Pawning in everyday life

- An exploratory study of pawning at Borås pawnshop 1922/23

Licentiate essay
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1. Introduction

Pawning was an important form of credit despite its crudeness and primitiveness, especially for the working poor during the 19th and the first half of the twentieth century. This credit form required material wealth, which might exclude the poorest, and was not restricted to the working poor or the working-class, as it was utilised by middle-class too. It formally disconnects the trust component from credits, as pawn loans are based primarily on the future value of the collateral. This feature makes pawning a preeminent credit channel for poor people without a credit record or with a deficient one. It’s also a credit form suited for an urban environment in a time where credit information might be lacking. Cities are places where strangers live together. Potential lenders and borrowers often lack information about each other resulting in that no trust can arise between them in a city. Pawning makes trust unnecessary, but not useless. Trust can still engender better conditions for pawners and safer loans for pawnbrokers. The concentration on consumption loans mean that pawnbrokers mostly lent on smaller sums. This necessitated high volume in order for the pawnshop to make profits. This basis of pawnbroking combined with the absence of trust connects it to urban spaces.¹

Therefore this essay will work on the scale of a city, which is also the usual environment for the pawnshop. The investigated city will be Borås, the eminent city of textile industry in Sweden during the interwar period. Borås carries several interesting features and provides an interesting background for the study. It was one of the fast-growing cities in Sweden during the late 19th century and early twentieth century, largely because of the expansive textile and garment industry in the city. It was also one of the most industrialized cities in Sweden, with a largely homogenous industrial structure. These economic, cultural and social characteristics provide an interesting everyday life and economy, which pawning was a part of. The pawnshop studied was municipal.

Earlier research

The research field on pawnshops is a rather small field. Internationally there has only been published a few monographs on the subject. Perhaps the most important is Melanie Tebbutt’s *Making ends meet* published in 1983.² It’s a history of British pawnbroking during the 19th and early 20th century. It focuses on the perspective of the working-class woman, which Tebbutt considers as the primary client of the pawnshop. It was women’s management of the financial funds of the family that made

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¹ It’s however not impossible for pawnshops to work in a rural context, even though most often will be by agency and the pawnshop will be localised to a city, see Bouman, F.J.A. and Houtman, R., "Pawnbroking as an Instrument of Rural Banking in the Third World", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. 37, no. 1, Oct. 1988, p. 75
² Tebutt, Melanie, *Making ends meet – Pawnbroking and Working-Class Credit*, 1984
them the majority of the clients in the pawnshop. The results of this essay will both question and nuance this claim, at least in a general perspective. Tebbutt also brings up the weekly pawning cycles, wherein Sunday clothes were pawned on Monday and redeemed at Saturdays (before the use at Sunday). This was a prominent pattern of pawning among habitual pawners. She also discusses causes for the decline of pawnbroking in the interwar period. She attributes the decline to new innovations in credit, a new welfare state, conservative business practices, and people moving out of the inner city, amidst a generally depressed or troubled interwar economy.

Tebbutt hasn’t been alone in raising the question of the relationship between depression and pawnbroking. A generally spread idea has been that pawnbroking feeds off depression, as the demand for pawn loan rises from families living in a financial calamity and depression certainly does increase those calamities. But, as Tebbutt notices, the financial distress of the pawners became too great for them to redeem the loan. They also ran out of things to pawn during the Great Depression. The pawnbrokers in turn found difficulties to sale unredeemed pawns. A.L. Minkes wrote a (somewhat) more theoretical article on the subject of the decline of British pawnbroking. He points out that the longer a depression continues, the unlikelier it’s that pawnbrokers are benefiting. He also notes an increase in pawning, which leads to the pawner running out of pawns. The economic depression makes it unlikely that the pawner can redeem his pawns. The pawnbroker becomes short on liquid assets, as he is lending money for pawns that might never be redeemed and furthermore might be hard to sell. There are also space restraints as the pawnbroker is storing physical things. Anyhow the pawns must remain for quite a while at the pawnbroker (Minkes brings up the British regulation of twelve months and seven days). Minkes also nuances the idea that depression is actually bad for pawnbrokers. As the pawnbroker has possibility to sell his unredeemed pawns below market price, he need not be as hard hit as other retailers. The redemptions will neither shrink to zero, providing some income. He might also use a form capital rationing by lowering the proportion of the loan to the (estimated) real market value of the pawn at the possible future sales date, or in other words, lend less for the same pawn. When the depression ends he also has large stock of cheap goods to sell off. Minkes brings up the necessity of large loan volume for the common “industrial” pawnshops, which F.J.A. Bouman and R. Houtman also have done. The location of the pawnshop usually becomes urban, while its activity may not (Bouman and Houtman describes how pawnshop

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3 Ibid., p. 37-38, 47
4 Ibid., p. 6-7
5 Ibid., p. 144-145, 151-152, 155-156, 161-162, 165-167, 169
6 Ibid., p. 155-156
8 Unlike collateral like property deeds, my comment.
9 Ibid., p. 17
work in rural context in Sri Lanka). They also note that the relation between transaction costs and small loans is high, thus overhead costs must be low in order for small loans being profitable.¹⁰ Minkes does also discuss the decline of pawnbroking in Britain. As Tebbutt he brings up the extended scope of the welfare state as well as the maintenance of full employment. Once more like Tebbutt he finds different attitudes but also new opportunities among the customers. He considers also credit innovation. These are demand-side explanations, but he also gives a supply-side explanation, namely that pawnbroking has difficulties recruiting new pawnbrokers.¹¹

The economist John Caskey has written on the renaissance of pawnbrokers in the US in the late 1970s (and also the rise of check-cashing outlets).¹² As in Britain pawnbroking went through a crisis after the depression and the industry decreased until the 1970s. Like Tebbutt he attributes this decline to depression effects on pawnbroking, other venues of credit, mass production lowering the value of collateral, rising real income and new welfare measures. Also, in common with Minkes, he brings up that pawnbroking became less attractive among the children of pawnbrokers. A special American cause might be increasing racial tension in inner urban areas, made pawnbroking less attractive.¹³ How did this industry rise again? According to Caskey one prominent explanation is diminishing incomes and financial wealth on the lower end from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. Another important explanation is that mainstream banking became less affordable.¹⁴

Paul Johnson has written on working-class finances in Britain during 1870-1939. He brings up pawnshops, as a possible credit alternative (which in itself an alternative to saving in various forms). One of the most interesting analyses in Johnson’s book concerns the rather expensive weekly pawning of Sunday suits. Johnson explains this pattern as based on the social importance of the Sunday suit, which use however was limited to Sundays and therefore could be pawned. The acceptance of the costs of this practice Johnson explains as the basic uncertainty of working-class finances. Future pawning was not certain and times could become better therefore breaking this indefinite weekly cycle.¹⁵ Regularity might not mean continual pawning through the year, but concentrate to certain slumps of the family economy.¹⁶ Here it might be mentioned that Elyce Rotella has argued that long-term weekly pawning would be unsustainable.¹⁷ Johnson also brings up seasonal differences, such as the pawning habits of the seasonally unemployed, like dock workers in

¹⁰ Minkes, p. 13 (quote), 16-17 and Bouman, F.J.A. and Houtman, R., p. 70-72, 74-76
¹¹ Ibid., p. 21-23
¹² Caskey, John, *Fringe Banking – Check-Cashing Outlets, Pawnshops, and the Poor*, 1994, p. 7-8 and 36
¹³ Ibid., p. 27-30
¹⁴ Ibid., p. 85-90 and 97-106
¹⁵ Johnson, Paul, p. 182-183 and 222
¹⁶ Johnson, Paul, p. 181
¹⁷ Rotella, Elyce J., *Visiting Uncle – Pawnshop Activity and the Business Cycle in the Late Nineteenth Century*, unpublished manuscript, s. 7-8
winter. He notes that the pawnshop could have liquidity advantage, in relation to the then contemporary institutions of savings facilities (for example savings banks), by long opening hours and immediate money. Overall Johnson point the importance of respectability in the working-class community.

The history of American pawnshops has been written by Wendy Woloson. She means that time affects financial stability, and those with little resources had often to pay more and higher amounts for goods (such as rental apartments). Through pawn loans one could buy time. The weekly pawn cycle were also found among American working-class women. She also argues that it was in the interest of the pawnbroker to be flexible with loan terms, adjusting them so that customers would in the end redeem them. There’s also evidence from Woloson that an American pawnshop registered people as bad credit risks. As with Minkes and Tebbutt she agrees that depressions are not favourable to pawnshops. She also finds a movement in acceptable pawns in the late 19th century from collateral such as clothes, which had found its value destabilized from mass production, to collateral with enduring value like jewellery. This is also in accordance with Tebbutt’s British perspective on the lesser role of women’s clothes as collateral during the 1920s and 1930s. They both attribute this to that to buy new things had almost become as cheap as to redeem the old collateral. She analyses also the (bourgeois) criticism against pawnbrokers based on that personal possessions were considered being a part of one self. Pawning risk thus one’s own self, especially if it concerned things with a sentimental history. Another foundation of criticism was that pawnshops created poverty, though Woloson sees this as an easier way than to blame the whole capitalist system. Pawnshop was not a cause, rather an effect of the capitalist system.

The pawnshops of Mexico City, especially the welfare and publicly owned pawnshop Monte de Piedad, are the subject of Marie Eileen Francois book. She starts her book in colonial times around 1750 and ends approximately in 1920, somewhat earlier than Woloson or Tebbutt. She notes that there were customers with regularities in their pawnning habits, usually female and some visiting the pawnshop almost daily. Francois does point out an interesting feature of the institutional

18 Johnson, Paul, Saving and Spending – The Working-class Economy in Britain 1870-1939, 1985, p. 177-178
19 Ibid., p. 179
20 Ibid., p. 184-186, 226-227
21 Woloson, Wendy A., In Hock – Pawnning in America from Independence through the Great Depression, 2009, p. 89
22 Ibid., p. 93-94
23 Ibid., p. 80-82
24 Ibid., p. 80-83, Tebbutt, p. 156-159
25 Woloson, p. 116-118
26 Ibid., p. 52-53, 183
27 Francois, Marie Eileen, A Culture of Everyday Credit – Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920, 2006, p. 101-102
pawnshop, in that it served generally more wealth customers than the private pawnshops. There were though rather successful attempts were made to induce poorer customers at this public institution (amongst else through branch offices). She also relates a story from the 1830’s, in which the accumulation of material wealth in the form of items with little use but enduring and high value (like jewellery) is shown as a strategy of saving. Owning an expensive item could always be turned into liquidity at the pawnshop, especially in the uncertain times of Mexico in its days of early independence. Johnson also proposes a preference for real assets with an actual use instead of financial assets.

There is some written on the Swedish situation of pawnshops, though no historical monographs have been produced. A dissertation in law has been written on the subject of the legalities of pawning by Per Ellsberger. It recounts some of the institutional history behind pawnbroking in Sweden. It also contains a shorter international comparison on the regulations of pawnbroking. Ellsberger relates also to the history of Stockholm’s public pawnshop Generalassistanskontoret. Sven Fritz has written about the Generalassistanskontoret’s earlier history, because it was founded as one of the late eighteenth century new credit facilities in Sweden. Birgitta Skarin Frykman has discussed pawning in her book about working-class culture in Gothenburg in the late nineteenth century. Her material (on discussing pawning) is based on previously collected interviews with workers based on their memories of this time. It’s not based on statistical material of the actual operation, but on memories and contemporary witness. This material mentions the weekly cycle of pawning Sunday clothes, which were done by wives. One sources mentions restrictions of one of the institutional pawnshops (Majorna AB) on pawns to clothing (sv. gångkläder), shoes, watches and rings, though this was not typical of the smaller pawnshops. This source also recounts other practices of pawnshops. Skarin Frykman attributes alcoholism as common cause to become involved in a “circle of indebtedness”, which Skarin Frykman considers to have been hard to get out of. In a later quoted source, an evaluation on poor people

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28 Ibid., p. 58-59, 146-147
29 Ibid., p. 87-88
30 Johnson, p. 179-180
31 Ellsberger, Per, Pantlån – Om ränta och värdepappersräättsliga konflikter i pantbankernas kreditgivning, 2004, p. 43-97
32 Ibid., p. 99-140
33 Ibid., p. 67-70
34 Fritz, Sven, Studier i Svenskt Bankväsen 1772-1789, Avhandling, Ekonomisk-historiska institutet i Stockholm, Stockholm, 1967, s. 9 and 99
35 Skarin Frykman, Birgitta, Arbetarkultur – Göteborg 1890, 1993
36 Ibid., p. 36 and 135-136
applying for aid, this specific case tells that these people had pawned their Sunday clothes and had been unable to redeem them, which made them stay home at Sundays. 38

Aim
This essay will investigate the patterns of pawning in Borås during 1922/23 and 1932/33, primarily on a quantitative material. It will relate these constructs to the different social backgrounds of the pawners. The main differences to be explored are occupational, gender and residential differences. The assumption is that such differences produce different patterns of pawning, which can be represented as specific patterns of pawning. These practices will show the role of pawning in everyday life in Borås during the twenties and thirties. The essay will try to answer the following questions: did occupational groups differ in their pawning and what might have caused this? Did the pawners in Borås exhibit signs of the weekly pawning cycle as suggested by Tebbutt among others? Were there differences between men and women concerning pawning, and if so why?

Theory
In this part I aim to introduce some foundational theoretical concepts (and hypotheses?) to the essay. Since this academic work is within the discipline of (economic) history, the theoretical concepts has to be permeated by the past of the historical problem at hand.

Wage work and pawning
The pawners, the main objects of this essay, lived in a society based on a monetary market economy, where for the most of the pawners most needs were satisfied through monetary exchanges on a market. This was also a market economy that had industrialized quite recently (1870s-1920s). The regional economy had moved from combinations of autarchy and market production (Sjuhäradsbygden is one of the traditional proto-industrial areas in Sweden) to factory production and an urban living (in Borås) detached from owning (or renting) and producing on agricultural property. This market economy had thus expanded in such a degree that many lived solely or nearly only on selling their labour force or capacity on a labour market. This can be called that participated in a particular class relation, namely wage working. To confer upon this process the category of class means that the productive process is based on a certain and distinctive relation (wage working) between the producers and the owners of the means of production. Primarily we are dealing with economic side of the class process, not the social or political.

38 Ibid., p. 155-156
Unlike other forms of class relations the wage working relation is not built on extra-economic force, as in slavery, wherein the producers has been made property of the owners and is kept in this position by force. Thus wage working relies on the preference of the worker. The worker must prefer wage-working to other income-generating or productive activities. The formation of large workforces working for wages relies thus on limited options of the labour force, especially if being “on one's own” is considered a positive “good” (i.e. generates utility). This doesn’t mean that small entrepreneurship was out of question, but most businesses open for the wage worker with little or no human or monetary capital, was probably characterized by low barriers of entry in general (such as low capital demands), which created markets with small or no fortunes. Mats Franzén has recounted the life of a worker entering the window cleaning business. Franzén notes that the worker’s earlier career was short and temporary jobs, with small entrepreneurship becoming the solution. Thus small entrepreneurship might be a solution when a worker can’t find a steady employment, rather than an actual alternative to employment.\textsuperscript{39} Another distinctive trait of wage working is the lack of a pretension to stability. Wage working is coupled with uncertainty, though the degree of uncertainty may vary. Another feature is the regularity of employment. Employment can be unrestricted in time or temporary either by formally in contract or because of lessened demand of labour. Temporary employment might be restricted by that the work is a definite project, the seasonal character of work (for example construction work) or by day-to-day employment.

These three features, uncertainty, varying regularity of employment and insufficiency of wages are three factors that can complicate the material livelihood of the wage worker. The material livelihood is what I would say an expression for the necessity of constant reproduction process of the worker, which includes everything from basic foodstuffs to luxuries. Franzén has categorized workers after the dimensions of variation of unemployment (uncertainty and regularity) and exchangeability (insufficient wages and uncertainty). Franzén attributes variation of unemployment to either business cycles or seasonality.\textsuperscript{40} Exchangeability depends on human capital or the demand and supply situation of certain skills combined with the possibilities to substitute capital for labour. These factors of regularity, uncertainty and insufficient wages create the need for credit and might thus increase the instances of pawning. This might be especially valid for irregular work as material goods might become a way to “save” some of the income gains in periods with high labour demand. Johnson talks about a preference of real assets over savings account or other financial assets. Real assets gave also an actual utility, which might have been for those living in want.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{39} Franzén, Mats, \textit{Den folkliga staden}, 1992, p. 221-222
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 123-125
\textsuperscript{41} Francois, p. 87-88, Johnson, p. 179-180
The household

The worker is however quite rarely working exclusively for himself or herself, but makes a part in a household and family economy. Even single workers might join the fringes of a household, by for instance the lodger system. The household is thus larger than the family. The common view of the household places the nuclear family at its core, though it might not restrict the household to the nuclear family. The nuclear family consists of man, wife and children. In the period of the essay the work of the nuclear family is quite clearly gender segregated. The nuclear family should be considered as a production unit in this period, in a sense much more so than compared to modern times. The formation of a household and preferably a nuclear family had much a greater impact on the life and welfare of an individual. This is a difference compared to today where single households are much more common occurrence. Adult singles in this period were quite often incorporated on the fringe of a household by the lodger system, wherein they at the very least enjoyed the public goods of housing of the household.\(^{42}\) The household and particularly the nuclear family provided a pooling of resources, the possibility to benefit from public goods, and a safety net in case of situations wherein the individual can't work and thus can't sell its labour force. These were goods not generally provided elsewhere or in a rather lacking fashion.

An essential difference is the view on children. They were rather investments than the “consumer goods” they are today. Families acquired children in order to increase their labour force, readily sell-able at the labour market at much younger age than today because of the smaller human capital demands at least in the sense of formal schooling outside of the labour market. Unlike today the children hadn't already separated from the household when they moved from the schooling system to the labour market. The family had thus an expectancy of receiving income from children when they were teens at least until they formed their own household. Franzén claims that children’s wage usually were explicitly contracted (based on societal norms), often divided into a family part and a part for the child.\(^{43}\) This shows that household could create internal limits within the household and the family, usually to delineate the obligations of the individual to the household and the individual sphere. Children could also form a sort of complementary to small pensions and the need for help at old age. However children demands extra expenditures and work from the family, which makes costs of younger children much higher than for older children, while income are virtual zero. Thus one can conclude that a growing mean age of the children within the household means diminishing costs and increasing incomes for families in this period. In these costs is included the alternative cost of allocating work time to child care rather than wage work. It’s also likely that the person performing child care must also take an hourly wage lower than what would have been

\(^{42}\) Skarin Frykman, p. 141-143

\(^{43}\) Ibid., p. 218
otherwise available, as this person must substitute flexibility for income. Thus the person performing
the child care would be working less and for less, than without child care obligations. On the other
hand, children’s increasing capability to perform housework and child care (for younger siblings)
must be considered a factor in the income part. The work load for the caretaker of children within
the family progressively shrank.

The one who performed most of the child care was of course the woman in the family. Therefore the wage work supply of the woman became reliant on the number of young children she had, which of course also limited to total wage work supply of the household. At the same time young children mean increased costs for the household, which in a time of small margins meant problems. It’s interesting whether the woman was able to create an individual sphere from her own incomes or if all of her income were pooled within the family. In the latter case pawning might be a way to finance individual consumption for the woman.

This part has been provided in order to show a household function in relation to pawning. The direction of future research will likely be a deepened perspective on the household role in the patterns of pawning. This might also close in on for example life-cycle theory, which is out of the scope for this essay, due to lack of a suitable source material, but by combining the pawners with household, this might be accomplished.

**Economic assumptions on pawning**

The first decision regarding taking a loan is to decide the amount of credit needed. Pawn loans were however mostly short to medium-term loans intended for consumption decided by the value of the collateral, which usually means that the loan would be small. The available credit offered in the pawn loan is decided by the estimation of the future market value at a possible auction of the pawner’s collateral combined with some lending proportion established by the pawnbroker. There should thus have been some uncertainty for the pawner regarding the valuation of the pawn at the pawnshop and therefore also regarding the amount of credit available for the pawner. There is an asymmetric knowledge situation between pawner and pawnbroker as Caskey puts it, although he focuses on the lack of financial knowledge among the pawners.\(^{44}\) However the pawner should be able to approximate the pawnshop’s valuation. But the pawner might be interested in increasing the chance that he will received his wanted amount of credit by choosing his most valuable (and pawnable) possession. If it can be assumed that the pawner chooses his most valuable possession to pawn then pawn loans could tell about the maximal level of material wealth on the part of the pawner. It’s also important to note that even a rather small absolute error on part of valuation could provide rather

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\(^{44}\) Caskey, p. 117-119
large relative errors. It’s also quite likely that the material wealth as collateral would be too small to cover for the amount of credit needed. Therefore might the assumption that the pawner would pawn his most valuable possession, which he deemed to be pawnable (or in other words not needed for immediate use).

**Value**

The essay differentiates between use value and exchange value. This distinction is important as pawning involves collateral or things with definite use for the pawner. To pawn the collateral the pawner would have to forfeit the use of the collateral in exchange for the monetary credit offered. The use of the pawn is thus of importance, and is described by the theoretical concept of *use value*, which denotes a qualitative value based on the use of the item in question. It’s not quantitative in the sense that the value is based on a standard scale, as in exchange value (which is money). The pawner does nonetheless value this use value by the exchange value provided by the possible credit offered for it as a pawn. It’s important to note that the use value could be either constant or quasi-constant, as for instance a bicycle’s transport ability, or in temporary intervals, as for instance the Sunday suit, only used on Sundays or other particular occasions.\(^{45}\) The collateral could also be a part of important so called social capital. For instance using Sunday clothes might confer respectability, while having them in the pawnshop might be considered shameful. This might affect one’s position within the community.\(^{46}\) The pawner could also have a form of emotional connection to the pawn, a sort of emotional history with the thing pawned.\(^{47}\) A prime example would be wedding rings, as they are bought to display an emotional relation (as well as legal, etc.) between the married parties. This item carries also social capital, as it display that the wearer are in a stable relation, considered socially beneficial particularly in the past.

**Outline of essay**

The next chapter will explain the methodology of the essay. The third chapter of the essay will contain a historical overview of Borås in primarily economic terms. The intention is to create an image of the challenges in the everyday economy for different occupations. The chapter will help in creating a backdrop for the later chapters concerning pawning. The fourth chapter will concern the business history of the Borås pawnshop. In such it will present for instance the development over time in loans and capital. The fifth will progressively touch upon pawned objects and gender as well as occupational differences. It will also look into habitual pawners. The part on pawns will also bring

\(^{45}\) As discussed earlier on, Johnson has incorporated this line of reasoning in order to explain the weekly pawnin cycle of suits. See p. 183. 
\(^{46}\) Johnson, 182-183, 226-229
\(^{47}\) Woloson, p. 114-117
up the characteristics of the loans (average length, sums, etc.) in addition to the actual collateral offered to the pawnshop. The reason for bringing together occupation and gender into one chapter is that a large number of pawn loans were made by women without any title but wife. Their labour and income must thus be discussed from the fact of their gendered position. In the last part a few habitual pawners found in the Borås pawnshop will be studied in detail. The sixth chapter will be a summary, intent on bringing together the patterns of pawning with the possible explanations of gender and occupational differences.

2. Historical overview

In this chapter a historical overview of first the Swedish pawnshops and second the historical development of Borås.

The history of pawnshops in Sweden

The history of pawning starts in a hazy ancient past. Whether it was China or Tibet does not concern us here, neither if it was 3000 years ago or even earlier. However this does tell us that pawning is a simple credit relationship, readily invented where credit might be needed. The act of handing over a pawn, a tangible thing, as collateral for a money loan is not a particular complicated procedure. This simplicity has proliferated pawning all over the world. The act was early on regulated in medieval laws of Sweden. There were probably early on people who specialized (at least partly) in pawning. But the rise of the trade known as private pawnbroker is buried in a rather opaque past. At the creation in 1772 of one of the most important institutions in the history of pawnshops in Sweden, the Generalassistanskontoret in Stockholm, it is not unlikely that there were some private pawnshops. The Generalassistanskontoret was supposed to provide cheap loans for the poor in Stockholm. It lived on as institution open for the public until 1892.

In the second half of the 19th century there are some signs of a movement to create municipal and incorporated pawnshops, often with some beneficial purpose for the poor. These pawnshops had certain similarities with Generalassistanskontoret, at least purpose-wise. In “the Five-year reports” (sv. Femårsberättelser), reports made from all regions of Sweden, there are some notifications regarding these pawnshops. This source is not comprehensive. The reports weren’t standardized and therefore the standard of the data alternate between different provinces. Certain

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48 Ellsberger, p. 36-37
49 Do note that the essay is not interested in loans with real estate as collateral, but loans where moveable possessions provide collateral.
50 Ellsberger, p. 39-40
51 Ibid., p. 68
52 Ibid., p. 70
provinces didn’t mention the subject of pawnshops, while others did, but without any statistical records. Of course the data also varied with the passing of time. The Five-year reports were discontinued after 1905. Gothenburg seems to have been one of the first to acquire a municipal or public pawnshop outside of Stockholm, as one was started in 1856. The intention behind this pawnshop was to provide cheap loans - in order to fight the “pernicious effects of private lenders secret usury”\textsuperscript{54}. The plans behind a municipal or private incorporated charity pawnshop usually combined cheap loans to the poor with a commitment to combat the private pawnshops. Whether or not these private pawnbrokers were the shadowy figures intent on exploiting those who had fallen into desperate straits, they are however quite shadowy in the archives. The archives don’t divulge much about the private pawnbrokers. However some facts can be made explicit. The archives of an inquiry made by the city of Stockholm in 1870 contain a list obtained from the police. It lists 42 pawnbroker offices in the city. With the licensing requirement of 1884, new source materials were generated. It seems that the police in at least some cities kept a register of pawnbrokers.\textsuperscript{55} It did also generate statistics. In Gothenburg 1886-1905 there were between 12-18 private pawnbrokers with an approximate average of 440 000 annuals loans.\textsuperscript{56} A list made by the police in Stockholm recording the years 1884-1887 contains statistics on 29 pawnbroking offices in 1884 to 42 offices in 1887. In average these private pawnbrokers lent around 570 000 loans annually. Owning five offices Carl Albin Bergman was the largest owner measured in number of offices. Interestingly female pawnbrokers comprised a sizeable minority, eight offices were owned by women during the period. They stood for between 10-20 % of the offices and close to a quarter of the pawnbrokers during the whole of this period. Some fragments of information exist concerning the incomes of pawnbrokers. The five-year report of Sörmland 1896-1900 mentions there were two private pawnbrokers in Eskilstuna during the period.\textsuperscript{57} These two were apparently taxed for a yearly income of 9 000 kr respectively of 5 000 kr.\textsuperscript{58} These were quite considerable incomes and might be a maximum, rather than something representative for the pawnbrokers as a whole. In the town of Borås the 1880’s population census mentions a pawnbroker, one Johan Alfred Persson, living close to the centre of Borås. There’s however no mention of him as a pawnbroker in the latter censuses, but it’s probably the same man

\textsuperscript{53} Like some five year-reports from Skåne (eng. Scania).
\textsuperscript{54} My translation of “förderfliga verkninagarne af enskilde långifvares hemliga ocker”
\textsuperscript{55} Such registries have been found in Malmö and Stockholm.
\textsuperscript{56} Göteborg och Bohuslän, från 1886-1890 –> 1905.
\textsuperscript{57} Though one pawnbroker quit during this period, so in 1896 they were three.
\textsuperscript{58} Sörmland 1896-1900, p. 66-67
that appears in 1890 as marketer (sv. torghandlande) and in 1900 as a fish trader. Of course, it’s not impossible that Persson continued pawnbroking as a side activity, but no evidence of such remains.

These private pawnbrokers were actively targeted by the evolving municipal and incorporated pawnshops. Experiments with municipal or incorporated pawnshops were dispersed over the country. In the southernmost region of Sweden, Malmöhus län, there were incorporated pawnshops in Ystad, Helsingborg and Landskrona according to the report of 1886-1890 (they are not mentioned in later reports). In 1892* an incorporated pawnshop were founded in Malmö. Gothenburg had three incorporated by 1901*. Stockholm had also several, the dominating being the Stockholms pantaktiebank, founded in 1874, and having up to seven offices in the capital. The average number of loans provided by this company was circa 350 000 annually in 1874-1938, but it peaked at 470 000 loans in 1891. In northern Sweden, Sundsvall’s incorporated pawnshop was probably the biggest with an average of around 22 000 loans (for 1893-1895 and 1901-1905), but there were also one municipal pawnshop in Luleå and one incorporated* in Gällivare (but short-lived, did not survive until 1905*). In 1905, apart from the already mentioned cities, there were incorporated pawnshops in Eskilstuna, Norrköping, Kalmar, Karlshamn, Halmstad, Örebro, Västerås och Östersund. There was also one who was about to start in Enköping. In total the summary of the five-year reports counts with 18 corporations. The municipal pawnshops were fewer but not insignificant. They existed apart from Luleå, in Uppsala, Nyköping, Jönköping and Falun. The summary mentioned also pawn-shops called “philanthropic” in Kristianstad and Karlskrona. Thus nearly every region of Sweden 1905 had an incorporated or municipal pawnshop.

By 1920 there seem to be some slowing down in the business pace of pawnshops, at least for the pawnbrokers in Stockholm, where I have performed a collection of data. Among the institutional pawnshops (at least those mentioned in official statistics) in 1900 there were 520 000 loans in Stockholm, while in 1919 only 358 000. This might however been a coincidental slump. The average for the war year were 496 000 loans. This concerns also only the institutional pawnshops, not the unmentioned pawnshops. But the institutional pawnshops seemed to have stagnated from around 1890 (512 000 loans), except for a period from 1905 to 1913 where the loans varied between 592 000 to 649 000 loans.

59 Same birthplace, year of birth and his wife has a similar name (Johan Alfred Persson, Brämhult, b. 1848, Augusta Andreadsdotter, b. 1851 i Borgstena/Bergstena Älvsborgs/Elfsborgs län). Online source: http://www.svar.ra.se/. Search words: “pant” and “Johan Alfred Persson” (the latter returns six hits 1890 and seven 1900). He wasn’t found in the 1910 census (which generated two hits).
60 Malmöhus 1886-1890, p. 34
61 With missing values for 1916, 1918, 1919 and 1934.
62 Sammandrag 1896-1900 and 1901-1905
Borås circa 1870-1920

The world is never absent in the city, although its presence might be more tangible or more impalpable. In cities like New York and London, the global world is always a factor, while in lesser towns, the world might be restricted mostly to the hinterland of the city. The world’s presence in Borås in the 1920’s and 1930’s is made clear of the flow of cotton from the American South, which were transformed in the city’s mostly river-bound cotton spinning mills and clothing factories into several flows of clothes disseminated throughout Sweden. In the extreme north of Sweden Borås was known to provide everything except “foodstuffs”. The city is thus connected to the processes of the world through different flows and it also maintains own processes through which it generates new flows. In essence, cities rely on a spatial distributed division of labour. Therefore the flows drawn to the city and the ones generated by it is of paramount importance to the economy of the city. The city’s economy will of course have great consequences for the inhabitants’ everyday lives and economies. The swarm of workers from such parts as Norrbygårde, Lugnet, Landala, Lundby, all working-class areas surrounding the affluent centre of Borås, walking and bicycling to factories spread along the river of Viskan, was quite dependent on the international markets of raw cotton, cotton yarn, cotton cloth and clothes.

As we the city isn’t merely connected to external processes and flows, its space is also covered by processes and flows. A city gains certain rhythms of everyday life, like morning flows of workers to factories with the concomitant evening flows of workers returning to their homes. The city has a life of its own and thus also a history. It also has a hinterland, in which it’s a part of a capillary network of rural villages. Borås hinterland was Sjuhäradsbygden, which played an influential role in the history of Borås. The most important industry of Borås, the cotton industry, had emerged in the cottages of Sjuhäradsbygden. The production of textiles has been a part of Sjuhäradsbygden’s economy, primarily a way to supplement the poor soils. In the sixteenth century frieze cloths (sv. vadmal) and the so-called marbo-linen was hand weaved in Mark (south of Borås), the traditional region of weaving in Sjuhäradsbygden. Sjuhäradsbygden was one of the prime areas with a proto-industrial dynamic in Sweden, especially but not exclusively in textile production, mainly in flax textiles before the nineteenth century. The cotton industry of Sjuhäradsbygden started in the 1700s, but the blooming of cotton industry came after a fortuitous change in tolls in the 1810s, where cotton goods but not raw cotton and some sorts of cotton yarn after 1820s gained a large toll. This stimulated the

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64 Berglund, Bengt et al., Borås Stads Historia II – Industrins och industrisamhällets framväxt 1860-1920, 2005 (Henceforth Borås Stads Historia 2), p. 55, 63-65, 94-95
65 Borås Tekn. Förbund 1933, p. 63-67
evolution of a cotton home weaving industry, which grew quickly in the 1800s. Early on this stimulated also the construction of factories, where Rydboholm cotton mill of 1834 (in Mark) is the pioneer. The process behind the investment in Rydboholm became a familiar pattern in Sjuhäradsbygden, as it was the outwork merchant Sven Erikson, who decided to become also a factory owner. The production of Rydboholm was however complementary to the home weavers and not a competitor. The industry of Borås (and other places in Sjuhäradsbygden) was however to set to destroy the home weaving sector.

The first experiment with a cotton mill in Borås was Wiskaholm mill ran by the Englishmen Edvard Davies in 1857. The establishment of the mill was in itself a symbol of the coming modernization of the industry, as it was placed on the Schwartzska plantation, the former location of a dye works. Borås had had a symbiotic relationship the home industry, wherein the cloths of the home industry was coloured in Borås. This relationship was though forced on by institutional restraints, where the colouring of textiles was prohibited in the countryside until “the freedom of business” in 1864. This was now replaced by cotton mills. The Wiskaholm mill was however not destined to survive and the company starved to death during the “cotton hunger” due to the American Civil War. The cotton hunger meant that the flow of American cotton was severely restrained, which had the very real consequence for Borås of detaining the textile industry another decade. Problematic was also the weakened demand from the rural areas, because of the crisis in the 1860’s with bad harvests and conjunctures.

The growth of the cotton weaving mills became however rapid after the 1860s. The production value of the cotton mills is reported by Kent Olsson as growing from 382 000 kronor in 1870 to 7 507 000 kronor in 1912. These numbers are in current prices, not real prices. This means that production value grew by almost nineteen times over! The textile industry in general strengthened its grip on the industrial economy of the city. In 1870 the textile industry stood for around two thirds of all the industrial production value. This already strong percentage increased to around 90 % already in 1880 and remained around the share to 1919 (86 %). The somewhat smaller percentage might be attributed to the consequences of the war, which had hit the industry quite hard.

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68 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 36
69 My translation of “Näringsfriheten”.
70 Ibid., p. 106 and 37
71 Ibid., p. 106 and 154. That’s also the reason as to why I choose 1912 instead of the later 1919, also reported by Olsson, as the monetary value was quite stagnant until the war. The 1919 production value was 15 515 000 kronor, thus more than double 1912, most likely to large part an effect of war time inflation.
72 Clothing and tricot industry is included in the following numbers.
73 Ibid., p. 106 and 153
The cotton weaving mills did however lose some of its importance during this period of time. From producing around 83% of all production value in the textile industry of 1875, they only stood for 29% in 1912.\textsuperscript{75} The textile production process consists of several steps, wherein weaving is only one. The textile process of course starts with the cultivation of some fibre like cotton. This part of the process was usually imported for the Swedish industry, at least until the advent of artificial silk or rayon\textsuperscript{76} in the 1920s, which were produced from cellulose only in Borås in Sweden at AB Svenskt Konstsilke.\textsuperscript{77} However cotton and wool remained the foremost used raw material in the textile industry and rayon became complementary.\textsuperscript{78} Cotton was usually imported from Southern USA, even though India and Egypt also were producers, either directly or through some exchanges (1866-1890 most of the import came from London).\textsuperscript{79} Wool was imported from countries outside of Europe. Wool was also imported in a processed form from Germany.\textsuperscript{80} The importation of raw material was the Borås textile industry’s connection to the world. As we shall see its production process spread its produce mostly within Sweden.\textsuperscript{81}

The next step in the textile production process was spinning the raw material to yarn. Weaving mills dominated in Borås, except for Norrby Spinneri, this meant that the cotton yarn usually was bought elsewhere than Borås. This yarn came partly from the spinning mill of Sjuhäradsbygden, Rydahl (from the 1850’s), or from Nääs, Anderstorp and Malmö. Finer yarns were however not manufactured in Sweden, but were imported from English spinning mills.\textsuperscript{82} The Norrby cotton spinning mill was the first mill (1878) and was later joined by Borås Spinneri AB. Quite interestingly did Norrby Spinneri integrated the next step – weaving – in 1882. This was not an uncommon combination in the Swedish textile industry at the time. Examples are Jonsered (founded 1833), Rosenlund (Gothenburg, 1840) and Mölnlycke (1849).\textsuperscript{83} Spinning mills for wool were also founded in the Borås of the 1880’s. As with the cotton spinning mills there were a few plants within Borås. At the time of 1919, only three spinning mills existed as independent companies. There was the cotton mill, Åkerlunds spinneri, and two wool spinning mills, Kamgarns spinneriet Göta and Spinneriet Kronan. Norrby and Borås had been integrated into the weaving mill Borås Wäfveri AB and the tricot producer AB Sveriges Förenade Trikåfabriker (eng. “Inc. Sweden’s United Tricot Factories”).\textsuperscript{84} The growth of the independent spinning mills had been initially faster and the production value larger

\begin{footnotes}
\item[75] Ibid., p. 106 and 153-154
\item[76] Sv. Konstsilke.
\item[77] Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 107-108
\item[78] Ibid., p. 108
\item[79] Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 44-45
\item[80] Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 113
\item[81] Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 45
\item[82] Ibid., p. 33 and 108
\item[83] Ibid., p. 33 and 109
\item[84] Ibid., p. 163
\end{footnotes}
among the wool yarn producers, where the production value was somewhat larger in 1885 and also had almost quadrupled in 1890. The cotton spinning mills caught up with the wool mills in the 1900s, when the production value had grown by more than 200% compared to 1896. The primary reason for the growth was the establishment of two new mills in this period, the mentioned Borås Spinneri and Åkerlunds Spinneri. However for the continued growth almost all growth among the independent mills became concentrated to Åkerlunds spinneri, which also had been the largest in 1900. The independent cotton spinning mills produced more than the wool mills in 1919. The only remaining independent mill were as mentioned Åkerlunds spinneri, which had a production value of 4 222 000 kronor, the comparative figure for the wool mills were 3 485 000 kronor. Both figures are obviously inflated by the previous wartime. These figures don’t account for the integrated facilities, which had become an important development in the Borås textile industry during the 1910s.

One of the purchasers was the weaving cotton mill Borås Wäfveri AB, which had acquired Norrby Spinneri in 1918 and some years earlier the Kungs fors Spinneri AB in Skene, Sjuhäradsbygden. The company also integrated upwards by purchasing Bäckska färgeriet (1901, eng. Bäckska Dyeworks) and J.F. Vennerstens Fabriks AB (1915, eng. J.F. Vennerstens Factory Inc.). Both plants were dyeing and printing fabric. The heart of the early industrialization in Borås, the weaving mills, was also the heart of the integrated companies that rose after the 1900s. Kilsund, the prime wool weaving mill, had also dyed and bleach facilities by 1910’s. The wool mills had been the new addition to the industrial fauna of Borås in the 1890’s. Kilsund had been one of the first, founded 1895. The weaving mills continued to grow under the first two decades of the 1900’s, though it’s somewhat hard to deduce if the production value actually grew under the war or whether most was inflationary air. The war had been problematic for the textile industry, especially because of the raw material shortages that had arisen as the war had closed Sweden off from much of its foreign trade. Early in 1918 30 % of the Textile workers’ union members were unemployed and the cotton industry had stood still. The situation had improved in 1919, though rather late for the wool industry. In current prices the production value weaving mills had increased with 730 % 1870-1890, and with the introduction of wool weaving mills in 1890’s, the increase was 564 % between 1896-

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85 From 426 000 kronor to 1 683 000 kronor, comparatively the cotton spinning mills had grown from 346 000 kronor in 1885 to 360 000 kronor in 1890 or barely at all. Borås Stads Historia, p. 106
86 From 551 000 kronor to 1 673 000 kronor. Comparative figures for wool spinning mills were 1 886 000 kronor in 1886 to 2 191 000 kronor in 1900. Borås Stads Historia, p. 163
87 Of the available statistics.
88 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 106 and 163
89 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 162
90 Borås 1933 - festskrift, p. 97-98
91 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 162 and 164.
92 Ibid., p. 156
93 Ibid., p. 153-156
94 Olsson, p. 180-181, 184 and 188
Of this increase stood the wool mills for 50% between 1896 and 1919, but it’s probable that this figure is affected by the mentioned problems of the wool industry in 1919. For 1896-1912 the wool mills stood for 63% of the increase, still a rather small proportion of the increase. The cotton mills continued to grow quite rapidly (doubling the production value in 1896-1912).96 The wool mills than the cotton mills were more concentrated in 1919. They were five plants with a production value of 12 226 000 kronor, while the cotton mills numbered eleven and had production value of 15 515 000 kronor. The largest wool mill was Kilsund (stood for 31% in 1919). The rest of the production structure was divided by three equally sized companies (Merinos, Borås Kläningstygssfabrik97 and Manufakturaktiebolaget Svea), which each had a proportion of around 18-23%, and much a smaller company, Borås yllefabrik98, with a share of circa 8%. The cotton mills were dominated mostly by older companies. From the 1890’s there had been new establishments of factories. In 1919 there were two large companies, Druvefors and Borås Wäveri, with a production value share of 20-24%. Druvefors was once more the larger company of these two, a position which Borås Wäveri had held from 1900. Somewhat after these two Wiskaberg came, a new establishment from 1900’s, with a share of 16%. The eight smaller weaving mills did not surpass a proportion of 10%.

The next step in the textile production process had traditionally been the industry of Borås, namely the dye-works and other processing facilities of cloths. The first dye-works had been founded in the 1690’s.100 In the second half of the 19th century they had moved from an artisanal production to a more industrialized. Steam power and synthetic colours were some of the innovations in the dyeing industry. The production value of the dye works was rather small in comparison to the weaving and spinning mills, but much of the dye-works’ business was based on dyeing cloths on commission (so called pay-dyeing101). Thus they did not own their raw materials unlike weaving and spinning mills, which means that the production value mostly consisted of the value added to the cloths. The printing facilities in Borås were also being industrialized. J.F. Vennerstens (as mentioned later bought by Borås Wäveri) was the largest of the two existing and was also the one invested the most in new innovations.102 Printing and dyeing increased with 241% in 1870-1890 and 506% for 1890-1912. The increase was accelerating and was now quite similar with the growth of the weaving

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95 Between 1896-1912 the growth of the production value was 239%. The absolute figures of 1870 was 382 000 kronor, 1890 3 181 000 kronor, 1896 4 170 000 kronor, 1912 14 154 000 and 1919 27 689 000 kronor. Borås Stads Historia, p. 106 and 153
96 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 153-154
97 My translation: “Borås Gown-fabric factory”.
98 My translation: “Borås wool-factory”.
99 Ibid., p. 154-155
100 Borås 1933, p. 78
101 My translation of “lönefärgning”.
102 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 110-111
mills of Borås. In 1919 dye works had a production value of 4,221,000 kronor (71 %) and the corresponding value of finishing works (sv. Appreturverk) was 1,766,000 kronor (29 %).\textsuperscript{103} During the early 1900’s many dye-works and such were upwards integrated by weaving mills. Weaving mills also built their own facilities. Those owned by the weaving mills were always not accounted for in the industrial statistics, thus skewing it downwards. Therefore few independent dye-works remained at the approach of the 1920s (3 in 1919) and the remaining was rather big.\textsuperscript{104}

The final area of the textile industry was the tricot and clothing producers. Hardly existing before the 1890s, they were the real dynamic areas of the Borås textile industry in 1890-1920, something that would also continue after 1920s.\textsuperscript{105} The growth of these industries was the sign of the expanding market economy, as these industries produced ready-made commodities for immediate use. They co-existed in a rather symbiotic relationship with the home industry. In these industries the production hadn’t been centralized to the factory as with spinning and weaving. Home spinning had begun to die out with the first spinning mills and the easier toll changes on cotton yarn in the 1820s, which also had the home weaving as one of the most important markets. Home weaving had begun shrinking after the cotton crisis in the 1860s and diminished a lot in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century. In the 1880s the home production of tricot and clothes started and begun to substitute home weaving.\textsuperscript{106} It was the succeeding decade, the 1890s, that the tricot and clothing industries started to grow. From 1890 to 1900 did these industries increase their production value with 2335 %.\textsuperscript{107} The early 1900s the growth was much slower and the industries didn’t even double their production value 1900-1912. In 1919 the production value was 15,537,000 kronor or 27 % of the production value of the whole textile industry.\textsuperscript{108} 1920 the clothing industry had overtook the leading position of the tricot industry.\textsuperscript{109} Both industries were characterized by low entry costs, which led to many competitors. The tricot industry had a trust called Sveriges Förenade Trikåfabriker (henceforth SFT), founded 1913 and with headquarters in Borås. It was formed by companies in Borås, Vegby, Fritsla, Uddebo, Strömsfors (Sjuhäradsbygden), Malmö, Örebro, Karlstad, Mjölby, Kristianstad, Tannefors and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[103] Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 106 and 153. Dye works (sv. Färgerier) have been added with calico printers (sv. kattuntryckerier) for 1870-1890, while for the later series have dye works (sv. Färgerier) been added with finishing works/colour (sv. Appreturverk/färg) for 1890-1912. Calico printers doesn’t exist as a category for the later series. The figure for 1890 in the later series is slightly less than for the early series, 358,000 kronor versus 368,000 kronor. For 1870 108,000 kronor and 1912 2,168,000 kronor.
\item[104] Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 166-167
\item[105] Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 111-112 and 173; Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 115 and 119
\item[106] Sterner, Björn, Textil Hemindustri i Sjuhäradsbygden – under 1900-talets första hälft, 1973, p. 13-15 and 18-19
\item[107] In 1890 the production value was 117,000 kronor, in 1900 2,849,000 kronor. Borås Stads Historia 2, p.
\item[108] Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 152-153
\item[109] Ibid., p. 173
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Linköping. Nonetheless twenty years later in 1933 there were 54 companies in Sjuhäradsbygden out of 144 companies in Sweden, though without any hard borders between factory, home industry and trade. In 1919 there were 18 clothing industrial companies, where the biggest were Bröderna Jacobson (eng. the Brothers Jacobson, a predecessor to Oscar Jacobson), Textilkompaniet (eng. the Textile Company) and Rydins Handelsbolag (eng. Rydin’s Trading Company). The companies varied largely in size. The four largest had above one million kronor in production value, while the smallest had only some ten thousands kronor. Both industries occupied many home workers and became thus a source of income for many women.

Though dominated by the textile industry, Borås were not a town with exclusively textile industry. There was some engineering industry in the town, however it was not large. In 1919 this branch only stood for 3 % of the total production value of the industry in Borås. The most prominent company in this business was Borås Mekaniska Verkstad (eng. Borås Mechanical Works), which was an old-fashioned workshop with a diverse production rather than standardized series. There were also a smaller firm specializing in reeds for the textile industry. According to information from 1938 Borås Mekaniska Verkstad also produced textile machines among else. Borås had also two breweries, Sandwalls bryggeri (eng. Sandwall’s brewery) and Nya Bryggeriet (eng. New Brewery), which were almost alone in the industry of food and beverages. In 1919 they stood for 82 % of the production value, which was 1 243 000 kronor (2 % of the total), the remainder being categorized as water factories (produced soda) and (cereal) mills. According to Kent Olsson there were some smaller slaughterhouses, meat plants and bakeries. Newspapers had existed in Borås from 1838, the founding year of Borås Tidning (eng. Borås Newspaper). In the vicinity of Borås in the 1920’s besides Borås Tidning there existed several newspapers like Västgöten (1890) and Västgöta-Demokraten (1926). There were also some leather industries (3 %), carpentry factories (2 %), paper and cardboard factories (1 %), printers (1 %), chemical-technical industry (1 %), power stations (1 %) and glazed tile factories (<1 %) in 1919.
Thus Borås were quite clearly dominated by one industry during this period of time, but this industry diversified within itself from the 1890’s. The causes of this industrial development were many. One important was the toll protection by the Swedish state, which allowed a Swedish textile industry to develop amidst strong competition. A strong protection was created in 1816, but gradually lowered in the 19th century, though relatively less than other commodities. The tolls of 1865, when Sweden came to a trade agreement with France regarding most preferential nation, survived until 1920. The international price fall of 1920-1925 lead to better tolls due to the toll being taken on weight not value. It’s also important to note that toll system didn’t fully excluded foreign competition, which could become problematic for the domestic industry. This doesn’t explain however the location of the industry to Borås.

There are several reasons for the rise of the textile industry in Borås. The perhaps most important one was that Sjuhäradsbygden was already and had been for a long period of time a textile producing region. In Mark, south of Borås, there are traces of weaving already in the middle of the 16th century. The region of Sjuhäradsbygden is considered to be one of three prominent proto-industrial regions of Sweden (the others being Dalarna and the border area between Skåne and Småland). Before the 1820’s the region’s home industry was dominated by linen production. There was also some wood- and metal craft. In the 1820’s the toll changes, particular an easing of the tolls on cotton yarn, which had a time-consuming process in the home industry, induced a substitution of linen for cotton. The change to cotton is important as it was easier to industrialize the production of cotton fabric, since the cotton fibre was strong and homogenous, lending easily to standardize production. The demand of cotton fabrics was also growing. The home industry of Sjuhäradsbygden created a skilled workforce, knowledgeable entrepreneurs and capital for factory industry. Another important factor is that power sources to drive the mechanical power of factories became mobile because steam power became accessible in the 1840’s from England. The only waterfall in Borås was Druvefors. In the early 1890’s Borås started to develop electrical transmission, a further step in the in powering factories, as the municipality built its own power station in 1895. The development of the railroad, also on the initiative of the municipality, played an important role in the foundation of textile industry in Borås. The first railroad was built to

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121 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 151-152
122 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 46-49
123 Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 99-100
124 Borås 1933, p. 63 and 67
126 Magnusson, p. 200
127 Ibid., p. 29-30, 33
128 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 47
129 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 159
Herrljunga (where the mainline passed through) in 1863. New lines were built during the 19th and the early 20th century: Borås-Varberg, Borås-Alvesta, Borås-Gothenburg and Borås-Ulricehamn. Borås became increasingly connected to Sweden and the world.

The resulting labour market led of course to a large concentration in industrial employment on the textile industry. But industrial employment was overall large in Borås. Rune Jungen mentions that the industrial workers and craftsmen was a third of the city’s population for a long time. The census of 1920 classified 60 % of Borås population as industrial workers or craftsmen. It also tell us that out of the 28 226 at the end of 1920, 14 634 (52 %) was classified as performing an occupation. As industrial workers or craftsmen had 8 421 (58 %) been classified as and the concomitant population as 16 815 (60 %). In the textile and clothing industry had 5 805 (40 % of total) out of those occupied been classified and in the population of the textile and clothing there was 10 253 (36 %).

Table 2.1 Occupations in Borås at the end of 1920 from the Census 1920.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Occupied</th>
<th>% Occupied</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and subsidiary</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>4.6 %</td>
<td>1 145</td>
<td>5.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers and craftsmen</td>
<td>8 421</td>
<td>57.5 %</td>
<td>16 815</td>
<td>59.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and transport</td>
<td>2 617</td>
<td>17.9 %</td>
<td>5 514</td>
<td>19.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General service and professionals</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
<td>1 799</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic work</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>4.7 %</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex. Occupied and others</td>
<td>1 288</td>
<td>8.8 %</td>
<td>1 893</td>
<td>6.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14 634</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>28 226</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the most common occupation by far was as either an industrial worker or a craftsman. The next biggest occupation was those who worked for trade and transport, common occupation in a town. They are connected to the urban market economy either directly by maintaining the markets in the city or transporting goods and people. The markets of Borås had grown more advanced and specialized, especially considering the general trend of more specialized household work, involving more consumption than own production. The retail sector grew and

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130 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 15-17, 133, 181-182
131 Jungen, Vävarstad i uppror – Arbetarrörelsen i Borås 1880-1920, 1978, p. 16
133 Sv. Yrkesutövare.
134 Folkräkningen 1920 IV – Yrkesräkningen 1: Folkmängden, Inkomsten och Förmögenheten efter grupper av yrken inom varje härad och stad, p. 134-141
135 Sv. Handel och samfärdsel
136 Sv. Allmän tjänst och fria yrken
became more specialized, especially since the 1890’s.\textsuperscript{137} This sector was however not only bound to servicing the internal distribution of goods and people within the city. It also involved moving people into Borås and distributing goods from Borås the domestic markets of Sweden. Some goods were also exported (Kilsund, the wool fabric manufacturer, managed to export during the 20’s).\textsuperscript{138} Post order became a business of some importance in Borås during the 1920’s, primarily targeting Sweden’s rural areas, such as Upper Norrland, where Borås had a dominating market position.\textsuperscript{139}

Other forms of employment were rather small in this predominant industrial town. Borås had an interesting feature in their employment that might have been more pronounced in Borås than in many other Swedish towns. Borås had a rather large home work sector for a quite long time. This sector provided employment for many women and integrated them in the labour market supply. Especially married women remained in market labour because of home work, as it provided the needed flexibility. Sjuhäradsbygden had one of the largest contingents of home workers. According to industrial statistics in 1925 there were 3 508 home workers in Sjuhäradsbygden, while in the country there were 6 902. Sjuhäradsbygden stood thus for 51 %. In 1930 the home workers had dramatically increased in Sjuhäradsbygden to 6 213, the proportion had increased somewhat less to 56 %.\textsuperscript{140}

Sterner uses the company count of 1931 to get a more detailed picture of the home work in Borås. There are some faults in this count and he has complemented it with weaving books. The figures can be inexact for larger firms. In Borås the number of contractors\textsuperscript{141} had grown from 1911/12 from 32 to 68. The factories were 26 of the contractors. Most dealt with sewing, and then came tricot and combination of sewing and tricot. In total there were 4 869 home workers in Borås (53 %) according to Sterner, out of 9 158 in Sjuhäradsbygden.\textsuperscript{142} 50 % worked as seamstresses, 28 % tricot knitters and 23 % were either working in a combination or were registered by a company who didn’t differentiate between seamstresses and tricot knitters. Only eighteen persons were registered as weavers or other. Most worked for factories: 85 % of the seamstresses, 71 % of the tricot knitters and 86 % of the combined. Despite this fact, for Sterner it seems like the factories were starting to concentrate their production to their facilities. There were most contractors in sewing (40), then tricot (18), combined (8) and others (2).\textsuperscript{143} The population of Borås was at the end of 1931 38 976\textsuperscript{144} persons and thus

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{137} Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 187-189
\item \textsuperscript{138} Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 114-115
\item \textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p. 132-135
\item \textsuperscript{140} Sterner, p. 92
\item \textsuperscript{141} Sj. förläggare
\item \textsuperscript{142} The differential between the industrial statistics of 1930 and these numbers I would gather does likely not entirely arise from an increase. Home workers are notoriously difficult to count. It could be an effect of an more detailed investigation in the company count.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Sterner, p. 92-96
\item \textsuperscript{144} SCB 1932, p. 5
\end{itemize}
Home work would involve 12% of the population – thus it did give employment to rather large share of the population.

The population development followed in Borås followed the fiery pace set by the industrialization. The population was the fastest growing in Sweden between 1860 and 1920. The population increase really started somewhat after the start of the industrialization in the 1880’s. In 1880 Borås had a population of 4,754 according to the population register (sv. Mantalslängder). In 1922 this population had grown to 29,524 persons or an increase by circa 520%. This corresponds to a fast growth rate of 4.4% yearly or a doubling of the population every 16 years. Another interesting demographical feature is that Borås had a surplus of women among industrial workers and craftsmen. This increase depended on migration to Borås, but also that Borås had a young population and like that rest of the country moved into the demographic transition, with a high birth rate but shrinking death rate. This led to a large natural increase. The population increase continued in the 1920’s, though the post-war crisis slowed the increase and the increase became rapid first in the second half of the 1920’s. The town also grew spatially. New areas were built and after 1890’s most of the agricultural land were turned into housing. The new industrial workers from the 1870’s and onwards mostly moved into this periphery with cheap housing, which usually was outside of the town limits. This shows the reason behind the looser streets in the periphery of Borås compared to the strict grid of the inner areas. Borås were quite a heavily segregated town. The mean annual income in 1915 was somewhat below 1,500 kronor. In 1915 the town was divided into ten areas known as rotes. In rote 1, which was approximately the inner town, the mean income was above 3,500 kronor. Along with rote 4, the eastern Villastaden (eng. Villa Town), this was where most high and middle income-earners lived. The rote 2 (north-eastern parts of the town), rote 5 (southern areas Daltorp and Elisedal), rote 8 (the western areas Norrby and Kronäng), rote 9 (north-western areas Landala and Kilsund), rote 10 and rote 3 had a mean income below or equal to 1,000 kronor.

In terms of social help the town had organized a poor relief. Around 440 persons were given poor relief amounting from 5 kronor to 20 kronor from the town in 1919, so the poor relief helped only the poorest.

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145 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 59
146 Femårsberättelse Älvsborgs län 1876-1880, p. 9
147 SCB Årsbok 1923, p. 9
148 Jungen, p. 19
149 Ibid., p. 60-65
150 Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 38
151 Borås Stads Historia 2, p., p. 373-374
152 Ibid., p. 364-365
153 Ibid. 383-385
154 Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 233
persons from 17 December 1914 to 25 November 1915 according to Bengt Berglund.\textsuperscript{155} The municipality arranged distress relief labour beginning with the post-war crisis.\textsuperscript{156} There had also been for a long time a savings bank in Borås (since 1831).\textsuperscript{157} It was open every non-holiday since 1884, thus being competitive with the pawnshop of Borås and not lacking in liquidity because of limited opening hours, which Johnson remark may have been one of the advantages for British pawnshops.\textsuperscript{158}

Let’s finish this part by giving an account of the situation in 1922-23. The crisis after the First World War had come primarily in 1921, when unemployment in the national textile union had increased to 36 % in July (yearly mean around 25 %).\textsuperscript{159} The national textile union had come to an agreement in 1920 about wage reductions, since the wages had been dramatically increased during the large inflation in the war.\textsuperscript{160} The wages was somewhat lowered also in 1922 after a conflict.\textsuperscript{161} The worst in the post-war crisis was however over by 1922, though unemployment national was large (around 10 %). The national textile union recorded figures quite below ten per cent. At the end of 1922 the unemployment recorded by the union was around 5.7 %, with yearly high in January of 8.3 % and a low in October at 2.9 %.\textsuperscript{162} Borås might thus have had fewer problems with unemployment during the crisis and had also smaller costs than comparative towns for 1921. This might also be valid for the 1920’s as the unemployment was usually lower in the textile industry than in other industries. Berglund points out nonetheless that the labour market relied to a large extent on the textile industry which could have caused problems as there were few alternative incomes.\textsuperscript{163} The population increase had gone somewhat slowly during the 1910’s, but the increase spiked just before 1920, with more than 3 500 persons moving into Borås (the yearly increase before this spike had never surpassed 1 500 persons).\textsuperscript{164} In the early years of the 1920’s the population growth was however slow and reached above 1 000 persons first in 1924.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{155} Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 234-236
\textsuperscript{156} Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 274-275
\textsuperscript{157} Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 137
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., p. 138 and Johnson, p. 179
\textsuperscript{159} Olsson, p. 193
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., p. 192
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid. 194
\textsuperscript{162} Magnusson, p. 333-337 and Olsson, p. 193
\textsuperscript{163} Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 275
\textsuperscript{164} Borås Stads Historia 2, p. 59
\textsuperscript{165} Borås Stads Historia 3, p. 38
3. The Borås Pawnshop
The municipal pawnshop of Borås was started in 1892. The full name was “The town of Borås Pawn loan office”, though it’s simply been called Borås pawnshop in this essay.\(^{166}\) Borås were in strong expansion under the period, which might have increased the need for relief in form of the pawnshop. It is quite clear that the pawnshop was instituted for the alleviation of poverty within Borås.\(^{167}\) From 1904 statistics of the pawnshop has been published in municipal journal, concerned with various matters in Borås municipality (like protocols).\(^{168}\) This source gives numbers concerning loans per year, a most important statistics in discerning the activity of pawning.

![Fig 3.1 Loans in Borås Pawnshop and loans per person in Borås 1904-1939](image)

*The graph shows loans per year (on the left y-axis) combined with loans per person in Borås (on the right y-axis). Data from Borås Kommunalblad and SCB årsbok.*

It’s apparent from the graph that the pawnshop underwent a period of decline under 1905-1910 followed by a long stagnation around 4 000 loans annually. Then suddenly the number of given loans rise precipitously in the middle of the twenties. From 1924 to 1926 the loan volume doubled. The reason for this extreme increase was that a private pawnshop closed in 1925.\(^{169}\) Thus the explanation

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\(^{166}\) For name, see *Instruktion för Borås Stads Pantlånekontor* (eng. “Instructions for the town of Borås Pawn loan office”), approved by the city council (sv. *stadsfullmäktige*) 1891, printed in 1892 (henceforth Instructions 1892)

\(^{167}\) See also *Instructions 1892*, §1, p. 3

\(^{168}\) The journal is called *Borås Kommunalblad* (eng. “Borås municipal sheet”).

\(^{169}\) Borås Stadsfullmäktiges handlingar den 11 maj 1933, B164
to surge lied within the market, rather than any exogenous causes, such as an increased demand for
loans in general. This was well before the great depression of 1929 and the situation during the
depression seems to be a plateau rather than a surge in the loan volume. Thus the depression years
seem not to be connected to this increase in loan volume. Actually they seem to be quite without
consequence for the loan volume as it neither increases or decreases during these years. Another
interesting observation is that neither the large postwar-crisis circa 1920-1922\textsuperscript{170} seems to have
increased borrowing in a fundamental way. After 1932 there was a smaller slump in borrowing (16 %
fewer loans 1932-1935) until a recovery started in 1937.

Another piece of information to be divulged from the graph is that the Borås Pawnshop didn’t
attract as many loans relative to population as other pawnshops. In comparison with cities of roughly
similar size like Eskilstuna, Nyköping, Sundsvall, Västerås, Kalmar, Uppsala and Falun with municipal
or incorporated pawnshops during 1901-1905, Borås Pawnshop was one of the smallest in terms of
loans per person, however not the smallest. The data comes from the \textit{Femårsberättelserna} (eng.
“Five year-reports”), provincial reports concerning various social and economic status in the
provinces of Sweden. Due to their cancellation in 1905, only the earliest data of Borås pawnshop are
treated here. The data does also only concern one pawnshop in each city, usually either an
incorporated or a municipal, which means that other possible pawnshops are excluded. Differences
within in the market between towns are thus not accounted for.

\textit{Table 3.1. Average loans and loans per person in different towns.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pawnshop</th>
<th>Average loans annually</th>
<th>Average loan per person 1901-1905\textsuperscript{171}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sundsvall</td>
<td>25 590</td>
<td>1.63 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eskilstuna (1902-1905)</td>
<td>18 996</td>
<td>1.41 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmar</td>
<td>14 915</td>
<td>1.11 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppsala (1905)</td>
<td>17 822</td>
<td>0.73 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falun (1905)</td>
<td>5 837</td>
<td>0.55 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borås (1904-1905)</td>
<td>6 800</td>
<td>0.37 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyköping</td>
<td>2 244</td>
<td>0.29 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Västerås</td>
<td>3 200</td>
<td>0.24 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kristianstad</td>
<td>1 597</td>
<td>0.15 loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total average</strong></td>
<td><strong>10 261</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.72 loans</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table over municipal and incorporated pawnshops in cities of comparable size. The table shows average loan
volume and average loan per person 1901-1905 (with some exceptions regarding years). Data from the five-
year reports 1901-1905 in Västernorrlands län, Södermanlands län, Kalmar län, Uppsala län, Kopparbergs län,
Kristianstads län and Västmanlands län along with Borås Kommunalblad [lacks accurate references and
Kommunalblad is only available at Borås Arkiv].

\textsuperscript{170} Magnusson, p. 334-336

\textsuperscript{171} Population according to priesthood’s calculations in Five-year reports.

\textsuperscript{172} There’s only total data for the pawnshop in Kalmar during 1901-1905, therefore an average of the
population in 1901-1905 is used to calculate loans per person.

\textsuperscript{173} The same situation for Västerås as in Kalmar

29
The pawnshops with most loans per person were in cities with large industries and a large working class such as Sundsvall and Eskilstuna. These conditions might however not completely explain the average loan per person, as Borås and Västerås had a rather low number of average loans per person, but Västerås had a higher loan per person, around one loan per person, between 1884 and 1900. It’s noticeable that loans per persons rather decreased after 1905 in Borås, though a smaller increase happens with doubling of loans volume in the middle of the twenties. The volume of loans does not keep up with population in Borås.

*Fig 3.2. Capital lent annual and average lent sum per loan in Borås Pawnshop.*

![Graph showing capital lent annual and average lent sum per loan in Borås Pawnshop.](image)

*Graph shows nominal lent capital per year (left y-axis) and real capital lent per year. It also shows average nominal lent sum (right y-axis) and average real lent sum per loan and year. Price index KPI from SCB, index year 1914.*

If our attention is turned to actual capital lent at the pawnshop, there are two trends whether its total lent capital or the average capital per loan that’s observed. As expected the total (nominal) lent capital was growing from the start of the First World War until the start of the depression in 1929. The diminishing trend during the depression follows quite closely the trend in the number of loans; however the increase after 1935 is larger than the growth in loan volume (37 % increase compared to 12 % for the period 1935-1939). During the whole period (1904-1939) the growth in nominal capital had been around 350 %. The large increase was likely in part due to the huge wartime inflation, however the deflated series tells us that there was some increase in lent capital
during the period. The growth was about 120% for the whole period, but only 20% for 1926-1939, wherein with the slump in the middle of the 1930s the lent capital growth was quite stagnant. The growth was however not only connected to the changing market conditions but started after the First World War.

How does this translate into the lent sum of the average pawn loan? Naturally the war drove up the average loan in nominal terms, but it seems as in real terms the average loan actually decreased somewhat. In the postwar period of 1918-1923 the real average loan increased with about 50%. It fell from this level in the subsequent years and was quite stagnant until the end of the thirties (this is also quite true for the nominal trend). The increase in pawn values for the period of 1918-1923 might be attributed to decreased pawning in the years just after the war, which probably led to that pawned only lent on their most valuable goods. It’s also to be noted that average loan value increased only marginally above the average value of 1908-1911. It might above all have been a normalization rather than an actual and unprecedented increase in either loan value (more lent on the pawn) or pawn value (the pawns were more valuable). If we make the assumption that pawners lent on the most valuable collateral that was possible to lend on, then material wealth in this respect didn’t increase much among those who pawned during the postwar period until the next world war. However this conclusion much be measured against the possibility of borrowing. Material wealth could have primarily increased in things that weren’t easy to pawn, because of transport difficulties or being of great use value for the pawners. The stagnant real average value of a pawn loan also meant that the monetary gains of a pawn loan were stable and calculable. The profits were naturally quite slim due to the aim of providing cheap loans to the poor and the temporarily distressed. During the period the (net) profits were never above 4 700 kronor and in average less than 1 900 kr. In relation to the yearly lent capital the net profit was in average less than 3% and at most close to 5%.

To summarize the Borås pawnshop was characterized by a fall in loans during the late 1900’s. Thereafter the volume was rather stagnant with some low points, until the mid-twenties, where the volume suddenly doubled. This related to changed market conditions as a private competitor shut down in 1925. The volume remained quite stable during the depression, until the late stages of that crisis when the volume dropped somewhat. This fall was however not a sign of crisis and the volume recuperated quite quickly. Was the fall related to the end of the depression? Perhaps it could be explained by a lessened need of liquidity or a smaller supply of moveable property among pawners. But the loan volume hadn’t increased during the crisis, which could be a sign that the crisis wasn’t behind the slump. Generally the lent real capital grew during the period, mostly in the twenties. The late twenties and thirties were characterized by stagnation and a small slump (coinciding with the slump in number of loans). The average real lent sum was quite stagnant during the whole period,
except for the first few years and during the war. This might be an indication that the material wealth among pawners didn’t grow circa 1910-1939 or that their monetary demand didn’t grow. The gains from borrowing at the pawnshop were thus calculable. The net profits of the pawnshop were small in both absolute and relative numbers.

**Institutional framework**

The lending at the Borås Pawnshop was quite thoroughly regulated. The exposition of the institutional framework will primarily relate to regulations that affected pawners directly and who might have effects on their pawning habits. Thus regulations regarding for instance the organization of governance within the pawnshop will be excluded. Nevertheless it might be noticed that the pawnshop was administered by a board, which employed a manager\(^\^{174}\), in charge of the daily operations of the pawnshop. This structure didn’t change between the regulations of 1892 and the updated regulations of 1921 and 1938.\(^\^{175}\)

The opening paragraph of both regulations stated that the general motives of the pawnshop was to relieve those in monetary need by “minor money loans for a short period of time for as small fees and otherwise inexpensive conditions as the maintenance of the business allows”\(^\^{176}\). The pawnshop was thus a form social assistance and was also associated to a certain extent with the poor relief (the 1892 instructions stated that the accounts of the pawnshop was to be audited with the rest of the poor relief\(^\^{177}\)). According to both regulations pawners could borrow money at the pawnshop every non-holiday, in other words Monday until Saturday. The pawnshop was also closed at auctions, stocktaking and closing of the yearly accounts (1921 and 1938 excluded accounts). The decision of opening hours lied with the board.\(^\^{178}\) In both regulations the loans expired after six months, however a period “of grace” of two months were accorded to the late pawner. Thus only after eight months could a pawn be sold at a public auction according to the regulations. Any surplus generated by the auction was to be passed on to the pawner.\(^\^{179}\) Certain kinds of collateral weren’t allowed. Excluded collaterals were either bulky, difficult to store or deteriorated during storage.\(^\^{180}\)

Interestingly the regulations from also listed approved kinds of collateral (along with a general

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174 Sv. verkställande direktör in 1892 and sv. Föreståndare in 1921/38.
175 Reglemente (av år 1921 och 1938) för Borås Stads pantlånekontor (eng. “Regulations (of year 1921 and 1938) for the town of Borås Pawn loan office”), printed in 1939 (henceforth Regulations 1939), §2 and §7, p. 3-4. See also Instruktion för Borås Stads Pantlånekontor (eng. “Instructions for the town of Borås Pawn loan office”), approved by the city council (sv. stadsfullmäktige) 1891, printed in 1892 (henceforth Instructions 1892), §2-3, p. 3
176 Regulations 1939, §1, p. 3 and Instructions 1892, §1, p. 3 Quote Swe. “smärre penningelån på kort tid mot så låg avgift och billiga villkor i övrigt, som rörelsens upprätthållande medgiver”.
177 Instructions 1892, §19, p. 7
178 Instructions 1892, §9, p. 4, and Regulations 1939, §11, p. 5
179 Instructions 1892, §10 and §16, p. 4 and 6; Regulations 1939, §13 and §15, p. 5-7
180 Instructions 1892, §10, p. 4-5 and Regulations 1939, §13, p. 5-6
category), which might tell us something about what the pawnshop expected for collateral. These categories were “…gold, silver and other metals, bedclothes, wearing apparel and linens, smaller household utensils or loose property in general…”\textsuperscript{181}. In the regulations of 1921 and 1938 it was specified that the pawnshop wouldn’t lend on children’s clothes or bedclothes. This seems to be an addition from 1938, as bedclothes were lent on in 1922/23 (no specified children’s clothes were found).\textsuperscript{182} The pawner had to be at least 18 (not minor according to the older regulations\textsuperscript{183}) and the later regulations added to this that pawner should not be drunk.\textsuperscript{184}

The regulations also specified the monetary conditions of the loan. Both regulations stated that the loan would only be in full kronor and thus that the minimum loan would be at 1 kronor.\textsuperscript{185} The older regulations also contained a maximum loan of 50 kronor.\textsuperscript{186} Both contained a maximum interest rate on 2.5 öre per krona per month or 2.5 % monthly (circa 34 % annually), though they formulated the restriction differently. The older regulations said that this was the starting rate, but that the board could lower the rate if it was shown in the daily operations that this could be done without endangering the pawnshop.\textsuperscript{187} The valuation of the pawn was also regulated. The 1892 regulations said that no more than half of the value should be lent on the pawn.\textsuperscript{188} The later regulations changed that to no greater amount than the future sales value (after eight months) subtracted by interest and sales costs.\textsuperscript{189} The 1921 and 1938 regulations laid the decision of the interest rate with the board, but said that the maximum would be 2.5 % monthly.\textsuperscript{190} Both regulations also detailed a minimum amount of interest rate – at least the amount corresponding to one month would be paid by at the least 10 öre (1892) and later 25 öre (1921 and 1938).\textsuperscript{191} In later regulations it was also stated that each begun month on the loan would be counted as a full month\textsuperscript{192}, a loan paid at one month and a day would thus pay two months of interest. In the later regulations it was added that a “smaller” enrolment fee could also be levied if the board decided so.\textsuperscript{193} A pawn could be fetched by anyone above 15 years paying the loan with the pawn bill.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{181} Instructions 1892, §10, p. 4-5. Quote swe. “guld, silfver och andra metaller, säng-, gång- och linnekläder, mindre husgeråd eller i allmänhet lösegendom…”
\textsuperscript{182} Regulations 1939, §13, p. 6
\textsuperscript{183} Instructions 1892, §13, p. 5
\textsuperscript{184} Regulations 1939, §13, p. 6
\textsuperscript{185} Instructions 1892, §10, p. 4 and Regulations 1939, §13, p. 6
\textsuperscript{186} Instructions 1892, §10, p. 4
\textsuperscript{187} Instructions 1892, §12, p. 5
\textsuperscript{188} Instructions 1892, §11, p. 5
\textsuperscript{189} Regulations 1939, §13, p. 6
\textsuperscript{190} Regulations 1939, §14, p. 6
\textsuperscript{191} Instructions 1892, §12, p. 5 and Regulations 1939, §14, p. 6
\textsuperscript{192} Regulations 1939, §14, p. 6
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., §14, p. 6 (also quote)
\textsuperscript{194} Instructions 1892, §Regulations 1939, §13, p. 6
In conclusion, the aim of the pawnshop was to alleviate poverty, thereof its non-profit motive. It was open usually Monday to Saturday. A pawnner would have to be an adult and could pawn anything that didn’t deteriorate, bound with storage difficulties or bulky. There were valuation restrictions, so that the pawnshop would be secure in its reimbursement in case the pawn would have to be sold. The collateral was kept for at most six month along with two month period of grace. After that it could be sold on an auction. There was a maximum interest rate of 2.5 % per month (with a minimum amount of interest). The minimum loan was at 1 krona. These were thus the most important institutions of the pawnshop.

4. Method
This chapter describes and discusses the method behind this essay. The sources used in the essay will also be examined in it.

The sources
The foremost source used in this essay is the pawn loan journal of the Borås Pawnshop for the years 1922 and 1923. They were used to note loans and renewals in the daily operations of the pawnshop. Information in a post include a unique identification number for the loan, the lent sum, a description of the pawn, the payment or renewal date, and the name, occupation, address of the pawnner. It’s also possible to see if the post was a renewal by the addition of a loan number in the description of the pawn. Sometimes the writer has noted things regarding the loan, most often concerning pawnners who had lost the pawn note (sv. “pantsedel”), which were passed to the customer as a mean of identification of the pawn. As they were not personalized, notes could be exchanged between the original pawnner and a customer willing to buy the pawned collateral by buying the note (and paying the loan). The material is ordered by day and month. The loan journal was likely used to keep track of the loans in the daily service of the customers, inventory and bookkeeping.

It’s likely that the source does not distort the daily operations of the pawnshop more than inadvertent faults in writing and calculation. It’s very unlikely that anyone would like to intentional misrepresent the daily operations of the pawnshop with the exception of crime. The journals were also checked by the annual accounting. Therefore the source is trustworthy its display of the daily operations of the pawnshop. However this source does not account for all pawning in Borås, as there was as mentioned another pawnshop co-existent with the Borås Pawnshop. Therefore the whole of the market won’t be covered by this source. The other pawnshop has only been mentioned unnamed.

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195 It is not possible from a single post to differentiate whether it was in the end paid or renewed. There’s however other source material that makes it possible by the loan number to find out that.

196 Instructions 1892, §13, p. 5 and Regulations 1939, §13, p. 6
in commentary on the daily operation of the Borås municipal pawnshop, which makes it problematic
to find any information regarding this pawnshop. The final word on the quality of this source is that
it’s infrequently and rarely wholly illegible, however as this problem exists, it should be mentioned.

This is the prime source of this essay and that which will provide the bulk of the material for
the empirical chapters. There’s however other sources used in this essay. In the introduction the
Five-year reports from the Swedish provinces has been used, as well as various political inquiries and
propositions (such as motions in the Swedish Diet, cabinet propositions, inquiries made by agencies,
etc.). The overwhelming problem with the Five-year reports is that they were not standardized, not
even for the same province over time. It’s therefore somewhat problematic to compare data from
different provinces and different time periods. Neither will this source give a total picture of the
pawnshop businesses in Sweden. Inquiries and political motions are of course somewhat doubtful as
sources. One has to question for each single, individual piece of information whether it’s truthful,
gives the whole picture and if it’s distorted by partisan interests. In the empirical chapters various
reports, testimonies and news items from the Borås Kommunalblad (eng. Borås Municipal Paper) are
used, which was a paper focusing mainly on the business of the municipality in a wide sense. For
instance it printed protocols of the city council. Some of it should be regarded with high reliability.
This is primarily the annual accounting reports of the Borås pawnshop, which has been the main
material for the finance of Borås Pawnshop, with a primary interest in the number of loans as well as
capital lent during somewhat before 1920’s and somewhat after. In some cases concerning finance
news items have been used, when the accounting reports hasn’t been available in Borås
Kommunalblad. These have probably been directly drawn from the accounting reports, though of
course reprinting allows another possibility of errors. Testimonies come most often from the
manager (sv. föreståndare) of the pawnshop, the accountant Samuel Frantzich, and sometimes
explanations probably emanated from someone on the pawnshop but were written in the Borås
Kommunalblad by an unnamed writer. Though Frantzich must be considered knowledgeable about
the pawnshop, his knowledge might be lacking, especially in precision, compared to actual
investigations. A rather minor inquiry was actually undertaken in 1933, when the existence of the
municipal pawnshop was questioned in a motion (which was defeated).197

The final important source that has been used is the Levnadskostnadsundersökning for
1922/23 (eng. Surveys of cost of living). As might be noticeable the period of the sample from the
loan journals has been fitted to this survey, in the hope that in a later phase of the research it would
be able to identify a pawn who was also a participant in these surveys. This fit is somewhat loose,
as the inquiry had different starting dates for families and class of families. The earliest started in

197 Borås Kommunalblad, 1933, B163-B166 and Borås Kommunalblad, 1933, *A48-A49
June 1922, which is also the starting date for the database. Many “city”-household, in which Borås were included, started in October 1922. On their own the living cost surveys give a view of the financial life of the workers and lower middle-class families (the groups they primarily aimed at). It specifically looked at families, in other words man, wife and under-age children. It also includes middle-class families; though in this essay the figures for them are not included (the survey shows figures for working-class and lower middle-class families in Borås). The surveys were based on giving families an accounting book for their incomes and expenditures, detailing the expenditures in costs, kind of goods and quantity. This information was to be noted daily in the book. The largest problem with the survey is the sampling technique, which wasn’t randomized. Usually they found people through committees. The non-randomized sample might give a bias to so called “respectable” working class families, with better incomes and perhaps better skills to manage the family economy, as they would likely be more interested in the task. Another problem is that the survey in itself likely improves the survey taker’s ability to manage an economy, as the survey taker creates a lot more information on the incomes and above all expenditures of the family. Therefore the survey must be seen as the survey-taker handling his or hers economy in the most rational way possible for him or her, which likely improves the familial economies of the survey takers compared to if they didn’t take the survey. However there were of course still limits to their economy and improved information can only improve an economic situation that much. Lars-Olov Johansson, which has studied the later living cost survey 1932/33, does however object to the proposition that the household generally managed their economy better than other households. The third problem of the survey is that there are rather few observations on a city-scale. For Borås there were 53 finished books, but only 36 were processed for the survey. Despite these problems the survey still gives the best picture of the available material of the economies in the working-class and lower middle-class – the two groups as we shall see were the most common as clients in the pawnshop.

The sampling method of the database

The method used in the essay to create the sample is systematic sampling based on the pages of the loan journal. In systematic sampling the source material is ordered in such a way as it won’t interfere with the question at hand. There’s no cyclical variation, which could create a bias. Every third page

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198 Kungliga Socialstyrelsen, *Levnadskostnaderna i Städer och Industriorter omkring år 1923*, 1929, p. 9
199 Ibid., p. 8
200 Ibid., p. 178 and 180
201 Ibid., p.
in the journal has been recorded in the database and every page contains thirty loans, unless it’s in the beginning or in the end of a month. In that case the page contains equal or less than thirty loans. Only the loans on the actual page in those cases have been recorded. An alternative would have been to record all loans in the end and beginning of a month, but was refused as it would break the page progression in that the sample would not include every third page. There’s likely no cyclical variation in the journal. Possibly there could be variation of days or months, so that some weekdays or months are more represented on every third page. The loan journals from 1 July 1922 to 26 June 1923\(^{204}\) contains 4 489 posts, whereof 3 703 are loans and 786 renewals. Of those 1470 have become observations in the database, divided into 1 222 new loans and 248 renewals. The loans are thus 82 % of the posts in the source, while the comparative statistics are 83 % for the database. In conclusion there’s hardly any difference between population and sample in this regard.

**Fig 4.1. The percentage of posts per month.**

![The graph shows the percentage of posts per month in the journal compared to the database.](image)

If number of posts (thus including both new loans and renewals) are compared between journal and database, quite a similarity is found. The largest differences is in September (+0.88 % in the database) and October (-1.01 %), but none seem to indicate a large bias. It’s also quite naturally that there is some variation between source and sample. There’s however larger differences when one compares weekdays between the source and the database.

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\(^{204}\) Do note that the earlier end date than 30 June 1923 is simply because the last loan on the last page sampled was on that date. If one were to continue the sample the next page sampled would thus have been in July.
Firstly it might be repeated (see the chapter on the history of the pawnshop) that the pawnshop was closed on Sundays. Regarding the other weekdays, as noted the differences are larger than between months, most markedly on Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays (-5.41 %, - 5.31 % and 5.27 %). However I don’t think they are large enough to warrant that there’s some bias in the database by the sample. They seem to move in the same direction. It’s nonetheless possible that there’s some non-random variation in the sample, but in my opinion it’s not likely.

The structure of the database

The database contains as said 1470 observations. The database contains several time variables detailing the time of the loan and of the renewal or payment. For both these dates a weekday-variable has been computed. The report of the loan is divided on several variables. The lent sum is its own variable. The collateral is recorded in a variable containing the description in the loan journal and which is categorized in two levels over each of the three variables. As a loan can contain several pawns of different kinds, three variables for each level of categorization has been provided. Each kind of pawn has been categorized in two levels as said. Thus under-categories (for example “suits”) belonging to an upper category (for example “Clothes and Shoes”). This categorization has been made in order to provide both detail and overview. The categorization is mainly based on the function of the pawn.
Table 4.1. Categorization of pawns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper categories</th>
<th>Lower categories</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothes and shoes</td>
<td>Dresses</td>
<td>Dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suit and similar</td>
<td>Suits, Uniform, Tuxedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skirts and similar</td>
<td>Skirts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men’s and Women’s Coats</td>
<td>Coats, Raincoats, Overcoat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pants</td>
<td>Pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>Shoes, galoshes, slippers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Shirt, umbrella, cane, boa, vest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>Bedclothes and similar</td>
<td>Sheets, blanket, pillow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Decoration</td>
<td>Rugs, curtains, table clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utility textiles</td>
<td>Towels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cloth (raw material)</td>
<td>Fabrics, lining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>Bicycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative home objects</td>
<td>Cutlery</td>
<td>Knives, forks, spoons, fruit knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other dinnerware</td>
<td>Cake slicer, Coffee pot, trays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Precious metals</td>
<td>Gold, Silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Chromium, goblet, alarm clock, vase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial instruments/Bonds</td>
<td>Watches</td>
<td>Clock, pocket watches, wristwatches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rings</td>
<td>Golden ring, rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other jewellery</td>
<td>Necklaces, bracelets, Golden coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and watches</td>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Sewing machine, dioptre,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Products</td>
<td>Glass-eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Music instruments</td>
<td>Guitar, violin, accordion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work clothes and shoes</td>
<td>Pole climbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other means of production</td>
<td>Camera, tripod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and hobby objects</td>
<td>Kitchen objects</td>
<td>Saucepan, baking dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>Rifle, revolvers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other utility objects</td>
<td>Flatiron, Needle, Magnet, Wringer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility objects</td>
<td>Books</td>
<td>Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gramophone records</td>
<td>Gramophone records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Ice skates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare time objects</td>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>Packages, bags, lunch box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table displays the categorization of the pawns along with examples.

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205 The pawn description indicated that there were several (sv. “ett parti”) from a watchmaker, which is a likely occupation to deal with glass-eyes.

206 Sv. stativ.

207 In the future 1932/33 database this category will also include the under-category of household appliances, including such things as vacuum cleaners and electric coffee machines.

208 Sv. unika.

209 Sv. unika.

210 Sv. unika.
The pawners' name has been recorded in three variables: surname, first name and the full name. Gender is not a variable found directly in the loan journal, therefore it has been indirectly applied by firstly name and secondly by occupation.\footnote{These occupations has made the pawner to be considered as possibly female: factory worker, clerk, assistant, shop assistant, secretary, worker, dairyman (sv. mejerist), weaver, knitter, textile-worker, masseur, unemployed. Housekeeper, maid and such lead to designation as female.} The occupation has also been categorized in three levels according to the kind of work performed. For example a weaver would be categorized first as textile worker, then as an industrial worker and finally as a worker. Since a large majority of the women have been titled only as wives, the category of wives exists. This has be done even though it's not an occupation in the sense of being a paying job, which is the important sense in order to investigate the relationship between occupation and pawning, as pawning is based on a financial situation. The upper categories apart from aforementioned wives include workers, entrepreneurs, militaries, white collar workers (and students), unemployed and a category for loans with two pawners. Workers include industrial, construction, service, transport, agricultural workers, craftsman and those working in civil service jobs (such as firemen and policemen). The last piece of information on the person regards the address of the pawner. In future research this information will be ordered in the rote-system\footnote{The rote-system divided a city geographically into rotes.} of Borås and other smaller villages and towns, which will engender a geographical distribution of the pawners. Finally there are dummy variables for auction and renewals (also has the number of the loan renewed been recorded in a variable).

The reconstruction of pawners

In order to be able to connect pawn loans to pawners and therefore their history of pawn loans during the sample period as to study their practices during the sample period, the pawners had to be “reconstructed”. This reconstruction was done by aggregating the database on basis of the pawner’s name, occupation and residence (split into street names/property designations and numbers). Then the pawners had to be manually reconstructed on basis of similarities in these variables. This is not a simple process, which can be performed mechanically by a computer. As the data is accumulated over a year there are often differences in the same pawner’s personal information recorded at each loan. These differences can arise from actually changes in the life of the pawner, for instance a change of work or a move to another residence.\footnote{Of course surnames could be changed because of marriage, but I don't think I have found any such cases.} But differences could also be engendered from divergent recording of the personal information of a pawner between loans. A pawner’s name, occupation and residence could be recorded differently (remember that it wasn’t the pawner who wrote in the loan journal). Particularly residence can be difficult in this manner, as there existed
switching between naming streets and naming property designation. To solve these cases a registry of the rotes (from 1943) were used as well as the locality name registry (sv. Ortnamnsregistret).\textsuperscript{214} Names could either be differently spelled or be shortened to initials. Occupation could be switched between more general designations (such as factory worker) and more specific (like weaver). Militaries posed a particular problem as their service number seems to have been quite quickly changed.

As the differences could be quite diverse, this process had to be done by judgement. It’s also difficult to construct any general principles concerning the merging of loans into a pawner. Names are of course the most distinctive and constant feature\textsuperscript{215} of a person. However a very common name (like Carl Johansson) doesn’t provide much guidance. On the other hand a rare name might point to a specific pawner despite changes in work and residence. Job and residence are not particularly constant features of a person, but still does provide guidance for merging. Usually they are quite distinct, at least residence. Work titles can be quite generally described (such as factory worker) and therefore provide less guidance. The reconstruction is of course subjected to the problems of interpretation and should be taken as such.

5. The Report
In this chapter the empirical report will be presented. It has three parts. The first deals with the properties of pawn loans and the distribution of collateral. The second investigates the occupation and gender among the pawners. The third brings up three “habitual” pawners into focus.

5.1. The Pawn loans and Collateral
This chapter will deal with the properties of the loans and the collateral offered. It will answer questions like: which kinds of collateral were used? Did collateral have seasons? How much time passed between loan and redemption?

\textit{The Collateral}

The central question in this chapter is what sorts of collateral were handed over to the pawnshop? What quantitative differences existed between pawns? In other research clothes have appeared as the largest category of pawns. Melanie Tebbutt declared, in her book on British pawning, that clothes were the “vast majority of pledges” based on a sample from 1836.\textsuperscript{216} This circumstance did however not last according to Tebbutt, as the industrial mass-production of ready-made clothes increased.

\textsuperscript{214} The ortnamnsregistret (from 1951) is available online at: http://www2.sofi.se/SOFIU/topo1951/_cdweb/index
\textsuperscript{215} Names are mostly changed as said because of marriage and that concerns only surnames.
\textsuperscript{216} Tebbutt, p. 33-34
Woloson noted same tendencies for other mass-produced goods in the America of the late nineteenth century.\(^{217}\) 1920’s brought new consumption patterns in Britain, which disavowed second-hand clothes for new clothes. Clothes became a matter of fashion. Tebbutt relates thus to the coming of new cultural changes, as for instance the rise of fashion for the masses and the cultural influence of mediums like the spell-binding cinema. New avenues of enjoyment like dance halls made clothes more important in Britain for females, as these were also an arena for sexual attraction.\(^{218}\) The cost of clothes shrunk as well as the incentive for keeping up with the fashion increased. These two tendencies should have intertwined in decreasing the second-hand value of clothes.

Borås were to lead the expansion of the garment industries in Sweden. The tricot industry and the clothing industry as mentioned earlier were the town’s most expansive from the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century.\(^{219}\) Such great industrial corporations as the tricot trust *Sveriges Förenade Trikåfabriker* (Sweden’s united tricot factories, henceforth STF) and *Algot Johansson AB* were based in Borås. It seems as the interwar-period also brought the industries under the rhythm of fashion. The production within both the tricot and the clothing industry became more seasonal based.\(^{220}\) Interestingly this rearrangement of production might have two divergent consequences for pawn loans. The first consequence is of course that fashion-based production and consumption will lower the second-hand monetary value of clothes.\(^{221}\) Hence fewer loans will be made with clothes or at least less will be lent on clothes. The second consequence is that the textile, tricot and clothing workers will have a more precarious attachment to their wage labour. A seasonal production will mean more seasonal variation in incomes, which in itself imply an increased demand for credit. This is not to be disregarded in a city where nearly 90 % of the industrial production value came from the textile and garment industries.\(^{222}\) Thus these changes in production and consumption might cause both a change in the value of certain kind of collateral, while bringing a seasonal increase in demand.

Clothes were nonetheless the most important collateral in 1922/23, which is displayed in the following table.

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\(^{217}\) Woloson, p. 82-83

\(^{218}\) Ibid., p. 157-158

\(^{219}\) Borås Stad Historia, 2, p. 152

\(^{220}\) Borås Stad Historia, part 3, p. 99

\(^{221}\) “Vintage” clothes or the re-appraisal of second-hand clothes is in itself a kind of fashion, it won’t necessarily mean that second-hand clothes in general increase in value. Probably it’s also a phenomenon which can only arise after sometime in a consumer economy – where the consumption of ready-made clothes and fashion has been for a while a stable part of life.

\(^{222}\) Borås Stads Historia, part 2, p. 152
Table 5.1.1. The frequency of different categories of pawns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pawn</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent of all loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Objects of work and hobby</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility objects</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative home objects</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare time objects</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes and shoes</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>48.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and watches</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>25.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>7.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1496</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequency of loans with certain categories of objects as pawns during 1922-23. Note that the number of the loans including at least one pawn of the current category exceed the number of loans in the database (1470). The answer is that a loan could include several distinct objects of collateral. This includes several collateral of the same category. A loan is counted within a category whether it includes at least one pawn of the category.\(^{223}\)

The category called clothes and shoes was not the majority of pawns. There was a rather wide distribution of categories, which perhaps might be attributed to a society with increasing consumption. Contradictory to this conclusion is that very few objects could be categorized as “spare time objects”, the perhaps premium consumption objects, and due to their connection to leisure.

The second observation is that the rather large textile category might have been caused by local factors. Borås had a lot of tailors and home workers, which might have utilized raw materials as pawns. However few must have utilized completed cloths as pawns because much of that production had as mentioned been overtaken by factories in Borås.\(^{224}\) The third consideration is that there are a few categories which were large except clothes and shoes. Jewellery and watches is the only category remotely close to the size of clothes and shoes. Together they stood for circa 70 % of all pawns. Woloson has some remarks on pocket watches. They were portable and therefore carried no transportation costs (on the transaction). Their monetary value was enduring and it was easily calculated. It was quite common that the pocket watch was made singular to the owner through

\(^{223}\) Methodological note: Sometimes the first category of pawns have been used as proxy for all pawns for simplicity, as only ten percent of the loans have at least a second pawn and because it’s quite unlikely that there are any selection effects. Other than that the most valuable pawn might have been recorded first, it’s hard to see any reason for a non-random variation among these variables. It’s unlikely also that it was a conscious choice to write down the most valuable pawn first and that if this recording “method” were applied, that it was applied systematically.

\(^{224}\) Sterner, Björn, p. 15-19
This personal connection could have increased probability of the redemption of a watch. Jewellery had likely the same qualities as pawns as pocket watches had, even the sentimental value of personal connection. Woloson notes that for some of her statistics over American pawnshops (Cleveland and Chicago) in the 1890’s, the pocket watches stood for one third to nearly half of all pawns. As seen this was not the case of the Borås pawnshop, although the watches were quite numerous. It’s also interesting that most of the pawns concern objects that in varying degree “decorate” the body. Do note also that things that decorate the home were a quite important category. Apparently objects which provide some sense of aesthetic appeal were important as pawns. It might be that some extra “value” related to aesthetical appeal might be sunk into the pawn or was it simply the case that the lack of any necessary use made it easy to pawn these items. However it’s important that not all items in these categories only had an aesthetic appeal – clothes perform quite necessary functions apart from their aesthetic appeal. This was perhaps why Tebbutt and Woloson note a move away from clothes as pawns (on the supply side of pawns). New consumer items, as pocket watches, could be more easily spared and risked than clothes. Naturally the explanation of Tebbutt and Woloson of shrinking monetary value on clothes might also be valid. In the future dissertation it will be possible to answer whether clothes and shoes had a shrinking trend. This leads into question of the monetary values of each category.

Table 5.1.2. The mean lent sum for different categories of pawns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pawn</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mean weighted</th>
<th>St. Dev.</th>
<th>St. Dev. Weighted</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Median weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Objects of work and hobby</td>
<td>15.20 kr</td>
<td>14.89 kr</td>
<td>12.31</td>
<td>12.21</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility objects</td>
<td>11.90 kr</td>
<td>10.97 kr</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>11.41</td>
<td>6.00 kr</td>
<td>6.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>28.84 kr</td>
<td>28.84 kr</td>
<td>14.22</td>
<td>14.22</td>
<td>25.00 kr</td>
<td>25.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative home objects</td>
<td>14.06 kr</td>
<td>10.45 kr</td>
<td>15.20</td>
<td>10.23</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
<td>7.25 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>7.63 kr</td>
<td>7.48 kr</td>
<td>7.61</td>
<td>7.66</td>
<td>5.00 kr</td>
<td>4.50 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare time objects</td>
<td>13.67 kr</td>
<td>12.43 kr</td>
<td>8.55</td>
<td>9.96</td>
<td>10.50 kr</td>
<td>10.50 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes and shoes</td>
<td>11.28 kr</td>
<td>10.36 kr</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>7.32</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
<td>8.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
<td>29.95 kr</td>
<td>25.83 kr</td>
<td>16.44</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>25.00 kr</td>
<td>25.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and watches</td>
<td>12.95 kr</td>
<td>11.33 kr</td>
<td>12.92</td>
<td>11.61</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>8.42 kr</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>8.00 kr</td>
<td>5.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All pawns</td>
<td>13.19 kr</td>
<td>11.91 kr</td>
<td>11.70</td>
<td>10.18</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
<td>10.00 kr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean lent sums to each category. Do note that the selection is based on loans with at least one pawn in the current category (for example there’s 794 pawns in clothes and shoes, but only 707 loans made on clothes). One loan could thus contribute to several categories, as it may include several different pawns of different categories. Two measures of lent sums are presented. The first are based on the direct value of the pawn loan. This overestimates the pawn value as the direct value consist sometimes (around 10 %) of several pawns. The weighted value simply accounts for number of pawns by dividing the direct value with the number of pawns.

225 Woloson, p. 105-106
226 Ibid., p. 105
From this table several interesting results arise. The extremes of pawn values consist of bonds and bicycles on the high ends, while textiles and diverse objects are on the low end. That the “diverse”-category has the lowest mean value is not that odd – this category includes collateral that are a collection of miscellaneous items, not valuable enough by themselves to be noted in the loans journal. This category and others like it (below 30 loans) can however be safely ignored as too few observations are included in these categories to produce any meaningful result. The textile category is more surprising. Maybe it was combined with difficulties of selling cloths (which was an important part of this category, around 36 % of the pawns in the category) in the time of large-scale factory production, new distribution systems and the appearance of ready-made clothes? Bicycles and bonds should have been quite considerable investments, explaining their high loan value. It’s interesting that a financial instrument like bonds were quite often used. The pawnshop apparently created a sort of borrowing market for bonds, turning the locked-in savings within the bond to liquidity. Bonds also carried another interesting feature, as the pawner received an almost fixed value for the bond. 63 % of the bonds gave a 25 kronor’s loan, another 20 % 30 kr, 5 % 20 kr and 5 % 35 kr. Only seven per cent of the pawns loans made with bonds had a different value than the mentioned sums. This feature was probably related with the easiness of estimating bonds’ value at a future date, or their calculability, coupled with the high security of the bond. Secure valuation could easily be done both for the pawner and the pawnbroker. They were also quite more valuable than the ordinary pawn loan.

Let’s change focus to the more populous categories pawns – clothes and shoes along with jewellery and watches. Clothes and shoes were somewhat below weighted mean lent sum and the weighted median. The weighted mean lent sum varies between 1 kronor and 40 kronor though the 95 percentile is only at 25 kronor for the loans with at least one pawn in this category. The category of jewellery and watches had a somewhat higher mean value and median than the clothes and shoes category. Jewellery and watches had a much higher standard deviation than clothes and shoes. In fact clothes and shoes had one of the lower standard deviations of the categories. Only textiles had a lower standard deviation. Clothes and shoes thus had a rather low mean with a limited distribution.

These categories might be too wide and hide a lot of information which could provide us a fuller image of the pawner’s financial life and material possessions. Also at least two pawns with strong symbolic values hide in each category. Both the Sunday suit and the wedding ring are useful

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227 Do note that this calculation is based on piece-adjusted lent sum or the weighted lent sum. Some use several bonds for collateral for one loan – the piece-adjusted (as mentioned in the methodology chapter) divides the lent sum with the number of pawns.

228 Computed according to weighted average 1 in SPSS.
beyond their appearance. They signal status and respectability. They carry “social” and “symbolic” capital. They also signal conformity with society’s norms. Losing – or being unable to utilize these objects at the appropriate time – may create shame for the former wearer of these things, who can’t fulfil society’s expectations on him or her. The absence of a wedding ring on a (known) married woman would indicate immoral and indecent intentions or acts. Absence generates rumours. Also, turning wedding rings into money might be in itself be seen as a reprehensible act. Even though pawn loans do not carry a risk to the pawner’s financial life, it carries the risk of losing his or hers property. Wagering one’s wedding ring might have been seen as an unnecessary risk. This is one aspect of perceived reprehensibility in turning wedding rings (and also Sunday suits); another might be that making money out of these things might devalue their symbolic value. If these things become calculable in monetary sense, then they might lose some of their symbolic value. A person willing to pawn one of the strongest symbols of his relationship, might be seen as crassly turning invaluable symbolic values into monetary values, thus also implying that everything is tradable and monetizable. Symbolic value submits to monetary value. This on other hand might be a quite different situation in a neighbourhood or a community where pawning wedding rings were a frequent activity. On the other hand inherited wedding rings can be pawned without posing any of these risks. This said in these cases it somewhat hard to attain the exact share of wedding rings or Sunday suits in each category, as they are not designated in the pawn loans’ journal as such. Therefore the under-categories have to be investigated in each of the two most common categories.

Table 5.1.3. The under-categories of Clothes and Shoes and Jewellery and Watches compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clothes and Shoes</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Weighted Mean lent sum</th>
<th>Jewellery and Watches</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Weighted Mean lent sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pants</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7.2 %</td>
<td>5.92 kr</td>
<td>Rings</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>29.6 %</td>
<td>8.77 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirts and similar</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.9 %</td>
<td>3.77 kr</td>
<td>Watches</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>69.0 %</td>
<td>12.09 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dresses</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>5.83 kr</td>
<td>Other jewellery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.3 %</td>
<td>21.00 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suits and similar</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>24.3 %</td>
<td>17.05 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coats</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>38.5 %</td>
<td>9.93 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>18.3 %</td>
<td>5.68 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other clothes</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>7.4 %</td>
<td>7.57 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table showing under-categories of Clothes and Shoes respectively Jewellery and Watches with frequency, percentage and weighted mean lent sum. Do note that only the first pawn category have been used for the distribution. For weighted lent sums on the other hand all loans with at least one pawn of the specified category have been used. This has been done because it is difficult to make sense out of a distribution, especially proportional, of all loans approach to a specific upper category, as likely will re-count several loans due to there being several under-categories of the same upper category in loan. Therefore the distribution will only be approximate.
There’s more diversity in the category of clothes and shoes than in the corresponding category for jewellery and watches. In essence jewellery and watches consists of a large majority of watches and some rings. Most rings were golden rings and likely were most golden rings wedding rings. Thus rings can function as a proxy for wedding rings. In the clothes and shoes category we find three rather large under-categories (though none in majority): suits (and similar), coats and shoes. Neither Sunday suits (suits in general can be assumed to be Sunday suits) nor wedding rings were the main pawns in their categories, though they can be inferred as rather numerous. Together they stood for nearly 20 % of all loans, where rings had circa 8 % and suits circa 12 %. The dominant pawns in either category were coats (of both male and female variety) and watches. These are similar in frequency and stands for nearly 20 % each. Rings, suits, coats and watches stood for somewhat above half of the loans in the Borås pawnshop. A fascinating observation is that suits obviously gave much larger loans than other clothes, rings and watches in average (ignoring the small category of other jewellery). This is probably an important divergence, which will tell us something about the practices of pawning and valuation. Therefore the answer to the question of why did the suits give much higher loans must be sought.

One alternative is that the market value of suits might have been more valuable than other garments, rings or watches? Finding the market value will also elucidate whether there was something more to the pawn value of suits than just a fraction dependent on market value. Gunnar Myrdal provides the price information that one new men’s suit in average cost 169 kronor if it was custom-made and 108 kronor if it was ready-made in 1922. 1923 the average cost had sunk to 155 respectively 98 kronor. According to these price statistics in average the pawn value would be around 10 % of a new ordered suit and 16-18 % of a ready-made suit. Thus the pawn value would be quite a small fraction of the market value of a new suit. However the pawned suits were not new, they were used. The adequate comparison must be the market value of a used suit. This must also to be compared to the cost of a watch or a wedding ring. This might be something for future research to look into a more detailed fashion.

229 Only seven pawns were denoted with the rather oblique designation “ring”.
230 This includes all loans with at least one ring or suit, thus not the same figures as in the table. The overlap is not large, only one loan include both a ring and a suit.
231 Once again, the overlap is not large. In fact it’s non-existent. No loan was made on both a coat and a
232 Myrdal, Gunnar, The Cost of Living in Sweden 1830-1930, 1933, p.177
The Proceeds from Pawning

The average loan at the Borås pawnshop gave around 13 kronor to the pawner. The range of values can be shown by that the tenth percentile is at 4 kronor while the ninetieth is at 25 kronor. What could be bought for these sums in the interwar period of Borås? How much did the lent sums represent of the available wages?

Fig. 5.1.1. The distribution of the weighted lent sum.

Histogram of weighted lent sum with interval width of five kronor.

If one compares this amount to the yearly wages available in Borås then one finds that this was a rather low amount of money. Most loans were probably loans made for everyday consumption rather than loans that could finance larger consumption (like property) or business investments. On the other hand it can’t be told for certain that pawn loans only went to household consumption, and not the current costs of (small) businesses or other income bringing activities. The tax records from 1920 for Borås reveal some interesting data of incomes for comparison. Taxation review wasn’t

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234 Do note that this is not the weighted lent sums, but the direct lent sums.
complete in those days, quite many actually avoided tax declaration. The limit was at 600 kronor.\footnote{Kungliga Statistiska Centralbyrån, Taxering till Inkomst- och Förmögenhetsskatt år 1920, 1923, p. 6*. The asterisk shows that the page number concerns the first part of the inquiry. See also Johansson, 1996, p. 48 concerning the situation in 1933, where the same limit was applied.} 38 % in Borås were assessed for taxes in 1920.\footnote{Ibid., p. 25*} Despite this was not the majority of the population in Borås, most adult men were probably assessed for taxes and they probably also brought in most of the income to family economy. This makes the tax records a good source for at least the income of the males, or in other words the most important source income to for the family. Borås was placed in the third of the five locality groups (sv. ortsgrupp), a contemporary categorization which aimed at levelling out taxes on the basis of the cost of living.\footnote{Ibid., 6-7*, 25*. The I locality group had the lowest cost of living, while V group had the highest.} The cost of living in Borås was thus considered to be in the middle in relation to the rest of the country.

**Table 5.1.4. The assessed income in Borås 1920.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assessed amount</th>
<th>Number of taxed</th>
<th>Percentage of taxed</th>
<th>Mean assessed income</th>
<th>Mean assessed weekly income</th>
<th>Mean lent sum percentage of weekly income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 600 kr</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0,26%</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>7,75</td>
<td>170,21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>610-1 200 kr</td>
<td>1 855</td>
<td>17,67%</td>
<td>1 094</td>
<td>21,04</td>
<td>62,68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 210-2 500 kr</td>
<td>4 795</td>
<td>45,68%</td>
<td>1 798</td>
<td>34,57</td>
<td>38,15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 510-4 000 kr</td>
<td>2 275</td>
<td>21,67%</td>
<td>3 143</td>
<td>60,44</td>
<td>21,82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 010-5 000 kr</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>5,45%</td>
<td>4 424</td>
<td>85,09</td>
<td>15,50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 5 010 kr</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>9,27%</td>
<td>18 478</td>
<td>355,34</td>
<td>3,71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assessed amount comes from both wealth and labour income. Mean income calculated from the total assessed amount for a specific category (not displayed) divided with the number of taxed of that specific category. Mean assessed weekly income calculated by dividing mean assessed income with 52 (number of weeks).

The mean assessed income (from both wealth and labour) was 3 651 kronor, which gave a weekly income of around 70 kronor.\footnote{Calculated by dividing mean assessed income with 52 weeks.} The mean lent sum from the pawnshop (13.19 kronor) stood thus at around 20 % of mean assessed weekly income. Mean income tends however to be distorted by extreme values. Furthermore it’s likely that those on the lower end of the wage scale will be more frequent customers at the pawnshop. For those with the lowest assessed income (up to 600 kronor) the mean lent sum represented 170 % of the mean assessed weekly income. But already in the next category (610-1 200 kronor) the mean lent sum was only 60 % of the weekly income and quite rapidly the proportion decreased by moving upwards in the income classes. The mean lent sum had though quite considerable shares of the mean weekly income until incomes beyond 5 000 kr. This indicates that the average pawn loan played a complementary role to the weekly income, as it was usually less than half (a fact for over 80 % of those assessed).
### Table 5.1.5. Wages in collective agreements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Agreement</th>
<th>Hourly pay</th>
<th>Hourly pay calculated to weekly pay (48 hours)</th>
<th>Weekly pay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spinneries and textiles mills</td>
<td>Country-wide, males</td>
<td>0.77 kr</td>
<td>36.96 kr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinneries and textiles mills</td>
<td>Country-wide, males</td>
<td>0.77 kr</td>
<td>36.96 kr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing industry</td>
<td>Country-wide, ordinary workers</td>
<td>0.50 kr</td>
<td>24 kr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing industry</td>
<td>Country-wide, highest wage</td>
<td>52 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing industry</td>
<td>Lund, female ordinary workers</td>
<td>0.50 kr</td>
<td>24 kr</td>
<td>30.25 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor-shops</td>
<td>Borås, ordinary workers</td>
<td>0.50 kr</td>
<td>24 kr</td>
<td>30.25 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor-shops</td>
<td>Borås, highest wage</td>
<td>52 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayers</td>
<td>Borås, ordinary workers</td>
<td>1.11 kr</td>
<td>53.28 kr</td>
<td>61.60 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworkers</td>
<td>Borås, ordinary workers</td>
<td>1.11 kr</td>
<td>53.28 kr</td>
<td>61.60 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labour</td>
<td>Borås, lowest wage</td>
<td>0.95 kr</td>
<td>45.60 kr</td>
<td>47.52 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street- and construction works (municipal)</td>
<td>Borås, ordinary wage</td>
<td>0.95 kr</td>
<td>45.60 kr</td>
<td>47.52 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouseman</td>
<td>Borås, lowest wage</td>
<td>0.95 kr</td>
<td>45.60 kr</td>
<td>47.52 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>Alvsborgs län, ordinary wage</td>
<td>0.95 kr</td>
<td>45.60 kr</td>
<td>47.52 kr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>SCB Yearly average</th>
<th>SCB Daily average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spinneries and weaveries, such</td>
<td>Sweden, males</td>
<td>2 120 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinneries and weaveries, such</td>
<td>Sweden, females</td>
<td>1 378 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinneries and weaveries, such</td>
<td>Sweden, underage</td>
<td>844 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor-shops and sewing factories</td>
<td>Sweden, males</td>
<td>3 388 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor-shops and sewing factories</td>
<td>Sweden, females</td>
<td>1 663 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor-shops and sewing factories</td>
<td>Sweden, underage</td>
<td>917 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Construction workers</td>
<td>Sweden, males</td>
<td>3 006 kr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Collective agreements and wages according to SCB yearbook (1924) in the year of 1922. SCB

However the tax records can be misleading. There’s also direct wage data left in the form of collective agreements, which were quite widespread even at this time. SCB has also collected data on wages for 1922/23. These might however not show wages for most workers and might also not be actual wages due to lack of enforcement. For Borås it’s easy to pick out the most important

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239 Ordinary workers refers to the lowest wage possible for ordinary workers.
240 Lund is included because there are no specific female wages in the country-wide agreement and no wage data for clothing industry for Borås. Lund is in the same locality group as Borås.
241 Swe. Skrädderier
242 Swe. Skrädderier
243 Swe. Grovarbetare
244 Det finns fler, men tveksamt om det tillför något.
245 Based on yearly pay of 710 kr, divided by number of weeks (52). Some agricultural workers had payments in kind.
247 According to Kungliga Socialstyrelsen, Kollektivavtal i Sverige 1922, 1923, p. 2 circa 64 % of the workers in the national textile and clothing industry were under collective bargaining agreements in 31 december 1922.
categories of collective agreement as the town’s industries were concentrated to the textile, tricot and clothing industry.\textsuperscript{248} It is however important to complement with other groups that are immanent to cities (like construction workers, infrastructure workers, distribution workers etc.).

Female workers usually had much lower wages than male workers. The female wages were around 50-65 % of the male wage according to the collective agreements. However most of the females in the pawnshop were titled as wife, in other words they might not have worked at the factory, though they might have been rather home workers or some other flexible extra work. Almost by definition as wives they were within a family economy rather than an individual economy. But even female workers usually had higher weekly wages than the mean lent sum. Only the lowest paid workers, the agricultural workers, had a weekly pay close to the mean lent sum of the pawnshop, though might have had access to income in kind. Nonetheless most workers, according to the collective agreements, had weekly wages far above the mean lent sum. The second closest agreement – the country-wide agreement in the spinners and textiles mills for females, the mean lent sum represented circa 55 % of the weekly pay. It’s also interesting to note that the ninetieth percentile of the lent sum (25 kronor) was exceeded by most workers according to the agreements, excluding previously mentioned female textile workers. This supports the hypothesis that the pawn loan was mostly complementary to the weekly income, as most workers in Borås likely lived on weekly wages above even the ninetieth percentile of the lent sum. This argument doesn’t however examine the evenness of wages over the year but relies on an even wage not under the influence of seasons. If there were seasonal variations then this could generate the need for pawn loans in the low periods. This however depended on who in the family was under the seasonal variations in employment. The two preceding measures have only measured individual income but now a notion of family income must be achieved.

This might be achieved through the living cost surveys (sv. \textit{Levnadskostnadsundersökningarna}). In 1922-23 one of these living cost surveys was undertaken in Sweden and Borås. The study of Borås consisted of 36 working-class and lower middle-class families, as mentioned in the methodology chapter. For further methodological notes, see the preceding methodological chapter. The mean male wage for these groups in Borås is 3180.9 kronor yearly. This translates to a mean weekly pay of 61.17 kronor.\textsuperscript{249} The weekly pay is thus somewhat above the levels mentioned in the collective agreements but somewhat lower than mean assessed income in the tax records. This was likely due to the eleven lower middle-class households. The total mean income, which includes all sources of income to the family, is at 3 819.10 kr.\textsuperscript{250} The main male wage thus comprised most of the family’s

\textsuperscript{248} Borås Stad 2, p. 152
\textsuperscript{249} Mean yearly income divided by 52 weeks.
\textsuperscript{250} Kungliga Socialstyrelsen, \textit{Levnadskostnaderna i Städer och Industriorter omkring år 1923}, 1929, p. 178
income (around 80 percent), which was also the common pattern overall in the study for working-class and lower middle-class families, where the average male wage was at 3223.80 and the average family income was at 3810.90 kr in Sweden. The proportion is also almost the same between the mean male wage and the average family income. The mean family yearly income of the Borås families gave an assessed mean weekly income of 73 kr for the family. The implication of this is that the mean lent sum from the Borås pawnshop, under assumption that these pieces of information are representative, stood for about 18 percent of the ordinary Borås family’s weekly income (excluding the middle class).

There were also other sources of income for the family. There’s information in the survey concerning the man’s side earnings, the income of the wife, the children’s contribution and payments in kind. Apart from those sources of income, there were also had remaining cash income and payments in kind. It’s quite notable for Borås that the wife’s income was quite high in the working-class and lower middle-class families, averaging 189.1 kronor or circa 5 percent of the family income. Compared to the overall figures for the wages of wives, which were at 58.10 kronor and 1.5 %, the incomes of wives in Borås were indeed quite high. This disparity of Borås can probably be explained by the large home industry in Borås and the fact that the textile industry employed a relatively many married women. The question is if the married couple pooled all their incomes or whether they kept an individual component. The interesting question then is whether the wife only operated within the confines of a family economy or whether she had an individual economy. This might have a great impact on her pawning practices. Did she only pawn for the collective, her family, or did she pawn for herself? The wives were also a large part of the pawnshop’s customers. A third of the pawn loans were taken by persons titled as “wife” in the pawn loan journal. In any case, the mean lent sum of the pawn loan represents around seven percent of the wife’s yearly income and it nearly represents all of her average monthly income (circa 84 %). Thus the relation of pawning to wage income might change drastically if related to a family wage or an individual wage, which could generate very different pawning patterns.

The category children’s contributions already suggests individual economies of children, wherefrom they contribute to family’s total economy. From the questionnaires one finds out that most families had some sort of agreement regarding the older children’s participation in the family economy. One such agreement is that the family provides everything except clothes to the child.

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251 Ibid., p. 157
252 Ibid., p. 178
253 Sterner, p. 98 and Borås Stads Historia, p. 429-433 mainly on the situation in the 1930s.
probably because the expensiveness of clothes. This particular agreement might also be an effect of the increasing fashion consumption of clothes, which increases the costs of clothes and presumably was more present among the youth rather than married adults or small children. Because the children’s contribution was just a part of their economy and what’s more an unknown part, which probably varied among families, it’s problematic to deduce their total incomes and therefore their income’s relation to the mean lent sum of pawning. Franzén has though noted that for an errand boy (sv. Springsjas or Springpojke) that the norm of a weekly pay of 15 kronor, where 12 kronor left with the family or 80 % (though there are deviations). Their contribution in Borås was much smaller than the income of wives, 91.8 kronor and circa 2 %, which is somewhat lower than the overall amount (125 kronor and 3 %). With Franzén proposed the children would contribute in average 73.4 kronor to the household, keeping 18.4 kronor for themselves. It's also worth noting that the relation between the incomes of wives and children were reversed in Borås. Other cash incomes (sick pay, gifts, interest, lodging incomes) amassed quite a large amount in Borås (227.60 kr and circa 6 %).

The things a pawn loan could buy

What kind of costs could a pawn loan be used for? What kind of needs could be satisfied with the money from a pawn loan? This heading will discuss the possible consumption arising from pawn loans. The main idea is to compare the sums made available from borrowing at the pawnshop with the consumption of the working and lower middle class, as evident from the living cost survey 1922-23. Therefore this heading will start with a short anatomy of the consumption of families from the working and lower middle classes in Borås.

In general there was a slight surplus of 46.89 kronor. According to the living cost surveys of 1922-23 it becomes obvious, not surprisingly, that food was a large component of the family budget. It occupied around 40-45 % or around 1 600 – 1 700 kronor of the Borås working and lower middle class budget. This was the single largest component of the family budget. The second largest article was in fact clothes and shoes, while the third was housing costs (rents or mortgages). Taxes also occupied a large minority share of the budget. If one studies both the Borås and the overall budget, one notices the lack of differences both relative and absolute. The largest differences in both a relative and absolute aspect was in taxes – where Borås paid close to 50 kronor less in taxes in average or around 15 percent less than the overall budget. Borås were quite in line with the general family budget according to the Living Cost Survey 1922/23. As can be perceived from the table, most of the “weekly” average costs implicates that most cost could be covered by an ordinary pawn loan –

Allmän levnadskostnadsundersökning 1922-1923 (hushållsböcker). One such example is found in volume 14, no. 591.

Franzén, p. 218-219

Levnadskostnaderna i Städer och Industriorter omkring år 1923, p. 178
providing that the costs were evenly divided over the year. This is unlikely considering certain costs like hospital care, though such goods would not be purchased by everyone, unlike necessary costs like food, housing and fuel. This also strengthens the idea that the pawn loan above all was a complementary loan to the weekly income.

Table 5.1.6. The distribution of costs in the living cost survey of 1922/23.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of products</th>
<th>Borås Kronor</th>
<th>Weekly, kr</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>In general for working class and lower middle class families Kronor</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and pleasure substances</td>
<td>1693,9</td>
<td>32,58</td>
<td>44,90 %</td>
<td>1635,5</td>
<td>42,69 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td>342,9</td>
<td>6,59</td>
<td>9,09 %</td>
<td>376,2</td>
<td>9,82 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light</td>
<td>182,8</td>
<td>3,52</td>
<td>4,85 %</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>4,33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes and Shoes</td>
<td>520,7</td>
<td>10,01</td>
<td>13,80 %</td>
<td>533,6</td>
<td>13,93 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>250,8</td>
<td>4,82</td>
<td>6,65 %</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>7,75 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>185,4</td>
<td>3,57</td>
<td>4,91 %</td>
<td>170,3</td>
<td>4,45 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association and insurance fees</td>
<td>154,4</td>
<td>2,97</td>
<td>4,09 %</td>
<td>186,1</td>
<td>4,86 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The education of children</td>
<td>20,5</td>
<td>0,39</td>
<td>0,54 %</td>
<td>30,7</td>
<td>0,80 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>45,9</td>
<td>0,88</td>
<td>1,22 %</td>
<td>39,3</td>
<td>1,03 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>8,6</td>
<td>0,17</td>
<td>0,23 %</td>
<td>12,9</td>
<td>0,34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing materials, postage, phone</td>
<td>14,2</td>
<td>0,27</td>
<td>0,38 %</td>
<td>21,8</td>
<td>0,57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing and ironing outside the home</td>
<td>6,6</td>
<td>0,13</td>
<td>0,17 %</td>
<td>8,2</td>
<td>0,21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning agents</td>
<td>37,3</td>
<td>0,72</td>
<td>0,99 %</td>
<td>43,2</td>
<td>1,13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital care</td>
<td>46,9</td>
<td>0,90</td>
<td>1,24 %</td>
<td>59,7</td>
<td>1,56 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>12,5</td>
<td>0,24</td>
<td>0,33 %</td>
<td>13,2</td>
<td>0,34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home help</td>
<td>5,6</td>
<td>0,11</td>
<td>0,15 %</td>
<td>15,2</td>
<td>0,40 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts</td>
<td>91,4</td>
<td>1,76</td>
<td>2,42 %</td>
<td>63,7</td>
<td>1,66 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment and amusements</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0,67</td>
<td>0,93 %</td>
<td>23,8</td>
<td>0,62 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travels</td>
<td>59,7</td>
<td>1,15</td>
<td>1,58 %</td>
<td>75,6</td>
<td>1,97 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on loans</td>
<td>4,6</td>
<td>0,09</td>
<td>0,12 %</td>
<td>7,9</td>
<td>0,21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining</td>
<td>52,5</td>
<td>1,01</td>
<td>1,39 %</td>
<td>50,8</td>
<td>1,33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sum</strong></td>
<td><strong>3772,2</strong></td>
<td><strong>72,54</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,00 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>3830,7</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,00 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Living Cost Survey in Borås for working class and lower middle class families.

The category for food (and pleasure substances) had though a much higher weekly cost than the ordinary pawn loan (nearly two and half times bigger). This was the only weekly average cost that was larger than the mean lent sum and in fact than most of the pawn loans. It was also truly a weekly cost, or even a daily cost in the world before the widespread usage of the refrigerator and with almost no access to cars for transportation. The timing of costs is actually quite important if a

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257 Sv. Födo och njutningsämnen
258 Sv. Sjukvård.
259 Sv. Hälsovård.
260 Sv. Arbets hjälp i hemmet.
single pawn loan would finance the (whole) cost. As mentioned food costs were costs with almost a daily occurrence – thus could pawn loans quite easily at least finance the food costs of the last few days of the weekly or monthly cycle of the family’s wages. The second largest category, clothes and shoes, differentiate from this daily frequency, where purchases of either were on yearly basis and obviously required a rather large financial effort considering that almost 15% of the yearly expenses went to clothes.\textsuperscript{261} The consumers in those years probably still calculated that the clothes and shoes would last and be used for several years, even though fashion consumption might perhaps have been on the rise for the older children. This probably obviates pawn loans at least as the single source of finance for more expensive clothes.

The recurrences of costs or their rhythm are therefore quite important to the finance potential of the pawn loan. If one takes a look at the table one finds several rhythms of varying type. Some were bought on yearly or even less frequent, like furnishings and health care. Sometimes they could even be considered as one-time costs. Other costs occur based on a frequency set by another party in a contractual obligation, usually because the consumption is continuous and has no determinate end. These costs are for example rent, mortgages, insurances and association fees. The frequency of paying these costs is usually set to some cycle, whether weekly, monthly or yearly. There are also seasonal costs – perhaps most pronounced in category of fuel and light, where colder temperatures in autumn and winter necessitate an increase in fuel. The rhythms of cost also decide the weekly, monthly or yearly average was the most important in deciding the cost per occurrence. Many costs on yearly basis couldn’t probably be financed by pawn loans, more than to complement them. Of course these more irregular or less frequent costs might generate pawn loans as they could tip an otherwise balanced economy. The weekly and daily costs could probably be paid by pawn loans except for total of the weekly food. Interestingly pawn loans could fully finance rent costs and other dwelling costs, which doesn’t seem to have been such a heavy cost, being less than ten percent of the total expenses. After having talked about the rhythms of the costs the attention will turn to the rhythms of pawns.

\textit{The rhythms of pawns}

The overall rhythm of pawn loans has already been discussed in the general chapter on Borås Pawnshop.\textsuperscript{262} The distribution of pawn loans was somewhat concentrated between April and July, while being low in February and December, if one included the renewed loans. If the focus was exclusively on new loans then the top in July becomes clearer while a new peak emerges in October. The winter period, excluding the exception January, becomes a low period. Clear rhythms surfaced in

\textsuperscript{261} Do note that the category includes various kinds of reparations and maintenance.

\textsuperscript{262} Not included, see appendix for graphs.
the number of pawn loans administered at the Borås pawnshop. Fascinatingly there was also a very clear rhythm in renewal of loans – where almost two thirds were undertaken in Mars, June, September and November.

Were there likewise patterns also for different kinds of collateral? The focus will be only on the quantitatively important categories of pawns: clothes and shoes along with jewellery and watches. This is because they are the only categories with sufficient numbers of observation.

Fig 5.1.2. The percentage distribution of clothes and shoes respective jewellery and shoes.

Loans with either Clothes and Shoes or Jewellery and Watches on the first pawn category as collateral by their percentage distribution on monthly basis. The distribution is thus approximate.

The two categories follow each other and the general picture quite closely. The movements in winter and spring are quite similar, while they differentiate in the summer month of June and July, where each has a spike. But clothes and shoes have also a similar spike in October, and smaller ones in January and April.
The pawn categories by their percent of the pawns by month. This figure is using the first pawn category and therefore this isn’t the whole picture, though it should provide an appropriate approximation.

If the perspective is changed to the percent distribution of collateral per month for either category a more pronounced pattern for the category of clothes and shoes is found. Clothes and shoes are the majority of pawns in several months, but with some rather large falls in some months. For January, April, May, July and October more than 50 % of the loans were made with clothes and shoes as collateral. For February, Mars and June clothes and shoes were collateral in around 40 % of the loans. Mars and June is even under 40 %. Clothes and shoes were nonetheless never smaller than any other
category of collateral. However the development of pawning clothes was almost mirrored by the pawning of jewellery and watches. They seem to be closely intertwined, possibly because their large share of the trade. What could be the reason for these changes?

One reason could be that the use value of certain clothes was related to the seasonal changes, in other words winter and summer clothes. Jewellery might then function as a substitute for clothes when the use value of clothes was more important than the monetary value of pawning them. However this might be a somewhat doubtful conclusion, but the pawn values of rings were not that much larger compared to clothes (and in comparison with suits the value was quite much smaller). Most families have some jewellery in the form of a wedding ring, which could be a suitable alternative to clothes. Exceptions to these patterns can be seen in the first figure where jewellery quite closely follows clothes in December through to February. However this doesn’t quite explain the spike of June for jewellery, where winter clothes should be quite attractive as collateral as there was no use for them. Perhaps winter clothes had already been pawned in April and May (where around 19 per cent of all loans with clothes or shoes\(^{263}\) were undertaken), but why then were most clothes pawned in the next month of July? The October spike might likewise be explained by pawning of summer clothes, but then came November and December, two months with low activity for pawn loans based on clothes. In January the activity expanded to once more contract in February and Mars. The period November to Mars is then to be considered a low period for clothes, except for January. This might have been caused by an increased demand due to the costs of Christmas. This could also be two different groups with different seasonal needs for pawning, but where the other has the means to utilise jewellery.

The time in the pawnshop

The length of time spent in the pawnshop for the collateral could show the demand for the use value of the thing in pawn. In essence the demand for the collateral’s use value to the pawner should be more important or more frequent the less time it spends in the pawnshop. This points out the difference between a continuous (or close to) use value of a pawn (for instance something used every day like a bike or a wedding ring) and a discrete use value, where the use value can be absent in the intervals between a certain frequency of use value. Take for instance, Sunday clothes, which couldn’t really be used in the quotidian part of the week, but are necessary garments on Sundays if the family won’t suffer shame and loss of social capital. Their use value on Monday through to Saturday were absent, while the need of the use value was very high on Sundays.\(^{264}\) The more frequent the discrete use value, the higher demand of getting the pawn out of the pawnshop. It’s

\(^{263}\) Not just those in the first pawn category, which the same figure is however also 19 %.

\(^{264}\) Johnson, p. 181-183
interesting that this of course incurs a cost as the pawner must pay the loan. The higher the monetary value the pawner is willing to give up within shorter time frame, the more important the use value.

Table 5.1.7. Confidence intervals for time spent in the pawnshop until payment or renewal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confidence interval (95 %) for mean</th>
<th>Lower bound</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Upper bound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...for Clothes and Shoes</td>
<td>60 days</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Diverse</td>
<td>47 days</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>154 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Jewellery and Watches</td>
<td>107 days</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>130 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Bicycles</td>
<td>103 days</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>168 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Textiles</td>
<td>124 days</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>169 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Objects of Work and Hobby</td>
<td>109 days</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>189 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Utility objects</td>
<td>100 days</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>200 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Bonds</td>
<td>160 days</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>192 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Spare time objects</td>
<td>66 days</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>287 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...for Decorative home objects</td>
<td>179 days</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>225 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99 days</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>110 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 % Confidence interval for mean (with the point estimate for mean) for days in the pawnshop between borrowing date and payment/renewal date. Order by point estimate for mean. Loans with any pawn in the category are used in the table.

There were quite large differences between different kinds of collateral and the number of days spent in the pawnshop. The time spent for all loans in the pawnshop was divided in within a week (0-7 days, 22.4 % of the loans), a week to a month (8-31 days, 16.9 %), a month to a quarter (32-93 days, 15.2 %), a quarter to a half a year (94 days-182 days, 13.3 %), half a year to a year (183-365 days, 25.2 %) and above one year (>365 days, 0.8 %). 6.2 % were auctioned off. Clothes and shoes spent quite markedly the smallest period of time in the pawnshop. The confidence interval is only 60-74 days. The point estimate is around 36 percent less than the mean of all pawns. Clothes and shoes were also collateral in 75 percent of the loan secured within a week, which happened to 37 percent of the loans secured with clothes and shoes.265 Almost 60 % of the loans secured with clothes or shoes were paid or renewed within a month. Clearly there was quite a high frequency of the use value or a rather important continuous use value. Clothes and shoes can be placed in both categories, as everyday clothes have a sort of continuous use value especially if the pawner has few alternative clothes to the ones pawned. If the category of clothes of shoes is

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265 Granted naturally that they were repaid or renewed, otherwise the share is 35 % (i.e. including the auctioned pawns). Unless else is specified auctions are excluded from calculations concerning the length of stay in the pawnshop.
compared to category of jewellery and watches then several differences are found. Even though the category of jewellery and watches had a relative low mean days spent in the pawnshop until paid or renewed, the category can’t be compared to the category of clothes and shoes. A t-test shows clearly that there are positive differences between the mean of jewellery and watches compared to that of clothes and shoes.\textsuperscript{266} Clothes and shoes seem to have stayed noticeably shorter time than jewellery and watches. Only around 17 percent of the loans with jewellery or watches as collateral were either renewed or paid within a week and around a third within a month. Actually the category of jewellery and watches was quite evenly distributed up to a year in the pawnshop. The exception those loans that were left in the pawnshop for half a year to one year, which were almost a third of the loans (31 \%) in jewellery and watches. Unlike clothes and shoes this category had more pawn loans in the end tail of a year rather than at the starting tail.

Nevertheless the category of jewellery and watches included loans that were paid or renewed within one week or one month. This was not the case for decorative home objects or bonds.\textsuperscript{267} Of pawn loans based on bonds or decorative home objects 49 \% respectively 65 \% were renewed or paid between half a year and one year. Apparently there was no great need of getting these items out of the pawnshop – not surprisingly as bonds were a form of saving and decorative home objects chiefly provided a decorative effect in the home. However there were other categories with many pawn loans between half a year and one year – namely textiles, bicycles, utility objects and objects of work and hobby. These categories had between 37 \% - 44 \% of their pawn loans paid or renewed between half a year and one year. Textiles can maybe be explained by the situation of the home industry and independent tailors but also by that some pawns in the category had only decorative function. In the textile home industry there was a large freedom of choice regarding time of delivery of the finished goods for the workers.\textsuperscript{268} This freedom might have been used to turn textiles to money needed in the present. However consumption textiles useful in the home like bedclothes also stayed a long time at the pawnshop. Whereas 38 \% of the loans with cloth as collateral were paid or renewed between 184 – 365 days, 52 \% of loans with bedclothes were paid or renewed in the same time span. Perhaps bedclothes had become cheap enough that people could own several alternatives. Interestingly utility objects and work- or hobby-related objects also had this tendency for a long stay. Bicycles, though their continuous use value as a transport means (except in winter), weren’t gotten out of the pawnshop fast. Only one bicycle were paid or renewed within a week and

\textsuperscript{266} T=7,407 and p-value less than .000 with 95 \% confidence interval of the difference 37 days to 64 days more for jewelry and watches (equal variances not assumed). Based only on the first pawn category, as it’s impossible to perform such tests with overlaps.

\textsuperscript{267} Also for spare time objects, but there were so few pawn loans secured with this category (only four), that it’s meaningless to make any conclusions.

\textsuperscript{268} Sterner, p. 43-45 gives a picture of flexibility (in this case for Sjuhåradsbygden’s home weavers).
56 percent were in the pawnshop between a quarter of a year to one year. Overall there seems to be longer stays in the pawnshop than what international research suggests regarding weekly pawning. A little more than 50 % of all loans (and renewals) were renewed or paid after a month. Combining this figure with the auctions the proportion increased to over 60 % of all loans.

These differences could of course have been caused by differences in lent sum – in other words the more expensive it was to pay the loan, the longer the pawns stays at the pawnshop. There was a tendency for larger loans to have longer stays at the pawnshop. However the effect is first visible in loans above 15 kronor and the trend wasn’t continuously increasing. Also this does not preclude a tendency for those pawns with a more important use value to stay a shorter time in the pawnshop.

Table 5.1.8. The mean time spent in the pawnshop over different lent sums.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lent sum</th>
<th>Confidence interval for mean days in the pawnshop (95 %)</th>
<th>Percent of pawns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 – 5 kronor</td>
<td>84 days to 106 days</td>
<td>30.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – 10 kronor</td>
<td>84 days to 103 days</td>
<td>33.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – 15 kronor</td>
<td>83 days to 112 days</td>
<td>13.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 20 kronor</td>
<td>95 days to 136 days</td>
<td>7.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 – 25 kronor</td>
<td>128 days to 168 days</td>
<td>7.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 30 kronor</td>
<td>106 days to 161 days</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;= 31 kronor</td>
<td>147 days to 208 days</td>
<td>3.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Confidence interval for mean days (with point estimate of mean) in the pawnshop before renewal/payment grouped by weighted lent sum. The table also includes percent of pawns in each bin of weighted lent sum.

Most pawn loans had weighted lent sums between 0-15 kronor (somewhat above 75 %). In this range the increase of the lent sum didn’t seem to have an effect on the days spent in the pawnshop. However as said in the remaining loans above 15 kronor seems to be under some effect of an increasing stay at the pawnshop caused by increasing lent sum. If the two groups (below 16 kronor and above or equal to 16 kronor) are compared in a t-test then a positive difference is highly significant.\textsuperscript{269} However this doesn’t necessarily mean that the kinds of collateral don’t have any effect on the length of stay at the pawnshop. This might be solved if the effect of increasingly valuable loans is broken down over the categories.

\textsuperscript{269} T=6.412, with p-value less than .000 and confidence interval of the difference (95 %) of 30 days to 57 days.*
Fig. 5.1.4. Mean time spent in the pawnshop over collateral and lent sums.

Mean days spent in the pawnshop based on the weighted lent sum broken down over certain categories of collateral (Clothes and Shoes, Textiles, Bicycles, Decorative home objects, Bonds and Jewellery and Watches). Based on the first pawn category, therefore an approximate view.

The figure above gives a picture of the interaction between lent sums and category of collateral. Some categories have a tendency of increasing lent sums leading to increasing mean days spent in the pawnshop. This seems to be the general picture for clothes and shoes along with jewellery and watches. Though it can be noticed that clothes and shoes, despite their increasing tendency, have the shortest stays (with the exception of loans 26-30 kronor, where they’re roughly similar to jewellery and watches). An increasing tendency was however not the general case. Decorative home objects seems to have quite constant mean days spent between loan and payment, around 200 days in mean, with the exception of the textiles with pawn values above 20 kronor, which actually had a somewhat lower mean. This picture of constancy seems to be true for pawned bonds too, though a
notable exception were those with a value of 6-10 kronor, which had marked higher mean days in the pawnshop. This was though only two loans (and one loan for the category 11-15 kronor). For the almost 90 percent of the loans with bonds as collateral had lent sums above 20 kronor, the mean days spent in the pawnshop is almost constant (do note that almost 60 % of the loans were in 21-25 kronor). Bicycles seem to have had another pattern with splintered categories. A marked difference between pawned bicycles for 6-15 kronor (around 20 %) and those with lent sum of 16 kronor and above (around 80 %), but consistent means within these groups.

Renewal and auction
In the sample 17 percent of the loans were renewed\footnote{In other words, they were mentioned in the loans journal because they were being renewed.} and 6 percent were auctioned off (or at least lacked payment date). 1.5 percent had been renewed and was later auctioned off. Renewals and auctions have opposite relations to use value. Renewals might suggest an important use value or some emotional connection between the pawner and the pawn. Renewal is in any case a sign of importance of the collateral to the pawner. The pawner wants to retain the pawn, even though he or she can’t pay the loan at the moment. The auction might on the other hand suggest an indifference to the pawn as well as financial inability to pay the loan. Of course a pawner might lose a thing which he or she would most certainly want to retain. However only 6 percent were auctioned off, in other words the large majority of pawns returned to their owner (or were renewed by the owner), suggesting some measure of free will in the decision of letting a pawn go to auction. At least the decision might not have been wholly determined by financial necessity. In the sample there was quite a marked difference in mean lent sum between those collaterals paid for and those auctioned off, where those auctioned off were in average less valuable (11.56 kronor against 13.30 kronor). This was however not a significant difference.\footnote{T=1.526, p-value=.130 and confidence interval (95 %): -.521 – 3.998 (equal variance not assumed).} Yet it suggests that the collateral left for auction was generally less valuable, which means that it would have been simpler to pay for a new thing. The interest of paying for it might be less because of the lesser monetary value. Of course the lower mean could also be explained by those pawns auctioned off had been pawned by poorer people with lesser incomes and smaller material wealth.

Were there any differences between categories of pawns in consideration of renewals and auctions?
Table 5.1.9. Renewals and auctions for different kinds of collateral.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percent renewed</th>
<th>Percent of renewals</th>
<th>Percent auctioned off</th>
<th>Percent of auctions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothes and Shoes</td>
<td>6.2 %</td>
<td>17.5 %</td>
<td>4.1 %</td>
<td>31.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>35.2 %</td>
<td>15.0 %</td>
<td>5.7 %</td>
<td>6.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>29.5 %</td>
<td>5.3 %</td>
<td>11.4 %</td>
<td>5.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative home objects</td>
<td>46.1 %</td>
<td>14.2 %</td>
<td>13.2 %</td>
<td>11.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
<td>40.0 %</td>
<td>12.2 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and Watches</td>
<td>18.9 %</td>
<td>28.5 %</td>
<td>7.3 %</td>
<td>29.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and hobby objects</td>
<td>17.1 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>14.6 %</td>
<td>6.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility objects</td>
<td>25.9 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>14.8 %</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare time objects</td>
<td>33.3 %</td>
<td>0.8 %</td>
<td>33.3 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>8.3 %</td>
<td>0.8 %</td>
<td>8.3 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16.8 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.2 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Share of categories of collateral (based on the first pawn category) renewed and auctioned off along with their share of the renewals and auctions.

There are marked differences between the categories of collateral. High shares of renewals support the picture that certain categories stayed for a long time in the pawnshop. For bonds and decorative home objects above 40 % were renewed. They were also those categories with longest stays in the pawnshop. Remember that the data tracks only renewals with loans that have been renewed, not loans that were to be renewed in the future. That bonds and decorative home object had long stays at the pawnshop is corroborated by that they had a large share of renewals. This was also true for textiles. It’s notable also that clothes and shoes had the lowest renewals of all categories, a sign of the rather fast movement of clothes and shoes within the pawnshop. Jewellery and watches had a rather large number of renewals. Almost a fifth was renewed, which also makes this the largest pawn category among the renewed loans. Nearly a third of the renewed pawn loans were of jewellery and watches and it was quite much larger than any other category.

When the perspective is turned to auctions then a somewhat different image arise. A similarity is though that very few clothes and shoes were left to auction. It’s the second smallest category. This strengthens the conclusion that clothes and shoes rarely were left any longer time at the pawnshop and they were rarely let go off probably because of their use value. Remember also that clothes and shoes occupied a large section of the family budget. There were economic reasons to stick to the already owned clothes instead of buying new ones. Likely the ready-made clothing industry hadn’t lowered the price as to make clothes and shoes a cheap item. On the other hand an interesting difference ascends between bonds and decorative home objects. No bonds were auctioned off, while decorative home objects had one of the largest shares of auctions. Bonds could clearly be left in the
pawnshop for quite some time, considering their large shares of renewals, but they weren’t let go off easily. This condition was probably related to the usage of bonds – long-term saving. Decorative home objects had on the other hand only a small continuous (with some exceptions) use value, in the form of decorating the home. They created a comfortable home, but also a presentable home. However since these objects were physically confined to the home, the presentable façade they were creating for their owners were also confined to the home. This can be contrasted to clothes, which were worn in public spaces of varying kind. This meant that clothes unlike home objects of decorative use were and is much more open to the gaze of strangers, colleagues and superiors. The decisions of these persons could have quite a large impact on the life of the pawner, while at the same the time the pawner had no obligation to invite them to their home. Clothes had a public presentable function, while the home was a private and restricted space. This home façade might have also been less valuable for workers, which also were the majority of the pawners\footnote{See chapter 5.2.}, as their work relations were consistently based in the factory. They had less need of a presentable home, other than to impress neighbours. This might explain both the lesser time in the pawnshop and the lesser rate of auctions of clothes and shoes compared to decorative home objects.\footnote{This also upholds in a t-test (equal variances not assumed), t=2.266, p-value = .026 and confidence interval of difference .011 -.169. Based on the first category of pawns.}

Auctions consisted mainly of jewellery and watches with clothes and shoes (almost 63 % of all pawn loans that were auctioned off).\footnote{Based on all loans with at least one of either category. Individually clothes and shoes stood for 33 % of all auctions, jewellery and watches 30 %. None were overlapping.} This is likely because of their large numbers. It’s noticeable though that their share of the total loans were larger (72 %) than their share of the auctions. Jewellery and watches had a somewhat larger share of auctions than clothes and shoes, which also a t-test show is a valid conclusion.\footnote{T=2.022, p-value=.044 and confidence interval of difference: .001-.062 (equal variance not assumed). Based on the first category of pawns.}

Practices and collateral – a summary

Under this heading a summary concerning patterns of pawning and collateral will be made. It will therefore replace a summary of the chapter. There has been found large differences between collateral of different kinds. One obvious is the lent sum, but other more obscure differences have also been found, like seasonal differences and differences in length of stay at the pawnshop.

Clothes and shoes were the most common articles of the Borås pawnshop. Almost half of the pawn loans had been secured with clothes and shoes. Being the far most common collateral means that it fashioned most of the overall features of borrowing. Clothes and shoes were however somewhat less valuable compared to the rest of the pawns. A pawner could in general thus expect
less of loan on clothes, except on suits, which had a rather large mean weighted pawn value of about 17 kronor, quite far above the mean weighted pawn value. It had some seasonal differences, where January, April, May, July and October were peaks. This could relate to the seasonal change of garments, in other words winter clothes were pawned in summer and vice versa with summer clothes. However some odd movements were found, like the drop in June and the peak of January (though this is probably related to Christmas). The seasonal movements seem to be mirrored by the movements of jewellery and watches. Clothes and shoes spent the smallest amount of time in the pawnshop. This has been deduced as partly to an important or highly frequent use value of clothes combined with the low pawn value of clothes. Strengthening this conclusion about the pattern of the practice is that few loans with clothes and shoes were renewed and few were auctioned off.

Jewellery and watches were the second largest category of pawns. Together with clothes and shoes, these two categories were involved in above 70% of all loans. The average pawn value of jewellery and watches was somewhat larger than for clothes and shoes, but was about the mean value of all pawns. The seasonal movements mirrored those of clothes and shoes, suggesting that jewellery and watches worked as substitute for clothes and shoes. There are no obvious seasonal uses for either rings or watches, as both have a continuous use value, unlike with clothes and shoes. A wedding ring signals marriage (and the absence of a wedding ring on a married woman might signal foul play) regardless of season, as well as a watch shows the time. The time spent in the pawnshop for jewellery and watches were somewhat evenly distributed over a year, though the second half was considerable larger in separate comparison with the categories of the first half (though combined they were larger). This stands out in comparison with clothes and shoes. Renewals were quite frequent, more than clothes and shoes, which indicates that the jewellery and watches tended to stay longer at the pawnshop, while at the same time they were valuable enough to prolong the loan.

The two categories with the longest time spent at the pawnshop were bonds and decorative home objects. Most of the loans in these categories were also in the pawnshop until payment (or renewal) between half a year to a year. These categories had also large share of renewals. But one of the main differences was that no bonds were auctioned off, unlike decorative home objects which had a rather high auction rate. Bonds were financial instruments for long-term saving and had little alternative value unless sold on a secondary market. But that would abolish the whole idea with pawning bonds. Decorative home objects had a small use-value and their absence from their owner was less visible for the public than for instance Sunday clothes. Decorative home objects had also

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Disregarding the very small category of spare time objects.
rather average (weighted) pawn value, even though it was less than the overall mean. Bonds on the other hand were the second most valuable pawn which had also a very consistent monetary value.

Bicycles were the second most valuable category of pawns, not far from bonds. Bicycles was in the middle concerning the number of days spent in the pawnshop, but had rather large number of renewals, which shows that many people wanted to keep their bicycle. At the same time the number of auctions was somewhat large, which is argument against that conclusion, but at the same time the average pawn value was large, complicating the analysis. Textiles had also a large number of renewals, but fewer loans were auctioned off. The category had one of the lowest means concerning the lent sum, yet it weren’t auctioned off, maybe because quite a large number of loans were based on raw materials for the home industry and tailors. The focus of the essay will now shift in the next chapter, from the pawns to the pawners.

5.2. Gender and occupational differences in pawning

These two strands of differences, occupational and gender, might seem divergent, but they were really intertwined in both the source material and the historical reality. In a certain sense these differences concerns the labour of a person, whether it’s the unpaid domestic kind or the kind within monetary and contractual relations. The presence of monetary exchange will of course be of importance to the individual’s economy. It will be also of importance if the individual was in possession of an individual economic sphere or whether the individual was fully incorporated in a family economy. Singles might have an individual economy primarily, but they might also rely on family and kin connections. Adult children living with their parents is a prime example of living in dual economies – one individual economy based perhaps on the child’s own wage and one family economy to which the child contributes according to some agreement. Men who were the prime wage-earner had probably also these dual economies. In past research it was usually concluded that the wife had the prime responsibility for the household finance. She was the financial manager of the family.277 The question is whether the wife also had these dual economies. Were all her individual endeavours in attaining money only for the family economy or did she have a private, individual economy? Attaining money must be understood in a wide fashion, it could be regular full time work, home work – or from the pawnshop.

277 Tebbutt, Melanie, p. 37-38
Table 5.2.1. Loans by occupation group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wide occupational group</th>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>45.8 %</td>
<td>5.8 %</td>
<td>Construction worker</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7.1 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>8.1 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Industry worker</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>13.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Farm worker</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Service worker</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
<td>14.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transport worker</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other civil service worker</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.8 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other workers</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5.6 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4.7 %</td>
<td>1.5 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>12.2 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>33.9 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar employee or student</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.9 %</td>
<td>8.3 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Pawners</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple occupations in one loan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1468</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>38.1 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number and percentage of pawn loans per occupational group, occupation and sex. Sex percentages based on the percentage of females among those identifiable to either sex (approximately 3.1 % not identified and 0.1 % had two pawners of either sex).

Most loans were taken by three groups, workers, wives and militaries (from the regiment of I15 in Borås). In almost 92 % of the loans in this sample were the pawners identified as belonging to these groups. Of course many of the wives were probably married to a worker as it was probably mostly low income households that utilised the pawnshop and most of the male pawners were workers. Therefore were probably more loans generated from working-class families than this sample shows. It’s not as likely that wives were married to military men. Many of the military men were either drafted or volunteered. Therefore they ought to be quite young and probably not married. Military men were usually taken out of their relational network, as they usually were stationed outside of their hometown, which affected their economy. They had less of a possibility to borrow money from their family or friends, which made the pawnshop good alternative. Their low monetary income (as most of their consumption were provided by the military) made it also likely that they utilised the pawnshop. Though somewhat restricted in the regard of material wealth, they probably had the possibility to store civilian clothes and the like at their base. The small share of white-collar employees and students affirm that most households utilising the pawnshop were probably low-
income households – and it’s not for certain that every member in this group were affluent or had high incomes. The group called entrepreneurs were mostly farmers and traders, two groups not necessarily wealthy although they had their own enterprise. Loans taken by those understood as unemployed (they lacked any information about occupation) were very few. This doesn’t necessarily mean that unemployed did not utilise the pawnshop. Instead they are probably hidden under their occupational identity. An unemployed, for example a former bricklayer, would probably have answered bricklayer to the question of occupation. Therefore it’s rather occupational identity than actual employment that is measured.

Quite interestingly is that in the pawnshop of the textile town of Borås, the textile workers aren’t that visible. Industry workers stood for 13% of the loans and made slightly more loans than military men. This category consisted of a relative majority of textile workers (circa 40% of the loans), with lesser shares for factory workers in general (25%) and metal and machine workers (ca 30%). Industry workers in other occupations made only around 5% of the loans. It’s quite likely that many of those denoted as factory workers were working in the textile, tricot and garment industry. It’s also likely that many of the wives were married to a man working in these industries. Hence it’s probable that the importance of families relying on a textile workers’ pay is underestimated as borrowers at the pawnshop. Other important groups among workers were construction workers, service workers, transport workers and craftsman. All groups were to larger (construction workers) or smaller degree (craftsman) involved in the production of a city. Construction workers produce the physical space of the city, while transport workers upheld flows of goods and people throughout the city. Among service workers there were those working in distribution (trade and storekeeping) and communication (city messengers). Other groups, both craftsmen and service workers, were concerned with rather basic services to humans, such as tailors, cobblers, maintenance workers and barbers. This was a review of the distribution of loans based on occupation, but how many actual persons were behind these loans? Which groups borrowed most per person?

**Number of persons**

From the sample has 744 persons been reconstructed, which has been a necessary operation as the pawners has lacked any unique personal identification (like an ID number). Consequently it has been necessary to puzzle together the persons based on the loans (reasonably) belonging to a unique person – a somewhat daunting task. It’s likely that the number of persons have been slightly overestimated in order not to attribute loans not belonging to the person in question. As the sample contains 1470 loans (and renewals), it’s obvious that the loans per person were rather small (1.98

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278 In some cases there are difficulties of categorizing them as workers or as entrepreneurs.
279 See more in the methodology chapter.
loans per person). Under the assumption that this is not a figure out of bounds for 1922 and 1923, then about 2,500 persons 1922 and 2,200 persons 1923 made a pawn loan at the Borås pawnshop. This translates into circa 9% respectively circa 7% of the population. Hence the pawners of the Borås pawnshop were a small minority in the city. The general pattern among pawners seems also to have been that a pawn loan was an occasional source of money, not a possibility employed on a more regular basis. The need for pawn loans was thus occasionally, most of the time it seems as the pawnner either could survive on their incomes from their labour or found some other source of financial relief. However this wasn’t true for all pawners.

Table 5.2.2. Distribution of loans per pawnner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of loans</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Males281</th>
<th>% of males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>% of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One loan</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>71.8%</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-6 loans</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 loans</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-24 loans</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 24 loans</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean loans</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of persons based on the number of loans they have taken, as well as sex-divided statistics.

Indeed most persons did only taken one pawn loan (based on the sample, therefore some might have borrowed more than one loan under the period but were missed by the sample) but about 30% is found to be returning customers during the year. It’s also interesting that there’s a quite clear gender divide. Even though many women were found to make only one loan, the share of women taking more than one loan were much larger than the male counterpart (50% of all females against 28% of the males). In general males are found to borrow in average 1.6 loans, while women were found to borrow 3.4 loans. This renders a significant difference between the two groups, also when the top group is cleared off.282 It also means that fewer women frequented the pawnshop than men.

280 Kungliga Statistiska Centralbyrån, *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige 1924*, 1924, p. 8 (1922 29,524 persons in Borås and 1923 30,345 persons). In 1922 there were 4,991 loans and in 1923 4,302 loans. Note that this mixes renewed loans (from the database) with only new loans, resulting in an overestimation of number of persons borrowing at the pawnshop.

281 As is quite obvious some persons are missing from the gender statistics. This is because some pawners have unknown gender and a couple of loans have two pawners.

282 T=2.452 p-value*=.015, confidence interval (95%): 0.346-3.212 loans (equal variances not assumed). When the top group is cleared off: male in average: 1.57 loans, females in average: 2.23 loans. T=3.177, p=.002 and confidence interval (95%): 0.248-1.06 loans (equal variances not assumed).
Only circa 22 % of the customers at the pawnshop were women\textsuperscript{283}, yet they borrowed almost 37 % of all loans. For females the pawnshop seems as a more important factor in the everyday economy, as they quite clearly visited it more often and more regularly. Male pawners seem to have had less of a need to pawn than women. Their visit at the pawnshop was more of an occasional visit than for women. Whether this suggest a more family-based economy for pawning females, in other words the idea that women performed most of the pawning for the family economy, while men pawned for their individual economy, is hard to say. For instance smaller individual economies for females might have driven them to more pawning in order to satisfy their individual needs.

Were there any differences between those who only pawned once (in the sample) and those with several pawn loans? There seems to be a diminishing trend regarding average pawn value per person with increasing number of pawn loans. Those with only one loan had larger pawn value (15.42 kronor) than those with many loans. The difference is negligible though for those with 2-6 loans and those in the next category of 7-12 loans (13.67 kronor and 13.57 kronor). The mean pawn value of the pawner also increases slightly from 13-24 loans to above 24 loans (from 6.62 kronor to 8.68 kronor). There seems also to have been differences in what was being lent. 43 % of the pawners borrowed on clothes and shoes in the sample. In general there seems to be no significant gender difference based on pawning clothes and shoes (in the sample 42 % of the men and 48 % of the women borrowed on clothes or shoes). Borrowing on clothes and shoes was least common in the group that had only been found with one loan in the sample, where only about a third had borrowed on clothes and shoes. This proportion quite rapidly changes in favour of clothes. In the next category with 2-6 pawn loans 63 % of the pawners had borrowed on clothes and shoes. In the two last categories (above 12 loans) everyone had borrowed on clothes and shoes. Quite interestingly 24 % of the loans utilizing clothes and shoes as pawns came from the last category, while 23 % came from those who had borrowed only once and 40 % from those who had borrowed 2-6 times in the sample.

Table 5.2.3. Percentage distribution of pawns over number of loans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of loans</th>
<th>Clothes and Shoes</th>
<th>Textiles</th>
<th>Bicycles</th>
<th>Decorative</th>
<th>Bonds</th>
<th>Jewellery and Watches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One loan</td>
<td>23.3 %</td>
<td>15.0 %</td>
<td>56.8 %</td>
<td>41.5 %</td>
<td>61.3 %</td>
<td>50.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-6 loans</td>
<td>40.3 %</td>
<td>42.5 %</td>
<td>38.6 %</td>
<td>43.9 %</td>
<td>37.3 %</td>
<td>39.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 loans</td>
<td>8.8 %</td>
<td>15.9 %</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
<td>8.5 %</td>
<td>1.3 %</td>
<td>7.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-24 loans</td>
<td>3.7 %</td>
<td>1.8 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 24 loans</td>
<td>23.9 %</td>
<td>24.8 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>3.7 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows the proportion of loans (in either pawn category). For example those that lent one time took 23 % of the loans made with at least one collateral in the clothes and shoes category.

\textsuperscript{283} Calculation based on the group with identifiable sex (and excluding pawners who were two on the loan of both sexes).
This pattern differs for some of the most important categories of pawns. Jewellery and watches, the other large category, had quite a different pattern. Most jewellery and watches were pawned by the pawners with few loans. 89 % of the jewellery and watches were pawned by people with less than seven loans at the pawnshop. Only 3 % of the jewellery and watches pawns were pawned by those who pawned the most. Quite interestingly since the (weighted) average lent sums of clothes and shoes weren’t that much smaller than for jewellery and watches (10.36 kronor against 11.33 kronor). Bicycles and bonds, both with a high mean lent sum, also followed the same pattern (except that no bicycles or bonds were pawned by persons with more than twelve loans). Decorative objects also had this pattern, but at least some objects were lent on by those with most pawns. Textiles followed another pattern, more like clothes and shoes, were relatively few of the pawn loans with textiles were made by those with only one loan (only 15 %), while almost 25 % of the loans were taken by those with most loans. The largest category were however those with 2-6 loans. Obviously was not only the pawn values affected by number of loans, but there were also large difference in the composition of pawns. Clothes, shoes and textiles dominated among those with many loans. As mentioned earlier there was a gender difference in number of loans, did this gender difference also hold for the composition of loans?

Table 5.2.4. The gender divide on collateral.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Clothes and Shoes</th>
<th>Textiles</th>
<th>Bicycles</th>
<th>Decorative</th>
<th>Bonds</th>
<th>Jewellery and Watches</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>58.0 %</td>
<td>13.6 %</td>
<td>1.4 %</td>
<td>6.5 %</td>
<td>2.5 %</td>
<td>13.2 %</td>
<td>95.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41.4 %</td>
<td>3.9 %</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
<td>4.2 %</td>
<td>5.9 %</td>
<td>32.4 %</td>
<td>91.8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage distribution of pawns by gender. The table is constructed by adding the number of loans in each category and then dividing this total by the number of loans. This creates an overestimation of the total number of loans in each group as there can be several pawns in one loan, but it’s the way to create a composition of the pawns.

There were some differences between men’s and women’s pawnning. Women lent mostly on clothes and shoes, but perhaps somewhat surprising, so did men too though at lesser degree (58 % of pawns for females, while 42 % for men). Textiles are a large differentiator, which of women lent on much more than men. Bicycles and bonds are equally typically pawned by men. Interestingly jewellery and watches tend to be also lent on much more by men than women. Women also seemed to have a somewhat smaller range of available pawns, indicated by that the smaller categories of pawn stood for a smaller share of total female pawns than male pawns (8 % against 5 %). Females tended to lend on clothes, shoes, jewellery, watches and textiles, while men lent on clothes, shoes, jewellery and watches. They also had more access to high pawns with high value, like bicycles and bonds. It’s interesting that the men’s objects of pawn tended to be connected to the body and especially the aesthetic aspects. Of course in this age most of the pawns have some functionality, maybe even if
the aesthetic effect is dominating. Wedding rings adorns the body, but does also have signalling function. Watches do of course have the function of showing time, yet the watch has a decorative and aesthetic aspect. Clothes and shoes do of course vary in the ratio of decoration versus functionality, from work clothes to Sunday suits. Females lend more on the functional textiles (which could of course have status and decorative aspects to the home), though textiles are almost equal to jewellery and watches. Perhaps there was a decorative versus functionality divide between men and women?

There was of course also a wide difference in pawn value. The average lent sum to female was only 9.91 kronor. That should be compared to the average lent sum to males on 15.01 kronor, of which the female proportion is only two thirds. There was naturally a highly significant difference between the two groups’ mean lent sum. Thus there were quite large differences regarding the lent sum. Was this due to the earlier mentioned compositional differences (i.e. women lent on less valuable categories of pawns) or were there internal gender differences to the value of pawns in the same category?

Table 5.2.5. Lent sums per collateral for women and men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clothes and Shoes</th>
<th>Textiles</th>
<th>Bicycles</th>
<th>Decorative</th>
<th>Bonds</th>
<th>Jewellery and Watches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Nr</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Nr</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Nr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8.00 kr</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>6.19 kr</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>36.63 kr</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12.35 kr</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>9.27 kr</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27.11 kr</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10.36 kr</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>7.11 kr</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>28.84 kr</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female/Male</td>
<td>65 %</td>
<td>86 %</td>
<td>67 %</td>
<td>214 %</td>
<td>135 %</td>
<td>22 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison between weighted mean lent sum and gender based on the several of the pawn categories. Do note that this is from loans, not from the aggregated database. The loans does then retain for example an unknown gender (not shown in table) despite have been bundle up together with other loans the aggregated pawner database.

Interestingly the differences in lent sum obviously didn’t rely on compositional differences (at least not on this level of aggregation). Many categories had substantial differences in mean lent sum between men and women in favour of men. These include clothes, shoes, textiles, decorative objects, jewellery and watches. Moreover there seems to be a pattern between a large proportion of female pawning in the category and lower pawn value for females. The largest discrepancy between men and women are found in the categories with the largest proportion of pawn loans taken by females such as decorative objects, textiles, clothes and shoes. However not all categories carries lower lent sums to female. Females lending on bicycles received 35 % more in lent sum than men,

---

284 $T=9.056$, $p<.000$ and confidence interval: 3.991-6.198 kronor (equal variances not assumed).

285 Unknown gender and two pawners are not shown here. Therefore are the sum of male and female pawners less than the total.
though only 18% of the pawned bicycles\(^{286}\) backed loans made by women. Bonds had almost equal pawn values, which probably relates to the easily calculable and certain value of bonds. Women lent however only about every fifth loan made with bonds. Jewellery and watches had a comparatively discrepancy and women lent only every fifth loan in this category. This need not be the case of discriminatory valuation on the part of the pawnbrokers. The categories are so wide that women might have had the lower end of the goods in the categories. It’s more likely that this result show that the women of Borås had less access to material wealth than men. Their “pawnable” objects were of less value than men’s.

\(^{286}\) This share is based on those of identifiable sex (excluding also two panners of both sexes

\(^{287}\) Along with a few who has several occupations over the year or at least designate as such.

Table 5.2.6. Differences between wives and employed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational group</th>
<th>Number of panners</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Mean number of pawn loans</th>
<th>Mean loan value [Borås-DB]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>57.9 %</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>14.20 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5.8 %</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>16.90 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>13.7 %</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>14.26 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>17.6 %</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>[AS-dist] 10.03 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar employees and students</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.8 %</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>23.79 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.9 %</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>100.0 %</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>13.19 kr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data on occupational group based on number of panners, mean number of loans and mean loan value (do note this is not pawn value, but the mean lent sum regardless of number of pawns).

Did similar patterns exist between occupational groups? Most panners were workers, and most likely many of the married females had spouses who were workers. This further augmented the number of panners who were mostly dependent on the wages and the conditions of the workers’. The composition of this group is quite varied. Industrial workers were the largest group (33%), but occupational groups like construction worker, craftsman, service worker, transportation worker and other (mostly unskilled) workers were quite large and of similar relative size (around ten percent). The only small groups were farm workers and civil service workers (around 1 percent).\(^{287}\) Despite the large textile industry in Borås, the textile workers weren’t a dominating group among the panners in general or even among workers. Only 60 panners were identified as some sort of textile workers. If factory workers in general are included to this group as it is quite likely that most of those identified as factory worker were working in the textile or clothing industry, then the textile workers account for 13 % of the panners (in total 96 persons). Of course it might be that the percentage of textile
workers is underestimated because of the wives. Industrial workers should have been among the quite naturally many groups, in which the male worker might have had problems with visiting the pawnshop (open Monday to Saturday) because of prohibiting working hours. Unemployed wives had a large work load but it was flexible since the work hours were individually decided, unlike the collective and contractual nature of full-time and year-round wage work. In fact pawning might have been one of the work assignments of the wife derived from her responsibility of the household budget, which was suggested of Tebbutt. 288

An assumption that all men who pawned were single is however unlikely as that would mean that only 18 % of the pawners should have been married (or 22 % if all females are counted as married). Wives were the occupation for the vast majority of female pawners (83 %). Other occupations were industrial worker, service worker, white-collar worker, entrepreneur and other workers. The only important of these groups were industrial workers (ten percent of the females) and service workers (four percent). It seems as the large mean number of loans among females mainly derived from wives, who lent in average 3.76 times in the sample, very much higher than the females under other occupations, who only lent in mean 1.63 times. 289 Actually females not denoted as wives didn’t differ at all in their average rate of pawning from men (1.62 times). The state of being married seems to explain the increase in female pawning. Apparently the connection to a family economy as a wife (most single women were somewhat integrated in family economy in being daughters) could mean increased pawning with some regularity. There are however two objections to this conjecture. The group of females not designated as wives are small (only 27 persons). They were not necessarily single; in fact some are designated both as wives and with a job. This dilutes the wife effect. At the same time marriage doesn’t seem to be a factor that increases pawn loans for men. It’s impossible to differentiate among married and single men in the loan journal, but if marriage had an effect for men then the undifferentiated male group should have a larger mean than the female not designated as wives. This is of course provided that single men did take pawn loans in about the same rate as single females. The question of the wife effect also points to the discussion of family economy versus individual economy. It seems to be somewhat clear that the responsibility of a family economy made wives lend more often. Were married men still inside an individual economy, relying on their wife to fulfil the needs of the family at the pawnshop, while they fulfilled individual

288 Tebbutt, p. 37-39
289 A t-test is significant as long as equal variances are not assumed (Levenes test not significant?). The significance is however lost if equal variances are assumed. T=2.365, p=.019, confidence interval (95 %) 351-3.916. If equal variances are assumed then: T=1.113, p=.267 and confidence interval (95 %): -1.652 – 5.920. This difference probably arises from the small number of females who are not designated as wives (only 27). This holds (for equal variances not assumed) even if the top group of pawners are excluded, even though the mean quite drastically sinks. T=2.112, p=.038 and confidence interval (95 %): .042-1.408. Mean, wife: 2.35 loans, Mean designated other than wife: 1.63 times.
needs at the same place? The apparent absence of a marriage effect on men’s pawning indicates
that. As being married didn’t seem to increase the pawning of men, therefore if they still pawned,
they might rather follow their pawning practices of their old individual economies, than the new
family economy.

Quite interestingly this wife effect is not visible in mean lent sum. Females not designated as
wives didn’t get bigger loans, quite the reverse, the mean lent sum of them were slightly less than for
wives (9.51 kronor against 9.95 kronor). The difference isn’t significant. Wives and single females
didn’t seem to have different access to material wealth. Once more, men seemed to have access to
greater material wealth, which they could convert to larger pawn loans. But there were also
considerable differences among men with different occupations. There were large significant
differences between workers and white-collar employees. The sample mean lent sum of workers’
loans was only about 60 percent of the equivalent of white-collar employees. Also entrepreneurs (or
small business owners) had a larger mean lent sum, but this difference isn’t significant. Military
men and worker had however about the same average lent sum, indicating an equal economic
situation. There were however some difference among workers.

Table 5.2.7. Number of loans by different groups of workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Construction worker</th>
<th>Craftsmen</th>
<th>Industrial worker</th>
<th>Farm worker</th>
<th>Service worker</th>
<th>Transport worker</th>
<th>Other civil service</th>
<th>Other workers</th>
<th>Multiple occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average loans</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean lent sum</td>
<td>11.46 kr</td>
<td>13.85 kr</td>
<td>14.23 kr</td>
<td>7.63 kr</td>
<td>18.79 kr</td>
<td>15.14 kr</td>
<td>21.58 kr</td>
<td>11.79 kr</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different categories of workers, with number of workers, average number of loans and mean lent sum

Somewhat surprisingly maybe, the craftsmen tops with loan rate of 2.93 times in the sample. This is
to an extent a consequence by an extreme value of one craftsman, a tailor, who lent 27 times
according to the sample. Yet after excluding this extreme the average number of loans were 2.33
times and still beyond other categories. Ignoring the small category of other civil service workers, the
next group is service workers. They also have the largest mean lent sum (of the larger groups). It’s
quite interesting that a group performing service work would come on top in material wealth among
workers. Otherwise industrial workers have a pretty standard mean lent sum. Along with workers of
diverse occupation, construction workers had the lowest pawn values, perhaps reflecting their rather
low wages.

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290 T=0.332, p=.741 and confidence interval (95 %): -2.203 – 3.074 (equal variances not assumed).
291 T=2.759, p=.009 and confidence interval (95 %): 2.576 – 16.594 (equal variances not assumed).
292 T=1.047, p=.298 and confidence interval (95 %): -2.437 – 7.833 (equal variances not assumed).
293 See chapter 5.1.
Table 5.2.8. Distribution of collateral per occupational group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clothes and Shoes</th>
<th>Textiles</th>
<th>Bicycles</th>
<th>Decorative</th>
<th>Jewellery and Watches</th>
<th>Bonds</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>37.4 %</td>
<td>5.0 %</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
<td>5.3 %</td>
<td>33.8 %</td>
<td>7.0 %</td>
<td>93.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>31.1 %</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td>11.5 %</td>
<td>36.1 %</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
<td>91.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>65.2 %</td>
<td>0.6 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>1.1 %</td>
<td>20.4 %</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td>92.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>58.6 %</td>
<td>13.9 %</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
<td>12.3 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>94.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar employees and students</td>
<td>27.9 %</td>
<td>4.7 %</td>
<td>2.3 %</td>
<td>4.7 %</td>
<td>41.9 %</td>
<td>7.0 %</td>
<td>88.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20.0 %</td>
<td>10.0 %</td>
<td>10.0 %</td>
<td>20.0 %</td>
<td>30.0 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>90.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of pawns for occupational categories. Similar method as in table 5.2.4. Other comprises two panners, unemployed and multiple occupations.

The table above shows the composition of pawns (not per pawn loan though, one loan can contain up to three pawns) for the various occupational groups. Wives won’t be commented, as their distribution largely resembles the females (since the vast majority of females are listed as wives). Workers mostly pawned clothes, shoes, jewellery and watches (above 70 % of their pawns). However in neither category the share of workers is in the extreme. Militaries and wives pawned relatively more clothes and shoes, while white-collar employees and entrepreneurs pawned relatively more jewellery and watches. It’s quite interesting that militaries’ pawns mostly concerned commodities adorning the body, like belonging to either category of clothes and shoes or jewellery and watches. This was 86 % of their pawns in the sample, thus the vast majority of pawns. It probably relates to the situation of militaries with little money, small storage space and most of them being displaced from their home. They were thus probably cut off from their material wealth at home and also their social and family networks. Material objects for the body were probably among the most accessible objects. An interesting feature of workers’ pawning is that they are in the extreme regarding bonds, even though it’s not a large share of their pawns. Workers also provided a large share of the bonds in the sample (65 %). The next largest group in the bonds category is wives who pawned 19 % of all bonds in the sample. Since it’s quite probably that many wives were married to a worker, this might be an indication of bonds as an important savings instrument for the working class, perhaps especially in families. Together workers and wives provided 84 % of all pawned bonds. For bicycles, another high-value pawn, the workers’ share was one of the largest, though bicycles were spread out of all occupations. The occupational group with highest pawn values, white-collar employees, had somewhat special pattern of pawns. They had a strong reliance on jewellery and watches, while a comparatively very low share of clothes and shoes pawned. Their distribution seems to be more diverse than other occupational groups (less than 90 % are covered by the above categories). Their
large share of jewellery and watches might explain their high pawn values and also tell a tale where some in the middle class used valuable objects as a savings reserve.

Table 5.2.9. Mean time spent for pawns, auctions and renewals per occupational group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days between loan and payment/renewal</th>
<th>Renewed?</th>
<th>Auction?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Row N %</td>
<td>Row N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>109.66</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>135.67</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>81.51</td>
<td>95.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>98.64</td>
<td>75.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-collar employees and students</td>
<td>150.84</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed/Unknown</td>
<td>198.50</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two pawners</td>
<td>29.00</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Occupations in one loan</td>
<td>70.00</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean days between payment, percentage of renewals and auctions among occupational groups.

This next table shows the mean days between loan and payment or renewal, along with rates of renewal and auction. It shows some quite interesting features of the occupational groups. Militaries and wives had the lowest mean days between loan and payment (even though every mean is quite large). It’s reasonable that the militaries’ short period is caused by the temporary dislocation of militaries. They lived for a short period of time in new and unknown town. The militaries were also quite keen on keeping their pawns as well as not renew them. They had the lowest rate of renewals and the second lowest rate of auctions. Only wives lost fewer pawns by auction, which also points the necessity of keeping the material pawn as their property for wives. The auction rate for wives was significantly lower than for workers though not comparable to militaries. On the other side of the spectrum, two unexpected groups are found – entrepreneurs and white-collar employees. They also have comparatively long periods between loan and payment or renewal.

If the perspective is moved from the mean to a composition of the year, several interesting features appear. Of those pawn loans paid within a week 61% were made by wives and 31% by workers and thus the vast majority of weekly loans were made by these two groups. The weekly

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T=3.283, p=0.001 and confidence interval (95 %): 0.017 - 0.069 for workers compared wives (equal variances not assumed). T=1.242, p=.215 and confidence interval (95 %) -0.014 – 0.061 for militaries compared to wives (equal variances not assumed).
loans represented about 24 percent of all loans. The composition of these groups total loans were however different by the groups. Only about 17% of the workers’ loans were paid or renewed within a week, while 42% of the loans made by wives were paid or renewed within a week. If one disregards the renewed loans, then 54% of the wives’ loans were made within a week and 19% of the workers. Hence a weekly pattern was dominant among wives. However the second largest category was loans paid or renewed between half a years to one year (29%). This however was mostly renewals (64%). The occupational group with smallest share of weekly renewed or paid loans were the militaries, where only 5% were renewed or paid within a week. However most of the loans made by the militaries were either paid or renewed quite fast anyways, 64% were paid or renewed between one week and a quarter of a year. Thus only 31% of the loans were paid between a quarter of a year to a full year. The group with the latest payment or renewals were the white-collar employees, perhaps somewhat surprisingly. 46% of the loans were paid or renewed between half a years to one year. This is lowered just to 42% if the renewals are disregarded. The rest of the renewals were spread quite evenly over the following categories, between 11-16% per category. Entrepreneurs were evenly spread over a year (19-34%) except for one month to a quarter of a year (8%), which probably is random event caused by the rather small numbers in the entrepreneur category. The workers were also quite uniformly distributed over the categories, with shares ranging from 17-27%. It was the next to last category (half a year to one year) which had the highest share. This description opens up questions. Why did the wives have such pronounced weekly pattern unlike most groups? Why did the middle class have such late payments? Why were workers so evenly spread out over a year?

The weekly pattern of wives might be connected to the rhythms of the family economy, in which a weekly wage cycle were common. Why didn’t this pattern arise with workers, where only a quite small minority of loans were paid within a week? This might relate to some necessity of use value moving in a similar rhythm (like Sunday clothes). Of the wives’ pawn loans paid within a week almost 92% were clothes and shoes. The equivalent share was almost 49% for workers. The other important pawn category for workers was jewellery and watches for the loans paid within a week (43%). The details of wives’ pawning of clothes and shoes does to certain extent support a conclusion were most of these clothes were Sunday clothes. Quite evenly large and of importance were suits, coats (women’s and men’s) and shoes. Together they comprised around 71% of their category pawned and paid within a week for wives. All three, in varying degree, could be seen as part of

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295 Not including loans which were auctioned.
296 Do note that this and the following are based on pawn loans, not the pawners. Therefore are these pre-aggregated loans and they are not bundled together into a reconstructed pawnner. There could be some movement if it were done on the pawners directly (which would be somewhat complicated).
297 This is based on the first sub-category (used as a proxy).
attire appropriate for Sundays. Shoes might be the most uncertain, because of the rather imprecise
nature of both the category and the connotations it carries. Workers did however not seem to follow
this weekly wage cycle in general (41 % paid within a month though); therefore this seems more
connected to a family economy and female pawners (perhaps with the financial duties of the family).

Summary
This chapter has treated the differences in pawning between gender and occupations. Men were the
vast majority of customers, but women lent considerably more per person. This seems to be related
to the state of being married for women. An equivalent effect of marriage on men has not been
found. There were also differences in mean lent sum to the favour of men, even in the same
category. Most of the women were titled as wives in the pawn loan journals. Wives lent mostly on
clothes and shoes. As evidenced in the preceding chapter, clothes and shoes had a short stay at
pawnshop. In this chapter it’s shown that many of the clothes and shoes loans made by wives were
paid within a week. This gave wives a weekly pattern (though the second largest category was
between half a year to one year). Therefore it seems as there were a weekly practice of pawning
clothes and shoes, reasonably connected to Sunday clothes, among some wives. This was however
not the majority pawning practice among the customers. For instance workers had a quite evenly
spread distribution of the spent time for their pawns in the pawnshop.

Workers were split in many groups. They lent mostly on clothes, shoes, jewellery and watches.
The mean lent sum was quite average and fairly larger than the wives. However the largest mean
lent sum went to the pawns of the middle class. They seemed also the group least interested in the
use value of the pawned things, as the pawns of this group stayed the longest at the pawnshop. They
lent mostly on jewellery and watches. The results concerning the white-collar employees are
somewhat uncertain because of the small size of this group. The entrepreneurs, another small group,
followed to a lesser extent some of the patterns of the middle class. The remaining one of the larger
groups of pawners, the military men, did borrow mostly on body objects like clothes, shoes, jewellery
and watches. This probably relates to the militaries’ lack of storage space for material objects. Their
average pawn value was close to workers’. Their pawns stayed a rather short time in the pawnshop,
even though it was rare for military men to pay the loan within a week.

5.3. Habitual pawners
In this chapter I will look into a few of the pawners who utilised the pawnshop most in the sample.
Their entire loan history from the beginning of July 1922 to the end of June 1923 has been recorded
in a separate database. This chapter does thusly expand outside of the sample used in the previous chapter. The sample will of course be used to contrast these individual pawners with the overall population of pawners. The reason for focusing on these extreme cases of pawners is to examine detail the (extreme) uses of the pawnshop of pawners for financing their everyday life. This shows the limits of pawning as a financial practice. This chapter will thus be more concerned on a micro perspective, which is a necessary complement to the more overall survey in order to study practices.

These pawners were not a homogenous group. There were considerable differences in their pawning habits. The group consists of six persons that were found in the sample to have pawned at least twenty times during the sampling period. The pawner with the seventh most loans pawned thirteen times in the sample. The group consists of almost only women, except for one man. The women were all recorded as wives or widows, no mention of any occupation or wage work. The lone man was a tailor. They all lived within the borders of Borås. The tailor lived within in the centre of Borås, while two of the women in Norrby and Parkstaden (slightly south of Norrby). The two other seems to have known each other as they lived quite close to each other in the eastern parts of Borås (Bergdalen) and they often visited the pawnshop in the same days (Petterson and Larsson). The last woman lived in Södra Anneberg.

Table 5.3.1. The habitual pawners and household status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Pettersson, S.</th>
<th>Larsson, A.</th>
<th>Andersson, E.</th>
<th>Persson, E.</th>
<th>Dahlgren, A.</th>
<th>Mattsson, H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52 years</td>
<td>49 years</td>
<td>43 years</td>
<td>50 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner’s occupation and age</td>
<td>Bricklayer and Carpenter and Deceased</td>
<td>54 years</td>
<td>43 years</td>
<td>Factory worker and 59 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...below 15*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...% of children &lt;15</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Household composition of the pawners.

These most common pawners’ household seemed to have been quite large, at least for those that were found. The number of children were between three to eight, however the number of children below fifteen years of age, were fewer and not in the majority (44 %). Children below fifteen would of course consume more resources than they provide income to the family, as they would likely be in school. Therefore children under fifteen should be more expensive than children above this limit, which might even provide net income for the household. One of the women was single as her

298 At a late stage, I discovered that I have probably misclassified approximately four dates for the habitual pawners. It will most likely not affect the results in general, but the mistake will be corrected in my forthcoming thesis.
299 Stengärdsstigen 30.
300 By 1/7 1923.
301 Living at home during the sampling period.
302 One child is a grandchild.
husband had died in 1915, a likely financially problematic situation. The deceased man had been an engine driver at the railroad, and did probably not leave substantial sums after his death. The other wives in this group were married to workers, consisting of a bricklayer, carpenter and factory worker. The construction workers probably experienced seasonal unemployment along with conjuncture unemployment (which the factory worker also should have been threatened by). The pawns’ age distribution laid within the middle age, from 43 years to 52 years, thus a rather short span. The husbands were usually somewhat older, with a range between 43 and 59 years. The children were between 2 to 24.*

Table 5.3.2. The number of loans, total lent sum and average loan for habitual pawns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pettersson, S.</th>
<th>Larsson, A.</th>
<th>Andersson, E.</th>
<th>Persson, E.</th>
<th>Dahlgren, A.</th>
<th>Mattsson, H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total loans</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total lent sum</td>
<td>2 371 kr</td>
<td>957 kr</td>
<td>1 093 kr</td>
<td>340 kr</td>
<td>311 kr</td>
<td>477 kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average loan</td>
<td>9,23 kr</td>
<td>7,60 kr</td>
<td>12,86 kr</td>
<td>6,80 kr</td>
<td>7,40 kr</td>
<td>7,23 kr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of loans along with the total lent sum for the whole period and average lent sum for the six pawns.

If their total loan activity is summarized, as is done in the above table, immense differences appear in loan behaviour. The number of loans stretches from 42 loans to 257 loans for the twelve month period, thus the pawner with the fewest loans had taken about 15 % of the loans the pawner with most loans had taken. The difference is somewhat larger when total lent sum is compared, but not by much. It should be noted that the largest total sum, Mrs. Pettersson’s 2 371 kronor, is above the male yearly wage of a spinner or weaver according to the collective bargaining agreement in SCB’s compilation of collective bargaining agreements in 1922.304 It might be the case that Pettersson worked as an “agent”305, by pawning for others and taking a commission for that service. It seems quite unreasonable that it would have been financial bearable to pawn that much, especially considering that none of Pettersson’s loans were auctioned off. Pettersson’s husband306 were a bricklayer and should have earned at most in the vicinity of 2 800 kronor.307 It’s also possible that Mrs. Larsson were collaborating with Pettersson, as she too has very many loans and they lived as said close to each other. There were also large differences in average loan. The tailor Andersson

---

303 Excluding the grandchild, would lead to a span between 6-24 years.
304 SCB Kollektivavtal 1922
305 Tebbutt, p. 43-45
306 Fotnot till hushållsböckerna.*
307 Calculation is based on the collective bargaining agreement for (ordinary) bricklayers in Borås, by multiplying the weekly calculated pay (based on the hourly pay with a 48-hour week) with 52 weeks. Thus no vacation or seasonal unemployment is anticipated in this calculation. As seasonal unemployment should have been a factor for a bricklayer, the calculation is an estimate of the maximum wage.
made the most money in average of each loan, with Pettersson not so far behind, while the other women were at 50-60 % of Andersson’s average.

Another feature of Pettersson’s pawning behaviour does indicate that she worked as some sort of agent. Her loans are rather well spread throughout the year (though not without differences). The percentage of loans between months varies between 5.4 – 10.5 %, including renewals. In general her mean time to next loan was 1.39 days. At most it took nine days before she lent at the pawnshop again. This consistency, combined with her obvious ability to pay her loans, tells us that the demand for pawn loans were quite constant with Pettersson. A constant demand means that it less likely that her borrowing was connected to lacking finances. That’s also the smallest range of variation among the pawners.

**Table 5.3.3. Differences in borrowing over the year.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pettersson, S.</th>
<th>Larsson, A.</th>
<th>Andersson, E.</th>
<th>Persson, E.</th>
<th>Dahlgren, A.</th>
<th>Mattsson, H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>5.4-10.5 %</td>
<td>0.0-14.3 %</td>
<td>3.5-16.5 %</td>
<td>0.0-22.0 %</td>
<td>0.0-35.7 %</td>
<td>0.0-21.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum month</td>
<td>Aug., 27 loans, 10.5 %</td>
<td>Aug., 18 loans, 14.3 %</td>
<td>Nov., 14 loans, 16.5 %</td>
<td>Sept., 11 loans, 22.0 %</td>
<td>Nov., 15 loans, 35.7 %</td>
<td>Sept., 14 loans, 21.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consistency of demand on pawn loans. Presents the per cent variation over the year, along with months without any loans at all from the pawner and the month with the most loans (combined with number of loans and per cent over the year).

In comparison some of these pawners had months without any loans (only Pettersson and Andersson did make loan in every month). Thus among those who pawned most, there is a difference between those who consistently pawn throughout the year and those who concentrate their pawning to certain periods of the year. If the assumption is made that pawning is primarily used in periods of financial need (rather than for investments), then this shows that this need might be concentrated to certain periods for those pawn most. This might not be applicable to Pettersson and Larsson, if they were pawning on an agent basis. Interestingly among those with concentrated periods the low period coincides. The months with zero loans are usually in the late winter (January and February) and the spring (April to May). However for Dahlgren and Mattsson the low period also happens in October respectively December. This is conversely also true for the high periods, where August, September and November were the months with most loans. These pawners could be divided into the different group by Pettersson, Larsson (despite a month without loans) and Andersson as consistent pawners, while Persson, Dahlgren and Mattsson would be concentrated pawners. If it was financial need that dictated pawning, then it would be reasonable that consistent pawners would have more problems to pay their loans, as they would be in a continuous financial crisis. Did the consistent pawners let more of their pawns go to auctions and did they have to renew their loans more often?
Table 5.3.4. Auctions, renewals and mean time spent in the pawnshop.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pettersson, S.</th>
<th>Larsson, A.</th>
<th>Andersson, E.</th>
<th>Persson, E.</th>
<th>Dahlgren, A.</th>
<th>Mattsson, H.</th>
<th>Sample of loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Auctions</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>6.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Renewed</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>1.2 %</td>
<td>34.0 %</td>
<td>57.1 %</td>
<td>16.7 %</td>
<td>16.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean days spent 308 per loan at the pawnshop</td>
<td>17 days</td>
<td>20 days</td>
<td>56 days</td>
<td>112 days</td>
<td>150 days</td>
<td>59 days</td>
<td>103 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median days...</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>5 days</td>
<td>16 days</td>
<td>20 days</td>
<td>181 days</td>
<td>5 days</td>
<td>56 days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pawners share of auctions and renewals compared to sample share of auctions and renewals in general. Also the mean and median for time between loan and payment/renewal is shown in the table.

Quite interestingly, a discordant image emerges from the table. The consistent pawners let only one loan go to auction and have also very few renewals. Not that the pawners in the concentrated group had especially many pawns auctioned off. Both groups were below the sample proportion of auctioned loans. On the other hand had the concentrated group considerably more loans renewed. Dahlgren, in particular, renewals comprised the majority of her recorded loans during the sampling period. Dahlgren and Persson were above the sample proportion of renewals. Evidently they kept a lot of their pawns at the pawnshop, which also attest to the long mean days spent between loan (renewal) and payment/renewal, which actually was somewhat longer than the general sample mean days spent for a loan. However for the other pawners the mean days were rather few, at least compared to the sample mean and median. These pawners apparently paid for their loans quite quickly, especially considering their very few renewals. The median days for three of the pawners (Pettersson, Larsson and Mattsson) were under a week. The pawner with the third most loans and a “consistent” pawner had just over two weeks as median and had an average around half of the sample mean days. If one looks at the actual distribution of loans then Pettersson and Larsson paid or renewed above 80 % within a week, Mattson above 60 %. Andersson had more spread out distribution, with only 36 % paid or renewed within a week. Dahlgren and Persson had as Andersson a more spread out distribution, but also more loans that spent the longest time in the pawnshop (half a year to one year and one loan above that for Dahlgren). 50 % of Dahlgren’s loans and 38 % of Persson’s were paid or renewed within half a year to one year. Apparently they don’t seem to have had any problems of paying their loans. If nearly none of their loans were auctioned off, they had very few renewals and paid their loans quickly, and then they shouldn’t have been in a position of an escalating household financial crisis. They might have had problems with regularly low incomes compared to their costs, but they shouldn’t have been in a position with increasing costs because of

308 This refers to share of auctions for all loans in the sample, not an average per person share of auctions.
309 Four observations have turned out to have negative values on this variable, time spent in pawnshop, due to faulty datum codes, which underestimates this variable. It also affects the binned version, as it will lack some observations.
interest from pawn loans. If looked to the weekdays, which is important because of the more common weekly pay, then the weekdays when loans were taken were less concentrated compared to the weekday when loans were paid. The borrowing is spread out over primarily the beginning of the week (Monday to Thursday) and with few loans at the end of the week (Friday and Saturday), with exception to Andersson who lent quite a lot on Fridays and Saturdays (40 % of all his loans). Payment and renewal was usually concentrated to Saturday with perhaps Friday being important too (in Dahlgren’s case). For all except Dahlgren Saturday stood for 65-89 % of all renewal or payments. This probably relates to the weekly payday.

Were there any differences between the types of collateral used for the loans between the pawners and the sample?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of loans:</th>
<th>Pettersson, S.</th>
<th>Larsson, A.</th>
<th>Andersson, E.</th>
<th>Persson, E.</th>
<th>Dahlgren, A.</th>
<th>Mattsson, H.</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothes and shoes</td>
<td>88.3 %</td>
<td>90.5 %</td>
<td>61.2 %</td>
<td>74.0 %</td>
<td>35.7 %</td>
<td>57.6 %</td>
<td>51.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>5.4 %</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>28.2 %</td>
<td>14.0 %</td>
<td>40.5 %</td>
<td>10.6 %</td>
<td>7.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative home objects</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>1.2 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>7.1 %</td>
<td>10.6 %</td>
<td>5.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
<td>5.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and watches</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>15.3 %</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
<td>9.5 %</td>
<td>3.0 %</td>
<td>25.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and hobby objects</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility objects</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proportion of loans with respective category of collateral. Do note that one loan can contain several categories; therefore the total percentage might be higher than 100 % for one pawner. The sample measures the proportion of loans with at least one collateral belonging to the specific category.

As is quite noticeable these pawners have several distinctive properties towards themselves and the sample. One of the most obvious differences is that clothes and shoes were a very large category for several of the pawners. All but one had higher proportion of clothes and shoes as collateral than the sample (though Mattsson is quite close to sample proportion). Pettersson, Larsson and Persson borrow almost exclusively on clothes. Pettersson borrowed only on textiles, “diverse”310 and marginally on jewellery and watches. Larsson had a similar pattern, though textiles were smaller category and she didn’t borrow at all on jewellery or watches. Persson had the highest proportion of textiles, jewellery and watches, while she also had collateral belonging to another category (work and hobby objects). Andersson’s loans had a rather high proportion of clothes and shoes, but textiles

---

310 Diverse does of course not preclude that the collateral consists of clothes and shoes, at least partly.
were the most distinctive feature of his pawning habits, as almost 30% of his loans partly or fully used textiles as collateral (in the sample only around 8% of the loans are backed with textiles). This probably relates to his work (tailor). Another interesting feature is that he was the one who pawned most jewellery and watches of this group, though still considerably beneath the sample proportion. This lack of jewellery and watches might account for the groups rather low mean lent sum (8.86 kronor) compared to the sample mean lent sum (13.19 kronor). It’s obvious that the group, though not seemingly in an escalating financial distress, still seems to possess less material wealth than the overall sample. Dahlgren probably has the most disparate pattern of the group. She had pawned comparatively (even with the sample) few clothes and shoes, instead textiles were a larger category. She also pawned quite a lot decorative home objects, jewellery and watches. Mattsson were however the one with largest category of decorative home objects and otherwise she had rather large set of pawn loans consisting of clothes, shoes, textiles, bonds, jewellery and watches. She had thus as diverse set of collateral as Dahlgren.

It can thus be concluded that clothes and shoes were the category that almost overwhelmingly were the most common pawn. Other important categories were textiles and diverse. Quite interestingly were jewellery and watches an uncommon category. High value collateral such as bonds and bicycles were close to total absence, which might be one of the factors behind the low mean lent sum of this group of pawners. In the sample textiles, diverse, clothes and shoes were the categories that had the lowest mean lent sum. Thus it is quite reasonable to conclude that these pawners, who utilized the pawnshop the most, obviously were some of the poorest households in material wealth, or if they were agents, then they drew their clients from some of the poorest households. It’s also important to note that even compared to the females of the sample, these pawners who consisted mostly of females, had less valuable pawns (in general loans taken by females had a mean lent sum of 9.91 kronor). However compared with only new pawn loans, or in other words with renewals filtered out, then this group had about the same mean lent sum as women in general in the sample. But the group is pushed by the only man, who had a much larger pawn value, despite having a smaller mean than other men who had about 15.01 kronor in mean lent sum including renewals and 13.95 kronor without. If only the women are counted, then they had a mean lent sum of 8.37 kronor without renewals compared to the sample average of 8.99 kronor for females. Was this only a matter of less valuable categories of pawns or were also the pawns within the categories less valuable in this group compared to sample.
Table 5.3.6. Average pawn values for the whole group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Incl.</th>
<th>Not incl.</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>% of Sample</th>
<th>Nr of loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incl.</td>
<td>9.34 kr</td>
<td>7.24 kr</td>
<td>11.28 kr</td>
<td>83 %</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not incl.</td>
<td>7.79 kr</td>
<td>9.00 kr</td>
<td>8.42 kr</td>
<td>93 %</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Averages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clotes and shoes</td>
<td>6.55 kr</td>
<td>8.91 kr</td>
<td>14.06 kr</td>
<td>46 %</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>25.00 kr</td>
<td>8.79 kr</td>
<td>29.95 kr</td>
<td>83 %</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative home objects</td>
<td>7.78 kr</td>
<td>8.91 kr</td>
<td>12.95 kr</td>
<td>60 %</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
<td>15.33 kr</td>
<td>8.83 kr</td>
<td>15.20 kr</td>
<td>101 %</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and watches</td>
<td>5.50 kr</td>
<td>8.88 kr</td>
<td>11.90 kr</td>
<td>46 %</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work and hobby objects</td>
<td>4.68 kr</td>
<td>9.16 kr</td>
<td>7.63 kr</td>
<td>61 %</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility objects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>4.68 kr</td>
<td>9.16 kr</td>
<td>7.63 kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pawn values compared within category between the average of these pawners and the sample average. Also included in the table are the mean for loans, which doesn’t include a pawn from the specified category. The percentage of the pawners mean lent sum (not weighted) for each categories has been computed against the sample mean. Finally a tally of the number of loans from these pawners which includes at least one pawn from the category at hand. Total number of loans taken by these pawners was 627. The table includes renewals.

As shown in the table above, these pawners also had less valuable pawns within the categories. If categories with less than ten loans are ignored, then all categories had a smaller lent sum for these pawners than the sample. The difference are quite substantial for decorative home objects (though few loans), diverse, jewellery and watches, clothes and shoes, while quite close for textiles. Another feature is that nearly only loans that included clothes and shoes were more valuable than loans did not include clothes and shoes. This might however be attributable to the large size of the clothes and shoes category. The conclusion after this investigation is that this strengthen the case that these pawners were likely poorer than the pawners in the sample, as even within categories their mean lent sums were less, and in some categories, considerable less. If detail is increased on the categories, what kinds of pawns were lent on within the categories? Let’s look at the two most prominent categories.

Table 5.3.7. Distribution of under-categories of Clothes and Shoes for whole group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Nr of loans</th>
<th>% of loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dresses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirts and similar</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pants</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suits and similar</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>11.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other clothes</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>17.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>20.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coats, men’s and women’s</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>23.8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of clothes and shoes on under-categories, measured in number of loans.

The most conspicuous feature of the table above is that suits were quite a small category; only around 12 % of the total loans of the group used a suit as collateral. Suits were the premium collateral of the clothes and shoes category, which affirms that these pawners were probably poorer than the ordinary pawner in terms of material wealth. The weekly cycle, as described by Tebbutt

311 Diverse is not subdivided into more than “Diverse”, therefore unnecessary to study.
312 Tebbutt, p. 6-7
obviously did not include suits in the same regard in Borås. However the average time spent in the pawnshop before payment or renewal was around 12 days for a suit from these pawners, and 88 % of the loans on suits were either renewed or paid within a week. Also 50 % of the suits were pawned on Mondays, 22 % on Tuesdays and 15 % on Wednesdays, while the absolutely most common day of payment or renewal was Saturdays (82 %). Thus it seems that the suits that were used as pawns by these pawners were in a weekly cycle. However as stated earlier suits were not the most important collateral among clothes and shoes. Instead coats, shoes and the leftover category were quite more common. They were not the less valuable categories among this group of pawners, except for shoes (6.31 kronor), but they were quite far behind suits in terms of value (15.19 kronor compared to around 10 kronor for coats and other clothes). The proportion renewed or paid within in a week was somewhat smaller (between 70-80 %), but it was still great majority of pawns. Most pawning of these collaterals took place in the beginning of the week (Monday to Wednesday or Thursday), while Saturday was still clearly the most popular day to renew or pay the loan (circa 85 % of the loans in each category). Thus it can be concluded that the collateral most popular among clothes and shoes for these pawners were the somewhat less valuable coats, shoes and other clothes. Generally these items, along with suits, were used by these pawners in a weekly cycle.

Table 5.3.8. Distribution of under-categories of Textiles for whole group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Nr of loans</th>
<th>% of loans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utility textiles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative textiles</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedclothes and similar</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabric (raw material)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of textiles on under-categories, measured in number of pawns (not appearance in loans). The table includes number, proportion of the under-category and cumulative proportion. Shown also is the total percentage of all loans these pawners made.

The most common pawns were bedclothes, fabrics and to a lesser degree decorative textiles. Though much less common than the larger categories of clothes and shoes, they still represent sizeable shares. They were however usually less valuable than the common categories of clothes and shoes for these pawners, exception made for shoes. Bedclothes had a mean lent sum of 6.54 kronor and decorative textiles of 5.74 kronor. Fabric was however lent for 10.28 kronor in average, which was actually somewhat above the sample average for lent sum. There was also great differences in time spent at the pawnshop within the category and compared to the category of clothes and shoes. Almost 60 % of the bedclothes spent between half a year to a year at the pawnshop and for decorative textiles almost 75 % spent more than one month at the pawnshop (most commonly one to three months). But for fabrics two thirds spent less than one month at the pawnshop and had thus a pattern closer to clothes and shoes. The loans taken were more spread out over the week, Friday
and Saturday stood for 20-25 % of the loans, still however the beginning of the week was a common
time to loan on these things. Saturday dominated for payments and renewals, but not quite so much
for bedclothes (only circa 54 %). The weekly pattern of loans early in the week (Monday-Wednesday)
and payment in the end of the week close to wage day (Saturday) was not quite as clear as with
clothes.

6. Conclusions
This chapter will conclude the essay by summarizing the results from the empirical chapters. It will
begin by looking at the pawns. The first comment might be on the years. In 1921 there were a deep
depression in Sweden and the world, the post-war crisis. But the worst crisis had already passed by
July 1922, the beginning of the empirical material in this essay. Regarding whether depression has
negative or positive effects, pawning in Borås Pawnshop increases somewhat in 1921 and remains at
the same level in 1922. In 1923 the pawning decreases somewhat. The research has come out firmly
on the side that depression in the long-term are negative for pawnshops. The essay can’t say
anything conclusive for this crisis regarding depression’s effect on pawnshops. Perhaps the crisis of
the early twenties was too short for the long-term negative effects to show. Neither the 30s crisis
seem to have conclusive positive or negative effects on pawning in Borås pawnshop.

The most important categories of pawns were clothes and shoes combined with jewellery and
watches. Unlike the American situation described by Woloson, there had not yet been any
movement from clothes and shoes to jewellery and watches being most important pawn category.
There were however quite some variation among the pawns, despite the concentration to two
categories. Other prominent categories included textiles, bonds, bicycles and decorative home
objects. There are several aspects on value which are applicable. Two of the most symbolic loaded
pawns with considerable social capital are found within each of the most populous categories –
wedding rings and Sunday suits. Both provide some sort of respectability within the community.

Most pawners had incomes quite above the mean lent sum at the pawnshop, even if looked at
weekly income. Therefore pawn loans likely were complementary consumption credit to the weekly
pay. There might however be differences if one considers wives, as they likely made less in a family
than the male, and the question being if they used the pawn loan for only the family economy or also
to erect an individual sphere within the family economy. In the latter case pawn loans would be a
considerable addition to the income of wives, despite that wives usually made more money in Borås
than in Sweden in general according to the living cost survey of 1922/23. The costs in the family-
economy were mostly food, clothes and shoes, housing and taxes according to the living cost survey.
The average pawn loans could finance fully all weekly average costs except for food. The money
needed depended on also on the rhythms of costs. The weekly or even daily costs of food could
probably be at least partly financed by a pawn loan, but a yearly or even more rarely occurring cost, such as hospital bills, might be more troubling to finance by pawn loans.

There were also some regular recurrences in pawning. Another feature of pawning is the time spent at the pawnshop, which was surprisingly long. There were some relation between higher pawn values and longer time spent at the pawnshop, but it did not explain the variation exhaustively and it’s likely that use values of the collaterals affected their time spent at the pawnshop. Collateral with less important use value (for instance decorative objects confined to the home) could spend longer times at the pawnshop. Clothes and shoes had the shortest time at the pawnshop, which might be related to the weekly need of Sunday clothes. Almost 40% of the clothes and shoes were redeemed within a week. There are some signs of weekly pawning as mentioned in for example Tebbutt, Johnson and Skarin Frykman, though perhaps not repeated for a long time, except maybe for those made the absolutely most loans. Longest time spent at the pawnshop had decorative home objects. Rather few pawns ended up being auctioned off, while rather many of the posts were renewals.

Most of the pawns could either be categorized as workers or wives. Many in the latter category were likely depended through the family economy on a worker’s wage. Military men were also common, at least soldiers and underofficers. This was likely a group disconnected from their social relations and thus cut off from credit from friends and family, while at the same time receiving small monetary wages. Married women were found to pawn more than men and unmarried women, though the latter group is so small so the difference is not certain. Men had larger pawn loans and thus likely access to more valuable goods, though it’s uncertain whether this was valid for men incorporated within a family economy. There were also more male customers and more loans made by males than females, though females took more loans per persons. This can be contrasted against the assertions of Tebbutt, Woloson and Francois concerning that women was in a majority of the customers. However it’s hard to say whether females where more common among married customers, or in other words, those who were incorporated in a family-economy. Most women were designated as mentioned as wives, but the difficulty lies with men. This is one of the areas future research.

Finally the essay brought up habitual pawns. Except for one man, everyone of this group of six, were women. Two of them might have been some form of agents and pawned for others. This conclusion was reached because of their, in particular one of them, very large number of loans. These kinds of agents are mentioned in Tebbutt, they would not be unprecedented in research. Their loans were less valuable than the normal pawner, even compared to women. They didn’t show signs of financial crisis, though not everyone pawned continuously throughout year, indicating either less of a need or that they had run of valuable material possessions. They pawned usually clothes, shoes
and textiles. They also redeemed their collateral quickly, though with some quite large variations. Many did however redeem their collateral usually within a week.

Future research will begin by developing the comparison with a database ten years later in 1932/33, when the next living cost survey was undertook. The databases will also be increased with household data on the pawners and likely also residential categorizations. The research will move in the direction to incorporate a more detailed view on the household, in order to ascertain the factors which might affect pawning. An important question is whether one or two more databases will be made on Borås (likely backwards in time). There aren’t any earlier living cost surveys on Borås and the later ones have a different set-up, but earlier databases will give more time points, which will strengthen the reasoning of this essay. Another move might be to compare Borås to another town, which was part of an earlier plan. In this case it would be Malmö, mostly because of the available source material. Malmö is included in both living cost surveys of the 1920s and 1930s, and there are reasonably close pawn loan journals (1925 and 1932/33). In general the dissertation will move in household direction.
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