses and their experiences documented in local newspapers offer a complex picture of the consequences of migration. Nevertheless, regardless of the methods and sources used, they show that migrants used their own abilities although they were shaped by their characteristics and framed by the structural setting.

Emancipatory perspectives on women's relocation and their experience of migration

This thesis especially focuses on the arrival of young women because female migrants and their experience of migration have been less explored than that of men. The most evident similarities and differences between the genders are discussed above. Migratory behavior and the gendered expectations of individuals reflect the society in which they live. Women's arrival and life-course are discussed below in light of the gender regime and whether they searched for and found a more independent position in Sundsvall during a time when they were not on an equal footing with men.

The close link between independence and employment helped establish Sundsvall as a desirable location for women. As were most men, a majority of women were single and did not make associational in-migrations. This indicates a level of independence although their arrival might have been the result of their parents' decisions. Nevertheless, networks identified through chain migrations and family members were sometimes close at hand in the town or the adjacent region. This must be borne in mind when attempting to see women's arrival as evidence of their desire for emancipation.

Women shared with men the goal to find work in the town but they also had another objective. Findings suggest that they might have wished to escape a more subordinate position than the one they hoped to find in towns such as Sundsvall where women could find more employment opportunities and other forms of leisure. Women showed an increasing desire to go to this town during the course of the nineteenth century. They began to travel longer distances but their geographical backgrounds never reached the diversity shown by men. There are two explanations for this pattern that reflect women's relative position in society at large. On the one hand, this indicates that the gendered regime that had particularly restricted women's activities was loosening as the century progressed and women were introduced to reforms that gave them more legal rights and occupational opportunities. This enabled women to move to more distant locations to take up employment. On the other hand, the diversity of women's geographical backgrounds suggests that perhaps they became increasingly aware of their subordinate position and traveled farther to escape parental control or gender constraints that were particularly evident in the countryside. The first explanation suggests that the longer distances they traveled reveal they were more emancipated than before. The second explanation argues that their arrival in Sundsvall was based rather on a protest against exploitative conditions and a desire to achieve a higher degree of independence. Whatever the reason, this study examines women's relative position in society at large and offers a plausible link between it and the desire for emancipation, and their migratory behavior.

Did women migrants achieve a more emancipated position in Sundsvall? Both yes and no. Unfortunately, data is either lacking or insufficiently documents women's work and activities because sources were also the result of the gendered regime that linked women to domestic duties. This makes it difficult to determine whether greater emancipation was part of women's experience of urban life and work in Sundsvall. Levels of freedom must also be contrasted with what had been previously experienced. This study focuses on working conditions and the limited prospects of rural maids because most female migrants to Sundsvall were *pigor* who had left the countryside.

Although this town was not a paradise, it offered a prosperous labor market in which women could more easily earn their living than they could in the countryside. This may have led to some sense of independence. The additional sources show that women took up employment that the parish registers never acknowledged. Although their occupations and business aspirations were determined by their gender and fell into traditional female fields such as domestic service and the catering and fashion sectors, women's various types of employment suggests they were not as constrained as the parish registers and gendered regime would have us believe. Their considerable participation in Sundsvall's labor market also indicates that they achieved a larger space in public life and challenged their gendered expectations. Therefore, women migrants possibly experienced more independence by moving to this town. Female migrants' late age at marriage further suggests they relished this autonomy. They kept their jobs rather than rushed into marriages and the relative economic security a husband could provide even though a spouse would have been easy to find in a town populated by so many men.

However, most female migrants left Sundsvall and not necessarily for other urban areas suggesting the town did not offer the level of emancipation women demanded. This survey also shows a more seamy side of Sundsvall by revealing the high rates of illegitimacy to which migrants contributed. Although most female migrants proved able to tackle the hazardous situation of being unwed mothers and developed a social path that paralleled that of other women, illegitimate children did not make their mothers' lives easier. Women migrants' reluctance to marry early was perhaps not because they could rely on their own resources and appreciated the independence this implied. It might have been the result of low earnings among both men and women that did not allow them to marry although they wanted to do so. If this was indeed the case, female migrants did not achieve all that they might have hoped for from their stay in Sundsvall.

Results generated from gender-specific analyses presented in this study reveal both familiar and unexpected results that recognize that women migrants were probably as active in determining their future as were men. Migrants of both genders who moved to Sundsvall were largely subject to the same socio-economic

structure and pressures and responded similarly by choosing to try their fortunes in this town. Women and men shared the similar goal of improving their general conditions but women had more reason than men to seek urban destinations to escape their subordinate positions caused by the gender regime. This regime determined the way men and women came to their decision to relocate and resulted in gendered routes primarily characterized by women's shorter migrations. It also shaped migrants' life-courses, and their efforts and experiences in Sundsvall. Young women who migrated to Sundsvall perhaps wanted to escape gendered constraints. They were very active in the town and enjoyed their increased involvement in the public sphere but restrictions placed on them simply because of their gender were not easily overcome.

Notes

- 1 Cf. the sections entitled Modeling migration and From multi-disciplinary views of migration to systems approaches in Chapter 1.
- 2 Jackson & Moch, see quotation on p. 29. The five fields are discussed on pp. 29-31.
- 3 Cf. the heading of Women migrants and gendering migration in Chapter 1.

9. Appendix

Table 9.1. Frequent occupations and the number of different occupations included in the social groups according to the basic social classification used in this study.¹ The occupation reported on arrival among migrants in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts is considered. Frequent occupations among women whose socio-economic status were not determined by a male relative on arrival are separately considered.

1. Large-scale business entrepreneurs		2. Higher civil officials	
		(only occupations held by two migrants or more are considered)	
The pre-industrial cohort		The pre-industrial cohort	
<i>Baron</i> (baron)	1	<i>Ingenjör</i> (engineer)	4
<i>Fabrikör</i> (manufacturer)	1	<i>Inspektor</i> (inspector)	2
Women: -		<i>Kollega</i> (secondary education teacher)	2
Total (migrants)	2	<i>Lantmätare</i> (land surveyor)	4
Total (number of different occupations)	2	<i>Major</i> (major)	2
The industrial cohort		<i>Tullförvaltare</i> (customs collector)	2
<i>Fabrikör</i> (manufacturer)	7	Women: -	
<i>Direktör</i> (manager)	1	Total (migrants)	30
<i>Garverifabrikör</i> (tannery manufacturer)	2	Total (number of different occupations)	18
<i>Grosshandlare</i> (wholesale trader)	2	The industrial cohort	
<i>Klädesfabrikör</i> (cloth manufacturer)	3	<i>Apotekare</i> (pharmacist)	5
<i>Konsul</i> (consul)	6	<i>Bankkamrer</i> (bank accountant)	3
<i>Riddare</i> (nobleman)	2	<i>Borgmästare</i> (mayor)	3
Women: -		<i>Bruksförvaltare</i> (foundry manager)	5
Total (migrants)	23	<i>Bryggmästare</i> (brew master)	5
Total (number of different occupations)	7	<i>Disponent</i> (managing director)	2

1 Cf. the heading Social classifications in Chapter 1. It is difficult to translate the occupational titles and especially those of the past. To some extent the Hisco has helped to identify some occupations but sometimes this has resulted in imprecise designations. Nevertheless, these translations give an idea of what type of work the migrants performed. Cf. Leeuwen, M.H.D. van, Maas, I. & Müller, A. *HISCO: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations*. Leuven 2002.

<i>Doktor</i> (medical doctor)	2	3a. Small-scale business entrepreneurs in trade and industry, master artisans and craftsmen (only occupations held by two migrants or more are considered)	
<i>Fängelsedirektör</i> (governor of prison)	2		
<i>Filosofie doktor</i> (doctor of philosophy)	2		
<i>Filosofie kandidat</i> (bachelor of philosophy)	3		
<i>Häradsskrivare</i> (tax assessor)	2		
<i>Ingenjör</i> (engineer)	6		The pre-industrial cohort
<i>Inspektor</i> (inspector)	33		<i>Handlande</i> (tradesman) 9
<i>Jägmästare</i> (forester)	2		<i>Mästare</i> (master artisan) 6
<i>Kammarråd</i> (government administrator)	4		<i>Kofferdikaptän</i> (sea captain, merchant vessel) 3
<i>Kapten</i> (captain)	5		<i>Skeppare</i> (skipper) 4
<i>Kollega</i> (secondary education teacher)	3	Women: -	
<i>Komminister</i> (minister of religion)	2	Total (migrants) 22	
<i>Lantmätare</i> (land surveyor)	2	Total (number of different occupations) 4	
<i>Lantsekreterare</i> (government executive official)	2	The industrial cohort	
<i>Löjtnant</i> (<i>lieutenant</i>)	8	<i>Bageriådkare</i> (baker, self-employed) 3	
<i>Musikdirektör</i> (<i>music director, band master</i>)	5	<i>Biljardägare</i> (owner of billiard hall) 2	
<i>Poliskommissarie</i> (<i>chief police superintendent</i>)	2	<i>Bokhandlare</i> (tradesman, books) 4	
<i>Provinsialläkare</i> (<i>district physician</i>)	3	<i>Byggmästare</i> (master builder) 23	
<i>Rektor</i> (principal)	2	<i>Fotograf</i> (photographer) 5	
<i>Reservunderlöjtnant</i> (extra lieutenant)	3	<i>Handlande</i> (tradesman) 253	
<i>Sjökapten</i> (sea captain)	25	<i>Järnhandlande</i> (tradesmen, iron) 2	
<i>Stadsfogde</i> (government executive official)	2	<i>Källarmästare</i> (restaurateur) 4	
<i>Tullförvaltare</i> (customs collector)	5	<i>Murmästare</i> (brick layer master) 4	
<i>Veterinär</i> (veterinarian)	2	<i>Mästare</i> (master artisan) 2	
Women: -		<i>Skeppare</i> (skipper) 10	
Total (migrants)	176	<i>Skeppsbyggmästare</i> (ship construction engineer) 3	
Total (number of different occupations)	61	<i>Skobandlare</i> (tradesman, shoes) 5	
		<i>Skomakerådkare</i> (shoemaker, self-employed) 4	
		<i>Slakteriådkare</i> (butcher, self-employed) 2	
		<i>Snickeriådkare</i> (carpenter, self-employed) 3	
		<i>Torgbandlare</i> (market tradesman) 10	
		<i>Åkare</i> (haulier) 10	
		<i>Ångbåtskommissionär</i> (ship's commissioner) 2	

Women:	
<i>Fotograf</i> (photographer)	1
<i>Kaffinnehavare</i> (café owner)	1
<i>Handlande, handelsidkarska</i> (tradesman)	2
<i>Modist</i> (milliner)	1
<i>Torghandlare</i> (market tradesman)	1
<i>Restauratris</i> (restaurateur)	1
<i>Värdsbusidkarska</i> (inn owner)	1
Total (migrants)	365
Total (number of different occupations)	35

3b. Farmers, tenant farmers

The pre-industrial cohort

<i>Bonde</i> (farmer)	5
<i>Trädgårdsmästare</i> (gardener)	1

Women: -

Total (migrants)	6
Total (number of different occupations)	2

The industrial cohort

<i>Bonde</i> (farmer)	34
<i>Fiskare</i> (fisherman)	4
<i>Gårdsägare</i> (landholder)	2
<i>Hemmansägare</i> (landholder)	4
<i>Lantbrukare</i> (farmer)	1
<i>Trädgårdsmästare</i> (gardener)	13

Women: -

Total (migrants)	58
Total (number of different occupations)	6

4. Lower civil officials

(only occupations held by two migrants or more are considered)

The pre-industrial cohort

<i>Bokhållare</i> (bookkeeper)	5
<i>Kammarskrivare</i> (government administrator)	2
<i>Kustuppsyningsman</i> (coast guard)	2
<i>Provisory</i> (pharmaceut)	6
<i>Skrivare</i> (clerk)	2
<i>Styrman</i> (ship mate)	4

Women:

<i>Barnmorska</i> (midwife)	1
Total (migrants)	32
Total (number of different occupations)	17

The industrial cohort

<i>Assistent</i> (assistant)	3
<i>Banktjänsteman</i> (bank clerk)	2
<i>Baptistpredikant</i> (baptism preacher)	3
<i>Bokförare</i> (bookkeeper)	2
<i>Bokhållare</i> (bookkeeper)	136
<i>Fabriksverkmästare</i> (supervisor, manufactory)	2
<i>Faktor</i> (supervisor)	20
<i>Fanjunkare</i> (warrent officer)	2
<i>Fyrmästare</i> (chief light-house keeper)	3
<i>Handelsbokhållare</i> (mercantile bookkeeper)	6
<i>Kassör</i> (cashier)	3
<i>Kolportör</i> (colporteur)	8
<i>Kontrollör</i> (inspector)	4
<i>Kustuppsyningsman</i> (coast guard)	2
<i>Lots</i> (ship pilot)	7
<i>Poliskonstapel</i> (policeman)	23
<i>Polisöverkonstapel</i> (police superintendent)	4
<i>Postkontrollör</i> (post superintendent)	3

<i>Postskrivare</i> (post clerk)	4	<i>Murare</i> (bricklayer)	3
<i>Privatlärare</i> (private teacher)	3	<i>Målare</i> (painter)	4
<i>Provisor</i> (pharmaceut)	4	<i>Skomakare</i> (shoemaker)	5
<i>Rättare</i> (farm foreman)	2	<i>Skräddare</i> (tailor)	13
<i>Sakförare</i> (lawyer)	2	<i>Snickare</i> (carpenter)	3
<i>Skollärare</i> (school teacher)	4	<i>Timmerman</i> (carpenter)	3
<i>Skrivare</i> (clerk)	5		
<i>Skrivlärare</i> (teacher)	2	Women:	
<i>Stationsskrivare</i> (railway clerk)	2	<i>Kokerska</i> (cook)	1
<i>Styrman</i> (ship mate)	9		
<i>Telegrafassistent</i> (telegraph assistant)	11	Total (migrants)	275
<i>Tulluppsyningsman</i> (customs officer)	4	Total (number of different occupations)	45
<i>Tullväktmästare</i> (customs officer)	16		
<i>Vaktkonstapel</i> (guard)	10	The industrial cohort	
<i>Verkmästare</i> (supervisor)	2	<i>Bagare</i> (baker)	63
<i>Ångbåtsförare</i> (shipmate, steam boat)	4	<i>Banvakt</i> (track man)	5
		<i>Barberare</i> (barber)	8
Women:		<i>Bejänt</i> (manservant)	82
<i>Barnmorska</i> (midwife)	6	<i>Billardmarkör</i> (billiard hall assistant)	6
<i>Lärarinna, skollärarinna, småskollärarinna</i> (teacher)	7	<i>Bleckslagare</i> (tin-smith)	17
<i>Sjuksköterska</i> (medical nurse)	1	<i>Blockmakare</i> (wood worker)	4
<i>Telegraf assistent</i> (telegraph assistant)	1	<i>Bokbindare</i> (book binder)	3
		<i>Boktryckare</i> (book printer)	6
Total (migrants)	369	<i>Brevbärare</i> (postman)	3
Total (number of different occupations)	79	<i>Bryggare</i> (brewer)	5
		<i>Dubblersbåtsman</i> (military naval)	11
5. Skilled laborers, craftsmen and artisans below the rank of master (only occupations held by three migrants or more are considered)		<i>Färjeman</i> (ferryman)	10
		<i>Färgare</i> (dyer)	11
The pre-industrial cohort		<i>Fyrbiträde</i> (lighthouse assistant)	4
<i>Bagare</i> (baker)	3	<i>Garvare</i> (tanner)	32
<i>Bejänt</i> (manservant)	56	<i>Gelbgjutare</i> (brass founder)	3
<i>Dubblersbåtsman</i> (military naval)	4	<i>Gesäll</i> (journeyman)	238
<i>Garvare</i> (tanner)	5	<i>Guldsmed</i> (gold-smith)	15
<i>Gesäll</i> (journeyman)	128	<i>Hattmakare</i> (hatter)	5
<i>Hovslagare</i> (farrier)	3	<i>Kakelmakare</i> (stove-builder)	11
		<i>Konstförvant</i> (printer)	11
		<i>Kopparslagare</i> (copper-smith)	10
		<i>Lokomotivförare</i> (train driver)	11
		<i>Maskinist</i> (enginemane)	24

<i>Mjöltnare</i> (miller)	19
<i>Murare</i> (mason)	29
<i>Målare</i> (painter)	65
<i>Postijon</i> (postman)	9
<i>Repslagare</i> (rope-maker)	8
<i>Rörläggare</i> (pipe layer)	4
<i>Sadelmakare</i> (saddler)	23
<i>Skomakare</i> (shoemaker)	98
<i>Skräddare</i> (tailor)	117
<i>Slaktare</i> (butcher)	7
<i>Smed</i> (smith)	50
<i>Snickare</i> (carpenter)	70
<i>Stenbuggare</i> (stone-cutter)	5
<i>Stentryckare</i> (lithographic printer)	5
<i>Tapetserare</i> (upholsterer)	4
<i>Tegelslagare</i> (brick-maker)	5
<i>Timmerman</i> (carpenter)	3
<i>Tobakstvinnare</i> (tobacco worker)	4
<i>Tunnbindare</i> (cooper)	9
<i>Urmakare</i> (watch-maker)	20
<i>Vagnmakare</i> (cartwright)	5
<i>Vaktmästare</i> (caretaker)	12
<i>Ölkörare</i> (hauler, beer)	5
Women:	
<i>Kokerska</i> (cook)	4
<i>Sömmerska, syjungfru, klädsömmerska</i> (seamstress)	53
Total (migrants)	1306
Total (number of different occupations)	108

**6a. Unskilled laborers
(only occupations held by three
migrants or more are considered)**

The pre-industrial cohort

<i>Dagkarl</i> (day laborer)	10
<i>Handelsbetjänt</i> (shop assistant)	3
<i>Lärling</i> (apprentice)	127
<i>Sjöman</i> (sailor)	38

Women:

<i>Hushållerska</i> (housekeeper)	4
Total (migrants)	192

Total (number of different occupations)	14
--	----

The industrial cohort

<i>Arbetare</i> (laborer)	1073
<i>Bageriarbetare</i> (laborer, bakery)	5
<i>Eldare</i> (stoker)	12
<i>Fabriksarbetare</i> (factory worker)	3
<i>Gasarbetare</i> (gas worker)	3
<i>Handelsbetjänt</i> (shop assistant)	15
<i>Handelsbiträde</i> (shop assistant)	6
<i>Inbyses</i> (dependant tenant)	3
<i>Lärling</i> (apprentice)	70
<i>Metallarbetare</i> (metal worker)	4
<i>Murararbetare</i> (laborer, brick layer)	4
<i>Sjöman</i> (sailor)	92
<i>Skomakeriarbetare</i> (laborer, shoe)	11
<i>Skrädderiarbetare</i> (laborer, tailor)	4
<i>Smedsarbetare</i> (smith-laborer)	8
<i>Snickeriarbetare</i> (laborer, carpenter)	9
<i>Stationskarl</i> (railway worker)	8

Women:	
<i>Arbeterska</i> (female laborer)	6
<i>Hushållerska</i> (housekeeper)	25
<i>Strykerska</i> (ironing woman)	3
<i>Städerska</i> (cleaning woman)	1
Total (migrants)	1396
Total (number of different occupations)	48

6b. Farmhands, pigor (maidservants)

The pre-industrial cohort

<i>Dräng</i> (farmhand)	173
<i>Torpare</i> (cottager)	6

Women:

<i>Piga</i> (maidservant)	384
Total (migrants)	563
Total (number of different occupations)	3

The industrial cohort

<i>Dräng</i> (farmhand)	308
<i>Stalldräng</i> (stableman)	4
<i>Statkarl</i> (farm worker)	2
<i>Torpare</i> (cottager, crofter)	30

Women:

<i>Piga</i> (maidservant)	1703
Total (migrants)	2047
Total (number of different occupations)	5

Unspecified (including titled women) (only the most frequent titles & the industrial cohort are considered)

The industrial cohort

Abbreviation impossible to interpret	59
<i>Elev</i> (pupil)	10
<i>Yngling</i> (male youth)	40

Women:

<i>Demoiselle</i>	138
<i>Flücka</i> (girl)	5
<i>Fröken</i> (spinster)	2
<i>Hemmadotter</i> (daughter)	2
<i>Jungfru</i> (spinster)	144
<i>Mamsell</i> (cf. demoiselle)	14

Total (migrants)	481
Total (number of different titles)	18

Source: The Demographic Data Base,
Umeå University

Table 9.2. Cox regression of the time between the in-migration and departure from Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the migrants' arrival in 1865-1880. Only migrants in the industrial cohort are included. (N = 6,372).

Covariates	N	B-value	P-value	Relative risk
Characteristics on arrival				
Sex (ref: women)	3,251			
Men	3,121	0.009	0.844	1.009
Single or associational in-migration (ref: single)	4,656		0.409	
Couple (N=2)	509	0.031	0.663	1.032
Family or group (N>2)	1,207	-0.063	0.278	0.939
Previous Sundsvall residence reported (ref: N>1)	603			
First time in Sundsvall	5,769	0.316	0.000	1.372
Marital status (ref: unmarried)	512		0.000	
Married	724	-0.339	0.000	0.712
Widow/widower	2,128	-0.468	0.001	0.645
Engaged	252	-0.702	0.000	0.495
Unknown	2,756	0.133	0.028	1.143
Age group (ref: 15-19)	912		0.000	
20-24	1,710	0.001	0.987	1.001
25-29	1,555	-0.061	0.284	0.940
30-34	882	-0.203	0.003	0.817
35-39	537	-0.151	0.052	0.860
40-44	323	-0.492	0.000	0.611
45-49	200	-0.395	0.001	0.673
50-	253	-0.707	0.000	0.493
Social group (ref: 6a. Unskilled laborers)	1,396		0.000	
1. Large-scale entrepreneurs	23	0.494	0.070	1.639
2. Higher civil officials	176	0.018	0.882	1.018
3a. Small-scale entrepreneurs	365	-0.205	0.021	0.815
3b. Farmers, tenant farmers	58	0.283	0.128	1.327
4. Lower civil officials	369	-0.007	0.928	0.993
5. Skilled laborers	1,306	0.408	0.000	1.504
6b. Farm workers, pigor (maidservants)	2,047	0.203	0.001	1.225
7. Unspecified	481	0.262	0.001	1.299
Unknown	151	0.266	0.026	1.304
Geographical category (ref: The Sundsvall region)	1,204		0.000	
The county of Västernorrland outside the region	884	0.000	0.999	1.000
Northern part of northern Sweden (Norra Norrland)	1,220	0.045	0.409	1.046
Middle of Sweden (Svealand)	629	0.121	0.068	1.128
Stockholm, the capital	878	0.159	0.011	1.172
South of Sweden (Götaland)	784	0.031	0.623	1.032
Abroad	277	-0.178	0.062	0.837
Unknown	496	-0.162	0.033	0.850

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 4.1.

Table 9.3. Cox regression of the time between in-migration and death in Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the migrants' arrival in 1865-1880. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort. N(men)=3,121 & N(women)=3,251.

Covariates	N	B-value	P-value	Relative risk
Characteristics on arrival				
1. Sex (ref: women)	3,251			
Men	3,121	0.239	0.009	1.270
2. Single or associational in-migration (ref: single)	4,656		0.043	
Couple (N=2)	509	0.265	0.061	1.304
Family or group (N>2)	1207	-0.093	0.466	0.911
3. Marital status (ref: unmarried)	3,268		0.288	
Married	2,128	-0.057	0.618	0.945
Widower/widow	252	-0.002	0.991	0.998
Engaged	724	-0.290	0.055	0.748
4. Age group (ref: 15-19)	912		0.000	
20-24	1710	0.242	0.193	1.274
25-29	1555	0.372	0.046	1.450
30-34	882	0.470	0.017	1.601
35-39	537	0.489	0.024	1.630
40-44	323	1.041	0.000	2.833
45-49	200	1.291	0.000	3.635
50-	253	1.576	0.000	4.834
5. Modified social group (ref: 5. Unskilled laborers)	3,443		0.063	
1. Large-scale entrepreneurs & higher civil officials	199	0.193	0.327	1.213
2. Small-scale business entrepreneurs & farmers	423	-0.472	0.009	0.624
3. Lower civil officials	369	0.096	0.566	1.101
4. Skilled professional laborers	1,306	-0.077	0.521	0.926
Unspecified	481	0.041	0.819	1.041
Unknown	151	-0.473	0.119	0.623
6. Geographical category (ref: The Sundsvall region)	1,204		0.219	
The county of Västernorrland outside the region	884	-0.071	0.629	0.932
Northern part of northern Sweden (<i>Norra Norrland</i>)	531	0.162	0.346	1.176
Southern part of northern Sweden (<i>Södra Norrland</i>)	689	0.067	0.665	1.069
Middle of Sweden (<i>Svealand</i>)	692	-0.213	0.216	0.808
Stockholm, the capital	878	0.069	0.639	1.071
South of Sweden (<i>Götaland</i>)	721	-0.292	0.096	0.747
Abroad	277	-0.136	0.545	0.873
Unknown	496	0.176	0.219	1.192

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 4.1.

Table 9.4. Cox regression of the time between the in-migration and departure from Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the arrival of migrants in the industrial cohort. N=1,510.

Covariates	N	B-value	P-value	Relative risk
Characteristics on arrival				
1. Sex (ref: Women)	787			
Men	723	-0.063	0.432	0.939
2. Age group (ref: 23-27)	726			
18-22	784	0.093	0.150	1.098
3. Family network (ref: In the Sundsvall region)	167		0.191	
None	1261	-0.117	0.495	0.889
In Sundsvall	82	-0.449	0.071	0.638
4. Modified social group (ref: 5. Unskilled laborers...)	946		0.005	
1. Large-scale entrepreneurs...	8	0.239	0.567	1.270
2. Small-scale entrepreneurs ...	46	-0.514	0.029	0.598
3. Lower civil officials	93	-0.182	0.235	0.833
4. Skilled laborers	276	0.244	0.013	1.276
Unspecified (Titled women)	111	0.136	0.281	1.145
Unknown	30	0.221	0.375	1.247
5. Urban-geographical background (birth)			0.482	
(ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)	139			
2. Non-urban inter-regional	945	0.046	0.793	1.047
3. Urban	219	-0.025	0.900	0.975
4. Urban capital	35	0.207	0.458	1.230
5. Immigrants	81	-0.192	0.555	0.826
6. Sundsvall-born	59	-0.060	0.829	0.942
Unknown	32	0.425	0.112	1.529
6. Urban-geographical background (departure)			0.051	
(ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)	255			
2. Non-urban inter-regional	618	0.112	0.351	1.118
3. Urban	381	0.176	0.178	1.193
4. Urban capital	166	0.119	0.436	1.126
5. Immigrants	68	-0.263	0.422	0.769
Unknown	22	-1.053	0.013	0.349
7. Year of arrival (ref: 1879)	209		0.000	
1870	158	-0.115	0.366	0.891
1871	128	-0.137	0.312	0.872
1872	161	-0.290	0.027	0.748
1873	201	-0.039	0.746	0.962
1874	161	-0.403	0.002	0.668
1875	76	-0.706	0.000	0.493
1876	73	-0.789	0.000	0.454
1877	103	-0.295	0.041	0.744
1878	240	-0.059	0.607	0.942

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 4.1.

Table 9.5. The geographical background of migrants and their spouses in the pre-industrial cohort. A comparison between the genders according to the urban-geographical categorization based on the place of birth.

The category of their spouses	The pre-industrial cohort													
	Urban-geographical category of the migrants based on the place of birth													
	1. Non-urban intra-region		2. Non-urban inter-region		3. Urban cityward		4. Urban		5. Abroad		6. Sundsvall-born		Unknown	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1.	55.0	22.5	11.1	33.3	18.8	25.0	40.0	20.0	-	-	50.0	8.3	34.8	16.7
2.	20.0	27.5	27.8	25.0	12.5	25.0	20.0	20.0	-	-	10.0	16.7	4.3	-
3.	5.0	10.0	5.6	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	4.3	33.3
4.	-	2.5	11.1	8.3	-	-	-	20.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
5.	-	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	20.0	25.0	33.3	25.0	43.8	-	20.0	-	-	-	30.0	50.0	30.4	16.7
Unknown	-	10.0	11.1	8.3	25.0	50.0	20.0	20.0	-	-	10.0	25.0	26.1	33.3
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	20	40	18	12	16	4	5	5	1	0	10	12	23	6

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University
Comments & explanations: See Table 5.8.

Table 9.6. The geographical background of migrants and their spouses in the industrial cohort. A comparison between the genders according to the urban-geographical categorization based on the place of birth.

The category of their spouses	The industrial cohort													
	Urban-geographical category of the migrants based on the place of birth													
	1. Non-urban intra-region		2. Non-urban inter-region		3. Urban		4. Urban capital		5. Abroad		6. Sundsvall-born		Unknown	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1.	8.3	9.7	11.9	8.8	10.8	-	-	-	-	3.4	-	9.1	-	-
2.	41.7	58.1	49.0	59.4	43.2	65.4	57.1	33.3	37.5	69.0	54.5	63.6	-	80.0
3.	16.7	6.5	9.3	8.8	21.6	11.5	14.3	-	-	3.4	9.1	18.2	-	-
4.	-	3.2	2.0	3.7	5.4	3.8	14.3	33.3	-	6.9	-	-	-	-
5.	8.3	3.2	7.3	3.7	-	-	14.3	-	62.5	10.3	9.1	-	-	-
6.	16.7	19.4	18.5	9.4	16.2	7.7	-	-	-	6.9	27.3	9.1	-	20.0
Unknown	8.3	-	2.0	6.2	2.7	11.5	-	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100
Total (N)	12	31	151	160	37	26	7	3	8	29	11	11	0	5

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University
Comments & explanations: See Table 5.8.

Table 9.7. Crosstabulation of spouses' counties of departure. Female migrants in the pre-industrial cohort and their husbands.

	0	1	6	9	12	13	20	21	22	23	24	30	Total
1 (N)					1				1				2
(%)					50				50				100
9 (N)									1				1
(%)									100				100
19 (N)		1											1
(%)		100											100
21 (N)							1	2					3
(%)							33	67					100
22 (N)		4	2	1	1	1	1	5	45	4	1	1	66
(%)		6	3	2	2	2	2	8	68	6	2	2	100
23 (N)		2							2				4
(%)		50							50				100
24 (N)											1	1	2
(%)											50	50	100
Total	6	3	1	1	1	1	1	6	51	4	2	2	79
(%)	8	4	1	1	1	1	1	8	65	5	3	3	100

Sources: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments: The horizontal figures identify the migrants' county of departure and the vertical figures show the county of their spouse.

Explanations: The Swedish counties. The letters in brackets refer to the counties location on the map presented in Chapter 1, cf. Map 1.1.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 (A). Stockholm city | 10 (K). Blekinge | 19 (U). Västmanland |
| 2 (B). Stockholm's county | 11 (L). Kristianstad | 20 (W). Kopparberg |
| 3 (C). Uppsala | 12 (M). Malmöhus | 21 (X). Gävleborg |
| 4 (D). Södermanland | 13 (N). Halland | 22 (Y). Västernorrland |
| 5 (E). Östergötland | 14 (O). Göteborg & Bohus | 23 (Z). Jämtland |
| 6 (F). Jönköping | 15 (P). Älvsborg | 24 (AC). Västerbotten |
| 7 (G). Kronoberg | 16 (R). Skaraborg | 25 (BD). Norrbotten |
| 8 (H). Kalmar | 17 (S). Värmland | 30. From abroad |
| 9 (I). Gotland | 18 (T). Örebro | 0. Unknown |

Table 9.8. Crosstabulation of spouses' counties of departure. Male migrants in the pre-industrial cohort and their wives. Cf. Table 9.7.

	0	1	3	14	21	22	23	24	25	Total
0 (N)						7	2			9
(%)						78	22			100
1 (N)					2	9	1			12
(%)					17	75	8			100
2 (N)						1				1
(%)						100				100
5 (N)						1		1		2
(%)						50		50		100
8 (N)						1				1
(%)						100				100
9 (N)						1				1
(%)						100				100
12 (N)		1								1
(%)		100								100
19 (N)						1				1
(%)						100				100
20 (N)	1									1
(%)	100									100
21 (N)	3	1	1		1	9	1			16
(%)	19	6	6		6	56	6			100
22 (N)	1	2			1	33	3		1	41
(%)	2	5			2	80	7		2	100
23 (N)				1		4				5
(%)				20		80				100
24 (N)		1						1		2
(%)		50						50		100
30 (N)		1								1
(%)		100								100
Total	5	6	1	1	4	67	7	2	1	94
(%)	5	6	1	1	4	71	7	2	1	100

Table 9.9. Crosstabulation of spouses' counties of departure. Female migrants in the industrial cohort and their husbands. Cf. Table 9.7.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	30	Total
0 (N)																						1						1
(%)																						100						100
1 (N)		4								1						1		1	1				1	8	1			18
(%)		22								6						6		6	6			6	44	6				100
2 (N)																		1					1					2
(%)																		50					50					100
3 (N)																							1					1
(%)																							100					100
5 (N)		1																					33		1			3
(%)		33																					100		33			100
7 (N)																							1					1
(%)																							100					100
8 (N)																							1	1				2
(%)																							50	50				100
9 (N)																							1					1
(%)																							100					100
12 (N)																											1	1
(%)																											100	100
15 (N)																							1					1
(%)																							100					100
16 (N)		2				1									1		1						1					7
(%)		29				14									14		14						14					100
17 (N)							1											3					1	1	1			7
(%)							14											43					14	14	14			100
18 (N)																			1								1	3
(%)																			33								33	100
19 (N)																	1											1
(%)																	100											100
20 (N)																												1
(%)																												100
21 (N)	1	2				1																	5					11
(%)	9	18				9																45						100
22 (N)	4	15	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	1			1	1	1	4	7	2	1	1	9	46	2	6		4	123
(%)	3	12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1			1	1	1	3	6	2	1	1	7	37	2	5		3	100
23 (N)		4															1					1	5					11
(%)		36															9					9	45					100
24 (N)	1	5				2			2		2				1	1	5	2				3	11		3		1	39
(%)	3	13				5			5		5				3	3	13	5				8	28		8		3	100
25 (N)		1					1									1											1	4
(%)		25					25									25											25	100
30 (N)		2		1												1	1	1				3	15	1			2	27
(%)		7		4												4	4	4				11	56	4			7	100
Total	6	36	2	3	4	6	4	2	5	3	4	1	1	1	1	5	9	20	6	2	1	19	99	5	11	1	9	265
(%)	2	14	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	0,4	0,4	0,4	2	3	8	2	1	0,4	7	37	2	4	0,4	3	100	

Table 9.10. Crosstabulation of spouses' counties of departure. Male migrants in the industrial cohort and their wives. Cf. Table 9.7.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	12	16	17	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	30	Total
0 (N)	2										1				3		1			7
(%)	29										14				43		14			100
1 (N)		6	1		1				1	2			1	2	18		5	1	3	41
(%)		15	2		2				2	5			2	5	44		12	2	7	100
2 (N)															1		2			3
(%)															33		67			100
3 (N)															2				1	3
(%)															67				33	100
4 (N)														1	1					2
(%)														50	50					100
5 (N)		1				2								1	7		3		1	15
(%)		7				13								7	47		20		7	100
6 (N)															2					2
(%)															100					100
7 (N)				1											1					2
(%)				50											50					100
8 (N)		1												1	2		1			5
(%)		20												20	40		20			100
9 (N)		1	1												2					4
(%)		25	25												50					100
10 (N)															1		1			2
(%)															50		50			100
11 (N)															1					1
(%)															100					100
12 (N)													1	2						3
(%)														33	67					100
13 (N)															2					2
(%)															100					100
14 (N)													1							1
(%)													100							100
15 (N)															2				1	3
(%)															67				33	100
16 (N)		2						1			2		2		6		4	1	1	19
(%)		11						5,3			11		11		32		21	5	5	100
17 (N)			1		1					1	1			1	5		1			11
(%)			9		9					9	9			9	45		9			100
18 (N)	1				1										3					5
(%)	20				20										60					100
20 (N)						1							1		1					3
(%)						33							33		33					100
21 (N)		3												2	8			1	1	15
(%)		20												13	53			7	7	100
22 (N)	1	4		2	1									3	22	2	4	1	5	45
(%)	2	9		4	2									7	49	4	9	2	11	100
23 (N)												1			3		1			5
(%)												20			60		20			100
24 (N)	4	1			1									1	5		5		1	18
(%)	22	6			6									6	28		28		6	100
25 (N)								1									1			2
(%)								50									50			100
30 (N)		1													2				4	7
(%)		14													29				57	100
Total	9	20	3	2	1	6	1	1	2	3	4	1	5	13	102	4	27	4	18	226
(%)	4	9	1	1	0,4	3	0,4	0,4	0,9	1	2	0,4	2	6	45	2	12	2	8	100

Table 9.11. Logistic regression of upward mobility of migrants in the industrial cohort. Only migrants allocated below the first social group on arrival with an occupation reported on both occasions of measurement are included. N(men)=672 & N(women)=636.

Covariates Characteristics on arrival	N	B-value	P-value	Relative risk
1. Sex (ref: women)	636			
Men	672	1.217	0.000	3.376
2. Age group (ref: 23-27)	638			
18-22	670	0.474	0.003	1.606
3. Time in the town (ref: > 9 years)	491		0.000	
< 2 years	268	-1.786	0.000	0.168
2-4 years	308	-1.219	0.000	0.295
5-9 years	241	-0.537	0.007	0.584
4. Family network (ref: In the Sundsvall region)	148		0.050	
None	1111	1.099	0.024	3.001
In Sundsvall	49	0.263	0.668	1.300
5. Modified social group (ref: 6. Unskilled laborers...)	927		0.000	
2. Small-scale entrepreneurs ...	27	-6.674	0.322	0.001
3. Lower civil officials	87	-0.539	0.070	0.583
5. Skilled laborers	267	-1.146	0.000	0.318
6. Urban-geographical background (birth) (ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)	126		0.110	
2. Non-urban inter-regional	842	-0.930	0.052	0.395
3. Urban	184	-0.753	0.146	0.471
4. Urban capital	19	-1.520	0.099	0.219
5. Immigrants	73	-0.730	0.342	0.482
6. Sundsvall-born	38	0.540	0.394	1.716
Unknown	26	-1.704	0.061	0.182
7. Urban-geographical background (departure) (ref: 1. Non-urban intra-regional)	232		0.195	
2. Non-urban inter-regional	536	-0.165	0.555	0.848
3. Urban	326	0.269	0.371	1.309
4. Urban capital	137	0.109	0.755	1.116
5. Immigrants	62	-0.406	0.568	0.667
Unknown	15	-1.626	0.126	0.191
8. Year of arrival			0.723	
1870-1879	1308	-	-	-

Source: The Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

Comments & explanations: See Table 5.12. N.B. Because of the extremely insignificant P-value of the year of arrival, these figures are not shown.

Sources and bibliography

Unprinted sources

Riksarkivet (National Archives), Stockholm

Kommerskollegii kammarkontors arkiv, Kammarkontorets arkiv

National Board of Trade's Business Statistics, the town of Sundsvall

(Primäruppgifter till näringsstatistiken för Sundsvalls stad)

1860, 1863, 1865, 1868, 1870, 1873, 1875, 1878, 1880, 1883, 1885, 1888 & 1890

Kommerskollegii kammarkontors arkiv, Statistiska avdelningens arkiv

National Board of Trade's Business Statistics, the town of Sundsvall, 1893

(Primäruppgifter till näringsstatistiken för Sundsvalls stad)

Demographic Data Base (DDB), Umeå University

Basstatistik 1, Sundsvalls stad, 1840-1892 (basic statistics)

Computerized parish registers, Sundsvall town and the region, 1800-1892

Computerized patient records from the hospital in Sundsvall, 1862-1889

Printed sources

Local newspapers in Sundsvall, Umeå University

Sundsvalls Tidning (ST) 1879 (1879-03-22 - 1879-12-30)

Sundsvalls-Posten (SP) 1877 (1877-06-05 - 1877-06-19); 1879 (1879-01-01 - 1879-03-20)

Government reports

Betänkande angående åtgärder till förbättrande af de vid sågverken i trakten af Sundsvall anstälde arbetarnas ställning. Sundsvall 1880

BiSOS. *Landshövdingarnas Femårsberättelser, Västernorrland, 1871-1875, 1876-1880 & 1881-1885*

Emigrationsutredningen. Betänkande med bilagor. Stockholm 1908-1913

Historisk statistik. Del 1. Befolkningen 1720-1967. Stockholm 1969

Statistiska Centralbyrån, "Utom äktenskapet födda barn", Statistiska Meddelanden, Ser. A Bd I:4, 1914; Bd I:5, 1916; Bd I:10, 1917

Bibliography¹

- Alm Stenflo, G. *Demographic Description of the Skellefteå and Sundsvall Regions During the 19th Century*. Umeå 1994
- Alter, G. *Family and the Female Life Course: The Women of Verviers, Belgium, 1849-1880*. Madison, Wisconsin 1988
- Anderson, B.A. *Internal Migration During Modernization in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Princeton 1980
- Anderson, M. *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. London 1971 [Anderson 1971a]
- Anderson, M. "Urban Migration in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire: Some Insights into Two Competing Hypotheses". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1971 [Anderson 1971b]
- Anderson, M. "The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain". *Journal of Family History* 1984:9
- Andersson, R. *Den svenska urbaniseringen: Kontextualisering av begrepp och processer*. Uppsala 1987
- Andersson, T. *Den inre omflyttningen: I. Norrland*. Malmö 1897
- Artaeus, I. *Kvinnorna som blev över: Ensamstående stadskvinnor under 1800-talets första hälft – fallet Västerås*. Uppsala 1992
- Asplund, J. *Tid, rum och kollektiv*. Stockholm 1983
- Beekink, E., Liefbroer, A.C. & Poppel, F. van. "Changes in Choice of Spouse as an Indicator of a Society in a State of Transition: Woerden, 1830-1930". *Historical Social Research* 1998:23
- Bengtsson, M. & Hjern, B. *Sociologisk uppslagsbok*. Stockholm 1973
- Bengtsson, T. "Migration, Wages and Urbanization in Sweden in the Nineteenth Century". Woude, A. van der, Vries, J. de & Hayami, A. (Eds.). *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*. Oxford 1990
- Bengtsson, T. & Broström, G. *A Comparison of Discrete Time and Continuous Time Survival Analysis with Application to Data from the EAPP Project*. Kyoto 1997
- Benson, J. *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs*. Dublin 1993
- Berg, M. "What Difference did Women's Work Make to the Industrial Revolution?". *History Workshop Journal* 1993:35
- Binford, H. "Never Trust the Census Maker, Even When He's Dead". *Urban History Yearbook* 1975. Leicester 1975
- Björk, B. & Schnell, J.-B. (Eds.). *Sundsvallsstrejken 1879: Samtida dokument och historisk bevisning*. Sundsvall 1979
- Björklund, J. "Tillväxt och differentiering. Näringslivet 1870-1940". In Tedebrand (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997
- Björnfot, B. & Taussi Sjöberg, M. "Ensamma med skammen: Barnamörderskor i Västernorrlands län 1861-1890". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1980:100

1 Unless other is mentioned, such as 'No.', the volume is used when referring to journals.

- Bladh, C. *Månglerskor: Att sälja från korg och bod i Stockholm 1819-1846*. Stockholm 1991
- Blau, P.M. & Duncan, O.D. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York 1967
- Bolin Hort, P. *En tråkig historia: Ogifta mödrar, deras barn och fattigvården i Simrishamn, 1870-1917*. Linköping 1997
- Boman, H. "Infödda och inflyttade kvinnor i Sundsvalls stad i slutet av 1800-talet: En jämförande analys beträffande förutsättningar och demografisk utveckling". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2000
- Bourdieu, P. *Kultursociologiska texter: I urval av Donald Broady och Mikael Palme*. Stockholm 1994
- Boyle, P., Halfacree K. & Robinson, V. *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. New York 1998
- Brettell, C.B. *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton, NJ. 1986
- Brettell, C.B. "Theorizing Migration in Anthropology", Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000
- Brettell C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000
- Broady, D. *Sociologi och epistemologi: Om Pierre Bourdieus författarskap och den historiska epistemologin*. Stockholm 1991
- Broom, L. & Smith, J.H. "Bridging Occupations". *British Journal of Sociology* 1963:14
- Broström, G., Bygren, L-O. & Edvinsson, S. "Change in Food Availability During Pregnancy: Is it Related to Adult Sudden Death From Cerebro- and Cardiovascular Disease in Offspring?". *American Journal of Human Biology* 2000:12
- Brändström, A. "Myt eller verklighet? Patienter på Sundsvalls lasarett 1844-1900". Brändström, A., Ericsson, T., Guillemot, A. & Lundmark, L. (Eds). *Historia nu: 18 Umeåforskare om det förflutna*. Umeå 1988
- Brändström, A. "A Life After Dismissal? Patients' Life Histories at a Swedish County Hospital, 1845-1890". Jütte, R. & Woodward, J. (Eds.). *Coping with Sickness: Historical Aspects of Health Care in a European Perspective*. Sheffield 1995
- Brändström, A. "Utomäktenskaplighet och sociala nätverk: Sundsvall 1800-1895". Ericsson, T. & Guillemot, A. (Eds.). *Individ och struktur i historisk behysning: Festskrift till Sune Åkerman*. Umeå 1997.
- Brändström, A. "Illegitimacy and Lone-Parenthood in XIXth Century Sweden". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1998:No.2
- Brändström, A. & Edvinsson, S. "Folkhälsans utveckling – tiden före 1870". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls Historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996
- Brändström, A. & Edvinsson, S. "Folkhälsans utveckling – tiden efter 1870". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls Historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997
- Brändström, A. & Ericsson, T. "Social Mobility and Social Networks: The Lower Middle Class in the Late Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Swedish Urban Demography During Industrialization*. Umeå 1995
- Brändström, A., Sundin, J., & Tedebrand, L-G. "Marriage and Urban Adaption: Sundsvall and Linköping in XIXth Century Sweden". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1999:No.2
- Brändström, A., Sundin, J., & Tedebrand, L-G. "Two Cities: Urban Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Sweden". *The History of the Family* 2000:4

- Brännström, P. "Den geografiska betydelsen för migranter i Sundsvall 1860-1892: En demografisk undersökning av inflyttade män och kvinnor från Norrköping och Nordmaling". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2001
- Bäckström, A. *När tros- och värderingsbilder förändras: En analys av nattvårds- och husförhållningens utveckling i Sundsvallsregionen 1805-1890*. Stockholm 1999
- Cairncross, A.K. *Home and Foreign Investment, 1870-1913: Studies in Capital Accumulation*. Cambridge 1953
- Carlsson, G. *Social Mobility and Class Structure*. Lund 1958
- Carlsson, S. *Yrken och samhällsgrupper. Den sociala omgrupperingen i Sverige efter 1866*. Stockholm 1968
- Carlsson, S. *Fröknar, mamseller, jungfrur och pigor: Ogifta kvinnor i det svenska ståndssamhället*. Uppsala 1977
- Carlsson Wetterberg, C. "Från patriarkat till genussystem - och vad kommer sedan?". *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* 1992:No.3
- Chiswick, B.R. "Are Immigrants Favorably Self-selected? An Economic Analysis". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000
- Cornell, L. *Sundsvallsdistriktets sågverksarbetare 1860-1890: Arbete, levnadsförhållanden, rekrytering*. Göteborg 1982
- Coser, L.A. *Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas in Historical and Social Context*. New York 1971
- Cox, D.R. & Oakes, D. *Analysis of Survival Data*. London 1984
- Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*. London 1994
- Davidoff, L. & Westover, B. "From Queen Victoria to the Jazz Age: Women's World in England, 1880-1939". Davidoff, L. & Westover, B. (Eds.). *Our Work, Our Lives, Our Words: Women's History and Women's Work*. Basingstoke 1986
- Davis, K. "The Urbanization of the Human Population". Tilly, C. (Ed.). *An Urban World*. Boston 1974
- Delaney, E. "Gender and Twentieth-Century Irish Migration", 1921-1971. Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001
- Dijk, H. van, Visser, J. & Wolst, E. "Regional Differences in Social Mobility Patterns in the Netherlands and Between 1830 and 1940". *Journal of Social History*, 1984:17
- Diner, H.R. "History and the Study of Immigration. Narratives of the Particular". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000
- Downs, R.M. & Stea, D. (Eds.). *Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behavior*. Chicago 1973
- Dröbe, M. *Leaving Home in a Peasant Society: Economic Fluctuations, Household Dynamics and Youth Migration in Southern Sweden, 1829-1866*. Lund 2000
- Dubert, I. "Domestic Service and Social Modernization in Urban Galicia, 1752-1920". *Continuity and Change* 1999:14
- Edvinsson, S. *Den osunda staden: Sociala skillnader i dödlighet i 1800-talets Sundsvall*. Umeå 1992
- Edvinsson, S. "Adult Mortality and Childhood Conditions: Long-term Effects of Urban Life in 19th-Century Sweden". Sköld, P. & Tedebrand, L.-G. (Eds.). *Nordic Demography in History and Present-Day Society*. Scandinavian Population Studies, vol. 12. Umeå 2001

- Edvinsson, S. & Nilsson, H. "Urban mortality in Sweden during the 19th century". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Population Dynamics during Industrialization*. Umeå 2000
- Egerbladh, I. "Flyttningar på landsbygden i 1800-talets Norrland". Layton, I. (Ed.). *Då, nu och sedan: Geografiska uppsatser till minnet av Ingvar Jonsson*. Umeå 1995
- Egerbladh, I. "Boendemönster och segregation före och efter branden 1888". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997
- Elder, G. "Family History and the Life Course". Hareven, T.K. (Ed.). *The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective*. New York 1978
- Engstrand, P. "Social och geografisk rörelse: En demografisk studie av inflyttare till Sundsvall under 1800-talet från Nätra och Göteborg". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2002
- Ericsson, R. *Anders Perssons släkt/Anders Persson and his family*. Linköping 1997
- Ericsson, T. "Välstånd och välmåga: Borgerskapet 1850-1900". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997. [Ericsson 1997a]
- Ericsson, T. "Kvinnor, familj och småföretagande i det sena 1800-talet". Ericsson, T. & Guillemot, A. (Eds.). *Individa och struktur i historisk belysning: Festskrift till Sune Åkerman*. Umeå 1997. [Ericsson 1997b]
- Erikson, R. "Changes in Social Mobility in Industrial Nations: the Case of Sweden". *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 1983:2
- Erikson, R. & Goldthorpe, J.H. *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford 1992
- Eriksson, I. & Rogers, J. *Rural Labor and Population Change: Social and Demographic Developments in East-central Sweden during the Nineteenth Century*. Uppsala 1978
- Eriksson, J. "Sundsvalls mosaiska församling: In- och utflyttning 1880-1911". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 1998
- Eriksson, M. & Åkerman, S. "Geografisk och social rörlighet. Resultat från Trestadsstudien". *Scandia* 1974:No.2
- Eversley, D.E.C. "A Survey of Population in an Area of Worcestershire from 1660 to 1850 on the Basis of Parish Registers". Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. *Population in History*. London 1965
- Fairchilds, C. "Female Sexual Attitudes and the Rise of Illegitimacy: A case study". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1978:8
- Fauve-Chamoux, A. "Servants in Preindustrial Europe: Gender Differences". *Historical Social Research* 1998:23
- Fielding, A.J. "Migration and Social Mobility: South East England as an Escalator Region". *Regional Studies* 1992:26
- Florin, C. "Kvinnliga tjänstemän i manliga institutioner". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992
- Friedman-Kasaba, K. *Memories of Migration: Gender, Ethnicity, and Work in the Lives of Jewish and Italian Women in New York, 1870-1924*. New York 1996
- Fredriksson, G. "Social förändring eller historisk förändring. En studie av svensk socialhistoria". *Häftan för kritiska studier* 1980:No.1
- Frykman, J. *Horan i bondesambället*. Lund 1977
- Frykman, J. "Sexual Intercourse and Social Norms. A Study of Illegitimate Births in Sweden, 1831-1935". *Etnologiska institutionens småskriftserie*. Uppsala universitet 1979:No.20

- Fuchs, R.G. & Moch, L.P. "Pregnant, Single, and Far From Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth Century Paris". *The American Historical Review* 1990:95
- Gabaccia, D. *From The Other Side: Women, Gender and Immigrant Life in the U.S. 1820-1990*. Bloomington, Indiana 1994
- Gabaccia, D. "Women of Mass Migrations: From Minority to Majority, 1820-1930". Hoerder, D. & Moch, L.P. *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*. Boston, Massachusetts 1996
- Garðarsdóttir, O. *Saving the Child: Regional, Cultural and Social Aspects of the Infant Mortality Decline in Iceland, 1770-1920*. Urneå 2002
- Gauntz, S. "Baggböleriet: Om konsten att avverka norrlandsskogarna utan att bryta för mycket mot lagen". *Västerbotten: Västerbottens läns hembygdsförbund* 1980:No.1
- Gaunt, D. *Famjeliv i Norden*. Stockholm 1983
- Gerth, H. & Wright Mills, C. (Eds.). *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London 1991
- Giddens, A. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London 1980
- Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge 1984
- Girouard, M. *Cities and People*. London 1985
- Godlund, S. "Vägar, järnvägar och flygplatser". Wik, H. (Ed.). *Västernorrland – ett sekel 1862-1962*. Stockholm 1962
- Goldthorpe, J.H. *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. New York 1980
- Goldstein, S. "Circulation in the Context of Total Mobility in Southeast Asia". *Papers of the East-West Population Institute*. Honolulu 1978:No.53
- Goode, W.J. *The Family*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1964
- Green, N.L. "The Comparative Method and Poststructuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies". Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999
- Grigg, D.B. "E.G. Ravenstein and the 'Laws of Migration'". *Journal of Historical Geography* 1977:3
- Grigg, D.B. "Migration and Overpopulation". White, P. & Woods, R. (Eds.). *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. New York 1980 [Grigg 1980a]
- Grigg, D.B. *Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective*. Cambridge 1980 [Grigg 1980b]
- Gustafson, U. *Industrialismens storstad: Studier i Stockholms sociala, ekonomiska och demografiska struktur 1860-1910*. Stockholm 1976
- Gyáni, G. "Patterns of Women's Work in Hungary 1900-1930". *European Review of History* 1998:5
- Göransson, A. "Från släkt till marknad: Ägande, arbete och släkt på 1800-talet". Hirdman et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Stockholm 1992
- Göransson, A. "Från hushåll och släkt till marknad och stat". Furuhausen, B. (Ed.). *Äventyret Sverige: En ekonomisk och social historia*. Stockholm 1993
- Hajnal, J. "European Marriage Patterns in Perspectives". Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. (Eds.). *Population and History*. London 1965
- Halfacree, K. & Boyle, P. "The Challenge Facing Migration Research: The Case for Biographical Approach". *Progress in Human Geography* 1993:17
- Hanssen, B. "Samhällsklasser i de svenska småstäderna under 1850- och 1860-talen: Kontext och material". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1978:98

- Hareven, T.K. *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*. Cambridge 1982
- Harnesk, B. *Legofolk - drängar, pigor och bönder i 1700- och 1800-talens Sverige*. Umeå 1990
- Harzig, C. "Introduction: Women Move From the European Countryside to Urban America". Harzig, C. (Ed.). *Peasant Maids – City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*. New York 1997
- Harzig, C. "Women Migrants as Global and Local Agents: New Research Strategies on Gender and Migration". Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001
- Hedman, I. & Tjernström, G. "Migration och äktenskapsmarknad i Timrå socken 1865-1899". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of History. Uppsala University 1970
- Heek, F. van. "Some Introductory Remarks on Social Mobility and Class Structure". In *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology. Vol. III*. London 1956
- Hicks, J.R. *The Social Framework: An Introduction to Economics*. Oxford 1971
- Higgs, E. "Domestic Service and Households in Victorian England". *Social History* 1983:8, pp. 201-210
- Higgs, E. "Domestic Service and Household Production". John, A.J. (Ed.). *Unequal Opportunities. Women's Employment in England 1800-1918*. Oxford 1986
- Higgs, E. "Women, Occupations and Work in Nineteenth-Century Censuses". *History Workshop Journal* 1987:23
- Hill, B. "Women, Work and the Census: A Problem for Historians of Women". *History Workshop Journal*. 1993:35
- Hirdman, Y. "Genussystemet - reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning". *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* 1988: No.3
- Hirdman, Y. "Kvinnor, makt och demokrati". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992
- Hochstadt, S. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989*. University of Michigan Press 1999
- Hofsten, E. *Svensk befolkningshistoria*. Stockholm 1986
- Hoerder, D. "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Function of Migration Processes". Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, History Migration, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999
- Holm, E., Mäkilä, K. & Öberg, S. *Tidsgeografisk handlings teori: Att bilda betingade biografier*. Umeå 1989
- Holmström, J. "Migration, karriär och äktenskap: En studie av inflyttade och infödda Sundsvallsbor". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2000
- Hufton, O. "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century". *Journal of Family History* 1984:9
- Hägerstrand, T. "En landsbygdsbefolknings flyttningsrörelser. Studier över migrationen på grundval av Asby sockens husförhörlängder 1840-1944". *Meddelanden Ser.C, No. 251, Geografiska Institutionen, Lunds Universitet*. Lund 1947
- Hägerstrand, T. *Innovationsförloppet ur korologisk synpunkt*. *Meddelanden från Lunds universitets geografiska institution*. Avhandlingar, 25. Lund 1953

- Hägerstrand, T. "Migration and Area." Hannerberg, D., Hägerstrand, H. & Odeving, B. (Eds.). *Migration in Sweden*. Lund Studies in Geography, 13 B. Lund 1957
- Hägerstrand, T. *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process*. Chicago 1967
- Hägerstrand, T. "Space, Time and Human Conditions". Karlqvist, A., Lundqvist, L. & Snickars, F. (Eds.). *Dynamic Allocation of Urban Space: Documentation of the Stockholm Conference on Dynamic Allocation in Space*. Farnborough: Saxon house, 1975
- Jackson, J.H. *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley 1821-1914*. New Jersey: Humanities Press 1997
- Jackson, J.H. & Moch, L.P. "Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe". *Historical Methods* 1989:22
- Jacobsson, S. & Jakobsson, S.W. *Orons och förtvivlans gåringar: Ogifta kvinnors vånda för havandeskap och barnsörds skull. Stockholm 1887-1901*. Eskilstuna 1990
- Janssens, A. *Family and Social Change: The Household as a Process in an Industrializing Community*. Cambridge 1993
- Janssens, A. (Ed.). "The Rise and Decline of the Male Breadwinner Family?". *International Review of Social History*, Supplement 1997:42
- Janssens, A. "Class, Work and Religion in the Female Life Course: The Case of a Dutch Textile Town, Enschede 1880-1940". *Historical Social Research* 1998:23
- Jerome, H. *Migration and Business Cycles*. New York 1926
- Jonsson, H-O. "Fiskerskapet". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996
- Jordansson, B. "Hur filantropen blir kvinna: Fattigvård och välgörenhet under 1800-talet". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1992:112
- Jorde, T.S. *Stockholms tjänstepiker under industrialiseringen: Tjänstepikeyrkets funktion i individets livslöp och i en expanderande storby*. Stockholm 1995
- Kaelble, H. *Historical Research on Social Mobility. Western Europe and the USA in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London 1981
- Kaelble, H. "Eras of Social Mobility in 19th and 20th Century Europe". *Journal of Social History* 1984:17
- Kalbfleisch, J.D. & Prentice, R.L. *The Statistical Analysis of Failure Time Data*. New York 1980
- Kearns, G. "The Urban Penalty and the Population History of England". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.). *Society, Health and Population during the Demographic Transition*. Umeå 1988
- Keely, C.B. "Demography and International Migration". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory. Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000
- Kerber, L. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History". *Journal of American History* 1988:75
- Kerr, C., Dunlop, J.T. & Meyer, C.A. *Industrialism and Industrial Man*. New York 1960
- Kimmel, M.S. *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*. Beverly Hills, California 1987
- Kling, S. "Jämtar i Sundsvall: En studie i migration, social mobilitet och giftermålsmönster". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2000. [Kling 2000a]

- Kling, S. "Invandrarkvinnor i Sundsvall: Om giftermålsmönster och utomäktenskaplighet bland särskilt österbottniskor i Sundsvall ca. 1860-1890". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2000. [Kling 2000b]
- Knodel, J. & Maynes, M. Jo. "Urban and Rural Marriage Pattern in Imperial Germany". *Journal of Family History* 1976:1
- Kocka, J. "Family and Class Formation: Intergenerational Mobility and Marriage Patterns in Nineteenth-century Westphalian Towns". *Journal of Social History* 1984:17
- Kronborg, B. & Nilsson, T. *Stadsflyttare: Industrialisering, migration och social mobilitet med utgångspunkt från Halmstad 1870-1910*. Uppsala 1975
- Kyle, G. "Kvinnoliv i staden II". Kyle, G. (Ed.). *Handbok i svensk kvinnohistoria*. Stockholm 1987
- Langholm, S. "On the Scope of Micro-History". *Scandinavian Journal of History* 1976:1
- Langton, J. & Hoppe, G. "Urbanisation, Social Structure and Population Circulation in Pre-Industrial Times: Flows of People through Vadstena (Sweden) in Mid-nineteenth Century". Corfield, P. & Keene, D. (Eds.). *Work in Towns 850-1850*. Leicester 1990
- Laslett, P. "Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time". *Journal of Family History* 1977:2
- Laslett, P. "The Bastardy Prone Sub-society". Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981
- Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R.M. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981
- Lee, E.S. "A Theory of Migration". *Demography* 1966:3
- Lee, R. "Urban Labor Markets, In-migration, and Growth". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1999:30
- Leeuwen, M.H.D van & Maas, I. "Long Term Social Mobility: Research Agenda and A Case Study (Berlin, 1825-1957)". *Continuity and Change* 1996:11
- Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Maas, I. "Social Mobility in A Dutch Province, Utrecht 1850-1940". *Journal of Social History* 1997:30
- Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Maas, I. "Industrialization and Intragenerational Mobility in Sweden". *Acta Sociologica* 2002:45. [Leeuwen & Maas 2002a]
- Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Maas, I. "Partner Choice and Homogamy in the Nineteenth Century: Was there a Sexual Revolution in Europe?". *Journal of Social History* 2002. [Leeuwen & Maas 2002b]
- Leeuwen, M.H.D. van, Maas, I. & Miller, A. *HISCO: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations*. Leuven 2002
- Levine, D. *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism*. Studies in Social Discontinuity. London 1977
- Lext, G. *Studier i svensk kyrkobokföring 1600-1946*. Göteborg 1984
- Liakka, J. "Manliga invandrare i Sundsvall: Giftermålsmönster och social mobilitet bland Sundsvallsinvandrarna under andra hälften av 1800-talet". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University 2002
- Lim, L.L. "Effects of Women's Position on Their Migration". Federici, N., Oppenheim Mason K., & Sogner S. (Eds.). *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford 1993

- Lindstedt Cronborg, M. *Synd och skam: Öggifta mödrar på svensk landsbygd 1680-1880*. Tyngsjö 1997
- Lipset, S.M. & Bendix, R. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley 1959
- Losman, B. "Kvinnoliv på landet". Kyle, G. (Ed.). *Handbok i svensk kvinnohistoria*. Stockholm 1987
- Low, S.M. "The Anthropology of Cities: Imagining and Theorizing the City". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1996:25
- Lucassen, J. *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600-1900: The Drift to the North Sea*. London 1987
- Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999
- Lundberg, A. *Care and Coercion: Medical Knowledge, Social Policy and Patients with Venereal Disease in Sweden 1785-1903*. Umeå 1999
- Lundh, C. "Youth Migration in a Life-Cycle Perspective". *Lund Papers in Economic History* 1996:No.52
- Lundh, C. "The World of Hajnal Revisited. Marriage Patterns in Sweden 1650-1990". *Lund Papers in Economic History* 1997:No.60
- Lundquist, T. *Den disciplinerade dubbelmoralen: Studier i den reglementerade prostitutionens historia i Sverige 1859-1918*. Göteborg 1982
- Lynch, K. A. "Old and New Research in Historical Patterns of Social Mobility". *Historical Methods* 1998:31
- Löfgren, O. "Från nattfrieri till tonårskultur". *Fataburen: Nordiska museets och Skansens årsbok*. Stockholm 1969
- Lövgren, E. "Befolkningsutvecklingen – en demografisk studie". Hjulström, F., Arpi, G. & Lövgren, E. (Eds.) *Sundsvallsdistriktet 1850-1950*. Uppsala 1955
- Mabogunje, A. L. "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-urban Migration". *Geographical Analysis* 1970:2
- Mackinnon, A. "Were Women Present at the Demographic Transition?". *Gender & History* 1995:2
- Marks, H. "Illegitimacy, Propriety, Marriage and Property: Clues in Explaining Illegitimacy in Southern Norrland 1850-1930". *Ethnologica Scandinavia* 1991:21
- Massey, D. "Social Structure, Household Strategies and the Cumulative Causation of Migration". *Population Index* 1990:56
- Massey, D.S. et. al. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal". *Population and Development Review* 1993:20
- Matovic, M. "Illegitimacy and Marriage in Stockholm in the Nineteenth Century". Laslett, P., Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R.M. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981
- Matovic, M. *Stockholmsäktenskap: Familjebildning och partnerval i Stockholm 1850-1890*. Stockholm 1984
- Matovic, M. "Maids in Motion: Swedish Women in Dalsland". Harzig, C. (Ed.) *Peasant Maids - City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*. New York 1997. [Matovic 1997a]
- Matovic, M. "Embracing a Middle-Class Life: Swedish-American Women in Lake View". Harzig, C. (Ed.) *Peasant Maids - City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America*. New York 1997. [Matovic 1997b]
- McBride, T. M. "Social Mobility for the Lower Classes: Domestic Servants in France". *Journal of Social History* 1974:8

- McBride, T.M. *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernization of Household Service in England and France 1820-1920*. London 1976
- McCants, A. "Internal Migration in Friesland, 1750-1805". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1992:22
- Miller, K.A., Doyle, D.N. & Kelleher, P. "'For Love and Liberty': Irish Women, Migration and Domesticity in Ireland and America, 1815-1920". O'Sullivan, P. (Ed.). *Irish Women and Irish Migration*. The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity. Vol. 4. London 1994
- Moch, L.P. *Paths to the City: Regional Migration in Nineteenth-century France*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983
- Moch, L.P. "The Importance of Mundane Movements: Small Towns, Nearby Places and Individual Itineraries in the History of Migration". Ogden, P. & White, P. (Eds.). *Migrants in Modern France: Population Mobility in the Later 19 and 20th Centuries*. London 1989
- Moch, L.P. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Bloomington & Indianapolis 1992
- Moch, L.P. "Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization. Lucassen, J. & Lucassen, L. (Eds.). *Migration, History Migration, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern 1999
- Moch, L.P., Folbre, N. et. al. "Family Strategy: A Dialogue". *Historical Methods* 1987:20
- Moore, J. *Cityward Migration: Swedish Data*. Chicago 1938
- Morawska, E. *Insecure Prosperity: Small-town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940*. Princeton, N.J. 1996
- Morell, M. "Bönderna, marknaden och staten". Furuhausen, B. (Ed.). *Äventyret Sverige: En ekonomisk och social historia*. Stockholm 1993
- Morokvasic, M. "Women in Migration: Beyond the Reductionist Outlook". Phizacklea, A. (Ed.). *One Way Ticket. Migration and Female Labour*. London 1983
- Morokvasic, M. "Birds of Passage are also Women...". *International Migration Review* 1984:18
- Morrill, R.L. *Migration and the Spread and Growth of Urban Settlement*. Lund Studies in Geography, 26 B. Lund 1965
- Morrill, R.L. "The Shape of Diffusion in Space and Time". *Economic Geography* (Supplement) 1970:46
- Myhre, J.E. "Historiske perspektiver på flytning". Lovoll, O.S. (Ed.). *Tid og Tanke: Migrasjon og tilpassning*. Ingrid Semmingsen. Et seminar. Skriftserie fra Historisk institutt 3, Oslo Universitet. Oslo 1998
- Myrdal, G. et. al. (Eds.). *Population Movements and Industrialization. Swedish Counties, 1895-1930*. (By the staff of the Institute for Social Sciences). Stockholm 1941
- Mäki, C. "Fördel infödd eller inflyttad? Jämförelse av geografisk och social rörlighet mellan infödda och inflyttade män i Sundsvall 1860-1892". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2000
- Nelson, H. *Studier över svenskt näringsliv, säsongsarbete och befolkningsrörelser under 1800- och 1900-talen*. Acta Reg. Societas Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 63. Lund 1963
- Nilsson, F. *Emigrationen från Stockholm till Nordamerika 1880-1893. En studie i urban utvandring*. Stockholm 1970
- Nilsson, K. *Migration Among Young Men and Women in Sweden*. Umeå 2001
- Nilsson, L. *Den urbana transitionen: Tätorterna i svensk samhällsomvandling 1800-1980*. Stockholm 1989

- Nilsson, L. "Sundsvall i Stockholm 1878-1926: Ett sätt att forska utifrån Söderskivan". Norberg, J.R. (Ed.). *Studier i idrott, historia och samhälle: Tillägnade professor Jan Lindroth på hans 60-årsdag 23 februari 2000*. Stockholm 2000
- Nilsson, R.B.A. *Kallareliv: Arbete, familjemönster och levnadsförhållanden för järnvägsarbetare på banbyggena i Jämtland-Härjedalen 1912-1928*. Uppsala 1982
- Norberg, A. "Med betyget på fickan: Den svenska folkbokföringen under industrialiseringskedet". *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* 1979
- Norberg, A. *Sågarnas Ö: Atnö och industrialiseringen 1860-1910*. Uppsala 1980
- Norberg, A. & Rolén, M. "Migration and Marriage". Sundin, J. & Söderlund, E. (Eds.). *Time, Space and Man: Essays on Microdemography. Reports from the Symposium Time, Space and Man in Umeå, Sweden, June 1977*. Stockholm 1979
- Norberg, A. & Åkerman, S. "Migration and the Building of Families: Studies in the Rise of the Lumber Industry in Sweden". Ågren, K, Gaunt, D. et al. (Eds.). *Aristocrats, Farmers, Proletarians: Essays in Swedish Demographic History*. Stockholm 1973
- Norlander, K. "Att vara kvinnlig kapitalist". *Historisk Tidskrift* 1992:112
- Norman, H. *Från Bergslagen till Nordamerika: Studier i migrationsmönster, social rörlighet och demografisk struktur med utgångspunkt från Örebro län 1851-1915*. Uppsala 1974
- Norman, H. (Ed.). *Den utsatta familjen: Liv, arbete och samlevnad i olika nordiska miljöer under de senaste tvåhundra åren*. Stockholm 1983
- Nygaard, T. *Sociologisk handlingsteori: En introduktion*. Lund 1996
- Nykvist, R. "Pass till utrikes ort: En provinstdnings bild av emigrationen och arbetsvandringar från Vörå socken i svenska Österbotten". Unpublished paper. Högskolan i Härnösand/Sundsvall 1985
- Nyström, M. "I väntan på sin stora roll: Näringar och handelskapitalism 1624-1865". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996
- Ogden, P.E. "Migration, Marriage and the Collapse of Traditional Peasant Society in France". White P. & Woods R. (Eds.). *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. London 1980
- Ohlander, A-S. "Att vänta barn på bröllopsdagen". Ohlander, A-S. *Kärlek, död och frihet*. Stockholm 1986. [Ohlander 1986a]
- Ohlander, A-S. "Hotet mot familjen: Den ogifta modern i Sverige i historiskt perspektiv". *Kärlek, död och frihet: Historiska uppsatser om människovärde och livsvillkor i Sverige*. Stockholm 1986. [Ohlander 1986b]
- Ohlander, A-S. "Kvinnors utvandring och självständighet". Ohlander, A-S. *Kärlek, död och frihet. Historiska uppsatser om människovärde och livsvillkor i Sverige*. Stockholm 1986. [Ohlander 1986c]
- Olsson, U. "Industrilandet". Furuahagen, B (Ed.). *Äventyret Sverige: En social och ekonomisk historia*. Stockholm 1993
- Oosterveen, K., Smith, R.M. & Stewart, S. "Family Reconstitution and the Study of Bastardy: Evidence From Certain English Parishes". Laslett, P, Oosterveen, K. & Smith, R.M. (Eds.). *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Jamaica and Japan*. London 1981
- Oppenheim Mason, K. "The Impact of Women's Position on Demographic Change during the Course of Development". Federici, N., Oppenheim Mason K., & Sogner S. (Eds.). *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford 1993

- Oris, M. "The Female Life Course in the Industrial Cities of the Liège Area in the 19th Century. First Results". Brändström, A. & Tedebrand, L-G. (Eds.) *Population Dynamics During Industrialization*. Umeå 2000
- Park, R.E. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man". *The American Journal of Sociology* 1928:33
- Pateman, C. *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge 1988
- Perkin, J. *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*. London 1989
- Persson, B. "Att vara ogift mor på 1700- och 1800-talet". Westman Berg, K. (Ed.) *Könsdiskriminering förr och nu*. Stockholm 1972
- Peterson, W. "A General Typology of Migration". *American Sociological Review* 1958:23
- Pettersson, B. *Sundsvalls Tidning 150 år. 1841-1991*. Sundsvall 1990
- Pettersson, B. "Från Alfvar och Skämt till moderna massmedier". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls Historia. Del 3*. Sundsvall 1997
- Pettersson, R. "De mobila migranterna: En studie av frekventa flyttare till och från Sundsvalls stad 1830-1891". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 1998
- Pooley, C. & Turnbull, J. "Leaving Home: The Experience of Migration From the Parental Home in Britain since ca. 1770". *Journal of Family History* 1997:22
- Pooley, C. & Turnbull, J. *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century*. London 1998
- Pooley, C. & Whyte, I.D. "Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and Social Change". Pooley, C. & Whyte, I.D. (Eds.). *Migrants, Emigrants, Immigrants*. London 1991
- Pred, A. "The Choreography of Existence: Comments on Hägerstrand's Time-geography". *Economic Geography* 1977:53
- Qvist, G. "Kvinnan i yrkesliv och kamp för likställdhet". Qvist, G. *Konsten att bli en god fläcka: Kvinnohistoriska uppsatser*. Stockholm 1978 [Qvist 1978a]
- Qvist, G. "Ett perspektiv på den s.k. kvinnoemancipationen i Sverige". Qvist, G. *Konsten att bli en god fläcka: Kvinnohistoriska uppsatser*. Stockholm 1978 [Qvist 1978b]
- Ravenstein, E.G. "The Laws of Migration". *Journal of Royal Statistical Society* 1885:48 & 1889:52
- Redford, A. *Labour Migration in England 1800-1850*. Manchester 1976. Originally published in 1926
- Rendall, J. "Nineteenth Century Feminism and the Separation of Spheres: Reflections on the Public/Private Dichotomy". Andreasen, T. et. al. (Eds.). *Moving On: New Perspectives on the Women's Movement*. Aarhus 1991
- Rolén, M. *Skogsbygd i omvandling: Studier kring befolkningsutveckling, omflyttning och social rörlighet i Revsunds tingslag 1820-1877*. Uppsala 1979
- Rondahl, B. *Emigration, folkomflyttning och säsongarbete i ett sågverksdistrikt i södra Hälsingland 1865-1910: Söderala kommun med särskild hänsyn till Ljusne industrisambälle*. Stockholm 1972
- Rossi, P.H. *Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Residential Mobility*. New York 1955
- Rowntree, B. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*. London 1902
- Runblom, H. & Norman, H. (Eds.). *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration*. Uppsala 1976
- Runciman, W.G. "Class, Status and Power?". Jackson, J. A. (Ed.). *Social Stratification*. Sociological Studies I. London 1968

- Samuelsson, K. "Industrisamhällets framväxt 1850-1914". *Sveriges Industri*. Industriförbundets förlag, Stockholm 1985
- Schmitter Heisler, B. "The Sociology of Immigration". Brettell, C.B. & Hollifield, J.F. (Eds.). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. London 2000
- Scott, J.W. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York 1988
- Scott, J.W. & Tilly, L.A. *Women, Work and Family*. New York 1978
- Sewell, W.H. *Structure and Mobility: The Men and Women of Marseille, 1820-1870*. Cambridge 1985
- Shaffer, J.W. "Family, Class, and Young Women: Occupational Expectations in Nineteenth-Century Paris". Hareven, T.K. & Wheaton, R. (Eds.). *Family and Sexuality in French History*. Philadelphia 1980
- Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001
- Sharpe, P. "Introduction: Gender and the Experience of Migration". Sharpe, P. (Ed.). *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives*. London 2001
- Short, J.R. *Imagined Country: Environment, Culture, and Society*. London 1991
- Shorter, E. *The Making of the Modern Family*. New York 1975
- Shorter, E. "Female Emancipation, Birth Control and Fertility". *American Historical Review* 1973:78
- Sjaastad, L. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *Journal of Political Economy* 1962:60
- Sköld, P. *Kunskap och kontroll. Den svenska befolkningsstatistikens historia*. Umeå 2001
- Smith, R.M., see Oosterveen, K., Smith, R.M. & Stewart, S.
- Sogner, S. "Historical Features of Women's Position in Society". Federici, N., Oppenheim Mason K., & Sogner S. (Eds.). *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford 1993
- Sogner, S. *Ung i Europa: Norsk ungdom over Nordsjøen til Nederland i tidlig nytid*. Oslo 1994
- South, S.J. "Sociodemographic Differentials in Mate Selection Preferences". *Journal of Marriage and Family* 1991:53, pp. 928-940
- Sundbärg, G. *Sveriges land och folk: Historisk-statistisk handbok*. Stockholm 1901
- Sundelin, U. "Att idka handel i en norrländsk stad på frammarsch. Kvinnliga småföretagare i Sundsvall 1850-1893". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies, Umeå University 1999
- Sundt, E. *Om giftermål i Norge*. Askim 1966
- Svanberg, M. *Företagsambet föder framgång: Yrkeskarriärer och sociala nätverk bland företagarna i Sundsvall 1850-1900*. Umeå 1999
- Svanström, Y. *Pokning Public Women: The Regulation of Prostitution in Stockholm 1812-1880*. Stockholm 2000
- Tedebrand, L-G. *Selånger: En sockens historia*. Sundsvall 1983
- Tedebrand, L-G. "Människor och strukturer intill 1860". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 1*. Sundsvall 1996
- Tedebrand, L-G. "Gamla och nya stadsbor efter 1860". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sundsvalls historia. Del 2*. Sundsvall 1997
- Thernstrom, S. *Poverty and Progress in a Nineteenth Century City*. New York 1969
- Thernstrom, S. & Sennett, R. (Eds.). *Nineteenth Century Cities. Essays in New Urban History*. New Haven 1969

- Thernstrom, S. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1973
- Thistlethwaite, F. "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries". *Rapports. Vol. V, XI:e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*. Uppsala 1960
- Thomas, B. *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge 1954
- Thomas, D.S. *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*. New York 1938
- Thomas, D.S. *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933*. New York 1941
- Thorvaldsen, G. "Teorier fra historisk migrasjonsforskning: sosialpsykologi eller økonomi?". *Tidskrift för samfunnsforskning* 1996:7
- Tilly, C. *The Vendée: A Sociological Analysis of the Counterrevolution of 1793*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1964
- Tilly, C. "Migration in Modern European History". Sundin, J. & Söderlund, E. (Eds.). *Time, Space and Man: Essays on Microdemography. Reports from the Symposium Time, Space and Man in Umeå, Sweden, June 1977*. Stockholm 1979
- Tilly, L.A. "Rich and Poor in a French Textile City". Moch, L.P. & Stark, G.D. (Eds.). *Essays on the Family and Historical Change*. College Station, Texas 1983
- Tilly, L.A., Scott J.W., & Cohen, M. "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns". *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1976:6
- Tönnies, F. *Community and Society*. Loomins, C.P. (Ed.). New York 1957
- Vahnapiha, M. "Från Gävleborgs län till Sundsvall: Den geografiska bakgrundens betydelse i fråga om migrationen och den demografiska utvecklingen i 1800-talets Sundsvall". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 2000
- Valentin, H. *Judarna i Sverige*. Stockholm 1964
- Vammen, T. "'Rösträtt till kvinnor!' Den engelska rösträttskampen i europeiskt perspektiv, 1860-1930". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992
- Vicinus, M. *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*. London 1985
- Vikström, L. "In The Name of Shame? The Correlation Between and the Consequences of Migration and Illegitimacy in Sundsvall during Industrialization". Tedebrand, L-G. (Ed.). *Sex, State and Society: Comparative Perspectives on the History of Sexuality*. Umeå 2000
- Vikström, L. "I skammens namn: Kvinnors inflyttning och illegitimitet i det industrialiserade Sundsvall". Hatje, A-K. (Ed.). *Sekelskiftets utmaningar: Essäer om välfärd, utbildning och nationell identitet vid sekelskiftet 1900*. Stockholm 2002
- Wallerstein, I. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York 1974
- Warg, S. *Familjen i gruvmiljö: Migration, giftermålsmönster och fertilitet i norrbottensk gruvindustri 1890-1930*. Umeå 2002
- Weber, A.F. *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics*. New York 1899
- Weber, M. *The City*. New York 1958
- Wester, H. *Innovationer i befolkningsrörligheten: En studie av spridningsförlopp i befolkningsrörligheten utgående från Petalax socken i Österbotten*. Uppsala 1977
- White, P. & Woods, R. *The Geographical Impact of Migration*. London 1980

- Widerberg, K. *Kvinnor, klasser och lagar 1750-1980*. Stockholm 1980
- Wikander, U. "Kvinnorna i den tidiga industrialiseringen". Hirdman, Y. et. al. (Eds.). *Kvinnohistoria: Om kvinnors villkor från antiken till våra dagar*. Utbildningsradion. Stockholm 1992
- Wikman, K.R.V. *Die Einleitung der Ehe: Eine vergleichende Ethno-soziologische Untersuchung über die Vorstufe der Ehe in den Sitten des Schwedischen Volkstums*. Åbo 1937
- Wilcox, P. "Marriage Mobility and Domestic Service". *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1981
- Willner, S. *Det svaga könet? Kön och vuxendödlighet i 1800-talets Sverige*. Linköping 1999
- Winberg, C. *Folkökning och proletarisering: Kring den sociala strukturomvandlingen på Sveriges landsbygd under den agrara revolutionen*. Göteborg 1975
- Wirth, L. "Urbanism as a Way of Life". *The American Journal of Sociology* 1938:44
- Wisselgren, M.J. "Ogifta mammor i Sundsvall: En studie av ogifta mödrar i Sundsvall under 1800-talet". Unpublished paper presented at the Department of Historical Studies. Umeå University 1995
- Wolpert, J. "Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate". *Papers of the Regional Science Association* 1965:15
- Zackrisson, M. "Kvinnorna i Sundsvall ca. 1830-1880: Villkor och verksamheter vid början av den stora tillväxtens tid". Medelpadsarkiv. Sundsvall 1999.
- Zelinsky, W. "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition". *Geographical Review* 1971:61
- Zelinsky, W. "Impasse of Migration Theory: A Sketch Map for Potential Escapes". Morrison, P.A. (Ed.). *Population Movements: Their Forms and Functions in Urbanization and Development*. Liège 1983
- Åkerman, S. "Intern befolkningsomflyttning och emigration". In *Emigrationen fra Norden indtil I. Verdens krig. Rapporter Til Det Nordiske Historikermøde i København, 9-7 August*. Köpenhamn 1971
- Åkerman, S. "Theories and Methods of Migration Research". Runblom, H. & Norman, H. (Eds.). *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration*. Uppsala 1976
- Åslund, D. *Beskrifning öfver Westernorrlands län*. Härnösand 1878

List of figures, maps and tables

List of figures

- Figure 1.1. A model for conceptualizing migration
- Figure 2.1. Population development by gender in Sundsvall 1840-1892.
- Figure 2.2. Socio-economic structure in Sundsvall 1850 and 1870. A comparison between gender and social groups. Only women and men aged 15 years or older are included.
- Figure 2.3. Total influx of migrants by gender to Sundsvall 1840-1892. Regional in-migrations are included but separately considered.
- Figure 2.4. Net-migration by gender in Sundsvall 1840-1892.
- Figure 3.1. Comparison of the gender distribution of the pre-industrial and industrial cohort.
- Figure 3.2. Age structure of the migrants on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Figure 3.3. Marital status on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Figure 3.4. Life table of the time between in-migrating and marrying by gender. Only migrants in the industrial cohort reported as unmarried on their arrival in Sundsvall are included
- Figure 3.5. Social group on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Figure 3.6. Category of departure on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohort.
- Figure 4.1. Duration of residence by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Figure 4.2. Changes in social mobility and by social groups during the stay in Sundsvall. Social group on arrival compared to that reported on the migrants' departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after the arrival. Only migrants with an occupation reported at both times of measurement are included. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.
- Figure 4.3. Life table of the time between migrants' in-migration and death. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.
- Figure 5.1. Socio-economic status on arrival of the young migrants analyzed in Chapter 5. A comparison between genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Figure 5.2. The urban proportion included in migrants' multiple movements. An investigation of place of birth, departure, Sundsvall residence and urban proportion at time of last notation according to a modified urban-geographical categorization. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Figure 5.3. The in- and out migration of migrants in the industrial cohort according to the boom index. A comparison between the genders. Boom index = 10 in 1871. Absolute number.

Figure 5.4. Percentage of marriages reported in Sundsvall, the region or elsewhere. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.

Figure 5.5. Life-table for the time between in-migration and marriage in Sundsvall. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.

Figure 6.1. In-migration and the relationship to the presence of an illegitimate child. Percentage among women migrants belonging to the illegitimate cohort with legitimate or pre-nuptial children.

Figure 6.2. Access to family networks in Sundsvall or in the surrounding district. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

Figure 6.3. Percentage remaining in Sundsvall during a time span of fifteen years. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

Figure 6.4. Percentage of women who married in Sundsvall or the surrounding region. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

Figure 7.1. Population development in Sundsvall 1860-1892. Number of men and women, number of women reported as being *pigor*, number of men belonging to the middle and upper social strata, and the proportion of *pigor* among all women in Sundsvall (N/10,000).

List of maps

Map 1.1. Map of Sweden showing Sundsvall, the Sundsvall region and the counties in Sweden.

Map 3.1. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the pre-industrial cohort. Northern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.2. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the pre-industrial cohort. Southern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.3. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the industrial cohort. Northern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.4. Parishes of departure among Sundsvall migrants in the industrial cohort. Southern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.5. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Northern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.6. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Southern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.7. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Northern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.8. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1840s. Southern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.9. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Northern Swedish parishes.

Map 3.10. Parishes of departure among young single male migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Southern Swedish parishes.

- Map 3.11. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Northern Swedish parishes.
- Map 3.12. Parishes of departure among young single female migrants heading for Sundsvall in the 1870s. Southern Swedish parishes.
- Map 4.1. Map of Sweden displaying the geographical categorization applied in the longitudinal study.
- Map 6.1. Geographical background of women by Swedish counties, from the region or abroad. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.

List of tables

- Table 1.1. The basic social classification used in the study.
- Table 1.2. The basic geographical categorization used in this study.
- Table 3.1. Mean and median age on arrival by gender. A comparison between the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Table 4.1. Cox regression of the time between the in-migration and departure from Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the migrants' arrival in 1865-1880. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.
- Table 4.2. Logistic regression of upward mobility. Only migrants below the first social group with an occupation reported on arrival and with a last available notation are considered. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.
- Table 4.3. Changes in social group among male migrants. Social group on arrival compared to that reported on the migrants' departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after their arrival in Sundsvall. Only male migrants with an occupation reported at both times of measurement are included.
- Table 4.4. Changes in social group among women migrants. Social group on arrival compared to that reported on the migrants' departure, death or end of the time span consisting of a maximum of fifteen years after their arrival in Sundsvall. Only female migrants with an occupation reported at both times of measurement are included.
- Table 4.5. Cox regression of the time between in-migration and marrying in Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the migrants' arrival in 1865-80. Only migrants reported as unmarried on arrival are considered. A comparison between men and women in the industrial cohort.
- Table 5.1. The migrants' movements ending in definite Sundsvall residence, out-migration, or repeat migrations. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Table 5.2. Sequential analysis of the pre-industrial migrants' movements by gender and according to the urban-geographical classification. Place of birth, departure, final destination and degree of residence.
- Table 5.3. Sequential analysis of the industrial migrants' movements by gender and according to the urban-geographical classification. Place of birth, departure, final destination and the degree of residence.

- Table 5.4. Cox regression of the time between the in-migration and departure from Sundsvall within the time interval covering a maximum of fifteen years after the arrival of migrants in the industrial cohort.
- Table 5.5. The percentage of return migrants based upon the parish of birth, departure and destination. A comparison between the two cohorts and genders.
- Table 5.6. Mean and median age at marriage of the migrants and their spouses. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts. Marriages in Sundsvall and the region are examined.
- Table 5.7. Percentage of endogamous marriages according to the migrants' geographical background based on the parish of birth or departure. A comparison between the genders and the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Table 5.8. The geographical background of migrants and their spouses in the pre-industrial cohort. A comparison between the genders according to the urban geographical categorization based on the place of departure.
- Table 5.9. The geographical background of migrants and their spouses in the industrial cohort. A comparison between the genders according to the urban geographical categorization based on the place of departure.
- Table 5.10. The socio-economic status of male migrants and their spouses at the time of marriage. A comparison between men in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Table 5.11. The socio-economic status of female migrants and their spouses at the time of marriage. A comparison between women in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts.
- Table 5.12. Logistic regression of upward mobility of migrants in the industrial cohort. Only migrants allocated below the first social group on arrival with an occupation reported on both occasions of measurement are included.
- Table 5.13. Occupational changes by social groups of male migrants in the pre-industrial and industrial cohorts. Social group on arrival compared to that reported at the time of the migrants' departure, death or end of the longitudinal study.
- Table 5.14. Occupational changes by social groups of female migrants in the industrial cohort who did not marry during their stay. Social group on arrival compared to that reported at the time of the migrants' departure, death or end of the longitudinal study, i.e. 1892.
- Table 6.1. Mean and median age at marriage of the women and their spouses. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts
- Table 6.2. Women's social groups on arrival compared to that of their husbands at the time of marriage. A comparison between women in the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.
- Table 6.3. Social group on arrival and last registration among women who never married in Sundsvall or the surrounding region. A comparison between the illegitimate and legitimate cohorts.
- Table 7.1. The discrepancy between the additional sources and the parish registers. Women's occupation is reported for single years during the 1860-1893 period in the town of Sundsvall.
- Table 7.2. A comparison of women's occupational status between the parish records and the additional sources.
- Table 7.3. The women's occupational structure according to their geographical origin. The occupational status is based on the additional sources. The place of birth is from the parish registers.

Table 7.4. Occupational status of the women compared to that of their fathers when he was at the age of 40-50. For the fathers the information is based on the parish records. The additional sources are used for the women.

Table 7.5. Marriage patterns and marital mobility. Occupational status for women compared to their husband's occupational status. The information for husbands is based on the parish registers. The additional sources are used for women.

Reports from the Demographic Data Base, Umeå University

1. *Time, Space and Man. Essays on Microdemography*. Reports from the symposium Time, Space and Man in Umeå, Sweden June 1977. Eds.: Jan Sundin and Erik Söderlund (Stockholm 1979).
2. *Tradition and Transition. Studies in microdemography and Social change*. Eds.: Anders Brändström and Jan Sundin (Umeå 1981).
3. Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The Fertility Transition in Sweden: A preliminary Look at Smaller Geographic Units, 1855–1890* (Umeå 1983).
4. *Society, Health and Population During the Demographic Transition*. Eds.: Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå 1988).
5. Robert C. Ostergren, *Patterns of Seasonal Industrial Labor Recruitment in a Nineteenth Century Swedish Parish: The Case of Matfors and Tuna, 1846–1873* (Umeå 1990).
6. Bobbi S. Low, Alice L. Clarke and Kenneth A. Lockridge, *Family Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Sweden: Variation in Time and Space* (Umeå 1991).
7. Sören Edvinsson, *Den osunda staden. Sociala skillnader i dödlighet i 1800-talets Sundsvall*. (The unhealthy town. Social inequality regarding mortality in 19th Century Sundsvall) (Umeå 1992).
8. Lars-Göran Tedebrand, *Gullholmen – ett bohustänkt fiskeläges demografi* (Gullholmen – the demography of a fishing community in the province of Bohuslän) (Umeå 1993).
9. *Health and Social Change. Disease, Death and Public Care in the Sundsvall District 1750–1950*. Eds.: Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå 1993).
10. *Swedish Urban Demography during Industrialization*. Eds.: Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå 1995).
11. *Orphans and Fosterchildren. A historical and cross-cultural perspective*. Ed. Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå 1996).
12. Peter Sköld, *The Two Faces of Smallpox – A Disease and its Prevention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Sweden* (Umeå 1996).
13. *Population Dynamics During Industrialization*. Eds.: Anders Brändström and Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå 2000).
14. Anna Lundberg, *Care and Coercion. Medical Knowledge, Social Policy and Patients with Venereal Disease in Sweden 1785–1903* (Umeå 1999).
15. Ann-Kristin Högman, *Ageing in a changing society. Elderly men and women in urban Sweden 1830–1930* (Umeå 1999).
16. *Sex, State and Society. Comparative Perspectives on the History of Sexuality*. Ed. Lars-Göran Tedebrand (Umeå 2000).
17. Peter Sköld, *Kunskap och kontroll. Den svenska befolkningsstatistikens historia* (Umeå 2001).
18. *Nordic Demography in History and Present-Day Society*. Eds. Lars-Göran Tedebrand and Peter Sköld (Umeå 2001).
19. Ólöf Garðarsdóttir, *Saving the child. Regional, cultural and social aspects of the infant mortality decline in Iceland, 1770–1920* (Umeå 2002).
20. Stefan Warg, *Familjen i gruvmiljö. Migration, giftermålsmonster och fertilitet i norrbottnisk gruvindustri 1890–1930*. Umeå 2002.
21. Lotta Vikström, *Gendered Routes and Courses: The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden*. Umeå 2003.

Gendered Routes and Courses: The Socio-Spatial Mobility of Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Sundsvall, Sweden

This book examines the topic of migration that is an event most of us have experienced. Some of us move for love or labor and the usual goal is to improve our conditions. However, the reasons to migrate are manifold and so are the consequences for both the individual and the places to which he or she moves. This was no less true in the past than it is in the present.

This thesis explores migrants and their experiences during a time of large-scale socio-economic transformations. These changes were particularly evident in the nineteenth-century town of Sundsvall to which thousands of men and women chose to move. The causes and consequences of their arrival are analyzed by considering migrants' geographical backgrounds, socio-economic and demographic characteristics and their life-courses in the town. A variety of methods are employed on a diverse array of sources to identify gendered patterns and experiences of migration but women's path is especially emphasized. This study recognizes migrants as agents of change who negotiated a turbulent time and setting that influenced their socio-spatial mobility.



Umeå universitet 2003
Report no. 21 from the
Demographic Data Base
Umeå University
ISBN 91-7305-431-3
ISSN 0349-5132

