

Tenant by the sea - Tenants' associations in the industrialized port city of Gothenburg 1900-1950

Paper for EAUH 2018 - 14th International Conference on Urban History, Rome
August 29th to September 1st

Hannes Rolf

Institute for Civil Society Research
Ersta Sköndal Bräcke University College
Stockholm, Sweden

Abstract

The port city of Gothenburg, Sweden, experienced massive social changes during the 19th century. Gothenburg became an important industrial center and the population multiplied tenfold. The urbanization process led to friction as the amount of factory workers rapidly increased. Together with other groups, such as clerks and small shop-owners, the workers formed a distinct popular class culture with organizational expressions and collective mobilization that changed the social and political order of the city forever. One of these expressions was the tenants' associations, local organizations that were formed to further the tenants claims against their landlords and to advocate political reforms benefitting for the benefit of the tenants. These organizations, seen as a sort of trade unions for the rented home, rapidly grew in the mid-war period. Tenants' associations advocated protective legislature for tenants and confronted landlords, both with legal means and with militant methods such as rent strikes and blockades. The associations were also important in the social life of the working-class communities, organizing studies, social events and summer activities for children. This paper examines the role of the tenants' association in the everyday life of the Gothenburg neighborhoods and especially the role of the associations in bringing different groups of workers, such as port and factory workers, together. By looking at the tenant movement of Gothenburg and comparing it to similar movements in other cities, such as Glasgow, I hope to show how the geographical and social context in the rapidly changing city of Gothenburg produced organizations that both showed remarkable similarities and notable differences to collective action organizations elsewhere.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the social character of the tenants' movement in Gothenburg, Sweden in the mid-war period and the effects of the tenant militancy in the same period. I also wish to discuss the often-neglected role of consumption-oriented political organizations in larger movements such as the labor movement. One question of importance is to what extent the rise of the Gothenburg tenants' movement contributed to the influence of the militant groups of the Gothenburg labor movement in the mid-war period?

The tenants' movement was a grass-roots movement consisting of militant tenant activists organized in district-wide tenants' associations. Even though the organized tenants had very clear ties to the Gothenburg labor movement and for the main parts consisted of working class union activists, it was a movement with a class base consisting not only of workers but also of petty bourgeoisie such as shop owners and clerks. The movement also connected various groups of workers, such as stevedores and factory workers on the common ground of consumption rather than in the field of consumption. As several landlords involved in the conflicts themselves were members of the trade unions and the social democratic party, the rent struggle cut a rift through the Gothenburg labor movement that was accentuated by the growing tensions in the 1930s between the more and less conflict-oriented camps of the labor movement.

The Swedish tenants' movement has, despite an internationally spectacular historical strength, size and influence, especially since the second half of the 20th century, been the subject of a surprisingly low amount of research.¹ This is a bit puzzling considering the rich amount of source material available. The tenants' associations documented their activities extensively and saved vital documents such as correspondence with landlords, labor unions and many other. These documents as well as the annual reports and articles forms the empirical base of this paper.

Bo Bengtsson is one of few researchers who have looked at the role of the tenants' movement in the housing policy process of the 20th century. Bengtsson has noted that the militant phase of the Swedish tenants' movement in the 1930s was important for the movement as it forced the property

owners into recognizing the tenants' associations as a collective bargaining part. The position established by the movement could then be used to gain influence after the rent act of 1942 had given the Swedish tenants a much stronger position.² Hans Wallengren has discussed the role of organizing in altering the power relations between landlord in tenant in Malmö between 1880 and 1925. Wallengren noted that the growth of the labor movement had strengthened the tenants in Malmö even before the rise of the tenants' movement in the 1920s.³

Internationally, tenant militancy has a long history and various campaigns have had different outcomes and faced different levels of state repression. The British Isles have a long history of tenant militancy that has continued to this day. Rent strikes occurred as early as 1826, when handloom weavers in Bolton refused to pay rents. Tenant militancy increased during the second half of the 1860s, coupled with the suffrage campaigns that led to the 1867 Reform Act.⁴ During the housing crisis of the first World War, caused by an influx of munitions workers, tenant militancy surged and became especially prominent in and around Glasgow by 1915, even though rent protests also occurred in places such as Birmingham, London, Birkenhed, Belfast and Northampton. The result was the Rent act of 1915, restricting rent and mortgage increases.⁵ The war also increased the tension and resulted in struggles between tenants and landlords in Berlin, resulting in new legislation favoring the tenants in 1917.⁶ This legislation, like the one in Britain, was aimed at managing the war effort. In New York rent strikes had begun shortly before the US entry into WW1 and continued after the war. Local rent legislation was imposed in 1920.⁷ The role of tenant militancy in bringing about rent control laws can be discussed, since most European countries and colonies passed rent control laws during or after the war, the social unrest caused by the tenants' collective mobilization during and at the end of the war seem to have helped the legislations in various countries.⁸

The next period of widespread unrest on the rental market occurred during the early 1930s, following the wage drop and increased unemployment of the global recession. New York and London once again faced an increase in rent strikes.⁹ In Barcelona, massive rent strikes started in late 1930 and continued into 1931. Over 100 000 tenants eventually went on rent strike, a massive movement with ties to the large anarcho-syndicalist movement in the city. Severe state repression broke the strike, but it had long term radicalizing effects that would be seen a few years later during

the attempted revolution of 1936.¹⁰ In Berlin, a session of rent strikes broke out in 1932 and continued into 1933 until the strikes were broken up and its leaders imprisoned after the NSDAPs takeover.¹¹ In Sweden, rent strikes and similar methods were used in several cities, with the most intensive struggles taking place in Gothenburg, events that will be examined more closely in the following pages.

After the second world war, tenant militancy would occasionally erupt. On the British Isles, several rent strikes occurred in the late 1960s/early 1970s. This time the militancy was aimed at a wider range of opponents than just against private landlords. Sheffield saw large rent strikes directed at municipal housing and in Belfast the rent strikes of 1971 were connected to the internment campaign of republicans carried out by the British army.¹² In 1984, perhaps the largest rent strikes ever took place, with upward of 300 000 tenants participating, most of them living in and around Johannesburg. Despite heavy and deadly police repression, the refusal to pay rent carried on well into the 1990s and after the fall of the apartheid system.¹³

We can thus see from these, and several other periods of tenant militancy, that the collective mobilization of tenants can have effects such as legislative reforms and a general radicalization of parts of the population. It does, however, also have direct economic consequences, both on an individual and on a more general level. Rent strikes and similar methods can and have on occasion brought down rents, stopped rent increases and forced landlords into making repairs. They have of course also from time to time failed miserably, strengthening the landlord, at least temporarily.

In Hobsbawms article *Labour in the Great City* from 1987, tenants' movements are described as fleeting phenomenon, who "flicker up and down".¹⁴ From a British perspective this is in large parts correct, but tenants' organizations in other countries have shown much better organizational consistency. Even though the origin of the earliest tenants' associations in the mid-war period was similar to most other countries, with local organizations emerging in various (mostly industrial) urban areas of Sweden, a process of organizational centralization under the umbrella of the National Tenants Union began early. The Swedish tenants' movement has since the 1960s been, in an international perspective, exceptionally centralized and disciplined, with the national union having almost total dominance including all but a few fringe tenants associations. This example

shows that the “flickering” character of tenants’ movements are not necessarily true, organized tenants can build stable organizations.

The division between industrial capital and landlords over the rent issue is an interesting topic. Periods of housing shortage have been legion in the history of capitalism. In some cases, industrial capitalists have solved this by erecting and maintaining dwellings for their own workers, but in most cities workers have been left to rent from private or municipal landlords. Rent has traditionally a large part of the monthly expenses of the working-class household and the rent increases has tended to swallow wage increases. In these cases, high rents and angry tenants can go against the interest of the employer.

Manuel Castells, among others, have discussed the role of organized tenants. Taking as an example the Glasgow rent strikes of 1915 he notes that, even though the movement was working-class based, it cannot be viewed as a struggling against capital in the traditional sense. Castells, basing his argument on the works of Melling, notes that the industrial capitalists often were supportive of the demands for state subsidized housing as the lack of housing for the workers affected the supply of workforce. The landlords were, just like in Gothenburg in the 1930s, often small-scale owners with large loans with high interest. However, Castells note “The level of social consciousness and organization reached by the working class through the struggle, the capacity of the labour movement to impose its own conditions on the process of consumption, and the definition of new social rights to which the state should respond were all major achievements for the working class as a class.”¹⁵ Thus, even though the rent strike was not aimed at industrial capital it strengthened organized labor through new means of organization. This observation by Castells most likely holds true for Gothenburg as well, where the strong and militant tenants’ movement strengthened the working class, withholding that organized struggle was relevant not only at the workplace but also at home. Bo Bengtsson has noted that while labor unions often have the capacity to disrupt vital flows in the economy, the militant methods of organized tenants do not possess the same disruptive qualities.¹⁶ It can however have effect on the radicalization of tenants in a given area and thus affecting the general class relations

The rise of the Gothenburg tenants' movement

Gothenburg, like so many other cities, changed dramatically during the industrialization and urbanization of the 19th century. At the start of the century the city had about 13 000 inhabitants. By the outbreak of the first world war this number had multiplied almost by fourteen, and the city counted 180 000 inhabitants. In a few hectic years between 1895 and 1913 the city had doubled its population.¹⁷ The population numbers would continue to grow during the mid-war period, with almost 300 000 inhabitants by 1940.¹⁸ New, segregated working-class neighborhoods were built, often with houses in the cheap *landshövdingebus*-style.¹⁹ The large influx of workers in the early 20th century was more than the philanthropical and patriarchal systems of the previous century could manage, and a radicalized labor movement emerged in the city. Based on local union activity, the Gothenburg labor movement had a somewhat ambiguous relationship to the growing Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP).²⁰

One of the organizational expressions of the rising Gothenburg labor movement was the tenants' movement. The Gothenburg tenants' movement was, compared to the size of the city, the largest tenants' movement during the mid-war period. The first tenant's association in Gothenburg was started by factory workers living in Gamlestaden in 1917. During the early 1920s other local tenants' associations were formed in the various working-class neighborhoods across Gothenburg. A city-wide federation, *Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg* was formed in 1922, just one year before the national federation *Hyresgästernas Riksförbund* was formed. Much more federalist and less politically inclined than the other large tenants' association in Sweden, *Stockholms Hyresgästförening*, HCF adapted methods and organizational models from the local labor unions.²¹ Gothenburg had a militant trade union movement, and many of HCF's members came from a radical working-class tradition. The Gothenburg tenants' movement also rose to become, in a Swedish context, especially militant. It is possible that the sailors of Gothenburg, a particular radical group, were inspired by the militant tenants of the British Isles, although it is impossible to determine since it is not mentioned in any source material.

Ideologically, the organized tenants mainly relied on moral arguments, where “fair” rents were advocated.²² Just as E.P. Thompson has described elsewhere, moral indignation seem to have played an important role in the formation of the tenants’ movement.²³ The rhetoric was not revolutionary in itself, but instead aimed at condemning the so called *husjobbare* who used the housing shortage to extort unreasonable rents from the tenants, neglected repairs and evicted families when profiting from it.²⁴ However, the ideological position was not fixed and at times the property owners were denounced as “property capital”. The class struggle rhetoric used in *Hyresgästen* increased during the 1930s as the organized property owners instead of individual landlords became the main opponents, intensifying the analogous experience of class struggle.²⁵ This was especially prominent in the early 1930s, a period of societal friction in Sweden following the economic recession. As Sten O Karlsson has noted, while most political parties tended to appear in the working-class neighborhoods during election times, the tenants’ movement regularly showed up and agitated working-class unity against the oppressors.²⁶ The Swedish labor movement of was divided during the mid-war period. While the Social Democratic Party dominated politically and held most significant positions within the main trade union organization LO, union activists belonging to one of the two communist parties (SKP and SP) had strong influence in local unions belonging to LO.²⁷ The anarcho-syndicalist federation SAC, standing outside LO, also had strong presence among some groups of workers and continually challenged LO from the left. HCF housed members of all these fractions and tried to maintain party-political neutrality and working-class unity.²⁸

The tenants’ associations were thus considered a part of the greater labor movement, but its members were not exclusively working-class. Even though the rented home was the typical dwelling of the average working-class household, tenants were not by any means exclusively working-class. The tenants were united by their common interest concerning consumption, not production. Among the workers lived petty bourgeoisie such as clerks and small shop-owners, a melting pot that sociologist Mats Franzén has called the “popular classes”.²⁹ Ownership of properties was often small-scale and cut through traditional class boundaries. Seen as a good investment and a security for old age, several members of the broadly defined “popular classes” ended up as owners of apartment buildings.³⁰ The landlords wanted return on their investments and given the low supply compared to the demand the rent level was prone to steep increases



which, together with the threat of unemployment, made the economic position of the household an uncertain one. This also meant that tenants on occasion would be unable (or unwilling) to pay due rents and thus becoming an economic threat to the, often small-scale, property owner. Relations between tenant and landlord was prone to conflicts, every now and then resulting in physical confrontation. The tenants' associations can be seen as the organizational expression of the tension between the tenant and landlord in the economic uncertainty of the pre-welfare society.

The tenants' movement was created by activists schooled in the labor and temperance movement, but organizationally it cut through boundaries such as class, alignment with the various parties and unions of the labor movement and even, to some extent, gender. Even though the leadership of the local associations was predominantly male, female activists played important roles in the day-to-day activities of promoting the movement in the local neighborhood, collecting membership fees and selling the bi-weekly newspaper *Hyresgästen*. The system of household organization, however, meant that generally only one spouse was considered a full member with right to vote on meetings. In the patriarchal culture of the time, this was in most cases the husband of the family. The issue was discussed, for example at the national tenants' unions congress of 1937, but the system with one vote per household persisted.³¹

Geographically, two parts of the city saw especially militant tenant associations. The first was the industrial belt on the eastern fringe of the city, stretching from Gamlestaden in the north down to Gårda in the south. A second part was the traditionally "red" harbor districts in the western part of the city, stretching from Masthugget to Majorna and Kungsladugård. Majorna Kungsladugård stands out as a district particularly affected by rent struggles. Both the dock workers and sailors had militant trade unionist traditions, which might explain at least partly the militant tenants' associations in these parts of the cities. The sailors were an especially red group, where both of the two communist parties existing in the 1930s had large influence in the national union.³² Due to the nature of the occupation, however, they were away large parts of the year and thus made unreliable tenant activists. Membership in a tenants' association was advertised as a sort of insurance for the sailor, to make sure that his family didn't suffer from raised rents while he was sailing the seas.³³ Dock workers, factory workers and construction workers were other radical groups of workers

where the tenants' associations drew members and activists. The stairwells of the *landshövdingehus*, the traditional place for neighbor interaction, were transformed into temporary meeting places as tenants with different background met to discuss organizational and strategic matters as well as planning social activities. Tenants associations arranged dances, theatre plays and a variety of activities for children and teenagers, among these a seaside holiday camp for children. While there typically seem to have been some sort of agitational undertone during these activities, they seem mainly to have been aimed for the recreation and enjoyment of the participants. These social events strengthened the tenants' associations not only through the goodwill it provided but also by recruiting new, young cadre for the organizations of the labor movement.³⁴

Tenant militancy and its effects

In 1917 a rent control law had been enacted, but unlike in other European countries it was abandoned early in 1923. The Gothenburg tenant's unions immediately started looking for other methods for combatting the soaring rents that was expected to come after the cancelled legislation. Rent strikes had occurred in Sweden during the First World War, in Nynäshamn in 1916 and in Stockholm in the spring of 1917.³⁵ The rent strike was however, not to become the preferred method of the Gothenburg tenants' movement. Instead, a method was developed that was called *fastighetsblockad* (property blockade). When a conflict with a property owner was not easily solved, the local tenants' association would proclaim a blockade against the property in question, urging others not to rent there or do any business with the property owner. This was often extended to the landlords' other properties, and since many landlords were also small business owners, their shops would also be subject to the blockade. A Swedish version of the picket line, the blockade was, in effect, a boycott action. Since the term "blockade" was frequently used by the labor unions, it was widely recognized and accepted in working class neighbourhoods. Being a *blockadbrytare* was equivalent of being a strike breaker and it was a sure way to become ostracized in the working-class neighborhoods of Gothenburg. Rental blockades were means not only to inflict economic damage but also to enforce solidarity with the struggle on the community. Rent strikes were occasionally used as a complementary method to the blockade, but HCF was reluctant to use the term and instead called it "rent deposits" as the rents were collected during strikes by the tenants' associations and withheld until after the conflict had been settled.³⁶ While rent strikes quickly could result in

criminal charges and eviction, the blockade method was legal and came with few risks. Blockades were announced in the bi-weekly tenant paper *Hyresgästen* and, sometimes, in other local labor movement newspapers. Notes were handed out by blockade guards and occasionally put in windows or glued to the property, in a few cases resulting in fines for tenant leaders.³⁷ Blockades were used by tenants' associations in other cities in Sweden, but nowhere near such an extent as in Gothenburg. In Stockholm, the city with the second highest number of blockades, roughly 200 property blockades were announced between 1928 and 1942, according to annual reports and blockade lists in the tenant newspaper *Hus och Härd*. In contrast, about 2000 properties were the targets of blockades in Gothenburg during the same period. All in all, close to 2300 properties in Gothenburg were to be blockaded between 1923 and 1955.³⁸

A third method, often combined with blockade and sometimes rent strike, was the mass termination of contracts. This, very offensive method was used in Gothenburg between 1931 and 1938 in what was called *hyressänkningssaktioner* (rent-reducing action). These actions were aimed at either driving rents down, countering announced rent increases or enforcing repair demands. In the typical case, the tenant association ombudsman would collect warrants from the tenants and the contracts would then be collectively terminated from October 1st, the traditional date for moving in urban Sweden. This was often followed by the threat of blockade. Landlords, in many cases small-scale property owners, were faced with the prospect of drastically reduced income and many yielded to the tenants demands.³⁹

The tenant militancy radicalized not only the tenants, but also the property owners, who formed a militant organization, *Fastighetsägarnas Garantiförening i Göteborg* 1932. The organization collected large funds from their members and forbade them, with the penalty of heavy fines, to make individual deals with the organized tenants. The strategy was that of attrition, where the property owners hoped to be able to use their financial advantage to prolong the conflicts and win by exhausting the resources of the tenants. It was a sort of reversed lockout tactic, since unlike on the labor market, the landlords were the sellers of the commodity whose price was the source of the conflict. During the large conflicts between the property owners and tenants' organizations in 1933 and 1935, mass evictions were threatened but never carried out. Government mediators had to intervene both in 1933 and in the so called *Olskeroken conflict* of 1936-1937. This, by far the most

known and dramatic event of the period, saw mass evictions being carried out. However, the evictions proved to not be as effective as the property owners had hoped. The Transport Workers Union refused to carry out the evictions, who instead had to be done by civil servants at a low pace. As the availability of rental housing had increased during the thirties, HCF could relatively easy find new accommodation for evicted tenants as well as for those who had left Olskroken voluntarily after the mass termination of contracts. A nationwide solidarity campaign helped the tenants financially, and eventually the property owners' association had to concede.⁴⁰

A few relatively calm years followed, until the outbreak of the Second World War halted construction and raised the costs of heating dramatically. The question of the financial distribution of this new burden was the source of a new period of conflicts, resulting in a very large number of blockades and threatened evictions in 1941. This time it was the tenants who was on the defensive side. The tenant militancy in Sweden, and particularly in Gothenburg, had effects on legislation. In some of the public investigations of the 1930s concerning legislation on labor militancy and rent laws, we can see that there was official concern for the effects of tenant militancy such as that in Gothenburg.⁴¹ A new law in 1939 had enabled municipal rental boards to mediate in conflicts, but as the new board was not able to arrange a settlement, a government commission once again had to interfere. In 1942 a new law of rent control was enacted, giving security of tenure and freezing rents as well as giving the rental boards increased authority. The tenants' associations changed their repertoire, focusing more on their representative role on the boards than on direct action. A few blockades were proclaimed each year until 1955, but the militant methods were largely dropped. This time around the rent control would be in effect for decades to come. It was to be continually turned into the very special Swedish model of collective bargaining on the rental market, a transition that was completed in 1978.⁴² The model is still around, showing the effect that organized consumer organizations and collective mobilization can have on institutions, both direct and through advocacy.

Conclusions

The tenants' movement obviously played a role in the politicizing and radicalizing of the Gothenburg working class, especially in the 1930s. Tenants' associations, together with other types of organizations such as temperance societies and consumer co-ops, functioned as schools for working class activists, giving them both an ideological frame and practical training in organizational skills such as holding a meeting, writing articles and pamphlets, bookkeeping and much more. The plethora of organizations, engaged in questions regarding different aspects of life, showed that almost all aspects of daily life could be politized and promised that collective mobilization and political struggle could improve the conditions of the ordinary people and make them masters of their own destiny. If the wage and exploitation was a political matter, then why not the rent or the price of bread? As we have seen in the above example and as I will show in the PhD dissertation that the material presented in this paper is a part of, the Gothenburg tenants functioned as an extension of the labor movement, adding new members and creating new fronts, some of which cut through the old organizations. It is a type of organization that has seen very little research, but further research into the various types of mass organizations of the 20th century can offer new insights into the institutional, political and economic history of that era.



-
- ¹ The best description of the historical strength of the movement can probably be found in B.Bengtsson, "Sverige – kommunal allmännyttan och korporativa särintressen" in B.Bengtsson, Bo [ed.] *Varför så olika? Nordisk bostadspolitik i jämförande historiskt ljus*. Égalité 2013
- ² B. Bengtsson, *Är Bostadskorporatism möjlig?* Paper for NOPSA, XIII Nordiske Statskundskabskongres, Aalborg 15-17 August 2002
- ³ H. Wallengren, *Hyresvärlden – maktrelationer på hyresmarknaden i Malmö ca.1880–1925* Mendocino 1994, pp. 16, 64–65, 127–130, 290–294
- ⁴ D. Englander. *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain 1838-1918*. Clarendon Press, 1983
- ⁵ J. Melling, *Rent Strikes – Peoples` Struggle for Housing in West Scotland 1890–1916*. Polygon Books 1983
- ⁶ H. Forsell, *Hus och hyra – Fastighetsägande och stadstillväxt i Berlin och Stockholm 1860–1920*. Stads- och kommunhistoriska institutet 2003
- ⁷ R.M. Fogelson *The Great Rent Wars, New York 1917-1925*. Yale University Press 2013; D. Lawson et al. *The Tenant Movement in New York City*. Rutgers University Press 1986
- ⁸ J.W. Willis, *Short History of Rent Control Laws*, "Cornell Law Review", volume 36, issue 1, 1950
- ⁹ Q. Bradley, *The Tenants` Movement*. Routledge 2014; Lawson et al. 1986
- ¹⁰ C. Ealham, *Anarchism and the City – Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelona 1898-1937*. AK Press 2010
- ¹¹ U. Rada, *Mietenreport – Alltag, Skandale und Widerstand*. Ch.Links Verlag 1991
- ¹² R. Gilbert, *No Rent, No Rates: Civil Disobedience Against Internment in Northern Ireland, 1971-1974* in "Studi irlandesi: A Journal of Irish Studies", n.7 2017, pp.19-43
- ¹³ S. Lowe, *Urban Social Movements – The City after Castells*. St.Martins Press 1986
- ¹⁴ A. Corr *No trespassing! Squatting, rent strikes, and land struggles worldwide*, South End Press, 1999; Chaskalson et al. *Rent Boycotts, the State, and the Transformation of the Urban Political Economy in South Africa* in "Review of African Political Economy", volume 14, n. 40 1987, pp.47-64
- ¹⁵ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Labour in the Great City*, "New Left Review" volume I 1987
- ¹⁶ M. Castells, *The City and The Grassroots*. University of California Press 1983
- ¹⁷ B. Bengtsson, 2002
- ¹⁸ O. Nylander, *Svensk Bostad 1850–2000*, Studentlitteratur 2015
- ¹⁹ Göteborgs stads statistiska kontor. *Statistisk årsbok över Göteborg 1969*, Mezäta 1969
- ²⁰ One base level built in stone and two wooden levels above. The architectural style is special for Gothenburg neighborhoods built between 1875-1940
- ²¹ B. Stråth, *Varvsarbetare i två varvsstäder. En historisk studie av verkstadsklubbar vid varven i Göteborg och Malmö*, Svenska Varv AB 1982
- ²² H.Rolf, *Från kamp- till intresseorganisation – centralisering och homogenisering inom Hyresgästernas Riksförbund fram till 1942* from "Arbetarhistoria" issue 2 [158] 2016
- ²³ For examples, see tenant newspapers *Hyresgästen* March 1924, 1 April 1925, *Vår Bostad* November 1924, January 1925, March 1925
- ²⁴ E.P. Thompson, *Herremaket och folklig kultur*. Författarförlaget, 1983
- ²⁵ The term "husjobbare" indicates someone who profits through shady property deals or from exploiting tenants. It is similar to the English term "Rachmanite"
- ²⁶ See for example the annual report *Verksambetsberättelse för Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg, 1931*, Arkiv för Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg F2a:1 , Folkrörelsearkivet i Göteborg
- ²⁷ S.O. Karlsson, *Arbetarfamiljen och Det Nya Hemmet – Om bostadshygienism och klasskultur i mellankrigstidens Göteborg*. Symposion Graduale 1993
- ²⁸ B. Kennerström, *Mellan två internationaler: Socialistiska Partiet 1929–1937*, Arkiv Förlag 1974
- ²⁹ See undated political appeal to the political organizations of Gothenburg, probably from 1924. Arkiv för Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg F7:1 (politisk korrespondens), Folkrörelsearkivet i Göteborg
- ³⁰ M.Franzén, *Den folkliga staden – Söderkvarter i Stockholm mellan krigen*. Arkiv Förlag 1992
- ³¹ A. Perlinge, *Bubblan som sprack, byggboomen i Stockholm 1896–1908*. Stockholmia 2012
- ³² See congress protocol from 1937, Arkiv för Hyresgästernas Riksförbund A1:1, Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek, Flemingsberg
- ³³ B. Kennerström 1974
- ³⁴ See newspaper *Hyresgästen* n. 2 1925
- ³⁵ C. Johansson, *Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg 1922–1982*. Framåt 1982



³⁵ See newspapers Social-Demokraten April 3 1918 and Svenska Dagbladet March 22 1917

³⁶ See for example how the tenant activists wanted to avoid being called "rent strikers" in the document

"OLSKROKENKONFLIKTEN – med dess många vräkningar – har väckt uppseende över hela landet", Arkiv för Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg, F7ab:5, Folk rörelsearkivet i Göteborg

³⁷ See a letter addressed to defence attorney Ivar Glimstedt 30 januari 1931, Arkiv för Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg F7aa:1, Folk rörelsearkivet i Göteborg

³⁸ Looking at blockade lists and articles in *Hyresgästen* and summaries from the annual reports of HCF, we can get an unusually good idea of the scale of the tenant militancy in Gothenburg between 1923 and 1955. A blockaded property is in this case defined as every new address appearing on blockade lists and in articles in *Hyresgästen* between 1923 and 1955. Some properties were blockaded several times and each new time they appear after having been missing is counted as a new blockade.

³⁹ The mass terminations tended to yield lower results in the late 1930s, see annual reports in Arkiv för Hyresgästernas Centralförsamling i Göteborg F2a:1, Folk rörelsearkivet i Göteborg

⁴⁰ Hyresgästernas Riksförbund, *Ett hem i folkhemmet – berättelsen om en levande folk rörelse*. Hyresgästernas Riksförbund 1988

⁴¹ Swedish State public investigation (SOU) 1934:16 and 1938:22

⁴² B.Bengtsson 2013